

The Public

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

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False Election Promises.

Out in New Jersey they are shooting workingmen now for demanding fulfillment of the Taft pre-election promises. As in thousands of factory towns all over the country, the owners of a factory at Keasbey, N. J., gave their workingmen to understand before election that their reduced wages would be restored to \$1.50 a day if Taft were elected. They didn't promise this in words, but they said what their workmen so understood and what they intended them so to understand. It was simply a deceitful form of promise—a bunco. When the promise was broken in Keasbey, as it has been broken everywhere else, the deluded workmen who had been defrauded when they voted with ballots, began to vote vigorously with stones and bludgeons. Thereupon the troops were called out and some of the workmen were shot. It's a great game, a noble game, a profitable game no doubt, but a dangerous game we fear—this that the plutocrats of our country are playing, with workingmen for pawns and rich government privileges for stakes.

* * *

Praying for Plunder.

One must be pardoned an irreverent smile at the blasphemous antics of those pagan preachers of the Missouri-Kansas zinc region who prayed in unison last week for "divine aid" in behalf of a protective tariff on zinc ore. They think the zinc-mining industry down Joplin way is doomed un-

less the zinc consumers of this country are forced by law to pay more for zinc than they can buy it for of other producers. If God enjoys a joke, as some good people think, he must have enjoyed those zinc-tariff prayers. We can hardly conceive, at all events, of his being wrathful at such poor dupes of a plutocratic regime as those preachers. Yet there was room for indignation. Here is a generous God, filling the earth round about Joplin with zinc, and his own worshippers, ignoring the fact that a few land grabbers who call it theirs, and put so high a price on the right to dig that it can't be dug profitably in competition with other zinc deposits, pray God to move Congress to make the digging locally profitable by protecting it from general competition! It surely is to laugh, if it isn't to swear.

* *

The Chicago Traction "Settlement."

More than eighteen months have passed since J. Pierpont Morgan and his gay crew of stock-jobbing pirates were given a pretty free hand with the traction service of Chicago (pp. 731, 733), and the condition is as bad as ever or worse. Not only is the city tied hand and foot by its "settlement" franchises, so that escape from stock-jobbing exploitation, when the time for it comes, will be almost or quite impossible short of a revolution, but the only excuse for this surrender to Morgan is proving to be the bunco that Mayor Dunne predicted. Good service was to have been immediate. That was the reason given for rushing the franchises through the Council in a suspicious all-night session, and for the strenuous efforts of all concerned on the franchise side to prevent a referendum. Yet service is worse today than ever. This fact has been studiously suppressed by the local newspapers. Every one who suffered knew it, of course, but there was no method of communication whereby the sufferers throughout the city could realize that the grievance was general. Now, however, for some occult reason or another, the Record-Herald—chief organ of the movement of two years ago for surrender to Morgan—has broken out with repeated exposures.

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Here is one quotation from the Record-Herald which testifies at once to the failure of the "settlement" and the disappointment of the newspaper which engineered it. At last this newspaper expresses the indignation of the people whose denunciations it has for months helped to gag. We quote from its issue of the 29th:

The spirit of Charles T. Yerkes still animates the

management of a majority of Chicago's surface and elevated transportation lines. His historic motto, "Make your dividends out of the strap-hangers," still adorns the wall. With creaking, dirty and ill-smelling cars in many sections of the city, overcrowded cars in all parts of it and apologies and general promises about the only satisfaction vouchsafed to those who protest, a climax to the long strain upon public patience came yesterday morning when thousands of passengers on West and Northwest Side surface cars were compelled to walk miles to their work because of a tie-up due to the breaking down of a generator. It was but a repetition of a condition from which the Chicago public has suffered for years and similar in many respects to the situation created only last Wednesday evening, when Oak Park and Northwestern elevated trains and cars on several of the lines of the Chicago City Railway Company were stopped for nearly an hour because of the breakdown of a generator in the plant of the Commonwealth Edison Company. How long will it last and when will the outlay of a nickel mean a ride attended by a measure of comfort instead of a feeling akin to misery? These were the questions asked yesterday by patrons of the carrying corporations. There were promises a-plenty and explanations galore, but in the meantime the strap-hanger remained at his old occupation and the average patron continued to suffer. The Chicago Railways Company was roundly scored for the service which it continues to give in several parts of the city. Only one-third of its rehabilitation work has been completed, and its ramshackle trailers still groan wearily as they are pulled over long stretches of dilapidated roadbed with the crowded passengers wishing that they had not been forced to take the ride.

* *

Miss Tarbell and Chicago Traction.

The American Magazine for December completes Ida M. Tarbell's articles on "How Chicago Is Finding Herself"—in so far, at any rate, as they relate to the traction question. Miss Tarbell has done so much good historical work that we should find more satisfaction in passing over in silence than in condemning these articles; but the connection of The Public with the episode of which she writes was so intimate that silence on our part might justify an inference that we acquiesce in her summing up of the situation. To go over the matter in detail would require more space than we can give to a subject that has passed out of current controversy, especially as all the important facts may be found in our files, and with ease by means of our page references. It should be said, however, that the spirit of Miss Tarbell's articles is distinctly partisan, and that misstatement and non-statement alike contribute to the general effect. Her implications that the local transportation committee of the City Council was disposed to co-operate with Mayor Dunne, until he denounced the Council in his speech at

the Jefferson Club's farewell banquet to Bryan, are specimens of misstatement; her silence about the indefensible rushing through of the "settlement" franchises at an all-night session of the City Council, is a specimen of misleading non-statement. While her laudations of Walter L. Fisher do not overstep the bounds of legitimate partisanship, and in very many respects appeal strongly to our own sympathy, her correlative condemnations of Mayor Dunne do overstep the bounds of impartial criticism. The unfair attitude toward Mayor Dunne, of which those condemnations are examples, is quite in harmony with the spirit of the whole. As a bit of fiction founded on fact, Miss Tarbell's articles would be suggestive and interesting, but as history they misrepresent and mislead. In making this criticism we intend no reflection upon her abilities or good faith as a historian, for the circumstances were not so simple as to be readily grasped by any investigator, however able and fair minded; but if she had been deputed to make a partisan "write-up," and had accepted the commission—something which we should not willingly regard as thinkable—she could hardly have made a sorrier failure in historical balance.

* * *

Municipal Failures in Electric Lighting.

At the present moment Chicago is referred to by the plutocratic press as having made a failure of municipal electric lighting. It isn't true. But that makes no difference; it's "a good enough Morgan" till after the grab. The misrepresentation means no more than that the Commonwealth-Edison Company, which is "in cahoots" with the Busse-Sullivan bi-partisan machine, wants a monopoly contract to furnish all the electric power for the city of Chicago. The first step necessary to that end was some kind of deceitful report showing that municipal service is expensive. Hence this misrepresentation which is being exploited all over the country. These reports of municipal failure are usually made in behalf of private monopolies and not in the public interest. The Chicago instance is a case in point.

* * *

Russian Extradition.

It is little wonder that Raymond Robins lifted his audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm at the political refugee defense meeting in Chicago on the 29th, when he said:

There is a very powerful influence in this country that would desire the extradition to Russia of Rudovitz. These are individual bankers that own bonds

of the Russian government floated in this free land of ours. I hope that the bankers in this country when they clip the coupons of their Russian bonds realize that they are clipping the blood and the earnings of thousands of human beings suffering under the bloody despotism of the Czar. Every man in Russia who is not a revolutionist is a traitor to the cause of human freedom, and no man in America is in sympathy with the Czar of Russia who is not also a traitor to human freedom. I denounce that government and denounce that Czar in the language of one of Russia's greatest men, Tolstoy, who denounced Russian rule as "a government by execution and murder."

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Ex-Mayor Dunne, who presided on this occasion, was right in presenting the matter judicially. After saying that—

Oppression is most often the mother of insurrection and rebellion, and the child is always bathed in blood. This country had such a bloody birth, and the life of many a tory and rebel was snuffed out in open battle. We have read in recent years and months of such insurrections and revolts in Russia. With the right or wrong of these insurrections we have naught to do, but we know that lives have been numerous sacrificed on both sides of the controversy. These catastrophes were political homicides incidental to internecine warfare. We deplore and regret them, but after the smoke of the conflict has cleared away those who have fled from the fields of death and escaped to our shores should be allowed, under the policy which prevails among progressive nations, the right of sanctuary and safe-keeping—

he continued:

I know little of the merits of the Rudovitz case. If he be charged with the commission of a political offense he should not be extradited. If he be charged in good faith with the commission of a non-political crime of heinous character he should be extradited, but if he is charged with the commission of a non-political crime with the sinister design of getting him into the custody of the Russian government so as to enable it to wreak vengeance upon him because of a political crime, this government should firmly refuse to be a party to such duplicity.

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But while that distinction which Mayor Dunne made between extradition for crime and extradition for political vengeance is perfectly sound, as applied to civilized governments, it may be fairly questioned with reference to Russia under its present uncivilized government. We behold in these Russian extradition cases what seems like a systematic effort to bring our government into cooperation with the oligarchy of Russia in a bloody crusade against patriotic Russians. We are asked to give up to the merciless and lawless government of the Czar men whose offenses are that they have defied its despotic authority and resisted its licensed assassins. What matters it that this is de-

manded of us under pretense of extradition for crime? It is a shame upon us that we have any extradition treaty at all with the lawless Russian oligarchy. If our criminals escape to Russia, let them go. What punishment could we inflict that would be worse than exile to a country so despotically ruled? If the Russian oligarchy seek their escaped criminals here, let us tell them that we surrender no man—not even a criminal—to the vengeance of barbarians. This ought to be our attitude, even if no political considerations were involved. It is all the more important, if a treaty for criminal extradition is abused for the purpose of making Russian patriotism an international crime, and dragging Russian patriots from the shores of America to the scaffolds of the Czar. As a refuge for the world's patriots (noble or peasant) our country should be inviolable. It used to be so, and so it should remain. The Russian patriot whom the Czar cannot seize with his own authority, he should not be allowed to seize with the aid of our authority. Where he can not pursue boldly with swords and guns he must not pursue treacherously under cover of an extradition treaty and with the co-operation of Federal officials.

* * *

Castro of Venezuela.

The departure of President Castro of Venezuela for Europe, offers renewed opportunity to newspapers subsidized by the Interests in this country, or otherwise influenced by them, to hold him up to vicious attack or equally vicious ridicule. Under these circumstances the prima facie case is with Castro; the enmities he has made are indicative of his power and uprightness. But this is not the only proof in his favor. From direct and trustworthy sources it appears that he is intellectually a man of large caliber,—ferocious, perhaps, as one in his place must be to survive, but not murderous. In exigencies he seems to permit no one to decide grave questions for him, but keeps in touch with details and masters them for himself. He is master, and knows it. His methods are designed to force a realization of that fact upon others, and in Venezuela they have succeeded. He welcomes foreigners who ask concessions for development, but will have no more of speculators. If he were more diplomatic he might be more successful in some respects; but, on the other hand, he might then lose in directions in which by scorning tact he now gains. Advantage may be taken of him in his absence, as some correspondents predict; but evidently he has no fears, and doubtless he knows the situation quite as well as the foreign mischief makers.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE LAW OF EQUAL FREEDOM.

II. The Law and Its Application.

Come back with me now, Doctor, to our natural law of equal freedom in social service (p. 822),—in the natural social service, that is, which originates in and is maintained by the natural individual desire for self-service.

The reason that we have social disease under capitalism is essentially the same as the reason they had it under feudalism. If the planet had been held by feudal landlords truly in trust for the common good, so that the law of equal freedom could have operated, feudal landlordism would not have been so bad. It would have been a crude form of land communism. All the people would have shared fairly in the general benefits of the time, while each would have had the particular benefits of his own individual service. It was not landlordism that hurt under feudalism; it was the perversion of landlordism from a public trust to a private monopoly.

No, no, Doctor, I am not alluding to the arbitrary power of the military features of feudalism. They constituted a species of man-ownership, and owning men is one of the forms of slavery, as monopoly of land is the other; we have been over that ground, you know. What I allude to now is only the economic features of feudalism; although it is my firm conviction that equal freedom with reference to land would have greatly modified if not wholly eradicated the severity even of those military features. But, recurring to our point, let me repeat and with emphasis, that the evil of landlordism during the feudal regime was not landlordism itself. It was the perversion of landlordism from a public trust to a private usurpation, whereby the benefits of social progress were diverted from the people to the usurping trustees.

So now under capitalism. If the planet were capitalized for the good of all, instead of being capitalized for the profit of its capitalistic owners, capitalism would not be a bad thing. Indeed, Doctor, I think it might be a very good thing. Perhaps I may go further and say, as I believe, that in those circumstances capitalism would be the best possible system of social service.

The reason I believe so? Because I think that capitalism, if the capitalization of land were a common fund instead of a private fund, would establish substantial economic justice. How? By securing to each, on the one hand, the service of others in proportion to his contribution of serv-

ice to others; and by securing to all, on the other hand, an equal share in the benefits of social growth. It would do this because it would be in strict conformity to the social service law of equal freedom. You think me dogmatic? Very likely I am, but this is merely a statement of what I intend to prove.

The law of equal freedom in the social service market means, as I have already asked you to note, that each shall have full freedom to satisfy his own desires, within the limitation that he invade no one else's freedom to satisfy his desires. The equilibrium is necessarily equality of opportunity. Isn't that so?

And it implies two things, as I think you will also concede. From the idealistic standpoint it implies recognition of the doctrine of natural rights; from the utilitarian standpoint it implies the best results.

You may look at the law of equal freedom as if you were a narrow Eighteenth Century believer in natural rights, who pays no attention to practical results; or as a reactionary utilitarian, who neither cares for nor believes in natural rights; or as a true idealist, and therefore also a true utilitarian, who believes that utilitarianism and the doctrine of natural rights are but two phases of the same thing.

I don't care how you regard this law of equal freedom in those controversial aspects. The point I make to you, if you are only an idealist, is that equal freedom is recognition of natural rights. The point I make if you are only a utilitarian, is that equal freedom produces the best results. The point I make if you see the identity of true ideals and worthy utilities, is that equal freedom is the shield of which they are the two inseparable sides. It is the natural law of which ideality is the principle and good results the fruit.

Now, it seems to me that the law of equal freedom, which I regard as a natural social law by every test of what constitutes natural law that you can put it to—it seems to me, I say, that this natural law points to capitalism as a natural form of that universal industrial co-operation which we have called social service. Aye, and I am rather inclined to believe that capitalism is not only a form of social service, but that it may be *the* form of social service.

Have a care, though, for I am talking of capitalism itself, and not of its perversions. Unperverted capitalism is not bad. Unperverted capitalism seems to me to be good. No, not good for special beneficiaries, for unperverted capitalism would have no other beneficiaries than those who

pay their way in the world with their own service. It would be good for us all. And whether or not unperverted capitalism is the best form of social service we ever shall have, it is certainly the best we ever have had. It is the best, moreover, that we are likely to have at any time not very remote. It is the best besides that we can have, within any such time,—except through destructive revolutions that would be as likely to send us backward as forward. I will go a little further, Doctor, and say that unperverted capitalism is the best form of social service that has ever been suggested. And I say this with most kindly consideration for the proposals of our socialistic friend and for those of our communistic friend. For capitalism unperverted utilizes the self interest of each in normal ways for the good of all. Although it may in time give way to a better form of social service, it is more likely to do this through the steady processes of evolution from a cruder to a better capitalism, than through revolution or out of premature decay.

True enough, true enough, capitalism has in fact subordinated the interests of all to the greed of a few, as our socialistic friend says. But that is not capitalism per se. That is not capitalism in and of itself. That is perverted capitalism. I am talking of capitalism unperverted; remember that—unperverted, unperverted.

No, not at all; I don't allude to perversions by individuals. A man may rob a hen roost, thereby diverting one kind of wealth from its owner; or may bribe officials, thereby diverting other kinds of wealth; but all this sort of thing is mere individual rascality. What I am trying to do is to distinguish individual from institutional perversions. I am not thinking of tainted money. I do not allude to any of the perversions of capitalism which the community wouldn't tolerate if the facts were known. These are not the perversions that make capitalism seem like a social ogre. The perversions of capitalism that do make it seem so, and to which I do allude, are the institutional perversions that are maintained by common consent, with full general knowledge of the facts, but in general ignorance of their industrial effects and moral significance.

Were it not for these institutional perversions, Doctor, I really believe that capitalism would produce, in a normal way, through orderly evolutionary processes, under the regulation of the social law of equal freedom operating in conjunction with the individual law of the line of least resistance—I truly believe that in the absence of those

perverting institutions, capitalism would produce a co-operative commonwealth of social service infinitely better than any which the fondest visions of utopian dreamers have ever revealed.

By evolutionary processes, I say; not by conventional contrivances. Conventional contrivances are arbitrarily coercive, and a true co-operative commonwealth must be free of arbitrary coercion. No co-operative commonwealth would be free in which, or over which, there were any who as king, or president, or governor, or committeeman, or legislature or bureaucrat, could coerce beyond the point of preventing each from invading the equal freedom of any other.

The only coercion beyond that would be on the basis of contract, free contract. And what objectionable coercive power could there be, let me ask, if all the parties to every contract were governed in their bargaining only by their own reciprocal desires and the necessity of leaving others in equal freedom? When each bargains freely and upon an equal footing, the resulting coercion must be equal. When the motive of each is the betterment that a free contract gives to both, and not the exercise by either of any power due to institutional advantages in negotiation, arbitrary coercion is almost unthinkable. And this is the distinctive characteristic of capitalism unperverted.

For in the last analysis a capitalistic regime is a regime of contract. As all things in the social service market are capitalized, men deal in them on a basis of value, value being the capitalistic measuring rod of social-service contracts, just as the terms of value are the capitalistic language of the social-service market. The whole affair is contractual, don't you see it is?

And since it is all contractual, don't you also see that our objective in dealing with capitalistic evils should be to secure conditions of contractual freedom? Don't you see that equality of contractual status is the underlying necessity? It is the truth, Doctor; it is the truth. Equal contractual freedom is the secret of beneficence in capitalism; unequal contractual freedom is the secret of such malevolence in capitalism as perverts it.

Let there be true contractual freedom among individuals for the interchange of services, and capitalism will give us a co-operative commonwealth that will grow better as it grows older. Let the present contractual inequalities remain in capitalism, and they will multiply until capitalism develops not into a co-operative common-

wealth but into a plutocratic tyranny inconceivably worse than any tyranny of which we know.

Abolish capitalism! Why that would be to substitute authority for contract. Our socialistic friend? I know he does—he always insists that the abolition of capitalism would promote freedom of contract. But every practical suggestion I have ever read or heard of for abolishing capitalism certainly does involve a more or less complete abolition of contractual methods—absolutely complete so far as large transactions are concerned. Isn't it true, at any rate, that every proposal our friend suggests is either utopian, in the sense of being dreamy and impracticable, or else is so arbitrary that no room for free contract is left?

And so it is with him as to abolishing competition. No, I shan't go into that question again, except to ask you to observe that the choice is not between competition and something better. It is between competition and bureaucratic regulation. Bureaucratic regulation is destructive of free contract; competition is of the essence of free contract.

In his indictments of capitalism, however, as distinguished from his notions of reconstruction, our socialistic friend has no thought of abolishing contract. His complaints against capitalism are all directed not at the element of free contract but at the element of inequality of contractual conditions. In other words, Doctor, when you sweep away our friend's book patter and his "soap box" phrases, and probe his thought, you find that he and I are pretty close together. His complaint is really not against capitalism. That term is only one of his habituals, like "proletariat," "bourgeoisie," "wage-slave," and so on, which are his "he-gods" and his "she-devils." It is not really capitalism, I say, that he condemns. It is the perversions of capitalism.

Be fair enough to him to get at his thought back of his words. Through his flood of socialistic terms you will find that his intellectual guns are really leveled, not at the contractual characteristic of capitalism, but at the conditions of privilege which destroy freedom of contract—destroy it by investing some bargainers with contractual advantages and placing others at contractual disadvantage. And if you follow his earnest thought with sympathetic thought of your own, you will find, as I think I have found, that the capital which he thinks of as monopolistic is not every kind of capital, nor even every kind of large capital, but *natural* capital as distinguished from *artificial* capital.

Yes, I know, he always includes large machinery, which is artificial, of course; but when you get him down to specifications, his monopoly of large machinery always turns out to be, or to depend upon, monopoly of land—except as it may now and then be a patent monopoly, or some other form of governmental privilege which is at bottom analogous to landed privileges.

What we need, Doctor, in order to produce a civilization of social justice, and what I think our friend will yet agree to, is not the abolition of capitalism with its ideal of free competition and free contract, but the abolition or readjustment of institutions which pervert capitalism.

Only the other day I was talking with him about his program. It was during a political campaign. He said he really had no program except to raise the working class to political power. "How can I foretell," he asked, "what the working class will do when it gets into power?" Of course, I agreed that he couldn't foretell at all. Indeed, I agreed with him further. I agreed that the working class ought to be in power—meaning by working class, you understand, not a personal class composed of particular grades of workers, but those impersonal industrial interests of all degrees that may be distinguished in the mass as working interests in opposition to privileged interests. But I told him that the working interest cannot get into power as long as the planet is monopolized. "Let me have monopoly of the planet," I said to him, "and single handed I'll keep the great army of labor out of political power till the crack of doom." And I reckon I could, don't you?

To return, however, to what we were saying. Something very different from the abolition of capitalism, with its ideal of free contract, is needed to establish social justice. What is needed is the abolition, or readjustment, of institutions that pervert capitalism. Let me follow that thought a little further. We should not abolish contract, which is the essential characteristic of capitalism; on the contrary, we should make contract free by removing obstacles and securing equality of contractual opportunities. In other words, we should release capitalism from the institutional ligaments that prevent its normal operation.

Quite likely you are right. The method or methods by which that would have to be done would be socialistic. I don't see how it could be done by leaving things alone. Society in its organized form—government if you please—would have to act; and it would have to act co-operatively, as the organized agent of unorganized society. A true saying was that of William J. Bryan in one

of his non-partisan speeches in 1908—that government exhibits two influences, the coercive and the co-operative, and that the coercive declines and the co-operative advances with the advance of the common intelligence. I suppose that that is socialism in a sense. So is what I should propose for the redemption of capitalism from its institutional perversions. It is socialism in a sense.

Understand me, however, that I would not try to appropriate the name. "Socialism" is a word that has obtained currency with different meanings from mine in some respects. But neither would I shrink from acknowledging it, for it has a significance which no other word serves to express. Isn't there a tendency in human affairs which is best described as socialistic? It seems to me to be a reaction from the individualistic tendency, due I think to the fact that the two tendencies are natural and correlative, and that each, under the influence of the other, is by action and reaction seeking equilibrium. If, however, what I am aiming at is socialism, then I must call it *natural* socialism to distinguish it from the arbitrary or conventional or *artificial* forms of socialism that are often proposed.

Arbitrary socialists would abolish capitalism by means of conventional or artificial reorganizations of social service. They would thereby do away with the contractual mode of social service, and substitute regulations by government, or bureau, or guild.

But natural socialism would retain and perfect freedom of contract by divesting capitalism of its perversions. Capitalism divested of its perversions would be natural socialism.

How is the thing to be done? By recourse to the social service law of equal freedom.

And that? By securing equality of contractual conditions for all.

And that? By practically—no, not virtually, but in actual practice—distinguishing in the social service market the two essentially different kinds of capitalism. Yes, I refer to natural and artificial capital—they must be distinguished according to their essential differences. What I mean is that equality of contractual conditions are to be secured by some practical distinction, with reference to capitalistic rights of property. We must distinguish between capitalized artificial instruments of production, and capitalized natural instruments of production, between artificial capital and natural capital.

How would that secure equality of contractual opportunity? In the same way in principle that the analogous distinction would have done so un-

der feudalism. If the land—the planet, you know—had been treated in feudal times as the sacred inheritance of all, and its products as the sacred property of the producers and their contractual representatives, there would have been basic equality of contractual opportunity. Social servitors would have interchanged their individual services in such freedom as to have produced approximately the ideal of service for service. Feudal landlordism would then have been a social blessing instead of the social curse it was.

In those circumstances the people themselves would have been the real landlords, and the nominal landlords simply social trustees; and wouldn't freedom of contract have had opportunity then for full swing? Of course there might still have been arbitrary interferences with interchanges of service, and these would have been deadly if largely tolerated. But with the basic freedom established, which is freedom of access to the natural sources and sites of service, the advantage of position would have been with the people. Who would have been a cringing serf, yielding to arbitrary interference, where none were landless? What producer could have been coerced contractually where landed opportunities were equal? Men would have bargained in freedom and upon an equality even in feudal times, if the land had been for all. Nothing short of personal enslavement, direct physical coercion, could then have made any man say "lord" or "master" to any other; and that coercion would have been exceedingly difficult to impose had rights to land been equal.

Precisely so in principle, Doctor, in these post-feudal times, when modern capitalism has grown up out of feudal landlordism. Were we to treat capitalized land as the sacred inheritance of all, and its capitalized products as the sacred property of the producers and their contractual representatives, equality of contractual opportunity would forthwith appear, and capitalism would be a blessing instead of the curse it is. The people themselves, all together and in common, would then be the *land-capitalists*; while each for himself would be a *machine-capitalist*, either alone or in voluntary co-operation with others.

If you would slightly realize the importance of making land-capital a common inheritance—*natural* capital as we have called it in contradistinction to machine-capital, or *artificial* capital as we have called that,—if you would but faintly realize the importance of this change, my dear Doctor, just look up the statistics of land capitalization as

opposed to the capitalization of what is strictly capital. Look up the capitalization, that is, of the natural instruments of capitalistic production, and compare it with the capitalization of the artificial instruments. The data is exceedingly defective to be sure; but its defects are against me, not for me. Full and accurate data would show the aggregate of land values to be much more in excess of machine values than the defective statistics do. But defective as they are, the statistics of land capitalization are monumental as compared with the other kind of capitalization, if you look a little below the superficial figures.

Contrast, for instance, the values of city, town and village sites with the values of the improvements. In Greater New York it isn't far from three to one. Contrast the value of railroad rights of way, especially terminals, with the value of tracks and rolling stock. Contrast the value of mineral deposits with the value of mining machinery. Contrast the value of all the farming sites of any community or all communities, whether the sites are cultivated or not, with farm improvements. Why, Doctor, the capitalization of the natural instruments of production is enormously greater than the capitalization of artificial instruments.

And then think of another thing. The artificial instruments are wearing out. Each particular one of them is of less value every year than it was the year before. All of them together, aside from repairs and replacement, are worth less as a whole at any time than at almost any time theretofore. Not so with the natural instruments. Although the soil of farm sites wears out, and the deposits of mining sites give out, and sites of all kinds here and there depreciate in value in consequence of shifting population, this is not so of most sites nor of all sites together. Sites as a capitalized whole, the land, the planet, this great natural instrument of production, upon which we depend for all other instruments, this *natural* capital, is worth more and not less from generation to generation. So that when the artificial instruments of any generation, the *artificial* capital which comes to that generation from the preceding generation, when this has all gone or almost all gone back to the land whence it came, and is of no more use and no more value, *natural* capital is more valuable than before and is capitalized higher than ever. It is the same old earth, the same revolving planet, with no extension of area and no addition of substance; but its capitalization has risen, and in consequence those who wish to exchange service for service must yield a larger

service than ever to the owners of this natural capital.

Observe further, Doctor, that co-operative labor, the aggregate labor energy of the social service market, not only could but actually does, day by day and year by year and generation by generation, replace and improve and add to the artificial instruments of production, but that it cannot add to the area or the substance of the planet. It can increase the supply of *artificial* capital by production; it cannot increase the supply of *natural* capital by creation.

Don't you think, Doctor, that if the planet, from which all these artificial instruments of social service must come if they come at all, and upon which they have to be utilized if utilized at all,—don't you think that if the capitalization of this planet were treated as a mass of common values, as *natural capital* which is fairly the inheritance and property of all, that an era of free bargaining would result, in consequence of which the capitalization of products, including *artificial capital*, would be distributed in pretty fair proportion to useful service?

Don't you think that under these circumstances those who served best would get most? that those who served least would get least? that those who didn't serve at all would get nothing? and yet that even those who got most would nevertheless have no coercive powers over even those who got nothing?

What would become of those who didn't serve? Why, that would depend. They might get charity for humanity's sake, though they refused to pay their way with service. They might get gifts for friendship's sake; or support from over-fond mothers or wives; or loving family care, or just and liberal communal care, if they were really helpless to serve. But they would get nothing as matter of contractual right. The worthy would not suffer. As for the unworthy—well, we could then say to them what it is now a mockery to say to idle men: "Go to work!" For in those circumstances, Doctor, there would always and everywhere be more profitable work to do than men to do it.

Don't you see it all, Doctor? Well, if you do see it in theory, let us pass on to the practical. If you grasp the principle, let's get down to the concrete.

By what practical method may we distinguish natural capital from artificial capital, so as to secure under capitalism, in common to all as social units, the benefits of natural capital, and to each individual in proportion to his service the benefits

of artificial capital? In other words, Doctor, how shall we in practice divest capitalism of its perversions, how establish natural socialism without artificial socialism, how apply in practice to capitalism the social service law of equal freedom?

Yes, it's too late to go into that here; but come along with me to my house and we'll finish our talk as we go.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

BRITISH SUFFRAGETTES.

London, England, November 15, 1908.—Your Editorial Correspondence of Sept. 4th (p. 535) deals somewhat erroneously with "the two households" of the suffragettes. The Women's Freedom League (which, by the way, does not interrupt at meetings, but merely asks questions at the end of speeches) is not an association of "socialistic suffragettes;" it is not the case that the Freedom League stands "for the most part for unlimited adult suffrage," nor is it true that "the immediate cause of the break seems to have been the urgency of a faction to bring the Union into co-operation with the Independent Labor Party." The object of the Women's Freedom League is to secure the Parliamentary vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. A letter to the Labor Leader published Sept. 27, 1907, clearly states the League's independence of all political parties, as follows: "In your leading article you say: 'We do not trust Liberal and Tory women politicians.' May we say that we do not trust Liberal, Tory or Labor men politicians! Our reason for including Labor men is that we note, for instance, that the equalization of the laws with respect to marriage, divorce, illegitimacy, guardianship of children, intestacy and inheritance, all of which press unfairly on women, does not find a place on the programme of the I. L. P., and her political enfranchisement is only placed at the bottom of the said programme. Women will be unwise to trust to any political party until these things are given a just place and appear in the King's speech." This was signed, among others, by Mrs. Billington Greig, Hon. Organizer, by Mrs. Despard and by Mrs. How Martyn. The cleavage was caused by Mrs. Pankhurst, who on Sept. 10th of last year, within a few weeks of the annual conference, declared: (a) that the annual conference of delegates from the branches would not be held; (b) that the terms of membership and the title of the society would be, from henceforth, added to; (c) that the existing committee should be that day altered; and that the newly appointed committee should sit permanently until women got the Parliamentary vote; (d) that from thenceforth the affiliated branches were disbanded and must constitute themselves into local autonomous unions, without electoral rights as to the constitution of the National Women's Social and Political Union, or as to its executive or officers. Full details of the course of action adopted by those who opposed this autocracy on the part of an organization which, while demanding votes for women "in the

bush," rejected votes for women "in the hand," may be found in the verbatim report of the second annual conference of the Women's Social and Political Union, held Oct. 12, 1907, published (price 4 pence) by the Women's Freedom League (as the constitutional and democratic section was called after a referendum of all the branches), 1 Robert street, Adelphi, London, W. C.

KATHARINE MANSON.

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A BOSTON ECCENTRICITY.

Boston, Mass., November 29, 1908. — "When I was a freshman at Harvard," said a Minneapolis lawyer to me some weeks ago, "it happened that I was invited to a Thanksgiving dinner by a classmate from the Back Bay section of Boston. After the coffee my Beacon street host escorted me to his den on the third floor, where we indulged in the luxury of a smoke. The cigars were above reproach, but even as a raw Westerner, I was a little surprised to notice that my accomplished classmate spat with a good deal of accuracy into the open fire. Perhaps I was not sophisticated enough to hide my feelings; at any rate, after the fourth or fifth illustration of his dexterity, my host remarked: 'I am taking the liberty of spitting into the grate. But don't you dare to imitate me. What in me is a mere eccentricity of a Bostonian would in you be the vulgarity of a Westerner.'"

I was reminded of this story in reading Charles Francis Adams's letter to Congressman McCall on the subject of our American tariff. He divides protectionists bluntly into two categories—thieves and hogs—and proclaims that he belongs to the former class. How our Bostonian friend would have been shocked had Bryan used this language! The vulgarity of the Westerner would have been revealed. But coming from Mr. Adams, in whose family bluntness is hereditary, the expression is merely the eccentricity of a Bostonian.

BRYANITE.

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, December 1, 1908.

Russian Extradition.

A large mass meeting was held at Chicago on the 29th to protest against extradition to Russia for political offenses under cover of accusations of crime. Two Russian revolutionists are now in the custody of the Federal government upon these accusations—one at New York and the other at Chicago. The Chicago meeting was presided over by ex-Mayor Dunne, who spoke in behalf of continu-

ing to treat the United States as an asylum for political refugees. The other speakers were A. M. Simons and Raymond Robins. Letters were read from Louis F. Post and the Rev. Peter J. O'Callaghan, who were unable to attend in person. The meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Political Refugee Defense League, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, The right of asylum for political refugees from all countries is one of the proudest traditions of this nation, itself born of revolution; and

Whereas, The Russian government, after having conquered the revolution at home, is now making an effort to reach its political enemies who have found refuge in this country, and seeks to compel our government to surrender two political refugees, Jan Pouden and Christian Rudovitz, by virtue of the Russian-American treaty for the extradition of criminals; and

Whereas, Our judicial procedure is not adapted to dealing with political offenses which are unknown to our theory of law, built as it is upon the ideas of political freedom and the sovereignty of the people, and because it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any refugee to prove by evidence, competent in a court in this country, the political character of an offense committed thousands of miles away; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the citizens of Chicago, at the Seventh Regiment armory, on the 29th day of November, 1908, in mass meeting assembled, that the right of asylum for political offenders which has been the policy of this government from time immemorial, be religiously preserved, and that the tribunals of this country should exercise the greatest care in passing upon all cases of extradition, and only grant the writ of extradition when they are satisfied that the alleged crime is wholly of a non-political nature.

It was ordered that copies of the resolutions be sent to the President, the President-elect, the State Department, and to both Senators and all the Representatives in Congress from Illinois.

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The Emperor Franz Josef Relinquishing the Reins.

Franz Josef, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, now seventy-eight years old, celebrates this week the sixtieth anniversary of his accession to the throne of Austria (p. 276). Enfeebled with advancing years, the reins of government have been slipping from the old Emperor's able hands, and for months his nephew, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, son of his deceased brother, Karl Ludwig, is said to have been the practical ruler of the dual monarchy. Had the conservative, tactful, peace-loving Franz Josef been still in the saddle it is not believed that Austria would have taken advantage of the late constitutional revolution in Turkey to claim the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina which she was administering under the treaty of Berlin (pp. 708, 758). And had he not had still the appearance of being in control it is likely that these aggressions would

have met with greater opposition, both from his subjects and from the rest of Europe. At the jubilee celebrations his purely administrative relation to the government in the future, is to be announced. In all but official title the heir apparent will hereafter act as regent.

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Regulation of Railroad Rates.

The jurisdiction of Federal courts over State regulation of railroad rates (vol. x, pp. 1020, 1227, 1231; vol. xi, p. 613) was passed upon on the 30th by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Virginia commission had made an order fixing two cents a mile as the fare for railroad transportation within that State. Thereupon the Virginia railroads procured an injunction from the Circuit Court of the United States in Virginia. The commission objected to the jurisdiction of this court, and were overruled by the court itself. Then the question of jurisdiction came before the Supreme Court of the United States, which, in its decision of the 30th, held that the highest court of Virginia must sustain the action of the commission before the Federal courts can acquire jurisdiction.

NEWS NOTES

—The Atlantic-Pacific fleet of sixteen warships (p. 782) left Manila on the 1st for Colombo, Ceylon—the beginning of their long voyage home.

—The Shah of Persia is said to have repented of his revocation of the Persian constitution (p. 831), and to have had his revocation proclamations torn down and destroyed.

—President Castro of Venezuela (p. 542) sailed for France on the 25th for the purpose of going to Berlin to submit to a surgical operation. Vice-President Vicente Gomez will be acting President during his absence.

—Jacob Bellhart, founder and leader of the fruit of the spirit movement, a religio-communist ideal, who was grossly misrepresented three or four years ago by the sensational newspapers of Chicago, died on the 24th.

—At the parliamentary elections in New Zealand (p. 560), on the 17th, George Fowlds, the Minister of Education and leading single taxer of that country (vol. ix, p. 1153), was re-elected to his seat in Parliament by an increased majority of over 800.

—The revolt reported last week from Haiti (p. 831), has assumed formidable proportions. The revolutionists under General Simon seem to be winning in their encounters with the government's troops under the orders of the old president, General Nord Alexis.

—The liquor-licensing measure adopted by the British House of Commons (pp. 444, 561, 712), was defeated on the 27th in the House of Lords by a vote of 272 to 96. This measure is understood to have

the support of the temperance element and to be opposed by the large liquor interests.

—By a gas explosion in the Marianna mines of the Pittsburg-Buffalo Coal Company, forty miles from Pittsburg, on the 28th, at least 135 miners lost their lives. All modern inventions and improvements had been used in laying out and safeguarding the mines, and the disaster is regarded as discouraging as well as deplorable. The opening of a gas pocket, or gas leakage into the mines, are the theories advanced.

—Count Andrassy's curious suffrage bill now before the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies (p. 802), was the subject of protest at an indignation meeting held by more than 1,500 Slovaks of Chicago on the 29th. Resolutions denouncing provisions of the bill that would give to one individual of the privileged class three votes and to ten poor workingmen together only one vote, were passed. They will be forwarded to the Hungarian parliament.

—Three serious marine disasters have been reported during the past week. The British steamship Sardinia burned in the harbor of Malta on the 25th; more than one hundred persons, very many of them Arab pilgrims, lost their lives. An American passenger steamer, the Finance, collided with a freighter in a fog off Sandy Hook on the 26th, and went down in ten minutes. Owing to the expedition with which the small boats of the two steamers were handled only four lives were lost. By the wreck on the 26th of the Japanese steamer Ponting, carrying laborers in Philippine waters, about a hundred lives were lost.

—The Anti-Imperialist League (p. 392) held its tenth annual meeting (vol. x, p. 1019) in Boston on the 30th. The followings officers were elected: President, Moorfield Storey; treasurer, David Greene Haskins, Jr.; secretary, Erving Winslow; an executive committee of fourteen, and vice-presidents from every State in the Union, including Dean Henry Wade Rogers, General Nelson A. Miles, Miss Jane Addams, Professor Frederick Starr, Professor William James, Andrew Carnegie, Samuel L. Clemens, the Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, Bishop W. N. McVickar, Professor Jacques Loeb, and W. D. Howells. Appeals for immediate independence were read from Senor Osmena, Speaker of the Philippine Assembly, and Senor Ocampo, resident commissioner of the Philippines.

—Knowledge of the consummation of an agreement between Japan and the United States, amounting virtually to a working treaty, but not permanently binding on either country, has become public during the past week. The agreement lies in an exchange of notes by the foreign departments of the respective nations, and will receive no further ratifications. The points agreed upon, according to the Chicago Tribune, are the following: "Encouragement and free development of commerce. Aggressive designs disclaimed. Integrity of each government's territorial possessions. Independence and integrity of China guaranteed. Equal rights of all nations in Chinese trade to be respected. Immediate co-operation toward preserving status quo when events threaten trouble."

PRESS OPINIONS

Tom L. Johnson.

The Kansas Commoner (ind.), Nov. 26.—Evidently Tom Johnson belongs to the class of officials who serve the people first and themselves last. The men who will give up luxury and fortune for the sake of an ideal which has for its object the betterment of the people are few.

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Iowa (Marshalltown) Times-Republican (Rep.), Nov. 27.—Taken all around Tom Johnson, always a big man, is bigger than even his admirers believed. He is bigger than the millions he lost, happier than his former fellow townsman who owns the greatest fortune in the United States and needs it in order to compel respect. It isn't a bad thing that Tom Johnson lost his money. His example is worth more than the fortunes of all the millionaires as an incentive to young men.

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The (St. Paul) Minnesota Union Advocate (Labor), Nov. 27.—If we talk about success, we know that he has sought the only real success—to work in the right direction. Tom Johnson in a palace, battling for the rights of the people, was a potential force that had to be reckoned with in all local calculations. Tom Johnson in a cottage, impelled by the same ideals and the same purposes, and having made immense personal sacrifices to secure what he was struggling for, is an unarmed giant, all the more powerful because of his plight, and winning all hearts to his cause on account of the personal sacrifices he has made to advance it.

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The (Portland) Daily Oregonian (Ind.), Nov. 26.—The advisability of neglecting personal interest for public is doubtless open to some serious question, yet individual riches are not the ne plus ultra of life. Tom Johnson has lost his fortune and yet he has built one. Thrice has he been honored by the highest position of public trust in the gift of the people among whom he labored; and to-day, though poor in purse, his manly qualities, his devotion to their interests, his resoluteness of purpose, are enshrined in their hearts upon tablets of indestructible material. When a man performs his duty, he has done about everything which can be asked or expected of him. This Tom Johnson did, even though it cost him his fortune, and while he may have considerably less of this world's goods than another distinguished Cleveland citizen who has just left the witness stand in New York city, in the Standard Oil case, we doubt not that in the final equation he will far outweigh him in all the things which go toward making this world a good place to live in.

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Emporia (Kan.) Weekly Gazette (Rep.), Nov. 26.—There is no reason why any American citizen who likes to see a man succeed should waste any time bemoaning the fact that Tom Johnson of Cleveland has

lost his money. For his money is a small part of Tom Johnson. He is bald-headed, but no one is crying about the loss of his hair. It is his heart and his brains that make his capital—not his money and his hair. He is a full-grown, able-bodied, quick-brained man, and his money has never helped him to anything useful in the world, that he might not have accomplished just as well without money. When a man starts in to help humanity, to be a real man made in the image of his Creator, money isn't of much consequence. So what if Tom Johnson has lost his money. He is not much worse off. He can fight just as well without it. He can help his fellows and enjoy life, and fill his place in God's universe just as well as a poor man as a rich man—better, perhaps. For there are always compensations, and as a poor man it will not be said that he is working for his own pocketbook. Tom Johnson is one of the big men of this nation, and money never added an inch to his stature, and the loss of money can not take an inch from it.

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New Haven (Conn.) Union (Dem.), Nov. 24.—Two citizens of Cleveland made statements the other day that undoubtedly attracted wide public attention. One man spoke of the battle he had waged in the people's interests for years and of the fortune he had lost in that struggle. The other told of the campaign he had directed for years against the people's interests and of the fortune he had gained in that fight. One man had dedicated the best years of his life to a high ideal and the public's common good. He lost his worldly all. The other man consecrated his life to a low, vulgar ideal and never for an instant has lost sight of his own selfish ends. Fortune has lavished upon him her largest material rewards. One man is Tom L. Johnson; the other, John D. Rockefeller. Some day the ignorant and the venal people of Cleveland may come to appreciate these men at their true worth. Then a monument will be erected to one of them, and when the stately memorial is unveiled the name that will be read is that of Tom L. Johnson. . . . His failure has at least served one useful end. It has completely silenced those who accused him of playing the reform game for the benefit of his own purse. Even in the three-cent fare experiment it was broadly intimated that he was endeavoring to wreck the street railway system of Cleveland as a means to its practical absorption for his own financial advantage. Yet any one who had taken the least trouble to inform himself would have seen how utterly unfounded and contemptible was such an assertion. Some day the people will awake to the real significance of the battles men like Tom L. Johnson and William J. Bryan have been waging in their behalf, or else they will awake to find themselves in a bondage far worse than penal servitude.

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The Right of Asylum.

The (New York) Nation (ind.), Nov. 26.—Since the beginning of Russian emigration to this country thirty years ago, some two million subjects of the Romanoffs have landed in this country. Among them there must have been hundreds, at least, who were fugitives from justice. Yet Russia was content to

let us enjoy her brigands, forgers, horse thieves and assassins in undisturbed peace, until their ranks began to be swelled by members of a new criminal class who call themselves revolutionists. Only then did the Czar's government recollect that a treaty of extradition gave it the right to demand the surrender of runaway "criminals." . . . If the world at large has been led to think that several hundred executions a week were enough to keep Russian justice reasonably employed, it was mistaken. Appetite notoriously grows by feeding, and the Russian government, having established the reign of law within its borders, by means of drumhead courts, military courts, states of major siege, states of minor siege, states of extraordinary security, and states of merely reinforced security, is evidently sighing for new worlds to conquer. The true object of the present campaign of extradition is not hard to guess. The Russian authorities wish to create the impression that America can no longer be looked to as asylum for enemies of the established order.

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The New Jersey Labor Riot.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (ind. Dem.), Nov. 27.—Those foreigners at Perth Amboy, Keasbey and other New Jersey towns who have gone on strike because pre-election promises of a wage advance in the event of Taft's success have not been kept are too literal. . . . They expect too much. They "vote for their jobs" as a matter of course. They understand that this is always the thing to do. They also understand that it is the Republican party which is the special providence that furnishes the jobs. Hence they vote with great enthusiasm and in credulous faith for the party of great moral ideas. But why should they insist on like good faith from their employers? Why should they insist on getting promised increases in wages? Can't they let well enough alone? Haven't they reward enough in that they have jobs at all at any old wages? Do they forget their employers have soldiers at their beck and call to shoot them down if they get funny and insist on getting more pay according to ante-election pledges? The Taft majority in New Jersey was a glorious one. It revealed the power of the manufacturers in handling their men and inducing them to vote right. But it is somewhat disturbing to find the men so undisciplined and so unreasonable as to insist on the delivery of the goods that bought their support. The event is calculated to arouse derisive comments among the unregenerate and it is bound in a certain degree to embarrass Mr. Taft and the eminent statesmen who are engaged in the praiseworthy task of appeasing the ravenous appetite of the tariff grafter. Men have no right to kick up a row about 15 cents a day in pay when in doing so they bring reproach upon the elect.

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Bryan and The Labor Vote.

The Commoner (Dem.), Nov. 20.—While an adverse vote in a city containing a large labor element might be accepted as prima facie evidence that the laboring men did not support the ticket, a closer inspection of the returns might show that the labor

vote was actually cast for the ticket, but that losses in other parts of the city overcame the gain. Mr. Gompers and those closely associated with him as labor leaders must be credited with sincere, earnest and effective support of the Democratic ticket. Their arguments may not have convinced as large a percentage of the vote of organized labor as was expected—upon this subject the statistics are not yet obtainable—but it must be remembered that under present conditions it is necessary to do more than convince. A great many people were convinced that the Democratic position was the correct one, and yet were afraid to follow their convictions. The Republican leaders confessed this themselves when they began to appeal to the fears of the employes. Many cases have been brought to our attention where employers warned their employes not to vote the Democratic ticket under threat of reduction in wages. At Newark, Ohio, Mr. Bryan called attention to such speeches made by representatives of the New York Central railroad. There were cases where the support of the ticket in labor precincts perceptibly diminished when these threats were applied. It is easy enough to say that a laboring man ought to stand by his convictions and vote as he believes, regardless of threats, and yet human nature must always be considered in passing judgment upon human beings. After forty-eight years of almost continuous Republican rule, the wage earners are living so near to the hunger-line that a few weeks' loss of employment brings the family face to face with want. The election comes in November—just at the beginning of winter, with fuel to buy, house rent to pay and warmer clothes to provide for the children. The laboring man is under a constant duress. A laboring man who has but little, if anything, laid up for the future, must have a strong heart to defy the expressed wish of his employer and cast his ballot for something which he believes to be permanently good, at the risk of passing through a period of idleness before that good can be secured. Four months elapse between the election and the inauguration—four cold months. Be not too harsh in judging the man who bends to the lash and surrenders his citizenship when his conscience tells him that he should resist injustice and vote for better conditions. Be not too harsh in judgment—even in the holiest wars there are deserters; even when free government is at stake, many have turned back rather than endure the hardships and privations called for by the struggle. Let us rather be thankful that there were as many heroes among the laboring men as there were—even if there were not enough.

It must be remembered, too, that not all labor is organized, and the leaders of organized labor are not in touch with unorganized labor. . . . It is also true—let it be admitted with a blush—that there are those so prejudiced against the laboring men as to be alienated from the Democratic party by the very fact that our platform contained labor planks. . . . Then, too, it must not be overlooked that a large percentage of the population seems to be entirely indifferent to the laboring man's condition and to his demand for remedial legislation. The merchants, while they may not sympathize with the hostile attitude of some of the large employers, are not brought into sympathetic connection with the employes engaged in wealth production. The clerks in the

stores do not count themselves in the same class with the laboring men; they do not regard their interests as identified with those of the toilers. The farm laborers also regard themselves as in a different class and they labor under conditions quite dissimilar from those which surround the factory worker or the miner. The farm laborer is employed by an individual rather than by a corporation. His personal acquaintance with his employer protects him from the injustice to which the employe of the corporation is subjected. The farmers do not as a rule understand the labor situation. Their business does not bring them into contact with the industrial life of the city, and the relation between themselves and their employes, instead of informing them on industrial conditions, is apt to give them a wrong impression as to the city laborer..

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The Explanation of Poverty.

Pittsburg (Pa.) Leader (ind.), Nov. 22.—Improvidence of the individual is the cause of much poverty, but surely this is not such an improvident people that 80 per cent lead a hand to mouth existence continuously? There are among them those who would save if they could. The truth is that they are victims of social conditions under which they must work for the enrichment of others and are denied the opportunity to do for themselves. The land whose farm products alone reaches the value of eight billions a year produces more than enough for all. It is intended that it should sustain all, but as it is in the possession of the few, the many who must live off its products are under tribute to those few.

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Abuse of the Principle of Patents.

Machinery (trade), Nov.—Some time ago an infringement suit was brought by an Eastern company against another firm manufacturing a like product, in which the court had to decide the question: Can a manufacturer buy a patent, never make use of it, and still sue for infringement? The decision, as rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States, was to the effect that the owner of a patent, after having bought it, has an absolute property right in it whether he uses it or not, and has a right to withhold from the public the benefits derived from the invention. This decision, no doubt, conforms with our present patent laws, but it is safe to say that laws so enacted and interpreted do not carry out the original purpose of patent protection, which was simply to insure to the inventor the right of deriving full benefit from the invention, by exclusive privilege to use or manufacture for a certain number of years, and by no means included the right to prevent others from deriving a benefit from something which he did not care to use himself. The present patent law appears to operate merely to restrain others from making and using for a limited period a certain device covered by a patent, whereas it is clear that patent laws were originally framed with an entirely different conception of the rights of the inventor. The question of patent right has an entirely different aspect whether we examine it from the point of view of exclusive right to make or use for a number of years, or of a right not to use it but at the same

time prevent the whole world from using and deriving benefits from the invention as well. The inventor is given a monopoly by patent with the idea of encouraging him to expend energy and capital in its perfection, and to benefit the public by his invention, he himself being assured a reasonable profit for a reasonable number of years. The idea of permitting an absolute monopoly of a patent, even when the patentee or owner of the patent refuses to make any use of it whatsoever, is very similar to our harmful and vicious policy of legalizing monopolies in natural resources with the result of benefiting a few who render no service to the community at the expense of the community itself. From a moral point of view there can be no exclusive right to a patent, except it be used, any more than there can be exclusive right to the bounties of nature, except they be put to their best use, so that they benefit the community at large.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

SONNET ON HIS BLINDNESS.

By John Milton.

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John Milton Having Been Born on December 9, 1608,
the Tercentenary of His Birth Will be Celebrated
Next Week. He Was Born in London, and Died in the Same
City, November 8, 1674.

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When I consider how my light is spent,
Ere half my days in this dark world and wide;
And that one talent which is death to hide
Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest he, returning, chide;
"Doth God exact day-labor, light denied?"
I fondly ask: but Patience, to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, "God doth not need
Either man's work, or his own gift; who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best; his state
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait."

+ + +

MILTON ON THE NEED OF A FREE PRESS.

From the "Areopagitica"—A Speech for the Liberty
of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament
of England, 1644.

This is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth; that let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost

bound of civil liberty obtained that wise men look for.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on: but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the god Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, lords and commons, nor ever shall do, till her Master's second coming; he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do, our obsequies to the torn body of our martyred saint.

Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. . . . A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join and unite into one general and brotherly search after truth; could we but forego this prelatial tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men.

If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own wild and free and humane government; it is the liberty, lords and commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us; liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarified and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above ourselves. . . . Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties. . . .

And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. . . . For who knows not that Truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defenses that error uses against her power; give her but room, and do not

bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spoke oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjoined into her own likeness.

Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes than one. . . .

In the meanwhile, if anyone would write, and bring his helpful hand to the slow-moving reformation which we labor under, if Truth have spoken to him before others, or but seemed at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking license to do so worthy a deed? and not consider this, that if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than Truth itself: whose first appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unpalatable than many errors.

* * *

MILTON'S MESSAGE OF LIBERTY.

From Macaulay's Essay on Milton, First Published in the Edinburgh Review for August, 1825.

If ever despondency and asperity could be excused in any man, they might have been excused in Milton. But the strength of his mind overcame every calamity. Neither blindness, nor gout, nor age, nor penury, nor domestic afflictions, nor political disappointments, nor abuse, nor proscription, nor neglect, had power to disturb his sedate and majestic patience. His spirits do not seem to have been high, but they were singularly equable. His temper was serious, perhaps stern; but it was a temper which no sufferings could render sullen or fretful. Such as it was when, on the eve of great events, he returned from his travels, in the prime of health and manly beauty, loaded with literary distinctions, and glowing with patriotic hopes, such it continued to be when, after having experienced every calamity which is incident to our nature, old, poor, sightless and disgraced, he retired to his hovel to die. . . .

His public conduct was such as was to be expected from a man of a spirit so high and of an intellect so powerful. He lived at one of the most memorable eras in the history of mankind, at the very crisis of the great conflict between Oromasdes and Arimanes, liberty and despotism, reason and prejudice. That great battle was fought for no single generation, for no single land. The destinies of the human race were staked on the same cast with the freedom of the English people. Then were first proclaimed those mighty principles which have since worked their way into the depths of the American forests, which have roused Greece from the slavery and degradation of two thousand

years, and which, from one end of Europe to the other, have kindled an unquenchable fire in the hearts of the oppressed, and loosed the knees of the oppressors with an unwonted fear. . . .

We deplore the outrages which accompany revolutions. But the more violent the outrages, the more assured we feel that a revolution was necessary. The violence of those outrages will always be proportioned to the ferocity and ignorance of the people; and the ferocity and ignorance of the people will be proportioned to the oppression and degradation under which they have been accustomed to live. Thus it was in our civil war. The heads of the church and state reaped only that which they had sown. . . . If they were assailed with blind fury, it was because they had exacted an equally blind submission.

It is the character of such revolutions that we always see the worst of them at first. Till men have been some time free, they know not how to use their freedom. . . . The final and permanent fruits of liberty are wisdom, moderation, and mercy. Its immediate effects are often atrocious crimes, conflicting errors, skepticism on points the most clear, dogmatism on points the most mysterious. It is just at this crisis that its enemies love to exhibit it. They pull down the scaffolding from the half-finished edifice: they point to the flying dust, the falling bricks, the comfortless rooms, the frightful irregularity of the whole appearance; and then ask in scorn where the promised splendor and comfort is to be found. If such miserable sophisms were to prevail there would never be a good house or a good government in the world. . . .

There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces; and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell he cannot bear the light of day: he is unable to discriminate colors, or recognize faces. But the remedy is not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinions subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend, and begin to coalesce. And at length a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos.

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever.

Therefore it is that we decidedly approve of the

conduct of Milton and the other wise and good men who, in spite of much that was ridiculous and hateful in the conduct of their associates, stood firmly by the cause of Public Liberty. . . .

The glory of the battle which he fought for the species of freedom which is the most valuable, and which was then the least understood, the freedom of the human mind, is all his own. Thousands and tens of thousands among his contemporaries raised their voices against Ship-money and the Star-chamber. But there were few indeed who discerned the more fearful evils of moral and intellectual slavery, and the benefits which would result from the liberty of the press and the unfettered exercise of private judgment. These were the objects which Milton justly conceived to be the most important. He was desirous that the people should think for themselves as well as tax themselves, and should be emancipated from the dominion of prejudice as well as from that of Charles. . . .

To this all his public conduct was directed. For this he joined the Presbyterians; for this he forsook them. He fought their perilous battle; but he turned away with disdain from their insolent triumph. He saw that they, like those whom they had vanquished, were hostile to the liberty of thought. He therefore joined the Independents, and called upon Cromwell to break the secular chain, and to save free conscience from the paw of the Presbyterian wolf. With a view to the same great object, he attacked the licensing system; in that sublime treatise* which every statesman should wear as a sign upon his hand and as frontlets between his eyes. His attacks were, in general, directed less against particular abuses than against those deeply-seated errors on which almost all abuses are founded, the servile worship of eminent men and the irrational dread of innovation.

That he might shake the foundations of these debasing sentiments more effectually, he always selected for himself the boldest literary services. He never came up in the rear when the outworks had been carried and the breach entered. He pressed into the forlorn hope. . . .

We are not much in the habit of idolizing either the living or the dead. And we think that there is no more certain indication of a weak and ill-regulated intellect than that propensity which, for want of a better name, we will venture to christen Boswellism. But there are a few characters which have stood the closest scrutiny and the severest tests, which have been tried in the furnace and have proved pure, which have been weighed in the balance and have not been found wanting, which have been declared sterling by the general consent of mankind, and which are visibly stamped with the image and superscription of the Most High. These great men we trust that we

*The *Areopagitica*, extracts from which will be found in another column of this Public.

know how to prize; and of these was Milton. The sight of his books, the sound of his name, are pleasant to us. His thoughts resemble those celestial fruits and flower which the Virgin Martyr of Massinger sent down from the gardens of Paradise to the earth, and which were distinguished from the productions of other soils, not only by superior bloom and sweetness, but by miraculous efficacy to invigorate and to heal. They are powerful, not only to delight, but to elevate and purify. Nor do we envy the man who can study either the life or the writings of the great poet and patriot, without aspiring to emulate, not indeed the sublime works with which his genius has enriched our literature, but the zeal with which he labored for the public good, the fortitude with which he endured every private calamity, the lofty disdain with which he looked down on temptations and dangers, the deadly hatred which he bore to bigots and tyrants, and the faith which he so sternly kept with his country and with his fame.

* * *

RAILROADS THE SERVANTS OF SOCIETY.

Charles Erskine Scott Wood at a Banquet Given by the Portland (Ore.) Chamber of Commerce to James J. Hill and Other Railway Officials—As Reported in the Oregon Daily Journal of November 10.

I know a virgin wilderness in central Oregon—where, Mr. Hill, you can hide from him who wandereth up and down the earth seeking whom he may devour. Where the railroad magnate is as good as the cowboy; and there in a soothing solitude, you may forget that there is such a thing on the globe as a president, a railroad or a bank. I go there myself. The only banks are those of the murmurous little river. They are starred with purple wild asters and yellow primrose. They are fringed with soft willows, which lean toward each other, and year unto year whisper peace.

Between these the sparkling river dances on its way to sink in the desert, scattering life in its course, and in its death making a great marsh, where the waterfowl find a castle of strength, and the blackbirds cling to the spears of the giant tule and whistle blithely to the sunrise and the sunset, careless who is elected President and who lives or dies.

The bare mountains which guard the "desert" and send into it the waters of life, are beautifully scarred with silent canyons, where there is no sound but the rustle of the aspens clustered about a spring and the sighing of the stone pines and junipers rooted sure among the rocks. In the shade of these lie the red deer and the antelope, and there is none to oppress them or make them afraid. The morning and the evening come robed

in flame and purple, and the skies are as wide as the whole world by day and as the limitless universe by night. They spread their banners of cloud by day and their starry jewelry by night, and you shall be under them and listen to the great silence.

Around you for hundreds of miles will lie an empire into which you may drop the wheat regions of the Palouse and the Walla Walla and they will be lost. There, veiled in the sagebrush, and trodden only by the coyote and the wild steer, is an empire ready to support millions; but there you may watch the hawks and the magpies against the glittering sky and be secure, Mr. Hill, that you will never, never hear the shriek of the locomotives or the rumble of the iron wheels upon the rail. It is Mr. Harriman's territory. Mr. Cotton says he has been there, and in 40 miles saw only two lonely sheep herders. And he will see no more until the Harriman system realizes more truly its duty to this State. I have seen 50 bushels of wheat raised there without irrigation, and 80 bushels of barley to the acre. But the railroad is the highway of today, and until it comes, land which will raise wheat, oats, barley, apples, onions and sugar beets, must of necessity be left to the steer and the lonely sheep herder.

What is to redeem this land from the cowboy and the shepherd, but the modern highway, the railroad? And those who take from a territory to build elsewhere and leave it undeveloped, may be highwaymen but not railroad men, as I view the question. I have listened here tonight to Mr. Cotton's impression of central Oregon. I have hunted Indians there, and in the Palouse country and the Wenatchee, and I say the difference between eastern Oregon and eastern Washington is only one of transportation facilities.

I have seen both regions as the sagebrush wilderness. I see Oregon the same today. Why? I have been told by a Harriman official that the country was only fit to raise things with hoofs to walk out on; that the Union Pacific had it bottled up and would develop it when it got ready, and not while it was fighting for competitive territory—that is, fighting Jim Hill. That is not my idea of the duty of the public highway to the society from which it draws enormous revenue. Oregon is bounded on the north by the Harriman system, on the east by the Harriman system, and on the west by the Pacific ocean. It will thus be seen that it is between the devil and the deep sea.

The highway is the artery of social life and the avenue of social progress, and the railroad is the highway of today. Without highways any country, any section, is rude, primitive, backward and undeveloped, for it is cut off from all that interchange of thought and commerce which make society and which mark progress. You do not need me to tell you that if one community lives on one side of an impassable mountain range, and an-

other community on the other side, they are as far removed as if they lived on opposite sides of the planets. Even in the days of Rome all civilization, thought, culture, commerce, lay on one side of the Alps, and barbarism on the other side.

It is not actual space which separates men; it is the difficulties of overcoming space. London is nearer to Portland today than Boston was to Charleston 100 years ago. When George Washington at Mount Vernon stepped into his coach for the journey to Philadelphia, where this nation was born, he started on a four or five days' journey. Today you go from New York to Washington in four or five hours.

This is what the railroad has done. It has lengthened life and shortened space, those two great limitations upon our existence—time and space. Space has been cut down by steam and our lives have been relatively lengthened. It stands to reason, therefore, that for economic reasons and sociologic reasons and vital reasons the railroad is the prime necessity of intercommunication between modern men. It has superseded all other land highways and is to our life the only highway.

I will ask you to remember this fact. If we consider man as a problem, we find that he is a gregarious animal. That is, everywhere he has been found in flocks or tribes. He will not live isolated. And to this fact is greatly due the evolution of man, his rise and progress. Had he lived alone, his aspirations, his struggles, his knowledge, would have died with him; but man has handed his aspirations and his knowledge from man to man and from generation to generation until today he dares to speculate upon the origin of that very life and intellect which enables him to speculate.

He has gathered between his palms the lightning and he weighs the stars. We have this structure: The progress of man—resting upon society; society resting upon intercourse and exchange; and intercourse resting upon highways. It is, therefore, not too much to say that highways control man's life and development. The first rude trail between tribes was a beginning of civilization.

Consider that great civilization which was the dawn toward which we still look in breathless admiration—Greece.

It was a small country. It has no navigable rivers, but in the most remarkable way it is indented by the sea, so that even from the heart of the country, among the hills, the sea is easily and quickly reached in some direction. This best of all highways, the great throbbing unmonopolized and public sea, was the highway of Greece. Communication was easy, and the civilization of Greece became the civilization of a group of wealthy sea-ports, sending argosies to all parts of the known world; competing with those greatest of navigators and traders, the Phoenicians; sending out

wealth and bringing back wealth; sending out knowledge and bringing back knowledge.

Until upon this traffic over the beautiful sapphire highway of the sea arose that brilliant civilization of Athens, Syracuse, Rhodes, which gave us in science and philosophy Aesculapius, Pythagoras, Epicurus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle. In the drama, Sophocles and Euripides, in poetry the majestic odes of Pindar, the rose-crowned odes of Anacreon, the pulsing songs of Sapho and the idyls of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, where still we may see the happy shepherds of happy Greece, watching their goats and beguiling themselves with rural songs chanted to the low soft music of the panpipes and the flute. And that great harp of Homer, in whose sound we catch the clash of the gods, waging battle, and the sobs of Andromache, as human as the sorrow which we all—alas—must know. And in art Phidias and Praxiteles, whose dreams in marble have resisted the envious tooth of time and stand today in our halls and homes to gladden us with their beauty and teach us that a thing of beauty is a joy forever.

This was the world's greatest creative civilization, and it would have been impossible without the free intercommunication by sea.

And then came the world's great constructive civilization, Rome; and Rome never conquered a city or a province but that she built to it a road so straight, so smooth, that there was no competing against it, and so deep-founded that the old Roman roads exist to this day as our highways, not only all through Italy but reaching up to France and Germany and in England. The Romans were a nation of roadmakers, and if you have followed me, that means wealthmakers and civilization-makers.

When Julius Caesar was fighting in farther Gaul he got news of plotting against him in the Roman senate, and in three days he stood among them and the conspirators were as much frightened by his miraculous appearance as cowed by that master spirit which put the world beneath his feet. It is said no man could have done this but Caesar, but Caesar could not have done it without that wonderful artery leading from the heart of Rome to the very frontier he was fighting for.

Over these roads went not only the legions of conquest, but the wagons and caravans of commerce. The Roman civilization was the civilization of one great dominant city, founded upon commerce and conquest, and this founded upon her highways, and all roads led to Rome. The world is still governed by that code of Roman laws known as equity.

Commerce still uses her letters of credit and bills of exchange, and to Rome must be attributed the origin of those octopi, the corporation and the trust. And so I could point to you that England's greatness, as that of Greece, rests upon the highway of the sea; and France and Germany, like

that of Rome, upon the highway by land; and Russia, the barbarian giant, has waked to the fact that roads are the very arteries of life. It is good roads which knock down mountain ranges and abolish distance.

But, gentlemen, the roads upon which human society has rested until now have had one fundamental and vital distinction from the railroad. They have been open to all men—to all competition. The seas and the rivers are any man's highway. They belong to the poorest as well as to the wealthiest; and so, indeed, in a lesser degree, the king's highway, the turnpikes and the toll-roads. They were open to anybody and everybody, upon the same terms and conditions.

But the steam highway, from the very necessity of the case, must be under one management and control, and in that sense must be monopolistic. But in fact the steam highway ought not to be and cannot be any more monopolistic, personal or discriminating than the river, the sea, or the open king's highway. It is true men have put their private funds into the construction of the railroad, but it is also true that they have been given authority by society to condemn and take property.

They have been granted perpetual franchises because as supplanting the river and the king's highway it is understood they become public highways, to be operated in trust for the people, as completely and fairly as the river and the turnpike which they supplant. But even if private men with their private funds were to buy every foot of the right of way and terminals; if they owned and operated the road as a partnership, the same conditions would obtain from the necessities of the case.

Society would never permit a highway which made the highway of the river and of the road useless and out of date and thereby put society completely in its power, to be owned and operated wholly in private interests and by an arbitrary private will. All property rights are determined by the will of society. Even the right to live is determined by society.

One hundred and fifty years ago in England they would hang a man for what is today only petty larceny. They would hang the burglar who broke a window, or the highwayman who robbed a coach. Thus you may say we only live by leave of society. So that in the last analysis, when this stupid thing we call society (and I think it is very stupid and very slow to move) finally asserts itself, all else must yield, and it is my judgment that unless the railroads honestly and in good faith recognize that they have merely taken the place of the people's highways, the sea, the rivers and the turnpike; unless they cease to combine and cease to make non-competitive rates; unless rates are based only on a fair return for the services performed considering cost; unless they give absolutely equal and impartial treatment in all respects to the humblest

as to the most powerful shipper; unless they give over this effort at making towns or unmaking towns and making men or unmaking men, society will eventually condemn their properties and take them out of their hands.

Does any one here believe that any such thing as this malformed and half-abortive interstate commerce commission would have been in existence except that the railroads forced it to exist? Does any one here believe that there would have been rate legislation except as the railroads invited it? I, for one, am anti-socialistic. I am the purest individualist. I am opposed to government intermeddling in the affairs of individuals or in the commerce of the country. I look with regret and with fear at our elective Republic taking over the actual ownership and management of the railroads. But it is sure to come. And the time of the coming is not important.

What is time in the evolution of man? As that tomorrow will follow tonight, unless the railroads recognize that they are a common highway, to give the public, without discrimination, passage for goods and persons at the lowest practicable rates based upon cost of service. They must recognize that they are open to competition, the competition of society; and when society suspects that the railroads are taking advantage of the naturally monopolistic position they are in, society will exert its competition and take the railroads into its own hands.

I think we are too apt to think the world will end with us; too apt to measure time by a political administration. We forget the millions of aeons it has taken to make a man. The tens of thousands of years civilization has been crawling upward since written language began. I think we are apt to use that animal instinct of self-preservation; to grab right and left whatever we can, forgetful of the fact that artificial social conditions have given to some men great power and opportunity, and to others none. Too apt to forget that every power vested in one man or a few men over the welfare of another, or of society, has been the ruin of the powerful unless it has been exercised with exact justice.

Mr. Cotton has asked, Shall not the railroad values increase as city lot values have? Shall the railroads not get a fair return on those values as buildings bring increased rent? I say no. There are vital distinctions. The building is selling space for occupancy—the railroad is offering to haul goods from place to place. The measure for rents is the value of the space. The measure for the transportation rate is the cost of service, into which the arbitrary addition of increased values of right of way or real estate ought not to enter. The railroad gets its increased profit from the growth of society in the increased volume of business.

But what I wish to emphasize is that highways

are essentially the servants of society; not society the serfs and tribute payers to highways. That the railroad is the only possible economic highway in modern land traffic, and no interior region can hope to market products unless it has such highway. That railroad owners are trustees for society, and there is a moral duty for every railroad to expand into and develop the country which it has attached itself to and from which it draws its revenues.

If the railroads do not recognize that they exist to serve society, not society to serve them, society will soon wake up to that truth, and no man can predict the results.

* * *

HAIL, CHINA!

For The Public.

Now a thrill of admiration runs from nation unto nation,

For the ancient yellow people of the East;
Who have wakened to the danger brought upon them
by the stranger,

And the deadly power of opium has ceased.
Oh, it's shout, John, shout,
For you know what you're about,
Though you were not taught in civilization's school;
Though your eyes are set in bias,
And you're not considered plous,
You are far from being anybody's fool.

Hail, then, China! Hail progression! You have
taught the world a lesson,
How to handle desperate evils like a man;
We have called you "wicked heathen," without
knowledge, wisdom, reason,
But you've solved your problem as no white man
can.

Oh, it's shout, John, shout,
For you know what you're about,
Though you were not taught in civilization's school;
Though your eyes are set in bias,
And you're not considered plous,
You are far from being anybody's fool.

When all China-land is sober, and the western world
a toper,
Then look out for trouble, liquor-sodden men;
For like Gulliver he'll waken, every thread will snap
forsaken,

He will beat you at your strenuous paces then.
Oh, it's shout, John, shout,
For you know what you're about,
Though you were not taught in civilization's school;
Though your eyes are set in bias,
And you're not considered plous,
You are far from being anybody's fool.

TOWNSEND ALLEN.

* * *

Student: "Has it not been said that the man who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before is a benefactor?"

Professor Homarket: "An exploded idea, my young friend. It overlooks the danger of over-production."

W. M. M.

BOOKS

FROM ONE VIEWPOINT.

What we know about Jesus. By Charles E. Dole, D.D. Chicago. Open Court Pub. Co. Price, 75c net.

It is not to be presumed that the author of this free essay on the character and mission of Jesus expects to convert even the unbiased reader to his particular views, but he is to be congratulated on his open expression of his sincere convictions in the quest of truth. As he says: "The very effort to tell the truth and report exactly what we find is good for us."

Yet it is not to be forgotten that other truth seekers, just as honest in their quest, arrive at entirely different conclusions as to what is truth. The nature and viewpoint of the seeker determine the quality of his discovery. He finds and truly appropriates only what satisfies his highest conception of right, and we may neither criticize nor condemn.

"What We Know About Jesus" treats mainly of surface facts in the Gospel records without attaching to them greater significance than we might attach to the life and teachings of any great benefactor of the human race. As a purely natural view it is eminently fair and just, with no touch of the sarcasm or ridicule in which critics of the supernatural quite frequently indulge.

The writer seeks a democratic ideal—not a single master or savior. "Be sure," he says in conclusion, "that there is that in human life which is greater than the greatest man. It is the spirit of man or rather the spirit of God. Wherever the good spirit is, there is God. Wherever this spirit is in history, history ceases to be profane and becomes sacred. Wherever this spirit possesses men there is not one son of God, but all are God's children. Nothing less than this is the Gospel for today."

And it might be added that it is this very spirit in Jesus that constitutes him the "democratic ideal" that all truth lovers seek.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738. By Edwin P. Tanner, Ph. D., Sometime Fellow in American History, Columbia University, Instructor in History in Syracuse University. Published by Columbia University, New York, through Longmans, Green & Co., New York, and P. S. King & Son, London.

—The Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers during the First Decade after the Black Death, 1349-1359. By Bertha Haven Putnam, Ph. D., Instructor in History at Mount Holyoke College. Published by

Columbia University, New York, through Longmans, Green & Co., of New York, and P. S. King & Son, London.

jocks, it's only an opportunity to steal somethin'!" —The Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

+ + +

"Too often," said Uncle Jerry Peebles, "when that there thing they call Opportunity comes along, by

A five year old boy on hearing grace asked for the first time at breakfast gravely remarked, "I only say



POSTAL CARDS

For Correspondence, for Greetings, for Christmas.

1. The Seal of the Women's Trade Union League—The Promise. By Julia Bracken Wendt.
2. Sacred Motherhood. By L. D. Bradley, of the Chicago Daily News.
3. The Workers' Maypole. By Walter Crane.
4. America in the Making. By C. O. Schetter.

Price: Two cards for five cents; Set of four for ten cents; all postpaid.

Address: Women's Trade Union League, 275 La Salle St., Room 502, Chicago

my prayers at night. That is the dangerous time."—
Life.

* * *

"I declare," complained Mrs. Duzzit, "I shall certainly have to punish the children."

"What have they been up to now?" inquired her husband.

"They have simply upset my sewing room. Nothing is where it should be. Needles, spools of thread,

scissors, darning balls—everything I have has been poked away in the most unexpected corners. It is perfectly exasperating."

Mr. Duzzit surveyed his wife with a benignant air. "That wasn't the children, dear," he said. "I did that."

"What possessed you?"

"It was kindness of heart. After you straightened up the papers and books on my desk so beautifully,

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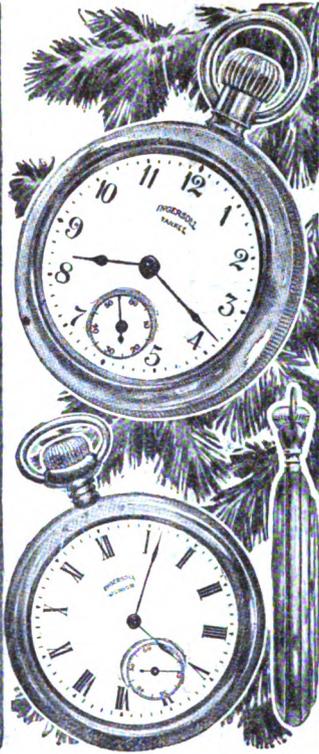
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