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EDITORIAL

Bryan and Guffey.

Nothing since his declaration of war against Roger C. Sullivan of Illinois has done so much to strengthen Bryan's hold upon the confidence of the class of people of this country who will elect him President if he is to be elected, as his declaration of war against James M. Guffey of Pennsylvania. The men are alike, and Bryan's motive is in each case the same. His motive is the exposure to public view, in their true character as agents of plutocratic interests, of men who get control of the machinery of the Democratic party for the purpose of using it for plutocratic ends. Sullivan's discreet conduct since his excommunication by Bryan, has enabled the plutocrats and their disguised allies to spell out "reconciliation," but no one believes there has been reconciliation who understands Sullivan's purposes in politics, nor does any one believe it who knows Bryan. Bryan's disposal of Sullivan's henchman, Quinn of Peoria (pp. 60, 74), tells the story; so does the outcome of Sullivan's effort to foist another of his henchmen upon Bryan as temporary chairman of the national convention. The breach between Bryan and Sullivan is irreconcilable, because it relates not to personal concerns but to vital party purposes. This is true also of the breach between Bryan and Guffey. Bryan is the leader of those Democrats who would make the Democratic party democratic; Guffey is an emissary of the plutocratic Interests. He is a business and political

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confidant of Ryan and the rest—a man who aims to control the Democratic party, its platforms, its candidates and its campaigns, for the perpetuation of the special privileges upon which he and his like thrive financially. Two such men as Bryan and Guffey cannot work together in the same political harness; and the sooner the people know that they are not working in the same political harness, the better. And as with Guffey, so with all his plutocratic clan. If they are sincere in their plutocratic opinions, they belong in the Republican party, and there they will candidly go without trying to remain in Democratic councils. If they are not sincere, it behooves Democrats to keep them out of its councils as scrupulously as they would keep a bunco man out of their confidence.



In Mr. Guffey's angry attack upon Bryan, provoked by Bryan's public expression of his determination to allow no "bushwhackers" to get into control of his campaign this time, the Standard Oil representative of Pennsylvania Democracy confesses the ethical standards of his tribe in politics. His one complaint against Bryan is that Bryan is ungrateful. And pray, what constitutes Bryan's ingratitude? Mr. Guffey makes two specifications. One concerns himself, and the other Mr. Hearst. Hearst contributed to the Democratic campaigns of 1896 and 1900, and at one time paid Bryan liberally for writing for his papers; yet Bryan refused to reciprocate by supporting Hearst for the Democratic nomination for President in 1904. Therefore, concludes Mr. Guffey, Bryan was ungrateful. Mr. Guffey seems to imagine that Mr. Hearst thought he was bribing Bryan when he contributed to the Democratic campaigns that Bryan led, and again when he employed him to write for the Hearst papers. We should wish to be sure that Mr. Hearst coincides with Mr. Guffey in that view before we comment further upon the first specification. Mr. Guffey's second specification of Bryan's ingratitude relates to Mr. Guffey's own contributions of money to the Democratic campaign funds of 1896 and 1900. Because he made these contributions, he assumes that thereby he purchased Mr. Bryan's gratitude. Upon what theory? Evidently upon the ethical theory of the type of business men Mr. Guffey represents in politics, that statesmen are ungrateful if they do not regard contributions of money to their political parties as bargains of courtesy with its candidates. It is for this reason that the Standard Oil trust, which Guffey represents in the Democratic party, makes contributions to both

parties in great elections. They want the gratitude of the winner. If Mr. Bryan has really been ungrateful according to these standards of the Guffey tribe, we are sure the people will honor him for it and trust him all the more implicitly. One of the crying evils of our politics has been the gratitude of our statesmen, not their ingratitude, to the corporations that have contributed money to the campaign funds of party managers. Let us pray it may prove true that Bryan has set another good example in American politics.



The "Straphangers' League" of Chicago.

The "Straphangers' League" holds crowded meetings almost continuously on the street cars of the Chicago traction system which came in with Mayor Busse. This League was organized eighteen months ago for the purpose of relieving the crowded condition of the street cars by turning over the system in virtual perpetuity to a band of Big Business bandits. Its campaign cry was, "If you stand for Dunne, you'll stand in the street cars." The honorary members of the League disbanded when Busse was elected, saying, "We have no further need for a straphangers' league." And they haven't had, for they ride in automobiles. But active members are frequently asking one another at their crowded meetings in the street car aisles, if after all they didn't stand for Dunne unbeknownst, since they are still standing in the cars. Realizing that it was their own doing anyhow, they cling to the straps and grimly smile. And after all, are they not in partnership with the company? and isn't it out of the straps that all the profits of this joint enterprise come? Only a churl can object to being a straphanger when part of his nickel goes into the treasury of his beloved city.



Jail Torture.

The beautiful Illinois town of Rockford is not especially an uncivilized place. It is probably neither much worse than the best nor much better than the worst. Its civilization may be regarded as fairly typical. Here, then, is an instance from the shadier side of its experiences, which may be of general interest and value. Some well-meaning citizens, including Miss Julia Lathrop, Mr. Fay Lewis, Miss Eleanor Holland and Judge Frost, recently tried to abolish a species of torture in connection with the county jail. The machinery for this torture is a dungeon cell, so completely covered with sheet iron that light and air are kept far within the limits of what one might call ex-

cess. It is a true dungeon. To the imagination of people affected with the humane microbe it is quite unbearable, and it is physically unbearable to prisoners thrust into it. But the sheriff at Rockford is neither afflicted with the humane microbe—not dangerously at any rate—nor expectant of a physical experience personally in his own dungeon cell. Upon his ears, therefore, the appeal to remove the sheet-iron covering has made no other impression than to excite him to an enthusiastic defense of his little imitation of the black hole of Calcutta. One foul offender against discipline, whom he had put into this dungeon for only a brief time, so he explained to the board of supervisors with an approach to eloquence, came out completely jail broke,—willing to do anything he might be ordered to. Two other prisoners whom the sheriff had put into this dungeon for fifteen hours, wallowed in the darkness and swapped respirations until they became model prisoners. It wasn't really much to brag about. A "boot" of the Inquisition, or a dance with bare feet upon a judiciously overheated floor, would doubtless have produced as good results in a shorter time. But the sheriff's grim eloquence persuaded the board of supervisors. So Rockford, Illinois, may still boast far and wide—those of her citizens who wish to,—of the excellent disciplinary effects of the dense darkness and foul air of her dungeon cell.

* * *

Prosperity.

Strangely disturbing reports of prosperity (p. 265) float through the newspapers these days. The mental science method of having prosperity by saying we have it, does not seem as effective as was hoped. Here is an account of the closing down of a score of glass factories, including one in St. Louis where the mental science remedy has actually seemed to take. The explanation is a falling off in demand. Again, we have reports of the enormous fall in the prices of building material, but no trade. It is reported, too, that nearly two thousand vessels of the Great Lakes are idle, and 14,000 marine laborers out of work in consequence.

* *

In the New York Times of June 27 we find an interview with R. Fulton Cutting as president of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. "We look anxiously each week," says Mr. Cutting, "for some let-up in the tremendous demands that are being made upon us, but there is none. Unless there is immediate help from our contributors we shall outrun our appropria-

tions by \$40,000 by the end of the year." Asked what he attributed the necessity to, Mr. Cutting replied: "To the prevalence of unemployment. I cannot remember such a condition existing before. Not even in 1893 or 1894 did the depression persist for so long."

*

Mrs. Ingram, the Superintendent of Relief of the same association, interviewed by the Times reporter at the same time, is as frank as Mr. Cutting. "We can tell," she explains, "from the character of the families who come to us now, how hard the community has been hit. Many of the new applications come from men who have never applied to us or the Charity Organization Society before. They have children of 12 or 14, and this shows that they have been married, and have been able to maintain a home without charitable aid for 15 years. Of course they may have been assisted over hard times before by their neighbors, for working people are wonderfully good to each other, but they have never been forced to seek charity. The strain upon us began last November. Then the least hopeful came to us as soon as they were out of work. Now we are receiving applications from families who have stuck out to the last. They tell us they have spent their savings, perhaps \$50, a small fortune to many a workingman. They have spent \$5 or \$6 a week and have subsisted on that as long as it held out. We don't see much hope in sight. The employers tell us that the small increase in employment they can promise will be of very little account when compared with the number out of work. What are a few dozen jobs among the hundreds who can't find work? It is not that there has been any falling off in our subscriptions. Our contributors have been very sympathetic and have in some cases given us more than usual. But the demand has increased out of all proportion."

*

In the face of conditions such as those, the pretenses of prosperity that are made by newspapers which know better seem almost satanic. Hard times cannot be exorcised away like an evil spirit; hard times must be recognized and dealt with like an evil habit.

* * *

Blind Man's Buff.

And now the Federal government is curious to know why immigration has decreased. It is about to make a serious investigation. But why should anyone be so curious? Hasn't the government done everything within the power of a growing

bureaucracy to discourage immigration? Why, then, is it concerned over the unexpected realization of the object it has apparently had in view? True enough, the obstructions of bureaucracy have not really reduced immigration so enormously, although they have had their influence. But the immigration for May, 1907, was 184,886, whereas for May, 1908, it was only 36,317; and no amount of bureaucratic oppression could account for that decline. Indeed the decline is really greater; for those figures take no account of the return of immigrants. For the first time in our history, the tide of migration has been away from the United States instead of into the United States. To account for this wonderful phenomenon we must consider the opportunities which this country offers in comparison with those it used to offer. The country which once offered a farm to anyone for the taking, is now fenced in. There are as many opportunities and better ones, but they are enclosed with barbed wire and excessive prices. If political parties claiming credit for general prosperity are to be charged with general adversity, what party shall answer for the monopolization of this country's natural resources to such an extent as to reverse the tide of migration before those resources have been more than tapped by human industry?



The Hearst Affair in New York.

Mr. William Randolph Hearst telegraphs from London to his papers an expression of his extreme satisfaction with the result of his contest in the courts over the count which made McClellan Mayor of New York. An honest count "has been secured," says Mr. Hearst, and "hereafter it will not be possible for election thieves to commit frauds in secrecy and security behind the barrier of the law." He adds: "Whatever election crime is committed, be it great or small, must be publicly accounted for; that has been accomplished, and it means much for the safety of the Republic." The growing feeling among those who have trusted Mr. Hearst, that he is a pretender, is confirmed by this transparent pretense. He evidently intends to imply that frauds were proved; and that even if not sufficient in number to affect the result they were sufficiently criminal to call for judicial exposure. But the fact is that the most searching investigation, before a judge and jury, over a period of nearly three months, conducted by Mr. Hearst's own attorney, has failed to reveal a fraudulent count. In charging the jury Judge Lambert said that there had been "absolutely no

evidence of fraud;" and no one has denied, nor is any one likely to deny, the substantial truth of that statement. Mr. Hearst's implication, therefore, is not without some of the elements that inspire not only distrust but contempt.



That is not the only thing, however, nor the worst thing, to be said in criticism of Mr. Hearst's conduct in this affair. He may be excused for the human weakness of trying to put the best face upon a bad situation, even if the weakness does inspire contempt; but where is the excuse for his having raised all this hue and cry over a fraudulent count without a particle of evidence? He had the means of knowing whether there was concerted fraud to defeat the expression of the popular will. Not only had he the means in the sense of money with which to ascertain the fact, but through his newspapers he had the means in the sense of an effective mechanism for doing the work. In these circumstances his persistent charges of overwhelming frauds in the count have carried the impression, and reasonably so, that if there were a judicial inquiry there would be a revelation of fraud to justify it. Mayor McClellan's conduct in resisting the recount by technicalities was also culpable, for it tended to confirm the probability of the frauds that Mr. Hearst persistently asserted; but in view of the latter's assertions, under circumstances which made them seem much more substantial than the angry vaporings of a defeated candidate, the pitiful result of the inquiry turns the whole affair into a farce.



Instead of the overwhelming frauds about which Mr. Hearst raised his hue and cry, there were found at the trial a few hundred erroneous decisions by election inspectors on questions of defective ballots. The correction of these errors favored McClellan in some instances and Hearst in others, the net result, in a total vote of 590,000, yielding considerably less than 1,000 additional votes to Hearst. Under all the circumstances, an apology from Mr. Hearst for misleading those who trusted him, and involving New York in a long and expensive and disturbing wrangle over alleged frauds of which he had no evidence, would be more appropriate than his weak boast of having performed a public service.



The National Educational Association.

The exposure at Cleveland of the presence in important official positions in the National Edu-

cational Association of agents of the school book trust, may possibly open the eyes of some of the innocents in educational circles with reference to this organization. There was really no novelty about the discovery, except the publicity it got.

* * *

TAXATION AND CAPITALIZATION.*

One of the most significant features of modern corporate growth is the increasing capitalization of market opportunities.

The ability and energy of officials of large corporations have, in recent years, been directed toward stock and bond manipulations, rather than toward technical betterment. This change in the quality of managerial ability marks definitely and unmistakably the trend away from the sphere of competitive industry, and toward the somewhat indefinite realm of monopoly; or, more accurately, of restricted competition.

Economists can no longer, without self-stultification, overlook the influence of this change. Economic theory is no longer justified in basing its postulates upon the bygone premises of small industrial units and free competition. The theories of the older school of English economists are not applicable, except in a limited degree, to the modern era of corporate industry and large scale production.

A national industrial system which is burdened with an inert mass of unproductive individuals and which gives opportunity for extensive private monopolistic gains, will, like an unlubricated engine, wear itself out overcoming frictional difficulties in its internal organism.

Although superficial writers frequently point with pride to the prosperity of the United States, more discriminating students of statistics see elements of weakness and signs of increasing inefficiency in our national industrial system when viewed as an organized whole. The discerning investigator finds wastes in unnecessary freight movements, in the multiplication of brokers, lawyers, bankers, transporters and personal servants, in the development of plants to make machines which add to the complexity of an already complex system of production, in the increasing demand for luxuries, in the rapidly growing mass of securities based upon the capitalization of special privileges or market opportunities,—wastes

which no amount of statistics resting upon rising prices and paper valuations can completely obscure.

It is proposed, then, to discuss briefly in this editorial some of the problems centering around the capitalization of market opportunities.

*

The two most widespread and typical forms of market-opportunity rents are the incomes derived from land as distinguished from improvements, and from franchises granted by governmental authorities. The two forms of market opportunity are very similar. Private ownership of land and private ownership of franchises are privileges. They are allowed by society and sustained by legal enactments, and may be changed if public sentiment becomes sufficiently crystallized in opposition.

One great objection urged against government ownership of public utilities and against socialism, is that private initiative would be reduced, that "the sterner energy, the greater care in the use of tools, machinery and plant, saving in waste of materials and products," would disappear. But however much these qualities are produced in the kinds of business enterprise which do not contain important elements of monopoly, they cannot be said to be conserved in enterprises involving strong monopoly powers. Professor Ely asserts that the tendency of monopoly is toward deterioration in the quality of the product. This "sterner energy" is lacking in exactly the degree to which permanent capitalization of market opportunities, or of special and unique privileges, enters into the business. If the desirable qualities of individual energy and initiative, and of greater care in business, are to be retained, the opportunity to permanently capitalize monopoly returns must be limited.

In order to bring about such a desideratum, a distinction must be drawn between interest, and rents or "premiums" of various kinds, and this distinction must be clearly recognized. The demand for government ownership and for socialism is strengthened by the prevalence of large incomes drawn from the permanent capitalization of market opportunities. Socialism would divert these incomes from individual pockets to the public purse, but probably at the expense of progress and personal ability. On the other hand the chance to permanently make market opportunities private income bearers, while it may increase a certain questionable sort of private initiative and individual liberty, tends to destroy the same

*This editorial by the Professor of Economics and History at Albion College, Michigan, is, like that by Prof. John R. Commons of the Wisconsin University (vol. x, p. 1205), a valuable indication of a current of scholarly thought which has now set in with so much force that it can neither be held back nor turned aside.

qualities in the many, and also to destroy the proper ratio between efforts and returns from efforts. Individual initiative and energy can be preserved, even though there is only a possibility of rising slightly above the average. If it was not possible for any man to become a millionaire, men would struggle just as hard to get half a million as they do to-day to become billionaires. Progressive men should be well rewarded. Exceptional men should, for the good of society, receive exceptional benefits. But for exactly the same reason, it should not be possible permanently to capitalize and pass along these exceptional rewards to those who have taken no share in the work. Beyond a certain limit, such capitalization becomes detrimental to society.



In recent years, there is an increasing opportunity of living without productive exertion, upon earnings derived from capitalized market opportunities. Men without ability, men who could not earn large salaries in competitive business, receive munificent incomes. These incomes are no longer the result of extraordinary business efforts or sagacity; they result simply from making permanent the incomes from market opportunities.

"Three characteristics," writes Professor Gide, "are necessary for inequalities [of wealth] to produce the salutary effects which are expected from them; they ought to be in a relation to the services rendered; they ought not to be excessive; they ought not to be permanent." The capitalization of market opportunities, the permanent or indefinite absorption by individuals of income from such capitalization, violates the first characteristic. It tends to become excessive as a nation progresses, as population increases and industry becomes well organized. For example, in Massachusetts in 1901, in thirty-three large cities, the land value was estimated at \$932,479,395, while the value of the buildings standing on this land was only \$871,349,922.* Such a condition, which is typical not only of land in itself but of other market opportunities, proves that the capitalization of such opportunities tends to make inequalities in wealth excessive; for the fortunate individuals controlling these rights or privileges reap the benefits of the increase in value and income. A large percentage of the fortunes of our millionaires originated in businesses involving monopoly, and hence deriving monopoly rents. Our multi-millionaires have gained their mammoth fortunes through oil, steel, railways and urban realty.

Under present conditions, the inequalities of wealth tend to become permanent. The corporate form of management makes it possible to place an income-bearing certificate in the hands of persons not actively connected with a given business. As a result stocks and bonds issued by a given corporation may be retained within a family for generations, exactly as may real estate be thus retained. The proverb which is so conducive of tranquillity,—"three generations from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves"—is not applicable to an industrial age in which the small firm and the partnership are replaced by the corporation. Thus, all three of Gide's characteristics are violated in the United States at the present time.



This country has reached a period in its development when free land no longer plays the important role in modifying economic and industrial conditions that it once did. The amount of nominal wealth bound up in land and other market opportunities is rapidly increasing. Year by year the absolute and probably the relative amount of market opportunity rents, as compared with other forms of income, is increasing. High capitalization of market opportunities, when the major portion of the income from these opportunities is diverted from the public treasury into the pockets of private individuals, imposes a heavy burden upon industry.

A few statistics, in addition to those given above, will illustrate this point. The average value per foot front of the best business property in New York City may be assumed to be \$20,000, or approximately \$8,000,000 per acre. Assuming an income of 4 per cent from this valuation, the net economic rent, or market opportunity rent, would be, \$320,000 per annum. This amount would be the gross income per acre from buildings and lot, minus all charges for services in the building, taxes, insurance, interest on the capital invested in the building, depreciation and repairs. This income is approximately equivalent to the average wage paid in the manufacturing industries of the United States in 1900, to seven hundred and thirty workmen. The market opportunity rent of one acre in the heart of New York City absorbs, therefore, the equivalent of the money wages of 730 workmen.

Assuming \$1,500 per foot front to be the value of the best business property in a city of one hundred thousand inhabitants, the annual rent derived from one acre would be approximately equivalent to the annual wages of 57 workmen.

Turning from land owned distinguishably in

this manner, to other forms of ownership of market opportunity, inclusive of land and franchises transferable in corporation stocks and mingled with other property, a similar phenomenon is found. The net earnings of the United States Steel Corporation, in 1900, were \$108,000,000, or about 7 per cent on the total capitalization. According to a conservative estimate, one-half the securities of this large corporation is "water". Therefore, it is certainly justifiable, bearing in mind the percentage earned, to estimate that at least one-half of the net earnings is market opportunity rent; that is, a return for monopoly privileges, or for unique advantages in regard to a market. This sum is equivalent to the annual wages of 128,000 workmen in the manufacturing industries of the United States.

According to Moody, the total capitalization of the "trusts" in the United States, including railways, street railways, telegraph, telephone and industrial "combines," is \$35,000,000,000 or about twenty-three times that of the Steel Corporation. If the net earnings and the market opportunity rents are assumed to be equal per share to those of the Steel Corporation, this semi-social income equals the annual wages of nearly 3,000,000 workers.

R. M. Hurd states that the total capitalization of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York is about \$230,000,000, of which about \$200,000,000 is "water". Mr. Hurd holds that this company is probably now able to pay 5 per cent on the "watered" stock. If only 4 per cent was earned on the watered stock, the total annual amount would be \$8,000,000; or approximately the equivalent of the wages of 18,300 workmen.

The inert burden under which industry is staggering may be further illustrated by another extreme case. The editor of a conservative magazine cites an instance of a public service corporation which serves a half dozen villages situated in the suburban zone of Greater New York. The aggregate plant, including all machinery, is capitalized at \$32,000,000, but is not actually worth over \$2,000,000. The consumers are paying dividends on \$30,000,000 of watered stocks and bonds.

Mr. John Moody in a recent article, after presenting numerous examples of the growth of corporate values, adds that one-half of the estimated wealth of the United States is not "created" wealth. In other words \$60,000,000 out of a total of \$120,000,000 is in the form of paper wealth.

These statistics give some idea of the inert burden which modern industry is obliged to carry.



Here is a problem which cannot be safely thrust aside. The economist, the financier and the politician must deal with it, or else bow to the inevitable storm which delay will certainly brew.

The utilization through taxation by the government of a portion of these enormous market opportunity rents would not only allow for the remission of many other forms of taxation; but would allow the government to enter upon new projects for social betterment. It would relieve capital (distinct from capitalization), which is subject to the force of competition, from a portion at least of the burden of taxation under which it is now struggling. Only by diverting to collective uses the enormous returns due to market opportunities of various kinds, can our industrial system as a whole continue steadily to increase its productivity and improve its efficiency.

An increased tax upon land values (not including soil or improvements), and franchise values, would serve to stimulate industry. It would be a burdenless tax from the point of view of the efficient producer. A change in tax rates on market opportunities is no more confiscation than any other increase in the tax rate, or of any change in the tariff. An increase in the rate might only be made when the land, or other market opportunity, passed from one owner to another through inheritance or sale.* Such a policy would be a step toward the removal of the evils connected with the private ownership of monopoly privileges; at the same time the benefits of private enterprise and initiative would be retained. The movement toward government ownership of public utilities, and toward socialism, can only be checked, if either be desirable, by reducing and finally eliminating the power to reap benefits where one has not sown, or to permanently capitalize and receive income from monopoly strength or privilege. In the case of land, whether urban, agricultural, mineral or timber, the problem can only be met by a distinct separation of land proper from improvements, for purposes of taxation.† In the case of franchises, two methods are, of course, open: increased taxation of the franchise as real estate, or reduced rates for the services rendered.

Lack of financial resources is ever the great ob-

*Seager, Introduction to Economics, First Edition, p. 525.

†See article by the writer in Quarterly Journal of Economics, November, 1907.

stacle in the way of increasing educational facilities and of enlarging the civic functions of the State and of the municipality. Educational facilities, for example, lag behind the demand of the times because of a lack of money; but a fund can be utilized which may do for the schools of to-day what the land grant system did for those of the last century. City sanitation betterment, the reform of penal institutions and a multitude of other urgent improvements are also delayed because of lack of funds. Higher rates of taxation upon land values and franchise privileges of various sorts would, therefore, not only aid in improving the industrial efficiency of the nation, but would enable organized society to carry on those activities which a complex economic system and crowded population centers have forced upon it.

The old worn-out cry of "socialistic" is utterly inapplicable here. Individualism demands these improvements. Special privileges constitute the menace which threatens individual initiative, personal freedom of action, and equal opportunity for all.

FRANK T. CARLTON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

London, June 15.—The political situation in Great Britain has greatly changed since last I wrote (p. 57), and I fear, not for the better. The death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has left a gap in the ranks of truly progressive and democratic politicians it will be difficult to fill. In truth, the late Prime Minister stood for everything most sane and most elevating in British politics. A sturdy, simple, honest man, with a broad understanding and keen insight into the social ills accompanying our advance in material civilization, and inspired to action by a firm belief in the fundamental principles of democracy and a passion for human progress. To my mind, for truly moral grandeur he towered above any statesman that has ever occupied the foremost position in the political field in Great Britain. Certain it is that the cause of radical Land Reform owes more to him than to any other Liberal politician. During the past few years he made use of his undoubted hold of the affection and confidence of the people to bring home to them the dire need and paramount importance of radical Land Reform, and above all of the Taxation of Land Values. And there is good reason to believe that he has done much "to democratise", if I may use the word, the younger Liberal politicians who had gathered round him. It is earnestly to be hoped that they will remain sturdily true to his inspiration and teachings.

Sir Henry's retirement, of course, necessitated a reconstruction of the Liberal Ministry. His high of-

fice, if not his mantle, passed to Mr. Asquith, who in his cabinet had filled the high position of Chancellor of the Exchequer. To me Mr. Asquith is one of the most interesting personalities in the field of British politics. His intellectual ability and brilliant debating power are manifest, and are admitted alike by his friends and his opponents. Sir Henry was wont to refer to him as "the sledge hammer," which certainly well indicates his power as a debater. Whether Asquith really possesses the moral fervor and broad sympathy without which no Liberal statesman can ever attain to true greatness, I should prefer to leave an open question for the present, for he is not a man easy to read. Self-reliant and self-contained, he promises to rule his party as Campbell-Bannerman never ruled it. He will plan, and his colleagues will carry out his instructions; but he is not the man to reveal his plans till it is time to act. His speeches since his accession to the office of Prime Minister undoubtedly indicate the influence and inspiration of his late leader; for they certainly reveal a warmth and breadth which were conspicuous only by their absence in his speeches of a few years ago. The immediate destinies of the Liberal Party are in his hands; and there are many indications that he abundantly realizes the great opportunity for real radical social reform to-day within their reach, and only awaiting bold and effective leadership. A quotation from his latest address to his party, delivered on Friday last, June 12th, seems to me worth reproducing, as indicating his appreciation of the duty and work of the progressive party in Great Britain. "The Liberal Party," he said, "has no reason for continued existence, nor certainly for the continued possession of power, unless it be prepared to stake its fortunes on great social reforms." Whether by "great social reforms" Mr. Asquith means what we mean, I would not like to say. But I am inclined to believe that the Prime Minister means what he says; that with favorable opportunities his deeds will better his promises; and that he will yet carry even the laggards of his party with him in the direction of truly great and radical social reforms. But Mr. Asquith carries neither his heart nor his plans upon his sleeve, for his opponents to peck at.

Of Mr. Asquith's colleagues I need say little, as they are certainly lesser men. The most prominent, and, I think the most popular, amongst them is Mr. Lloyd George, who relinquished his Presidency of the Board of Trade, where he had been doing excellent administrative work, to succeed his chief as Chancellor of the Exchequer. And the next Budget will certainly tell us how far both Mr. Asquith and his Chancellor of the Exchequer are in earnest to promote real social reform. There are undoubtedly many objections to carrying such reforms by means of the Budget, but recent events, more especially the treatment by the House of Lords of the Land Valuation (Scotland) Bill, should have served abundantly to convince the country that no other course is to-day open to Liberals. Over the Budget the House of Lords has no power—it cannot amend and it dare not reject the Budget, and the practical importance of this fact is becoming daily more appreciated. Hence it is that next to the Prime Minister the Chancellor of the Exchequer is by far the most important man in the Ministry. Whether Lloyd George will rise to the occasion, it would be dangerous to prophesy.

One cannot but admire him both as a man and a politician. Under a great leader he is undoubtedly competent to render great and valuable services to the country, but Lloyd George has yet to make manifest any real insight into the social question, as well as the possession of those higher moral qualities necessary to the making of a truly great Liberal statesman.

As was expected, Winston Churchill, one of the hardest workers and keenest and most active minds in the political arena, succeeded Lloyd George at the Board of Trade. The Tories hate him; most Liberals believe in him, and we social reformers suspend our judgment, though there is reason to believe that he was, at all events for a time, profoundly influenced by the inspiring leadership of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Verily, despite Mark Antony, the good that men do lives after them—so, alas! does the evil.

Other changes need no special mention, though the Ministry has undoubtedly been strengthened by the appointment to minor offices of many young rising Liberals. Altogether the political atmosphere is more healthy and invigorating than it has been for many years. The presence of a strong, able and active Labor party seems to me to be having a very wholesome and beneficial effect. Outside the House they are the most enthusiastic, self-sacrificing and deadly-earnest party in the country. Their leaders in the House have no interests opposed to those of the masses of the industrial population, and in every respect compare favorably with the rest of the members. What hampers their usefulness is that for the most part they are inclined to what you, Mr. Editor, would term "artificial," bureaucratic and enslaving socialism rather than to natural socialism—voluntary co-operation under equality of opportunity, which is the aim and aspiration of the true Progressives amongst the English speaking races of the world. But there are many signs that closer acquaintance with practical politics and with officialdom is serving to incline many of them more and more in this direction. However this may be, their presence in the House certainly helps to purify and elevate the political atmosphere.

L. H. BERENS.

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, July 7, 1908.

The Democratic Convention.

The national Democratic convention met at Denver (p. 323) at 12:25 o'clock on the 7th. Thomas Taggart, chairman of the outgoing national committee, called it to order, and Bishop Keane, of Wyoming, pronounced the invocation,

Theodore A. Bell, of California, was then introduced as temporary chairman. His keynote was this sentence: "Against the evils of special privileges, we urge the benefits of equal opportunities."

*

Before the convention met there had been much newspaper gossip as to its possible outcome. At first it was vigorously reported that Governor Johnson of Minnesota would be nominated in spite of Bryan's overwhelming majority, admitted to exceed by 100 or more the necessary two-thirds vote. Johnson's managers themselves claimed this. But on the 5th they abandoned the field. It is now explained that the Johnson campaign was never intended to be anything but a play for position in 1912. The next diversion of the newspaper gossips grew out of the announced purpose of Alton B. Parker, the Presidential candidate of four years ago, to offer at the convention a tribute to the memory of ex-President Cleveland which should reflect upon Bryan, or, as Walter Wellman expressed it, should unsheathe "a knife for the living behind each word of praise for the dead." This diversion, also, was soon sidetracked, at any rate in the newspaper reports. The remainder of the gossip, except the Guffey incident noted below, has related to the nomination for President, to the platform, and to the nomination for Vice President. The situation in all respects seems at this writing to have been best reflected by Walter Wellman in his correspondence from Denver of the 3d:

This is one of the proudest days in the career of William J. Bryan. It is the day which marks the beginning of the end of his enemies. Out of the East came to-day the big men of Democracy who have the mighty "interests" behind them, the interests which for ever so long have been doing all in their power with skill and brain and money to make the nomination of Bryan impossible. There came Tammany and its boss, men from Standard Oil and Pennsylvania, the representatives of Tom Ryan, the respectable Judge whom they together sacrificed upon the Democratic slaughter table four years ago. And what do they find? Bryan in complete possession of the field, master of the situation. The convention his, to do what he likes with, and hardly a possibility of breaking down his rule. The national, the broad, the historic, the hopeful significance of it is this: Plutocracy has been overwhelmed by the tenaciousness with which the people have stood by the man who in their belief represents principles. Men have beaten dollars. The idolatry of the Democratic hosts for one man has proved a greater power than organized and aggressive wealth, with all its resources and hired cleverness. There remains nothing for the men from Wall street and from the "interests" to do but make as graceful a surrender as possible. And during the next few days much of the news will pertain to the manner and method of this inevitable bowing of the knee by plutocracy to the plowboy of the Platte. Here are the heroics, here is the drama of the hour. A man has conquered

nammon. A man, with nothing but people behind him. No American should be ashamed that it is so.



The latest and most sensational episode is the one alluded to above as the Guffey incident. Bryan began it with a pronounced repudiation of the Pennsylvania leadership in the Democratic party of James M. Guffey, the Democratic agent of the Standard Oil trust, who has co-operated, as Walter Wellman says, with Thomas F. Ryan and others of like interests to hold the Democratic party in a plutocratic leash. At the Pennsylvania primaries overwhelming instructions for Bryan were given, but a majority of the State delegates, acting under Guffey's influence, bolted their instructions from the rank and file and sent an uninstructed delegation to Denver, a majority of which was composed of Guffey men. That action was proclaimed as treachery by the Bryan Democratic League of Pennsylvania, and a delegation from this League, including anti-Guffey delegates, which waited upon Bryan at Lincoln on the 4th, was addressed by him in a speech of which this excerpt concerns the Guffey incident:

If I properly understand the signs of the times, the overshadowing issue in this campaign is simply this: "Shall the people run their own government or shall the masses be exploited by those who are raised to power by predatory corporations?" The twelve years during which I have been in national politics I have avoided interference with the politics of the various States. I have abstained scrupulously from taking part in these controversies between individuals, and I have done it for a reason. I believe in the right of each community to attend to its own business. I believe that the people of a community know better what they want than any outside person can know. And the only reason why I expressed an opinion in your own State (I have expressed an opinion in that State in regard to the national committeeman who is to help manage the campaign) is this, that Mr. Guffey, your present national committeeman, who aspires to be committeeman again, deliberately and wilfully conspired to defeat what he knew to be the expressed will of the Democrats of Pennsylvania. A large majority of the voters in the Democratic party in Pennsylvania expressed their desire that I should be nominated, and recorded themselves in favor of the delegates who promised to go there and favor my nomination. It is not for me to say whether those Democrats were wise or foolish, but if I understand what democracy means, those men are the ones to determine what Pennsylvania says on that subject. When a political boss, whether he calls himself a Democrat or a Republican, assumes to defy the expressed will of his party, he shall never be in the party organization except over my protest. And as I have tried to be honest in politics, I have notified Mr. Guffey that wherever my opinion has been asked I have stated that I would regard his selection as unfortunate and his membership upon the committee as an embarrassment. Now, my friends, I shall not discuss the question further. I have been in politics for some time. I have taken the people

into my confidence ever since I have been in politics. I have discussed questions frankly. Nobody is in doubt as to what I believe or where I stand. When this campaign came on I stated that while I did not know whether I ought to be nominated or not, if the people said that they thought I ought to be nominated I would take it for granted that they meant what they said, and that when they nominated me they wanted to elect me and that no bushwhacker would be put into my counsels to betray me.

Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, a guest of Mr. Bryan at the time, was called upon by the Pennsylvanians for a speech and responded briefly to this effect as reported:

It is men like Guffey who have betrayed the Democratic party and will betray it again. We have got to drive them out. We are not going to gain votes by trying to placate the men who want to make the Democratic party so near like the Republican party that no matter which wins you lose.

The delegation that listened to these speeches was represented as spokesman by James Kerr, who had denounced the leadership of Mr. Guffey as being for the corporations instead of the party. When Mr. Bryan's speech of this occasion came to Mr. Guffey's ears, he published a long address, which has been treated sensationnally by the anti-Bryan press. Vituperative throughout, it centers upon the point that Bryan is an ingrate for opposing men who contributed money to the campaigns in which he was a candidate, summing up this accusation of ingratitude as follows:

In 1896 and 1900 the late Senator Jones many times declared there were just three men upon whom he never called for financial assistance in vain. One was the late Marcus Daly, another was William Randolph Hearst, the third was myself. Through his friend and manager Mr. Bryan not only accepted gratefully but beseechingly sought our aid, and we gave freely thousands and thousands of dollars. Mr. Bryan knew then and knows now that I was as much of a "corporation man" in 1896 and 1900 as I am in 1908, but did he "scruple abstemiously" to use our money to help his canvass? Let him answer at his leisure. And what followed? After his defeat Mr. Hearst became his patron and paid him thousands of dollars, only to be turned upon without a qualm, though now, when again a candidate, Mr. Bryan fawns upon him in hope of gaining his support. I reap my reward in a vicious, brutal attack from the man who professed to be my friend. Mr. Daly died soon enough not to feel the ingratitude of one who accepts a man's assistance and, at the first refusal to serve a selfish purpose, spits in his face.

Mr. Bryan has refused to reply through newspaper interviews to Mr. Guffey's attack.



Socialist Labor Party Convention.

There are two socialist parties in the United States. They are the Socialist party, which nominated Eugene V. Debs for president (p. 178) at

its national convention at Chicago in May, and the Socialist Labor party which held its national convention (p. 326) at New York last week. The leader of the latter is Daniel De Leon, formerly of the faculty of Columbia University, New York, but for many years the editor of the newspaper organ of the Socialist Labor party. At the opening of the convention of this party on the 2d, an effort was made to have the convention endorse Mr. Debs, but it failed; and on the 5th the party made its own nomination. Its action is receiving more newspaper attention than it would probably have got, because its principal nomination was sensational, the candidate being Martin R. Preston who is ten years below the Constitutional age for President and is in the State prison in Nevada under a 25-year sentence for homicide. In moving Mr. Preston's nomination, Mr. De Leon explained:

The man I am going to nominate has been in the front ranks of workingmen, and is now in jail. That man is Martin R. Preston, and he is now serving a jail sentence in Goldfield, Nev., for conduct that is honorable, and of which no workingman should be ashamed. Some three years ago there was a strike in Goldfield, and the nominee I have named for President of the United States was a picket appointed by his union. There was a strike within a strike at the time, and a man named Silver kept a restaurant there with girls for waitresses. One of these girls refused to obey her employer's shameless demands, and was discharged by him without her week's salary. When the Socialist Labor party heard of this they immediately took steps to protect the integrity of the girls in the employ of Silver, and tried to get those who were remaining at work to quit. The party was partly successful in this, but in some cases the girls would not leave for reasons that must be left to the imagination of the delegates. Preston did such good work in getting not only the regular citizens in Goldfield to keep away from the restaurant, but also the transient visitors, of whom there were a great many, that Silver became his enemy. One day Silver came out of his restaurant in a violent rage and placed a gun close to Preston's face, whereupon Preston immediately pulled out his gun and shot Silver dead. It was admitted at the time that he did well, but afterwards he was tried, found guilty and sentenced to jail for twenty-five years. Though Preston is not of the age provided in the Constitution for President, it makes no difference to us. It is for the working people to elect him, and if he is elected he will be seated. Constitutions are for the people, and not the people for the constitutions.

Preston was nominated unanimously for President, and Donald Munro of Virginia for Vice President. The vote of the Socialist Labor party for Presidential electors has been as follows:

1892	21,161
1896	36,274
1900	39,739
1904	31,249

Labor Politics in Chicago.

Pursuant to its plan for entering actively into politics (pp. 251, 299) the Chicago Federation of Labor, through its committee of fifty appointed for the purpose, made twelve nominations on the 6th to be voted for at the direct primaries on the 8th of August for Democratic nomination. They are as follows:

Board of Review, John C. Harding, Typographical Union.

Assessor, John J. Brittain, Carpenters' Union.

Assessor, John F. Sheppard, Waiters' Union.

Appellate Court Clerk, Stephen C. Sumner, Milk Wagon Drivers' Union.

Sanitary District Trustee, Thomas V. Podzimek, Piano Workers' Union.

Sanitary District Trustee, Joseph C. Colgan, Street Car Men's Union.

Sanitary District Trustee, Alexander Gilchrist, Wholesale Grocery Union.

Recorder of Deeds, Charles L. Young, Typographical Union.

Circuit Court Clerk, George J. Thompson, Cigarmakers' Union.

Superior Court Clerk, Peter Deinhart, Pressmen's Union.

Coroner, Robert L. Nelson, Molders' Union.

County Commissioner, James O'Connor, Musicians' Union.



The Hearst-McClellan Contest.

The contest of William Randolph Hearst for Mayor of New York on the ground of fraud in the count in favor of Mayor McClellan (p. 326) has been decided against Mr. Hearst. In charging the jury in the quo warranto proceedings brought by Attorney General Jackson against Mayor McClellan, Judge Lambert said:

There has been absolutely no evidence of fraud brought out here, so far as the conduct of the election officers is concerned, as we have found in the boxes votes that corresponded to the record they made of the official returns on that night. I only speak of this now in exoneration of those officials whose integrity has been attacked in this proceeding. The people have completely abandoned their charges, with the exception of a single one, which has just been framed here. If legal voters could be so easily disfranchised as is sought to do in this procedure, our present form of government could not long exist. I should not permit you, even if you saw fit, to find a verdict ousting this defendant, George B. McClellan. I therefore direct that you find a verdict that George B. McClellan was duly elected Mayor of New York in 1905.

A verdict was found accordingly, and the formal motion of Mr. Hearst for a new trial was denied. The case has been on trial since the middle of April. At the trial, some of the ballot boxes showed gains for Hearst and some for McClellan, the net gain being 869 for Hearst, which reduces McClellan's plurality to 2,965. This result was due not to fraud in the count, but almost altogether to the more liberal ruling of the court as to

what constitutes defective ballots than the rule the election officers applied.



Three-Cent Fares in Cleveland.

The financial account of operations by the new street car company of Cleveland (p. 324), upon three cent fares, for the month of May, has just been published by the Cleveland papers. This is the first financial statement since the municipal company took over the lines on the 28th of April. It was made to the City Council and is as follows:

Gross earnings from operation.....	\$355,819.13
Operating expenses	276,920.17

Net earnings from operation	\$ 78,922.96
Miscellaneous income	537.13

Gross Income, less operating expense.....	\$ 79,400.09
Taxes	21,808.48

Income less operating expenses and taxes.....	\$ 57,651.66
Interest on entire indebtedness of Cleveland Railway Co., assumed by company.....	39,190.40

Net income for dividend requirements.....	18,461.26
Deficit	54,916.74

For dividend requirements	\$ 73,378.00
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This deficit of \$54,916.74 was occasioned by the strike (pp. 227, 243), which imposed extra expense and diminished income. In explanation of the financial statement, Mayor Johnson said in the Cleveland Press on the 1st: "We estimate the loss to the company because of the strike, at about \$95,000. As a result the financial statement shows a deficit of nearly \$55,000 instead of a profit of approximately \$40,000. The direct strike expense was about \$20,000. The loss in the earnings because of reduced traffic reached, as shown by daily returns, about \$75,000." According to Mayor Johnson, the financial statement for June will also show a deficit, but the amount of the loss will be greatly reduced. "The loss in earnings, as a result of the strike," he continued, "will be a constantly diminishing factor reaching through three or four months. The gross earnings for June exceed those of May by more than \$50,000, which I consider very satisfactory."



The Filipinos Demand Trade Privileges.

Manila held a monster tariff demonstration on the afternoon of the 3d. Twenty thousand men representing the leading industries marched in procession, and then assembled on the Luneta and ratified by resolution the petition of the Merchants' Association that Congress grant the Philippines trade privileges equal to those enjoyed by Porto Rico. The petition has already received 100,000 signatures, and the Association hopes that when the petition is presented at the opening of the next Congress it will bear 1,000,000 signatures. The sugar and tobacco planters declare

that ruin is inevitable unless the tariff is removed. The petition includes the following statements:

We do not charge that the government of the United States is responsible for the unhappy condition of industry in these islands, but we do maintain that as territory belonging to, controlled by, and dependent upon it, a moral obligation is imposed, that may not be justly disregarded, to assist in every possible way the material interests of the people here.

We have been made to witness the splendid development and evident prosperity of Porto Rico; that island has enjoyed the advantages of free trade with the United States, and we naturally feel that if it were justice to so legislate in the case of Porto Rico then full justice has not yet been done the Philippines.

We therefore earnestly petition the people of the United States to influence the United States Congress to enact legislation that will give to the Philippine Islands equal trade advantages with Porto Rico, that the economic troubles with which we are afflicted may be removed and these islands once more be brought to a condition of prosperity and happiness.



Revolution in Paraguay

Revolution was reported from the South American republic of Paraguay by dispatches of the 4th. Paraguay is a comparatively small country lying between Brazil and Argentina. Its President, elected in December, 1906, was General Benigno Ferreira. By the 6th the revolution, which seems to have been bloody while it lasted, won out, and the foreign diplomatic corps offered its friendly services in effecting a settlement. The revolutionists appear to have been satisfied with the resignation of President Ferreira, and the assumption of the presidency by the Vice-President, Emiliano Gonzales Navero. The revolutionary committee guaranteed the lives of all government supporters. The new government has issued a manifesto claiming that the movement to overthrow the Ferreira government was essentially radical, but was supported by serious men of other parties. The manifesto promises a good, tolerant government and forgiveness to the opposition. The congress has been dissolved.



Reaction Triumphs in Persia.

Nationalism is fighting for its life in Persia (p. 326). According to English reports the reactionary party, to which the Shah has committed himself, is backed by Russian strength; all state papers have been destroyed, and the constitution has perished. The Mohammedan clergy who have been at the heart of the whole Nationalist movement, are meeting violent and hideous treatment at the hands of the soldiery. Tabriz and the province of Azerbaijan are Nationalist strongholds, and the Shah has sent all available forces

thither, with orders to crush out the Nationalist movement at all costs. The fighting has been desperate, and Tabriz is in a state of siege.



International Woman Suffrage Congress at Amsterdam.

The Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance opened at Amsterdam on June 15 (p. 301), and lasted for ten days. One feature of the program, according to the Woman's Journal report, was an afternoon devoted to a discussion of woman suffrage from the standpoint of Christians, an effort to show that it is not antagonistic to Christianity. One evening was devoted to accounts of woman suffrage "in practice, not in theory," by representatives from New Zealand, Australia, Finland and Norway, where women have the complete franchise. All agreed, according to this report, that the women had used their votes to promote education, temperance and social reforms, and the election of a better class of candidates; and that equal suffrage did not lead to domestic discord when husbands and wives differed. This is the first International convention of women from which delegates were kept away by the necessity of exercising their suffrage rights. This was the case with the delegates from Finland. The next meeting of the Alliance is to be held in England.



Imposing Demands for the Suffrage.

The English "suffragettes" made another astounding demonstration (p. 300) on the 30th, when they stormed the House of Commons, without, however, effecting entrance, and broke the windows of the residence of the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith. The demonstration was the outcome of Mr. Asquith's suggestion that the women of England had not shown any intense desire for the suffrage. After he had refused to see a delegation from a suffragette meeting at Caxton hall, they determined that the time had come to further show their strength. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said in an impassioned speech that women had broken all records. In 1897 the women presented the greatest petition Parliament had ever known. On June 13 of this year they had held the largest public meeting that had ever been held (p. 275); and on June 21 they had organized the most impressive demonstration that ever appealed to any people or any government (p. 300). She added that they would produce another record that night. And the dispatches tell how well they kept their word. We quote from the Chicago Tribune:

They went to Parliament Square, not in a procession, for that would have been a breach of the old statute and subjected all participating to a penalty of three months' imprisonment. They joined the great mass of their sympathizers, who were already

converging on the Square, but they found a forest of black helmets and battalions of mounted police awaiting them. The mob grew as by magic until it not only packed the great Square but filled Westminster bridge as far as Lambeth bank, blocked Whitehall to the horse guards' headquarters, packed the Victoria embankment, and thronged Victoria street for several blocks. As far as the eye could reach all the minor converging streets were simply dense masses of humanity. It was, in fact, a crowd stupendous and unparalleled among human assemblages, comprising as it did a large proportion of women.

NEWS NOTES

—By a national referendum Switzerland has prohibited the manufacture and sale of absinthe.

—Joel Chandler Harris, the originator of "Uncle Remus," died at Atlanta, Ga., on the 3d at the age of 60.

—Murat Halsted, distinguished as a journalist, and at one time editor of the Cincinnati Commercial, died at Cincinnati on the 2d at the age of 78.

—The general Federation of Women's Clubs, in session in Boston (p. 301), adjourned on the 30th. Mrs. Philip N. Moore, of St. Louis, was elected president.

—Robert E. Peary (vol. x. p. 468) sailed on the little Roosevelt from New York on the 6th on his third expedition to get to the North Pole (vol. x. p. 1188).

—The National Educational Association in session at Cleveland (p. 327) elected L. D. Harvey of Wisconsin as president on the 1st, and adjourned on the 3d.

—Lincoln, Neb., suffered on the 6th, from heavy rains, the severest flood in its history. Transportation was paralyzed, the gas and electric plants were submerged, and houses and other property were swept away. Seventeen persons were drowned.

—James W. Hill, a democratic Democrat of Peoria, Illinois, long the master mechanic of the P. & P. U. Railroad, and for years blacklisted in his vocation, has been agreed upon by the Democrats of the Peoria district for their Congressional candidate.

—The usual celebration of the Fourth by firearms and fireworks resulted, in the whole country, in 56 deaths and 1,899 personal injuries. Chicago suffered the highest list of dead—12. Toledo developed the best record for an orderly and "sane" Fourth (vol. x, p. 347).

—Robert Cumming, the widely known single tax man, is a candidate for the Democratic direct primary nomination for representative in the Illinois legislature from Peoria. His platform is "Referendum, Initiative, Recall, Home Rule, and Government of, by and for the People."

—A Pontifical document made public at Rome on the 6th, removes the Roman Catholic churches in Great Britain, Holland, Canada and the United States from the jurisdiction of the propaganda at Rome, thereby terminating their status as missionary churches and giving them the same standing at the

Vatican as the churches of France, Spain and Austria.

—Harry Orchard, the State's witness against Haywood and his associates at the trials in Idaho for the murder of ex-Gov. Steunenberg (vol. x, p. 1214), who had pleaded guilty to committing the murder and was under sentence of death, had his sentence commuted to imprisonment for life on the 1st.

—Municipal ownership and operation of a new street car line, built by the city, began in Berlin, Germany, on the 2d. While certain other municipalities, collectively forming Greater Berlin, have street car lines of their own, this is the first line to be operated by the municipality of Berlin proper.

—The single taxers of Seattle, who are arranging for a celebration of Henry George's birthday on the 2nd of September, at which Edward S. J. McAllister of Portland is to be one of the speakers, request single taxers from a distance who can be in Seattle at that time to communicate with Frank S. Southard, 55 Haller Building, Seattle.

—An international balloon race was started at Chicago on the 4th. Nine balloons took part. The Fielding of San Antonio, Texas, won the race, landing at West Shefford, Quebec, 741 miles distant. These figures fall 131 miles short of the record established by the Pommern in last year's international race started from St. Louis (vol. x, p. 709).

—The Japanese cabinet, with Saionji as its premier, formed in January, 1906 (vol. viii, p. 674), has resigned on the stated ground of the prolonged ill-health of the Marquis Saionji. It is expected that the Baron Katsura, who was premier before Saionji, will be his successor. Katsura represents the Yamagata military faction, but it is said that he will be pledged to a non-military policy.

—A dirigible balloon was sailed by its inventor, Count Zeppelin, on the 1st over northeastern Switzerland. It was steered in all possible directions and up and down steep inclines. A speed of thirty-four miles an hour was maintained, and the balloon was kept in the air for more than twelve hours. This balloon, which is the fourth invented by Count Zeppelin, consists of an oblong gas bag, which, instead of being of silk, as is usual with balloons, is constructed of aluminum and other light metals, and a wicker work from which is suspended the deck for the machinery and passengers.

—A Children's International State is a recent development of the Patriotic League founded in New York in 1891. In April of this year commissioners of education from several nations met in New York and signed articles of agreement founding the Children's International State, to add interest and strength to the cause of good citizenship in every country. The following is the pledge of the State.

We, the new citizens, builders of the world of to-morrow, wish to have our world at peace. We wish for all people health, happiness and intelligence; good manners, good morals, good fortune. We join hands from land to land, and promise to do our best to serve the world, each in our own village, town or city, each in our own dear country, and all together in the Children's International State.

—The pronunciation of "Los Angeles" is so various, even among those who have lived there, that there is a local effort to secure an official pronuncia-

tion. Chas. F. Lummis, editor of Out West and librarian of the Los Angeles City library, says the name should be pronounced "Loce Ang-el-ess," and he offers these lines as a lesson on it:

The lady would remind you, please,
Her name is not
"Lost Angle Lees."
Nor Angie anything whatever,
She hopes her friends will be so clever
To share her fit historic pride.
The G should not be jellified,
O long, G hard, and rhyme with "yes,"
And all about
"Loce Ang-el-ess."

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 181) for the eleven months ending May 31, 1908, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for May, 1908, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G. for Gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M.	\$1,745,190,911	\$1,102,533,752	\$642,657,159 exp.
G.	63,806,206	144,856,048	81,049,842 imp.
S.	53,483,842	41,177,507	12,306,335 exp.
	\$1,862,480,959	\$1,288,567,307	\$573,913,652 exp.
From 1897 to June 30, 1907.....			\$5,008,699,071 exp.
Total from 1897 to date			\$5,582,612,723 exp.

PRESS OPINIONS

Lazy Leisure.

The (Elkhart, Ind.) Secular Church, July.—A writer for our English contemporary, the Spectator, in an article on "The Lawful Business of the Loiterer," makes an appeal for the utilities of leisure; defining "leisure" as meaning a "kind of elevation of the spirit above all the noise and the bustle of our fussy modern life, from which it has a clearer perception of aims and ideals." A thousand times better than such leisure, as we take it, is that perception which belongs to the thoughtful worker, who sees through the grime and the sweat of toil, the spiritual potentialities that are wrapped up within it.



Taxes Upon Industry.

Johnston (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), June 15.—Did you ever hear of a farmer who told his men to raise weeds and neglect the wheat? Did you ever hear of a manufacturer who told his men to produce rags and not make good cloth? Did the world ever see such a phenomenon as an employer who punished his men for doing their best and rewarded them for doing their worst? Where is there such a condition to be discovered, where men prefer ugliness to beauty, barrenness to fertility, the desolation of the wilderness to the blossoming of the rose? Is such a condition to be seen in a world of rational beings? Can we conceive of blindness so blind or stupidity so stupid? Yes, we can. Marvellous as it may appear, our methods of taxation are exactly of that kind. Let men clear farms, let them erect the necessary buildings, let men employ labor to make houses more abundant and cheap, let men employ industry to add to the wealth and prosperity of the country, and it is decreed by the wise men who enact the legisla-

tion, that against these men the taxation shall be increased, that for every additional improvement there shall be an increase of taxes; but let a man put his land to the worst use in the world, to keep it vacant and thus force men into idleness, to gain wealth by making poverty, then the wisdom of the legislators decrees to him low taxation and encouragement. The laborer turns the desert into a garden, and we increase his taxes for doing so; the land speculator turns the garden into a desert and we diminish his taxes. The better a man does for his country the worse his country does for him. Verily, we do the things we should not do, and leave undone the things we should do. We need a new clause in the Litany. Save us, Good Lord, from our vain stupidities and our monstrous mistakes. Open our eyes and show us what is honesty and what is extortion, what is a clean dollar and what is an unholy fraud.

+ +

As the Native African Sees Us.

(East London, So. Africa) Izwi Labantu (organ of the Natives), May 12.—Are the natives threatened with the worst symptoms of European slum life in our locations? The question is important, and ought to be faced, and that by the natives themselves, for if the stories related of the terrible degradation of the whites under Western civilization are true (and we have by actual personal contact with the lower forms of slum life in such cities as Glasgow and Edinburgh to vouch for it), it is time the interest of the people was aroused to consider what it means. That the evil is present, and is insidiously spreading in our Native locations is undoubted. The conditions in all or most of these locations are laying up for the people a fearful legacy of crime, disease, prostitution and poverty, the apparently inevitable concomitants of the vicious systems of civilized life which in spite of the well meant efforts of humanitarians are breeding cesspools of iniquity in every town and city. We hear a good deal of the triumphs of hygiene and sanitation; and medical science is undoubtedly making useful discoveries in the alleviation of sickness and the removal of the germs of disease. But medical science has hitherto failed to grapple successfully with evils which spring from a perverted social system, and which must first be reformed before these evils can disappear. Otherwise, like the poor who are always with us, and the prostitute, both of whom are evidences of the impotence of science and a proof of its limitations, these social diseases must continue to grow and flourish, and the seeds have already been widely scattered among the natives. Medical science in the wake of the diseases of civilization is like a little dog following at the heels of its master tramp, whose sores it may lick when he rests and thus afford relief, but which is unable to remove the causes of human degradation generated by a perverted social system. As an attache of the system the average medico is useful as a palliative, when he is not extortionate; and excepting these new evils, which came in with him, and many others which he has invented for the gullible public, we doubt if the aborigine was not better served by his own herbalists and bonesetters. We should like to give examples from the British

press of what we mean, and to throw a fierce reflected light upon those conditions which send the people to fester and rot in unwholesome surroundings, but shall defer this for another time.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

COMMON THINGS.

For The Public.

The common skies, the common grass,
Where common things have birth—
These make what fill the days we pass
Upon our common earth.

Not the unusual, nor the rare
Or unaccustomed bliss,
Usurp the joys of common fare,
The not uncommon kiss.

The highest touch we recognize
Is one supreme in art,
That bares those secrets to our eyes
Hid in the common heart.

He made us, too—let's cease to boast—
Few demigods we scan,
But they are an uncounted host,
Who make the Common Man.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

+ + +

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: Well, Theodore nominated his man for President, and the question is, Shall I vote for his candidate? Can I do it without acknowledging a royal succession—the power of the incumbent to perpetuate his rule, which it was the very purpose of the early third term feeling to prevent? He's nominated him, but can he elect him? When it comes to votin' Theodore has just one vote. Taft cannot get in unless I aid him, and under the circumstances—well, I'm in the nominatin' business myself. I am of legal age. I have teeth of my own, and I resent a little having my political bread and butter chewed for me, by interested presidential grannies, no matter how benevolent and well meaning. I think, more and more, that I'll let the fellow that nominates candidates, elect 'em. I did it with Parker four years ago, and the political whirlwind that swung westward from New York, and nominated him at St. Louis, went up in dust and a rustle of dry leaves, and all was still, including Hill, who was dead.

You see, John, a lawyer, just a bald lawyer, has no vote catching qualities. The better provided

associate him with fees, and the others with unpleasant things. It requires plus qualities, homespun eloquence and the splitting of rails, as with Lincoln; or the joke capacity, amiability, and a run-around smile as with Bryan; or the humanity of an Altgeld to some people to vote for a man—though a lawyer, yea, even after he is dead.

The wise and observant Republican party saw the donkey Democrats pull a dry Judge off a dry bench, and run him for President on a dry road unlubricated by any thing entertainin' in the way of reform. He got through with a part of his load.

Now the wise Republicans are trying the same dodge. They have pulled another dry Judge off a dry bench, have set him on a road, bare of all reformatory lixiviation, and expect results. Yes, expect 'em, and against whom? Why, against Billy Bryan, with twelve years' advertising, perfect temper and good nature, fairness, a lead of over six million votes, and the hostility of the trust press against him—

With an Irish name,
And an English grit,
And a beautiful record attached to it.
And what more?
Do you want a store?
Then he has it, the peerless leader.

You see, John, this Bryan is a little out of the common. As the German said of the coin: "Only a nickle, yes; but you doan so quick pick 'em up every day, in de schtreet alretty!" A joking candidate who can make his own jokes; a political farmer who can milk his own cows; a politician steadfast and true and standing for the rights of man—well, the German is right and I guess they will nominate him at Denver.

I've been a thinkin' about the injunction plank. I do not keer much for the Nebraska plank. It misses the real pint. It provides for notice. Now, injunction without notice is really the more merciful kind. If a judge is goin' to stick his knife into you up to the hilt—and he is—the less notice you have the more comfortable you'll be. The real pint is that the courts are overridin' Magna Charta, which provides for jury trials. Every judge should be made to sign "I swear to Magna Charta," before he draws his pay.

I have no plank ready, but two of my chips would run about this way:

1. All injunctions and receiverships granted by Federal Courts shall dissolve in three days by lapse of time, if not legalized within such time by the verdict of an uninstructed jury of twelve men.

2. After a non-concurring verdict no second injunction shall issue in the same cause.

Tom Jefferson is all right, but why not restore me Magna Charta.

UNCLE SAM.

THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

For The Public.

VI.

Freight Service and Rates.

1. Germany.

The question of freight service on the German State railways is one which should be given particular attention. It has been stated over and over again that German freight rates are higher than those in this country, that freight is moved in an unsatisfactory manner; in short, that even if the German, and European State railways in general, were giving cheap and efficient passenger service, they lacked this efficiency in regard to the freight service. We will try to investigate the foundation of these claims. On their face they seem to be true. But, as we will presently see, it is because the figures quoted to substantiate these claims are misleading.

It should, however, be stated that the figures are misleading in such a way that even honest investigators have come to wrong conclusions. The generally accepted idea that freight rates are higher in Germany than in the United States need not have been put forth with a desire to deceive. Lack of thorough investigation, and a failure to perceive all the conditions involved, may account for such statements. On the other hand, there are doubtless cases where the figures which indicate that German freight rates are higher have been quoted, although the fact was known that these figures permitted no equitable comparison. We have a right to suppose that this has been the case when editors of prominent railway journals have thus tried to show the benevolence of private ownership. But we will not waste our time with idle suppositions as to motive. Let us rather try to find the facts in the case.

All freight, ordinary freight as well as that class of goods which in this country is termed express goods, is handled directly by the German State railroads. The freight is, therefore, divided into two main classes, *express freight* and *regular freight*. The latter is again sub-divided into various classes: perishable freight, which includes food stuffs of various kinds, piece-goods freight, and carload freight.

The express freight is conveyed by the fastest routes by express trains, and constitutes the same class of goods as is handled by the express companies in this country. The rates for this class of freight are considerably lower than the average rates charged by our express companies. The mileage rate is double that charged for regular piece-goods freight. The rates for this latter class of freight are given in Table XIII, and the ton-mile rate for express can easily be found from this table by doubling the figures given.

TABLE XIII.
German Freight Rates for Small Shipments (Not Including Terminal Charges).*

Distance, miles.	Rate per ton-mile, Cents.	Distance, miles.	Rate per ton-mile, Cents.
1- 31.....	4.19	188-250.....	3.05
32-125.....	3.81	251-312.....	2.67
126-187.....	3.43	over 312.....	2.28

*One metric ton = 2,205 pounds.

The best example of the cheapness of these rates is presented by comparing them with regular piece-goods freight rates in this country. To compare them with express rates here will, of course, show still a greater difference. In fact, one ton (metric ton = 2,205 pounds) of *freight* from New York to Hartford, Conn., which would be charged for at the rate of 33 cents a hundred pounds, or \$7.26 a ton, could be sent in Germany the same distance by *express* for \$8.62, or a sum but slightly greater than the American freight rate. For very short distances, for instance, between Chicago and Joliet, or Chicago and Peoria, the American *freight* rate is considerably higher than the German *express* rate. Comparing, again, express rates with express rates, the American rate between New York and Hartford of 75 cents a hundred pounds, would amount to \$16.50 for 2,200 pounds, as compared with \$8.62 in Germany, or nearly double the German rate. On shipments of less than a hundred pounds the difference would be still more pronounced, as the American rate is proportionately higher for small weights, while the German rate decreases uniformly down to 22 pounds.

From these figures we may without hesitation draw the conclusion that the German State railroads have at least not proved a failure in their ability to handle express goods cheaply. In fact, they have proved themselves all the more superior in this respect to the privately managed American roads, inasmuch as these do not undertake themselves to handle express goods at all, but have turned over this part of the business to parasitical corporations, who grow fat at both the railroad's and the public's expense. In this particular, government management has proved to be more comprehensive, more far-reaching, more economical, and, above all, more interested in public welfare than our boasted private managements have been capable of.

The perishable freight is carried by special fast trains at the same rates as are charged for ordinary small shipment freight. Ordinary freight is moved with greater dispatch than in this country, and a number of things which the ordinary shipper here must send by express, in order to be able to receive the goods within a reasonable time, can there be sent by freight, as it is possible to count surely upon the time of the arrival of the goods. The German State railways stipulate to

move all freight at least 62 miles a day, if the total distance is less than 125 miles, and at least 125 miles a day, for all longer distances; the day of shipment, however, is not then counted. If we compare this with the results of our railroads, where a freight shipment often takes a week to be carried 100 or 150 miles, and a month to be carried 1,000 miles or less, we cannot but admit that the regular freight service of the German State railroads is superior in this particular to that of our privately managed roads.

The regular German freight rates for carload freight vary from 0.84 cent per ton mile, to three times this amount, according to the nature and amount of the shipment. The ton considered is the metric ton, equal to 2,205 pounds. As small a shipment as 5 tons may constitute a carload in figuring freight charges. Lower rates than this are in force for goods exported to foreign countries, and for special goods within the country, also there are rates as low as 0.32 cent per ton-mile. Special terminal charges are collected, varying from 14 to 24 cents per ton for small distances, up to a maximum of 29 to 48 cents per ton for the longest distances. The terminal charges for ordinary freight, not shipped by the carload, vary from 24 to 48 cents per ton according to the distance the goods are shipped. The ton-mile rates for piece goods vary according to distance, being figured from a gradually falling scale, and vary from 4.19 cents to 2.28 cents per metric ton-mile. (See Table XIII.) For comparison we may mention that the shipment from Hartford, Conn., to New York, referred to above, at the rate of \$7.26 per 2,200 pounds would in Germany be carried for \$4.74, including terminal charges. This indicates that some freight rates at least, particularly those affecting the small shipper, are decidedly higher on American than on German railroads.

TABLE XIV.
Average Freight Rates in Germany per Ton-Mile, Showing Tendency to Decrease of Rates.*

Year.	Cents per ton-mile.	Year.	Cents per ton-mile.
1890.....	1.47	1896.....	1.45
1892.....	1.46	1898.....	1.40
1894.....	1.45	1900.....	1.35

*One metric ton = 2,205 pounds.

The question which causes the greatest confusion in regard to the actual efficiency of the German State railroads is that of average freight rates. Apparently the average freight rate is higher in Germany than here. We shall presently examine the nature of this apparent higher average rate. If the rates for most shipments, when considered individually, are higher here than there, it is a queer result that the average freight rate should be higher where individual rates are lower. This, however, can easily be explained. But be-

fore doing so, let us suppose that we accept the statement that average rates are higher. The average length of each freight haul on the railways in the United States, considered as one system, is about 240 miles. The average freight haul in Germany is 62 miles. That the mileage rate for long hauls should be cheaper is evident, because in moving freight, it is not only the expenses of hauling a certain distance which should be considered, but the loading and unloading, and terminal expenses, which are the same for long and short hauls. Thus, in Germany, with hauls slightly more than one-quarter in length as compared with those in this country, the actual expense to the railroad system for each ton of freight moved is comparatively higher than in the United States.

If we now actually compare the figures for the freight rates in this country and in Germany, we will find that the average freight rate per metric ton-mile is only 0.84 cent in this country, compared with 1.36 cent in the Prussian State railways. These figures are always kindly put before the American public in order to show what superior private management has done for the country. In the first place, however, the *average* rate has a very insignificant meaning to the average shipper. The cheap freight rates in force on American roads mostly benefit large shippers; and the public in general has to pay far higher a rate than the public in general has to pay in Germany. We have already referred to a typical instance where the American freight rate is \$7.26 as compared with \$4.78 for the same distance in Germany; in this case the American rate is 52 per cent higher than the German State railway rate. For short distances the comparison is even more in favor of the German State railways. The American freight rate for certain classes of goods between Chicago and Joliet is 145 per cent higher than the German rate, and between Chicago and Peoria about 125 per cent. For longer distances the difference is smaller, but still noticeable. Thus for a shipment between Chicago and Kansas City the American rate for one class of goods would be over 30 per cent higher than the German freight rate for an equal distance. These instances, even if they do not by themselves prove our assertion that American freight rates in reality are higher, at least indicate that it is very probable that the general public has little to appreciate in private management as far as general low freight rates are concerned. If the *average* freight rates are lower, as the figures previously quoted seem to indicate, then there is, at least, little doubt but what the low rates, producing a low average, benefit the large industrial combinations, the trusts, more than anybody else.

That German freight rates in actual practice work out *less for the same service* is indicated by several authorities. Professor Parsons, as quoted

by Hon. Thomas M. Patterson in a speech before the United States Senate, in comparing freight rates in Germany and the United States, says:

German rates are much lower than those of England or France, and though our average ton-mile rate is below the German, actual rates for similar services are for the most part lower in Germany than with us. For example, take the statement of Hon. Charles A. Prouty, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, comparing rates from his home town, Newport, Vt., to Boston, with rates for the same distance in Prussia, and also in Iowa, where rates are very low for this country.

Rates in cents per 100 pounds—

	Newport, Vt., to Boston.	Iowa, same distance.	German rate.
Potatoes	19	12½	9.5
Hay	17	11	10.5
Butter	46	26	36
Sugar	19	17	10.9
Lumber	10½	9¼	6.4
Fertilizers	17	9¾	8

So far Professor Parsons. Instances are also cited by Commissioner Prouty where the American rate is 32 cents, and the corresponding German rate 11.08 and 15 cents; another case is mentioned where the American rate is 22.4 cents per ton-mile (Springfield, Mass., to Westfield, Mass., on dry goods), the corresponding German rate being 6 cents, in which apparently terminal charges are included. Numerous instances are mentioned by Professor Parsons where the American rates, particularly for short distances, are from 300 to 350 per cent higher than those of the Prussian State railways.

German freight rates have been reduced 8 per cent in ten years. Our through rates, according to Professor Parsons, are higher than they were 65 years ago. He further says:

German railway commissioners recently in this country, after studying our rates, declared that they were in many cases four or five times as high as the German rates for the same goods for the same distances. No existing differences in wages or legitimate traffic conditions are sufficient to explain such differences in rates.

We have so far pointed out that freight rates are actually higher in the United States than in Germany in individual instances. But this does not explain why the *average* rate still is so much higher in Germany. This, however, is easily explained. The American rate does not include express, which pays very high rates, while the German average rate includes express also. The German rate also includes large amounts of traffic which in this country is handled by fast freight and private car lines, the earnings of which are not included in the reported railroad revenues. The American average rate is further cut down by including large amounts of freight carried for the companies themselves, for which no charge is made, while the German average rate includes only freight actually paid for. The proportion

of bulky, heavy, low-rate freight, such as coal, iron, ore, timber, etc., is very much larger in America, where coal alone constitutes one-third of the total tonnage. We have also already mentioned the difference in length of average haul, which tends to reduce ton-mile rates in the United States. Partly the low ton-mile rate is due to carrying freight on circuitous routes, and other unnecessary competitive transportation, representing a waste, and creating a low ton-mile rate without in any way benefiting the shipper, who still pays a high rate if the shortest route between the two ending points of the shipment are considered. "And worse yet," says Professor Parsons, "our average tells the story of the special rates and secret concessions to favored shippers. Our ton-mile rate does not represent the rates the public has to pay. . . . The German average represents the rates that all the people pay."

If allowance be made for express and mail, company freight and private car line traffic, the German commissioners who thoroughly studied the subject and based their claims on well substantiated facts, conclude that a proper figure for the average American ton-mile rate is 1.44 cent, while the figure for the German State railroads would for equal conditions be 0.95 cent.

In conclusion, let us also call attention to the fact that while the Prussian State railways' average freight rate is 1.35 cent per ton-mile, that of the private German railways is 1.74 cent per ton-mile. Another fact well worth considering is that while American freight rates show little or no uniformity, German rates are uniform, and increase according to definite rules. The distance given, the shipper can himself figure his freight rates.

Summing up, we have found that express rates on the German State railways are very much lower than express rates in the United States; that general freight is carried with greater dispatch, and the slow shipments so common in this country not heard of there; that small shipments invariably pay a higher rate on American railroads, sometimes as much as four and five times higher; that the *average* freight rates as ordinarily stated are meaningless for comparison, as they do not refer to the same classes of freight or to the same service in both countries; and finally, that an average rate, based on the same service, indicates that the average American rates are about 50 per cent higher than the average German State railway rates.

We may therefore conclude that the German State railways have been successful even in their handling of freight. We have not based our conclusions on loose statements, but on actual statistical figures, quoted from the most authentic sources. It is easy enough to say that "government railroads have proved a failure wherever they have been tried," but it is far more difficult

to prove this statement with actual figures. In our present investigation we have quoted the facts first, and drawn our conclusions afterwards.

No doubt, at times, the railway administrations of the German State railways commit errors. No doubt, sometimes, they deserve criticism. But that is not the vital point. The vital point is, that, by applying the principle of government ownership of railroads, Germany has developed a railway system superior in many points to our own roads under private management. This we have proved by reference to the actual results obtained.

As far as German State railroads are concerned we may now safely say that the statement of Mr. Taft, "the rates are not as low and therefore not as beneficial to the public," is entirely without support by the real facts.

ERIK OBERG.

BOOKS

THE WILL POWER.

Self-Healing by Thought Force. By William Walker Atkinson. Published by the Library Shelf, 1299 Farwell Ave., Chicago. 1907. Price, 50 cents.

The author maintains that all forms of "healing" are accomplished by varying applications of "thought force," that is, the "reserve stock of nerve-power" which every man sick or well has latent within him. By practice this thought-force may be brought greatly under the control of the man's own will and he thereby be able to direct the blood-circulation to the cure of his bodily ills.

The writing is brief and to the point and the author of this little book, which a half hour will finish, keeps his reader's respect while he explains some of the principles of the "New Thought" movement.

ANGELINE LOESCH.



FREEDOM FOR THE CHILD.

The Mind-Building of a Child. By William Walker Atkinson. Published by The Library Shelf, 1299 Farwell Ave., Chicago. 1907. Price, 50 cents.

One may or may not assent to the "New Thought" principles which the author expresses in this little book. But if "New Thought" is the cause of so sane and loving an ideal of parental duty and childhood freedom as fills the fourscore pages of Mr. Atkinson's book and heart, then the more "New Thought" the better.

"Above all," he says, "try to develop Individuality and Self-Help in the Child Mind. . . . Instead of trying to mould it into a pattern common to all, encourage it to work out its tasks or problems in its own individual way. . . . Let your child grow into an Individual instead of a con-

ventional Duplicate. . . . Remember that each little child which comes to you is not yours, in the sense of ownership . . . but is a fellow-soul, a comrade traveling along the same path, destined to the same end. . . . The little one is your brother or sister, as well as your child. Forget this not, as its realization will throw light on many a dark question of duty, and will help you to solve many a troublesome problem."

ANGELINE LOESCH.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Factory Legislation in Maine. By E. Stagg Whittier. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Volume XXXIII, No. 1. Published by Columbia University, New York, 1908.

—The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform, including all Social Reform Movements and Activities and the Economic, Industrial and Sociological Facts and Statistics of All Countries and all Social Subjects. Edited by William D. P. Bliss, editor in chief, and Rudolph M. Binder, Ph. D., assistant editor, with the co-operation of many specialists, including Jane Addams, E. W. Bemis, W. J. Bryan, John Burns, J. R. Commons, Ernest Crosby, Edward T. Devine, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Samuel Gompers, Stewart D. Head-

Iam, Robert Hunter, S. M. Lindsey, Edwin Markham, John Mitchell, Frank Parsons, Graham Taylor, J. DeWitt Warner, Sidney Webb and Charles Zueblin. Published by Funk & Wagnalls, New York and London. One volume of 1,325 pages. Prices, cloth, 7.50; sheep, \$9.50; half morocco, \$12; full morocco, \$14—all net.

PERIODICALS

The name of the Canadian Single Taxer (Toronto) one of the most energetic advocates of the open-planet movement in the Western world, has been changed to "The Square Deal."



The Single Tax Review (New York) for May-June includes in a varied table of contents of special interest to single taxers a full account of the Manhattan Single Tax Club's 22d annual celebration of Jefferson's birthday.



To the American Federationist (Washington) for July, David Silverstein, a master in chancery of Massachusetts, contributes an article on injunctions in labor cases in which he takes the position, the only sound position either legally or politically, that injunctions in labor cases are usurpations—an un-

DANIEL KIEFER QUOTES A LETTER

I AM convinced that there are enough people who would want THE PUBLIC, to make it abundantly self-sustaining, if they once become acquainted with it. Let us see to it that it no longer remains a stranger to any such person. ¶ Here is an instance of how it takes hold: Somebody dropped a copy of THE PUBLIC upon the sidewalk of an Ohio village. Whether he was through with it or dropped it for seed, no one will ever know; but it brought forth a dollar for a subscription and the following letter from Mr. Frank McMurray of Canton:—"Enclosed find money order for one dollar (\$1) to pay subscription to 'THE PUBLIC' for year to begin with this date or No. 534. Someone had carelessly thrown a copy (No. 533) of 'THE PUBLIC' upon the pavement of a neighboring village where I was waiting last Sunday, and I picked it up. My eye fell upon the article by Mr. Ralston on Arbitration and I read it through. Then I read other articles. Now I want this paper for this year of **the great campaign**. I am an admirer, but not a partisan, of Mr. Bryan. Something is going to happen, but out of it all good will come to 'a government of the people, by the people, for the people.' I soldiered three years during the Civil War that destroyed chattel slavery. Now I want to live to see the new sort, industrial slavery, utterly destroyed in the home of the brave and the land of the free. By some means, the men who produce the wealth of the country ought to have an equitable share of what they produce." ¶ Now, if Mr. McMurray had to get acquainted with the THE PUBLIC by finding a copy on a sidewalk, how many like him may there not be who want such a paper but don't know that there is one? All of them can't be expected to find a stray copy on a sidewalk. ¶ Don't let any yearning man escape. Make him acquainted with THE PUBLIC. Then, if he doesn't subscribe, the fault is not yours. ¶ But don't trust to the sidewalk. Talk with him or write to him, and get him to look at a copy which you think will interest him.

DANIEL KIEFER.

July 1, 1908.

warranted procedure for the protection of personal rights by a process which cannot be legally used except for the protection of property rights.

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James Westfall Thompson, associate professor of history in the University of Chicago, begins in the Illinois Law Review (Chicago) for June what promises to be a useful as well as interesting account

of American legislation against American Tories during the Revolution.

+ + +

The scientists are finding out many things about ancient nations, some of which may be true and some not. Inference is often advanced as fact. Guesses grow into possibilities, and possibilities into probabilities and probabilities into certainty. Dr.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN: ARISTOCRACY versus DEMOCRACY

THE Presidential Campaign of 1908 has begun, and THE PUBLIC will give special attention to it to the end. It will print all the really historical NEWS of the campaign—fact and not gossip—impartially; and it will comment in EDITORIALS with fairness and vigor from the point of view of fundamental democracy as distinguished from party Democracy. CAMPAIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS are invited now. ¶ We will send THE PUBLIC to any address in the United States from and including the issue of JULY 3 (with Bryan portrait supplement) to and including the issue of NOVEMBER 13 (with full election news and editorial comment)—twenty issues in all—for TWENTY-FIVE CENTS, cash in advance. ¶ CLUBS OF TEN will be served for the same period for TWO DOLLARS, cash in advance.

Address: THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Building, Chicago.

Fellowship Songs.

A collection of Hymns and Songs voicing personal aspiration, civic and religious purpose, social conscience and democratic faith; compiled by Ralph Albertson from such writers as Lowell, Whittier, Kingsley, Tennyson, Mackay, Carpenter, Markham, Massey, Crosby, Mrs. Gilman and W. C. Gannett.

Ernest Crosby's last written words for THE PUBLIC were about these Fellowship Songs. The review appeared in THE PUBLIC of January 5, 1907, which went to press on the morning of the 3rd, the morning on which he died. Of the Songs he wrote, among other things:

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