

AUG 24 1908

The Public

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

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Vol. XI

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1908.

No. 539

Published by LOUIS F. POST
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago.

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL

The Sacred Courts Are Aspersed!

The old proverb about the difference it makes whose ox is gored, finds many exemplifications. In 1896 a temperate allusion in the Democratic platform to the dissatisfaction of Democrats with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the Income Tax, although that decision was by an almost evenly divided court and under circumstances which were at least peculiar, was hotly denounced by the Republican leaders and the Republican press with unanimous voice, as an attack upon the most sacred of our institutions, and as tending to destroy all respect for the courts and the law they interpreted and expounded. In 1900 even the recollection of it caused many strong Republican Anti-Imperialists, like Mr. Carnegie, to support McKinley against Bryan. Today the utterance of a unanimous Court of Appeal, reversing a criminal conviction and a penalty that we are credibly told seemed to the legal profession generally out of all proportion to the offense, and which turned upon very doubtful points of law and fact, provokes extraordinary criticism from the especial friends of the Administration. They profess to see in it personal malignity towards the President and his chosen candidate for the succession. The President himself, who was second to none in his horror at the "anarchism" of the Chicago platform of 1896, had already denounced with indignant protest a former decision of an irreproachable Federal judge, who construed a criminal anti-trust statute according to its letter, and

now, apparently without reading the opinion of the Court of Appeals in the Standard Oil rebate case, rushes a formal statement into print, bristling with dogmatic assertions concerning the merits of the controversy in contradiction of the court's opinion. And this is from the appointing and promoting power over the Federal judiciary. What of respect for the courts? What of intimidation of and interference with judges? What of submission to the orderly processes of the law, and so on? Even Mr. Taft, formerly a Federal judge, has caught the infection and defends criticism of the courts. Newspaper correspondents supposed to be inspired, even dare to prophesy indignant criticism of the opinion in the letter of acceptance. We cannot believe it will come to that, but—well, well, who would have thought it? And what are we coming to?

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The Mugwump Must Take Sides.

In American politics the mugwump was inevitable under the delegate system of nominating candidates, but wherever the present crude primary systems obtain, the mugwump should become as extinct as the dodo. When the law makes it necessary for the voter to declare with what party he is affiliated in order to take part in a primary election, the independent voter who disclaims all party allegiance, not only disfranchises himself but contributes to perpetuate the very evil—nominations by corrupt bosses and organizations—against which his independent voting has been a standing effective protest. It behooves all independent voters—and all voters ought to be independent—where nominations are made at primary elections, to declare the political party of their preference, even though they do not and ought not to "belong" to any party in the sense of being "owned" or controlled. It is indeed humiliating to acknowledge the leadership of a Sullivan, a Busse, a Guffey, or a Cox, but if such intolerable bosses are to be dislodged from power, independents must become independent Republicans or independent Democrats, or convict themselves, in greater degree than heretofore, of the nullification of citizenship of those who abstain altogether from voting.

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Is Anti-Militarism Going to Be Non-Mailable?

Is it possible that the war department is really asking the postoffice to declare non-mailable any publications containing "doctrines likely to be inconsistent with the willing execution of military duty"? Yet that is what is clearly stated in the

following editorial article in the Army and Navy Register, of Washington, for July 18:

The attention of the postmaster general has been directed by the secretary of war to certain "newspapers" which are understood to contain doctrines likely to be inconsistent with the willing execution of military duty. Under the law, certain publications may be excluded from the mails, but it is necessary to interpret the phraseology of the act of Congress to ascertain whether these particular periodicals come within the class of non-mailable matter under the law of May 27, 1908. It is considered that the circulation of reading matter of this sort among soldiers is undesirable, but unless the post-office department rules that it is "non-mailable" there is little or nothing which any other executive branch of the government may do.

Has the time come in these United States, when the postal rights of the Quakers and the Peace society, of Leo Tolstoy and the New Testament, can be questioned?

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Frittering Away Their Children's Heritage.

The new State of Oklahoma is confronted with the same problem regarding her school lands that all the other new States, from Ohio down, have succumbed to. A bill was passed by her first legislature authorizing the sale of all her school lands, with preferential terms to the present lessees. But the bill has to go to referendum. If then Oklahoma gives away her princely heritage it will be by the action of her people. Future generations will have the satisfaction, at any rate, of attributing the blame to the indifference of their fathers, whereas we of this generation in Ohio, Illinois, Iowa and the other plundered States, can condemn only the legislatures of that plundering period. There is a conspiracy of silence in Oklahoma, however, which is ominous of the adoption of the bill on referendum by default. Somebody ought to wake up the people of Oklahoma and secure from them a negative vote. The bill is plainly in the interest of the school land lessees, and against the public interest of the present, while tremendously against the public interest of the future.

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There are approximately 3,000,000 acres of Oklahoma school lands scattered through this new State. It is a gift from Congress for school purposes, and comprises some of the richest lands in Oklahoma. Leased for the most part to individuals, these lands are producing fine crops of wheat, corn and alfalfa. Yet they are rented, as matter of pure favoritism, to the present lessees at less than neighboring rentals. Some of them are sublet by the lessees at sums ranging from three

to five dollars an acre. If only an average of two dollars an acre were realized from them by the State; they would yield a revenue of \$6,000,000, which is very nearly double the present State expenditures. These facts show what those lands might mean to Oklahoma if they were retained instead of being sold. What schools, what universities, and with slight changes in Congressional legislation, what roads and other public improvements Oklahoma might have without a dollar of taxation! And how that revenue would grow as the State grew!



Some of this land is where cities will spread and enormously increase its value. For instance, one square mile of this kind of school land belonged to Chicago seventy years ago. It is now in the heart of this city and worth hundreds of millions of dollars regardless of the improvements. But the schools get none of it, except from an infinitesimal fraction of the original mile square which was reserved, and from this fraction they get half a million annually. It may be so with some city in Oklahoma seventy years hence. The land will be a gold mine, but private interests and not the schools may get the gold. It all depends upon whether the people of Oklahoma insist now upon conserving their school lands for the benefit of Oklahoma school children. If they vote for the pending bill at the election in November, they will be giving to a land-lease ring public property of a kind that grows in value as the State grows in population, and will deserve from future generations the condemnation they will probably receive. Let the campaign of silence in Oklahoma be broken. Let her independent newspapers speak out. Let her people be awakened and her land-lease ring be forced into the open. Let her school lands be reserved as a heritage for future generations. Let the values of the progress of the State of Oklahoma, in so far at least as these lands will represent it as it accrues,—let those values be conserved for the public good.



Old Age Pensions.

The movement for old age pensions, already popular in England, has made its way into Canada, and is certain to extend before long into the United States. And why not? If we pension soldiers in our armies of destruction, why not those in our armies of production? Of course there is an argument, and a good one, against doing this with money confiscated by taxation from those who earn it. But there is a large fund in

every community—an annual fund—which nobody earns individually, but to the earning of which everybody contributes, including those whom we would pension. It is distinctly a social fund, which now goes to individuals less meritoriously by far than it could go to old age pensions. The enhanced annual income of the Astors from the annual growth of the city of New York, suggests the fund to which we allude.



Campaign Corruption.

Reports are afloat to the effect that a new method of using campaign funds is to be resorted to this time. Instead of raising a large fund from corporations corruptly to be expended corruptly, as those raised for McKinley were, larger funds are to be raised this time—so go these reports—to be expended in wages for the purpose of creating a false impression of good times. Big Business would say, for instance, through its subsidized newspapers, that "it looks now as if Bryan would be beaten, and therefore we shall go ahead with production, confident that good times are here." They would then employ workers, so the reports run, and frighten them with predictions of bad times again in the event of Bryan's election. They might even do as they did in 1896, tell their men the night before election to come back the day after election if Bryan is defeated, but not if he is elected. These reports are verified in some degree by the St. Louis "mental healing" movement. Instead of being a good faith "mental healing" movement for restoring good times, it may be a masked movement for obtaining campaign funds for the purpose indicated above. But such a movement is almost certainly doomed to failure. For one thing, workmen can't be fooled again with the warning about closing down after election if Bryan is elected. He wasn't elected in 1896, but the close down occurred all the same right after election. In the second place, the appearance of good times could hardly be created by the employment of less than 1,000,000 men for two months at \$2 a day, and that would necessitate a fund of \$100,000,000. The trick would be too magnitudinous and complex to succeed. It is not improbable, however, that this and kindred tricks will be played on a small scale. Large employers will doubtless resort to coercive methods with their men. This is indicated by the reports that the Pennsylvania Railroad, for instance, is discharging non-voters to make room for voters. No doubt all the plutocratic agencies—business, social and religious—will be utilized this

year as heretofore, by the Interests to prevent the election of the man they fear. But their tricks are better understood now. Even the man who needs business accommodation at his bank will not be so easy to handle as he was twelve years ago.



Sullivan's Chance.

To paraphrase an old joke for serious uses, if Roger C. Sullivan would leave the Democrats and join the Republicans it would improve the character of both parties.



I Came; I Talked; I Nominated.

The Independence party has held its convention and named a ticket. Experience has shown this to be a hazardous thing to do for a party hopelessly in the minority, and composed of free men who believe intensely in their principles; for the temptation is great to vote for some candidate who has a chance of winning and who stands for a few of their principles, rather than the candidate who stands for them all but is certain to lose. With a privately owned, automatic, count-twenty-and-cheer party, however, the danger of defection is undoubtedly decreased.



Kansas City to Vote on a Charter.

The people of Kansas City, Mo., will on August 4, at a special election held coincident with the primaries, vote on the adoption of a new city charter. In it provision is made for reference to the people, of grants to public utility corporations. Petition for such reference must be signed by twenty per cent of the total vote cast at the last preceding election. Recall of officials is provided for in a section that will be voted on separately from the body of the charter. A petition for recall must be signed by thirty per cent of voters "qualified to vote for a successor to the incumbent"—a seemingly doubtful proviso. The petitions are subject to official censorship, without recourse. The first section on taxation indicates a strong tendency to real reform. Provision is made to wholly avoid, or reduce the rate, on any particular class of property. This section makes possible honest taxes—by all odds the most important matter in public affairs. Its use, however, is probably dependent on the adoption of an amendment to the State constitution which will be voted upon in November. The proposed amendment gives like power to all local governments in Missouri. If rightly used, control of local taxation will bring more prosperity

to our harassed people than any amount of "trust-busting" and corporation regulation.



Taxation of Corporations.

Lawson Purdy, President of the New York tax department, takes a sound position when he opposes special taxation of corporations simply because they are corporations. "There seems no good reason," he says, "for any taxes on business corporations in excess of the taxes imposed on individuals doing the same class of business. If the opportunity to incorporate is open to every one for the payment of a small fee, there is no special privilege involved, and all are equally at liberty to avail themselves of the continuous existence and freedom from personal liability obtained by corporate organization. The invention of the corporation provides conveniently for the co-operation of many people in an enterprise, all of whom cannot participate in the management." While it may be doubted that the corporation is the best form for enabling men to co-operate in business—since joint stock partnerships with exemption from personal liability beyond the capital contributed and published, would serve all legitimate corporate purposes—yet Mr. Purdy's point that there should be no extraordinary taxation of unprivileged corporations, leaves no room for doubt. Public revenues should be derived from the value of extraordinary privileges, such as are unavoidable. They should never be derived from useful occupations that have no special privileges, whether conducted as corporations or not. This is sound doctrine as to public revenues, and it is sound doctrine with reference to the desirability of equalizing opportunity by divesting extraordinary privileges of their extraordinary profits.



THE FIASCO AND ITS LESSONS.

Thousands of monopoly haters were disappointed and grieved by the unanimous decision of the United States Circuit Court in the Standard Oil rebate case. Of course, in one sense the reversal of Judge Landis's decision is deplorable. It is calculated to give plutocracy fresh hope and confidence, and to beget an intolerable amount of cant on the wisdom and strength of the "higher" courts. But we cannot join in the denunciation of Judges Grosscup, Baker and Seaman, and we freely recognize that the opinion, aside from certain disputed points affecting the record of the case, is able, sound and strong.

Judge Landis is reversed on three distinct grounds:

1. That he adopted and applied a strange, erroneous and untenable view as to the duty of the shipper with regard to the rates of the carrier.
2. That he assumed that the number of car-loads of property transported in alleged violation of the anti-discrimination provision of the commerce act determined the number of separate offenses.
3. That he abused his discretion in imposing the maximum fine for each of the offenses.

The second ground we leave on one side. Customs of trade and the practice of merchants and carriers should have been, and should now be consulted to reach a just conclusion on this question. If one orders the carrying of a quantity of goods by letter, expecting to pay for the transaction with one check, the fact that it may take 19 cars to transport the goods does not divide the transaction into 19 acts of transportation. On the other hand, the carriers themselves may have established the rule of regarding a carload as a unit for all purposes relevant to the rebate and preference provisions. Here the law and the courts should follow commerce.

On the first ground the Circuit Court's reasoning seems unanswerable. The law is intended to prevent rebates, preferences and favors, to insure equal treatment of shippers, big and small. The shipper who does not ask favors, or knowingly receive them, cannot rationally or fairly be burdened with further duties. One applies for information as to a rate; he gets the information and relies upon it; it turns out subsequently that the rate was preferential or unlawful, or that it had not been duly published. What offense is he guilty of morally? of none. And he is guilty of no legal statutory offense, unless the commerce act expressly impose on him the duty diligently to investigate the rates and satisfy himself that the one made to him is discriminatory and unfair. Judge Landis ruled that such a duty was actually imposed, but this is an unreasonable construction of the phraseology of the act.

It is urged, indeed, and with truth and vigor, that the oil trust must have known perfectly well that it was getting preferential and unlawful rates on the shipments covered by the indictment; that it has been a persistent, contumacious offender; that it owes its monopoly largely to secret rebates; that its methods have notoriously been those of a highwayman, dictator and bully; that the talk of "innocence" is ridiculous in its case, and

the alleged danger to small, law-abiding shippers grotesquely far-fetched.

But all this is utterly beside the point. If the government had proof of deliberate and wilful solicitation or acceptance of unlawful rates, why did it not produce such evidence? If it had produced it, the extraordinary Landis theory of the shipper's duty diligently to investigate the rates quoted to him would have been totally unnecessary. If the government had no evidence and was forced to set up the theory in question, then it was not entitled to a verdict of guilty, no matter how sure it was, and how sure we all are, of the trust's guilt.

The third ground of the reversal is also reasonable and sound. The fine was excessive from any standpoint that the trial court had any authority, under established principles, to adopt. It was dealing with a "first offense," after all, and the case was neither clear nor strong. The Standard Oil of New Jersey was not a party defendant; its wealth or character could not have been discussed at the trial and should not have been considered in the post-trial inquiry into the circumstances of the defendant.

It is true, again, that we know that the Indiana concern is a mere dummy, and that the parent corporation was the real offender! but this "knowledge," while it properly influences public opinion, could not influence any legal handling of the case. The government should have attacked the trust years before the trial of the rebate case, under the Sherman act, and secured its dissolution. Then the relationship between the Indiana and the New Jersey company would have been terminated, and the present situation could not have arisen. Is the Appellate Court to be blamed for the long neglect, the delays, the impotence, the cowardice of the administration? As matters stand, no court is justified in assuming that the Standard is an illegal combination and punishing it "on general principles."

What, then, are the lessons of the government's fiasco? These, in our judgment:

That such methods as the administration has employed could not lead to substantial results;

That the way to fight monopolies is to fight them, not to fulminate, denounce, issue "scathing" proclamations, and stop there;

That even a justly hated monopoly must be attacked with powerful legal weapons and along rational, promising lines.

Finally, that the whole Roosevelt anti-trust campaign is doomed to fail, because it is short-sighted and ignorant. Regulation, suits and sen-

sational fines have no terrors for monopolies resting on vicious land and tariff laws, or illegitimate privileges and fundamental violations of equal freedom and equal opportunity.

S. R.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

BOUND FOR THE SEA.

Steamer Ottawa, off Father Point, Quebec, Canada, July 19th.—Why anyone from the West should want to go to Europe by way of New York, so long as there is a Montreal to sail from, I cannot see. Neither can the patriotic Montrealers. But I am not wondering about it from the viewpoint of patriotism. As matter of economy it is attractively cheaper. You get a through ticket to Liverpool—from Chicago, for instance—for \$67.50; first class with a sleeper on the Grand Trunk railway to Montreal, and nominally second class though actually first the rest of the trip. And for comfort on board and beauty of land and water on the way, New York cannot more than compete. The Grand Trunk land-trip gives you all the monotonous prairie scenery of any of the lines from Chicago to the Niagara region, and the same charm as that of the New York Central afterwards, except that the beauties of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence region are substituted for the unapproachable magnificence of the Hudson.

When on board a Dominion Line boat, nine hundred miles of river lie between you and the heaving ocean, with the straits of Belle Isle, separating Newfoundland from Labrador, to pass before the solid ground bids you good-by. Your journey is a third over then, and you have but entered upon the unhappy possibilities which beset the New Yorker as soon as he finishes the short-lived passage of the Narrows. Of course you miss this beautiful strait; but if you have been through the Narrows before, you won't miss it going out, and will enjoy it all the better if you come back that way.

Speaking of the patriotism of the Montrealers. I am not given much to local patriotism and always find great difficulty in enjoying it in others. I would rather boast about myself, and be done with it; for, after all, personal pride is the quintessence of local patriotism. My city, my State—yes, and I can remember when I got angry at a slighting mention of my township by an irreverent townsman across the line. He hadn't insulted those swamps and hills where I was born, and they didn't care if he had; he had insulted me. But local patriotism is pretty general. We have the malady in Chicago as severely as they have it in Montreal, and probably with less reason on the whole. And neither Montreal nor Chicago is unique. Both Canada and the United States break out with it all over. Every little place has it in detail, and each country has it as a unit. Canada, moreover, not only has Canadian patriotism, but British patriotism superimposed.

I had thought myself wholly free not only of local but of national patriotism, until I woke up on board a British vessel and saw the British flag afloat above her. Then I experienced a brief spasm. But it only lasted long enough for me to reach out for the only patriotic philosophy I swear by—"The world is my

country"—and after that the British flag seemed to be the symbol with another family for the same democratic freedom that gives the stars and stripes their real glory.

In many respects the British are freer than we are, in some not so free; in respect of the old landmarks of the struggle for liberty they cling closer than we do, in respect of some of the later things to struggle for they may lag a little; they would not tolerate our police "sweat box" and our postal censorship, they might tolerate some undemocratic things that we resist; but take us both by and large, and the two of us are standing out more or less unsteadily for the distant port of Fundamental Democracy. Then why shouldn't we Yankees feel toward the British flag much as we do toward our own—loving it for the democracy it symbolizes to our British and Canadian brethren, and weeping over it with the thoughtful among them for the base uses to which, as with the stars and stripes, it has been subjected by spurious patriots who have considered it merely as a valuable commercial asset?

At Montreal, between the arrival of my train at 6:30 in the afternoon of the 17th and the sailing of the Ottawa at daylight on the 18th, I was most cordially entertained by a party of Montreal free traders, who, like all free traders of the blood, are patriots of the cosmopolitan as distinguished from the provincial order. But early in the morning, as we were sailing smoothly down the St. Lawrence, with Montreal hidden by distance, and her suburbs along the banks of the great river showing with impressionistic quaintness through the light mist, I was again reminded of the "mud patriotism" that besets us all when off our guard. A seaman was decorating the vessel as a sign of welcome to the warships now in attendance at the Quebec tri-centennial, and with three or four passengers was discussing a subject of momentous international concern. "Well, sir," said he, at one point in the conversation, "it's God's country that will win." Now God's country has always meant the United States to me. That is what most Americans returning from abroad think it the proper thing to say, and I had never heard any other application of those pious words. You can imagine, then, how startled I was to learn from this sailor that God's country is not the United States at all, but England, only England. And what do you suppose it was about? What else could it have been about but the international sports at London? Well, that's better, at any rate, than the international sports which usually excite "mud patriots" to enthusiasm—the sports of the bloody field and the "white, up-turned face."

As the Ottawa passed the ruins of the transcontinental bridge which collapsed in the building last August (vol. x, p. 541), and killed scores of workmen, evidences of Quebec's tri-centennial celebration came in sight. The tent city on the historic Plains of Abraham, the warships in the river and the decorated buildings on the bluff, told of the union of the British who had conquered the country, with the "habitants" (now as British as the British themselves except in language), whose French ancestors had been conquered, to celebrate the founding of the city three hundred years ago. As the Ottawa stopped here six hours by intention and at least two more by the clock, the passengers were afforded an oppor-

tunity to explore this quaint municipal relic of the days of Champlain and Laval, of Wolfe and Montcalm. There is the narrow slit of a passageway through the rock and as near to being a slum as Quebec can afford, which has the distinction of having served as the first street of Quebec. And there is the first church ever built in Quebec, now three hundred years old and still in use; the postoffice where you can buy as many postage stamps as you want if you have the time to spare while the crowd ahead of you has its money counted and its stamps handed out with prudent deliberation; the parliament buildings, which are worth looking at, and the old fort, which your "habitant" cabman of uncertain English speech assures you is the original wall behind which Montcalm awaited Wolfe's coming from the East while Wolfe with scant courtesy approached from the West, but which you suspect of a much later origin. And there is Montcalm's headquarters, and the house in which he lived and the house in which he died. But better than these personal histories are the curiously curved streets winding up the steep bluff, with buildings of an olden time crowding up to the edge so that the modern trolley car, threading its single-track way along the center, seems to be an impolite intruder.

At Father Point, 160 miles west of Quebec, and early this forenoon, the pilot leaves with the last mail, and although the ocean is still hundreds of miles away the Ottawa here severs communication with the rest of the world until she shall have rounded Ireland and come alongside the wharf at Liverpool.

L. F. P.

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 28, 1908.

The Standard Oil Rebate Fine Void.

The huge fine of \$29,240,000 imposed by Judge Landis of the Federal Court at Chicago on the 3d of last August upon the Standard Oil Company for violating the Federal statute (the Elkins act) prohibiting discriminatory transportation rates (vol. x, pp. 433, 437, 492, 588, 612, 636), has been set aside by the unanimous opinion of Judges Grosscup, Seaman and Baker, sitting as the Federal Court of Appeal in Chicago on the 22d, and the case remanded back for rehearing. Three causes, according to the summing up of the Chicago Record-Herald, were assigned for the annulment of the decision:

1. That Judge Landis had erred in his construction of the law concerning the publication of railroad tariffs. The opinion holds that shippers cannot be

convicted for accepting concessions from regularly published rates unless it is proved that they did so knowingly and intentionally.

2. That the Landis opinion that the number of offenses (in which the maximum penalty was imposed in each case) was the number of carloads transported, instead of the number of shipments or settlements, was erroneous. By this ruling the maximum number of counts against the company, on which fines may be imposed, is greatly reduced.

3. That Judge Landis abused the discretion vested in the trial court in his investigation into the affairs of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, in his arraignment of the parent corporation, in which he was not sustained by the record, and in the imposition, for a first offense, of a fine thirty times greater than the total assets of the offending company.

The decision, the authorship of which is attributed to Judge Grosscup, contained many pointed statements which have been widely quoted and commented on, among them the following:

The interstate commerce act was intended to promote, not to restrain trade and commerce.

The measure (of computation) adopted by the trial court was wholly arbitrary—had no basis in any intention or fixed rule discoverable in the statute. And no other way of measuring the number of offenses seems to have been given a thought either by the government or trial court.

The maximum sentence put into execution would wipe out many times, and for its first offense, all the property of the defendant.

Can an American judge, without abuse of judicial discretion, condemn anyone who has not had his day in court? No monarch, no parliament for centuries has pretended to have the right to punish except after due trial.

Let it once come to pass that under the stress of enforcing commercial equality any power in the government may override the fundamental human right of being judged only after having been duly tried—and there will remain no commerce worth the name to safeguard.

That the sentence was not imposed on the basis of facts respecting the defendant before the court, but because of other facts wholly outside the record, is disclosed by the reasons set out in connection with the sentence.

Under the ruling of the decision laid down for guidance in a new trial, if a conviction should be secured the highest fine that could be imposed would be \$720,000, and the minimum, \$36,000.



An immediate result of the decision was a rise in the value of Standard Oil stock. It had opened in New York on Monday, the 20th, at \$596, and worked up above \$600 during the day, on account of heavy buying. It opened at \$630 on Tuesday, and rose steadily to \$644. It opened at \$644 Wednesday, and with the announcement of the decision went up to \$660. The heavy buying of Monday, and the steady rise during the two days

before the decision, aroused the suspicions of Western brokers as to foreknowledge of the decision on the part of a favored few, and investigation, according to newspaper reports, bore out suspicion. According to the New York Herald members of the Chicago stock exchange, through their Eastern correspondents, traced the leak, they say, to a broker in Boston, who handles transactions occasionally for Judge Grosscup's brother, and who is said to have invested heavily in stocks as early as Monday—two days before the Grosscup decision was given.



President Roosevelt's secretary made public the following statement, on the 23d:

The President has directed the Attorney General to immediately take steps for the retrial of the Standard Oil case. The reversal of the decision of the lower court does not in any shape or way touch the merits of the case excepting so far as the size of the fine is concerned. There is absolutely no question as to the guilt of the defendant or the exceptionally grave character of the offense. The President would regard it as a gross miscarriage of justice if, through technicalities of any kind, the defendant escaped the punishment which would have unquestionably been meted out to any weaker defendant who had been guilty of any such offense. The President will do everything in his power to avert or prevent such miscarriage of justice. With this purpose in view the President has directed the Attorney General to bring into consultation Frank B. Kellogg in the matter and to do everything possible to bring the offender to justice.



Attorney-General Bonaparte stated on the 24th, according to newspaper reports, that—

It is much to be regretted that, owing to the unreasonable restriction imposed by existing law upon the right of appeal by the United States in criminal cases, this cannot be done in what is obviously the most natural, most prompt, and most effectual method—namely: by a direct appeal to the Supreme court of the United States. In my opinion, it is of vital moment that the statute regulating interstate commerce should be so construed by our courts that it may not be practically impossible to convict law breakers on a vast scale, nor practically impossible to punish them, when convicted, with sufficient severity to assure future obedience to the law. I think it is the duty of my department to foster a wholesome fear of punishment among those often and strongly tempted to do what the law forbids. Such well considered measures will therefore be adopted after due deliberation and conference as will so far as practicable remove any possible danger which may be thought to exist lest the present decision, as a precedent or otherwise, shall prove an impediment to effective administration of these salutary laws.

In regard to Mr. Bonaparte's assertion that the case could not be carried to the United States Supreme Court, it has been explained by the department of

justice in Washington, in answer to inquiries, that no appeal lies under the present law to the Supreme court from a final judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals in a criminal case as matter of right. The Government, however, has a right to present to the Supreme court an application for a writ of certiorari in cases of this character, and indeed in all cases. It is in the discretion of the court, however, whether a writ of that character should be granted. United States District Attorney Sims announced positively on the 23d that a petition for a rehearing in the case of the Government against the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, would be filed.



The Democratic Campaign.

Norman E. Mack of Buffalo was selected as chairman of the Democratic National committee on the 25th, with Dr. E. L. Hall of Nebraska as vice-chairman, Urey Woodson of Kentucky as secretary, Governor C. N. Haskell of Oklahoma as treasurer, Henry Watterson of Kentucky as chairman of publicity bureau, and John I. Martin of Missouri as sergeant-at-arms. The central campaign headquarters are to be in Chicago.



Mr. Bryan plans to address himself especially to various groups of citizens. He desires that the railway trainmen shall be appealed to on the labor planks of the platform, which have been said to be not to their liking. He has addressed labor union men in person at his home (p. 392). And in *The Commoner* of July 24, jointly with Mr. Kern, he makes the following appeal to the farmers:

To the Farmers of the United States: The first contribution made to the Democratic campaign fund this year, so far as we know, was made by an Iowa farmer. Just before the Denver convention met, this man, who modestly prefers not to have his name mentioned, journeyed more than one hundred miles to Lincoln with his contribution of \$100, which he left with Mr. Bryan to be given to the committee when organized for the campaign.

This farmer was born in Sweden and for some time after he was naturalized was a member of the Republican party, but he was a student of public questions and in the course of time became a Democrat. He has been a reader of *The Commoner* since its establishment, and to manifest his deep interest in the success of the party and in this triumph of Democratic principles, he made this free-will offering to the campaign fund.

It is very appropriate that the first contribution should come from that great body of our population known as agriculturalists, for the farmer has nothing to gain by privilege and favoritism; his hope is in the application of the doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none." He has been the victim of all special legislation, and has suffered from the

control of politics by the great predatory corporations. Now that the Democratic party has announced its determination not to accept contributions from corporations, not to accept excessive contributions even from individuals, and to publish all contributions above a reasonable minimum, it ought to be able to secure a sufficient campaign fund from those patriotic citizens who ask from the government nothing but protection to their rights and consideration for the general welfare. There are hundreds of thousands of farmers who are abundantly able to contribute to the campaign fund. There are thousands who could give \$100 apiece without feeling it; there are tens of thousands who could give \$50 apiece without sacrifice, and still more who could give \$25 or \$10 or \$5.

As the National Committee has not yet been organized, we will ask The Commoner to call for subscriptions to this farmers' fund. Those giving can indicate whether they are willing to have their names mentioned and, if the contribution is not more than \$100 their wishes will be complied with. All contributions above \$100 must be made known, no matter from whom they come.

The farmers' fund will be turned over to the national committee as soon as its permanent officers have been selected. Who will be the first to respond? The Denver convention was a people's convention; it adopted a strong, clear, honest platform, and its nominations were made with practical unanimity. Our fight is a fight for the whole people. Our aim is equal and exact justice to all; our purpose is to restore the government to the hands of the freely chosen representatives of the voters. How many farmers will join in furnishing the fund necessary to present the issues?

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In the same issue of The Commoner as the foregoing appears the following statement:

To the Readers of The Commoner:

My candidacy makes it necessary for me to suspend editorial work, and I desire to have it known that I should not be held personally responsible for matter appearing in The Commoner during the campaign, except that which appears over my signature.

My brother, Mr. Charles W. Bryan, who has had charge of the publication since its establishment, will assume control until November, and the associate editor, Mr. Richard L. Metcalf, will, during that time, be editor.

The Commoner will publish such speeches, letters etc., as I may prepare for the general public, and the readers of The Commoner will have full and accurate information as to the issues discussed. I bespeak for the paper the cordial support which, from the beginning, has made my connection with it so pleasant.

All profits from The Commoner, over and above actual expenses, from now until election will be turned over to the Democratic National Committee for the benefit of the campaign.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

+ +

The Republican Campaign.

The Republican national campaign (p. 371) is

to be conducted from headquarters in Chicago, with subsidiary headquarters in New York. The Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Frank H. Hitchcock (p. 371), named the new executive board of the committee on the 26th, as follows: Charles F. Brooker of Connecticut, T. Coleman Du Pont of Delaware, William E. Borah of Idaho, Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, Charles Nagel of Missouri, Victor Rosewater of Nebraska, William L. Ward of New York, Edward C. Duncan of North Carolina, and Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania. As previously announced (p. 371), George R. Sheldon of New York is the treasurer of the committee, and on the 27th Fred W. Upham of Chicago was appointed assistant treasurer.

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Hon. Wm. H. Taft was duly notified of his nomination for President by the Republican party, in Cincinnati on the 28th, with great celebration and festivity. The occasion took on a non-partisan character, and the municipality did honor to its illustrious citizen. Mr. Sherman is to be notified of his nomination to the Vice-Presidency some time between August 10 and 15, at his home in Utica, N. Y.

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The Prohibition Campaign.

The Prohibition candidate for the Presidency, Eugene W. Chafin (pp. 385, 391), has been speaking at various points in Illinois. He is quoted as saying at Wenona on the 24th: "If I am elected President of the United States on the 3d of November and have a Congress which will pass a prohibitory law, and there are any communities that refuse to obey the law and the civic authorities are unable to enforce it, I shall use the power conferred upon me by the Constitution and call out the militia, the standing army, and the navy, and enforce prohibition on every inch of territory under the American flag."

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Mr. Chafin is to be officially notified of his nomination, in Chicago, on August 18.

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The Independence Party Convention.

The Independence party held its first national convention in Chicago on the 27th and 28th and into the early morning hours of the 29th. A platform was adopted, including planks for initiative, referendum and recall; for no injunction to issue without notice and hearing, and all contempt cases to be tried by a jury; for issuance of all money by the government; for tariff revision; for imprisonment of individuals criminally responsible for trusts; for government ownership of railroads; for postal savings banks; for a court to review the censorship and arbitrary rulings of the postoffice department; for opposition to Asiatic

immigration; for a bigger navy; for popular election of United States Senators and judges, and for a graduated income tax. Thos. L. Hisgen of Massachusetts was nominated for President, and John Temple Graves of Georgia for Vice-President.



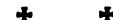
Labor's Attitude to the Platforms.

Extracts from an editorial to appear in the American Federationist for August were given to the press by Mr. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, on the 21st. The assertions made widely in the press, that "Gompers has promised to deliver the labor vote to the Democratic party," Mr. Gompers pronounces absurd, saying: "We recognize the absolute right of every citizen to cast his vote for any candidate and with any party that he pleases. Far be it from us to attempt to coerce the votes of the workers, nor are we so asinine as to promise to 'deliver the labor vote.'" But he declares that "even in the brief time which has elapsed since the two great party conventions, there is every indication that the workers throughout the country most heartily indorse the action of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in all that they have said and done in matters political." To aid the workers of the country to make a choice that will be in the direction of preserving their rights, Mr. Gompers declares his views on the labor planks of the two platforms. Of labor in the Republican platform he says:

At a glance the plank adopted will be seen to be a flimsy, tricky evasion of the issue. It is an indorsement of the very abuse against which labor justly protests, and would, if enacted by Congress, give statutory authority for the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, an authority which does not now exist. It is a pro-injunction, not an anti-injunction, declaration. It is worse than "meaningless and evasive," as the capitalist-corporation press has designated it. It would make more acute the wrongs by which the toilers are forced to bear the unjust judicial burden of injunction discrimination. That part of the plank which declares that the Republican party will uphold the authority and integrity of the courts is a gratuitous, indefensible and covert insult, not only to the men of labor, but to the courts themselves. It implies that the integrity and legal authority of the courts have been questioned. It was adopted to appease the corporation magnates and corporation lawyers who demanded that the Republican convention adopt such a declaration. It were better that the Republican convention had entirely ignored the question than to have attempted to foist such a plank upon the people. Labor asked the Republican convention to, in essence, declare for the enactment of a law recognizing human rights and human freedom. It wholly failed to meet the requirements of an intolerable, unjust and un-American situation. No relief was either declared or promised. Labor asked the Republican convention for bread and it gave a stone.

Of the labor provisions of the Democratic platform Mr. Gompers says:

We believe that the whole mass of the workers of the country will respond in hearty sympathy with the Democratic party in the coming campaign as a result of its action in the labor planks of the platform. They will be of practical benefit to the workers. We say this not necessarily because it is the Democratic party which has done this. We would urge the workers to support any party which had incorporated our demands into its platform and promised to work for their fulfillment.



Cleveland Traction.

The June reports of the Municipal Traction Company, given out on the 22d, showed that the receipts for that month had been \$109,279, a little over what was stated last week (p. 392) from advance information in the Cleveland Press. And the deficit was \$23,829, though it had been estimated at \$25,000 (p. 392). As stated last week, the May deficit was \$53,367. Operation, repairs and taxes for June were charged at \$321,388. The rental to the Cleveland Electric for the month was \$111,719. In addition to the burden of this large rental, and the initial cost of adjusting a big system to public needs made suddenly articulate, the company has had strike expenses to carry, and losses from the industrial depression, estimated at 17 per cent of business. In Detroit, for example, it is 22 per cent. The striking decrease in deficit encourages the municipal officers to hold that their faith in profits from a three-cent fare under normal conditions is more than justified.



As reported last week, free transfers are to be inaugurated on the 28th, according to promise. The system, which is a new one, and is designed to reduce a costly leakage in transfers, was adopted by the Board of Directors on the 22d. The plan is to charge a penny for a transfer when given out, and to redeem it with a penny when it is taken up. The officers state that this will have a tendency to prevent persons from taking transfers on the chance that they may use them; and will prevent the conductors from giving them away, as they did when they had no value; and thus will probably keep transfers down to 28 per cent or 30 per cent of the pay passengers, whereas under the old Cleveland Electric transfer system where no value attached to transfers, 40 per cent were used, and lately, with the penny charge, but 23 per cent. A destroyed transfer only wastes that much paper and ink, of course, but a wasted transfer may become a misused transfer. Under the old plan many persons got hold of unneeded transfers and, punching them themselves, derived free rides from their use. Other persons took transfers when they did not need them, and where they gathered in

numbers exchanged them, thus obtaining half fare rides. This was done among the employes of some big establishments. To properly run a transportation system for the benefit of all the people demands that leakage of all kinds must be controlled.



A Prize Franchise Passed at Springfield.

At a session of the city council of Springfield, Ill., on the 20th, lasting from eight o'clock in the evening until two in the morning, a twenty-year franchise to the Springfield Consolidated Railway Company was passed by a vote of 10 to 4. The Jefferson-Lincoln Club bitterly opposed the granting of the franchise on the liberal terms provided by the ordinance, and meetings were held in various portions of the city to create public sentiment against the council passing the measure. According to the dispatches to the press, speakers at these meetings alleged that bribery had been used, and Frank H. Bode, in a statement published on the following day, on behalf of the franchise committee of the club, intimated that the council "had been fixed." An attempt to have the ordinance submitted to the voters of the city for their ratification failed, the vote being 12 to 2. The people had voted by a vote of 6,200 to 2,300 that questions of public policy should be submitted to them. The ordinance provides, among other things, for the payment of 2 per cent of the gross earnings for the last ten years. At the end of the time named for the franchise to expire a board of appraisers may be appointed and the city at its option may take over the road. The fare remains at 5 cents, or six tickets for 25 cents, the amendment for 3-cent fares being defeated.



More Bomb-Throwing in Chicago.

On the night of the 23rd a dynamite bomb or charge of gunpowder was exploded in the rear of James J. Corbett's saloon, 286 State St., Chicago; and on the night of the 24th another bomb was exploded on the roof of the National Hotel, 28 Van Buren St. These were the eighteenth and nineteenth bombs to be exploded in Chicago, in a little more than a year, on property owned or occupied by gamblers. This bomb-throwing is well understood to be a feature of a prolonged war among the gamblers of Chicago over a division of the privileges they enjoy. The police are as unsuccessful in finding the bomb-throwers as they are in discovering the gambling. They profess to be wholly in the dark as to both.



The Advance of Proportional Representation.

The proportional representation amendment which passed at the recent elections in Oregon by a vote of 48,868 for, to 34,128 against—a major-

ity of 14,740 (p. 390)—was entitled "Amendment to the Constitution of Oregon to Permit the Enactment of Laws for Proportional Representation and Majority Nominations and Elections." It reads as follows:

Section 16 of Article II of the constitution of the State of Oregon shall be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

Article II, Section 16. In all elections authorized by this constitution until otherwise provided by law, the person or persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected, but provision may be made by law for election by equal Proportional Representation of all the voters for every office which is filled by the election of two or more persons whose official duties, rights and powers are equal and concurrent. Every qualified elector resident in his precinct and registered as may be required by law, may vote for one person under the title for each office. Provision may be made by law for the voter's direct or indirect expression of his first, second or additional choices among the candidates for any office. For an office which is filled by the election of one person it may be required by law that the person elected shall be the final choice of a majority of the electors voting for candidates for that office. These principles may be applied by law to nominations by political parties and organizations.



The long-delayed proportional representation law in the Australasian State of Tasmania, has been finally passed, according to the annual report of the American Proportional Representation League; and according to the same report proportional representation provisions have been incorporated in the new electoral law of Cuba. A forward movement in electoral reform has also been made in West Australia, where preferential voting has been adopted for the election of members of the State Parliament in the present single-member districts; and in Finland, Denmark, Sweden, and some portions of the German Empire, proportional representation has either been adopted or legislation to that end is in progress.



The Sultan Resorts to a Constitution.

The Sultan of Turkey is an absolute autocrat as far as his will is not in opposition to the accepted truths of the Mahometan religion as laid down in the Koran. But as the world becomes increasing democratic, autocrats have to make concessions. Thus it has happened that in trying crises during the last half century Turkish Sultans have decreed constitutions for their restless people. The first of these was proclaimed by the Sultan Abdul-Medjid, in 1856. And in 1876 the present Sultan, Abdul-Hamid II, then just come to the throne, proclaimed a constitution, and called together a little weak parliament. The latter became subservient, and the former soon lapsed. But under the pressure of growing revolt in the west

(p. 393), and the increasing strength of the "Young Turkey" movement, the Sultan on the 24th suddenly proclaimed the practical restoration of the constitution of 1876, and ordered the assembling of a chamber of deputies elected by the people. The news was everywhere received with tumultuous joy. The Inter Ocean's cable dispatch of the 24th described the streets in almost every city of Turkey as being filled that night with shouting, singing, happy crowds. A striking feature, and one that indicates the revolutionary power of the upheaval, is the fact that thousands of women are reported as having left the harems, and to be mingling, unveiled, with the crowds on the streets, openly rejoicing in the new found freedom. And this innovation, the most remarkable that could occur in that land of absolute seclusion for women, is said to be welcomed by the men, who cheer the unveiled women as they pass. Since the first enthusiasm over the granting of the constitution has passed there has grown a fear lest the reforms should be snatched back again. But however the Turks, still inexperienced in freedom, may fear lest they may not retain it, it is to be remembered that democracy presses closer and harder year by year upon the autocracies.

NEWS NOTES

—The Atlantic-Pacific fleet (p. 394) left Honolulu on the 22nd for Auckland, New Zealand.

—The population of Chicago (vol. x, p. 468), computed from the school census just taken, is 1,922,336 persons.

—The American Civic Association (vol. x, p. 779) will hold this year's annual meeting from November 17 to 20, in Pittsburgh.

—Cuba is to hold her first "real election," as she calls it, on August 1. The election is solely for municipal and provincial officials (vol. x, p. 995).

—Twenty thousand mill hands went on strike in Bombay, India, on the 23rd. Rioting followed, and a detachment of British infantry, in attempting to restore order, did some fatal shooting.

—Henry Codman Potter, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the diocese of New York, died at his summer home at Cooperstown, N. Y., on the 21st. By his death the Coadjutor Bishop David H. Greer, becomes bishop.

—The Quebec pageants (p. 394) of the last week included magnificent reproductions on the Plains of Abraham of memorable scenes in the history of Canada. Over 3,500 actors took part. The Prince of Wales and Vice President Fairbanks were among the guests.

—The Spanish Cortes closed its sittings for the season on the 24th, to reassemble in the autumn. A bill that has been described as revolutionary in its probable results, and which has been hotly pushed by the Conservatives who have been in power, and fought as hotly by the Liberal opposition, is expected

to come to the front again at the reassembling. It is described as granting to the provinces an autonomy that is almost independence.

—The decision of Judge E. R. Cochran, of Wilmington, Del., that Negroes should not be spoken of in his court with the prefixes of "Mr.," "Mrs.," or "Miss," reported last week (p. 395), was overruled by Judge Spruance of the Superior Court in a habeas corpus proceeding on the 23rd.

—The seventeenth Universal Peace conference, organized by the Society of Friends, opened its sessions in London on the 27th. Over a hundred societies from sixteen different countries were represented. Among the Americans present were Edwin D. Mead and Benjamin F. Trueblood.

—President Castro of Venezuela (p. 369) has been having some trouble with the Island of Curacao of the Dutch West Indies over a matter of quarantine, and on the 21st he sent Mr. J. H. de Reus, the minister from Holland resident in Venezuela, his passports. Mr. de Reus is said to have made indiscreet remarks about the President.

—The Tax Reform campaign in Rhode Island (p. 395) held its second meeting at Crescent Park, a shore resort, on the 18th. W. L. Crosman of Boston delivered an effective address on "How to Abolish Poverty."* The outdoor meetings in the streets of Providence command an increased attendance.

—Colonel James M. Gaffey, turned down at the Denver convention (pp. 337, 346, 365), was reinstated as leader of the Democracy of Pennsylvania by the Democratic State Committee at Harrisburg, on the 22nd. A separate State committee, perhaps under the name of the Bryan league, is now looked for.

—The Oregon Single Tax League (p. 250) is the new name of the Oregon Tax Reform Association. The present officers of the League are: E. S. J. McAlister, of Portland, president; J. F. Holder, of Salem, vice-president; W. S. U'Ren, of Oregon City, secretary; and H. W. Stone, of Portland, treasurer.

—In the athletic section of the Olympic games in London (p. 395) just closed, the American representatives won the championship, taking fifteen out of a possible twenty-seven "firsts." On the basis of "points," counting five for "firsts," three for "seconds," and one for "thirds," the relative national standings were: The United States, 114½; Great Britain and Ireland, 66½; Sweden, 12½; Canada, 11; South Africa, 8; Greece, 8; Norway, 5; Germany, 4; Italy, 3; France, 2½; Hungary, 2½; Australasia, 1 and Finland, 1.

—The Irish University bill passed the House of Commons (p. 395) on the 25th, by 207 votes to 19, amid cheers. The measure authorizes the foundation, by royal charter, of two new universities in Ireland, with headquarters in Dublin and Belfast. Dublin University is to be composed of three constituted branches, two of which, Cork and Galway, already exist. The third, New College, will be founded at Dublin. The present Queen's College at Belfast is to constitute the proposed new northern university, which probably will be called the University of Belfast.

*A portion of Mr. Crosman's address will be found on page 423 of this Public.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Geographical Candidate.

Puck (New York), July 22.—We advise Taft voters to scratch Sherman. He represents interests opposed to the very reforms to which Mr. Taft is morally pledged. Sherman is a "geographical candidate." He is bounded on the north by Special Privilege, on the south by Standard Oil, on the east by Wall Street, and on the west by "Let us alone."



A Virginian Paper on the Democratic Platform.

(Richmond, Va.) Times-Dispatch, July 11.—Even a somewhat Oklahomaized Democracy is greatly preferable to the whitened sepulchre of tainted Republicanism. . . . Of the platform The Times-Dispatch can speak, for the most part, in heartiest commendation. Whatever its novelties or Western eccentricities, it shows by the side of the hypocritical claptrap of the Republican manifesto to signal and shining advantage. It is straightforward, explicit and above-board, and it has nothing whatever up its sleeve. It strikes the real essentials of Democratic principle in the great issues of tariff reform, publicity in campaign contributions, States' rights, the income tax, the popular election of Senators, civil service reform, the abuse of Federal patronage, and economy in the administration of government. On all these points the Republican platform is silent or evasive. To all of them The Times-Dispatch gives its unreserved indorsement.



A Democratic Year.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), July 18.—The story that the Democrats had practically abandoned the East before the beginning of the fight and that their efforts would be centered in the West was of course without foundation. The Democratic campaign will include every State in the Union, and the fight will be as hot and as determined in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut as in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, every one of which is a doubtful State and all of which are therefore fighting ground. This struggle is going to be historic. The Democratic party never has been in better spirit. It is entering into the battle with magnificent courage and in the full confidence of the justice of its cause. It is more nearly united than it has been at any time before since the rebellion. Mr. Bryan is stronger in the affections of the people than he was twelve years ago. He has a wider acquaintance. Even those opposed to him have come to respect and admire him, and many thousands who distrusted him in previous campaigns will give him their loyal support in 1908. That he will win is the profound belief of many of the keenest political observers of the day. The Hearst defection means less than many at first blush will estimate. Mr. Hearst's following has always been largely composed of organized labor, and organized labor has always been largely Republican in sentiment. His Independence party is therefore likely to hurt Taft much more than it will hurt Mr. Bryan. It may indeed help the Democratic nominee. It will at least not seriously

impair Mr. Bryan's chances. In fact, all things tend to enhance them. The Republicans have a tremendous burden to carry as a result of the industrial breakdown and the exposure of their false and impious "prosperity" pretensions. They are practically certain to lose votes as they have lost prestige in consequence of the utter failure of Protection to keep its lying promises; and they have other embarrassments which must increase in the seriousness of their effects on the temper of the voters as the campaign progresses. It is a Democratic year.



Three-Cent Fares.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, July 22.—Apparently there is much rejoicing in the monopoly press over the alleged failure of 3-cent fares in Cleveland. The fact is celebrated with a flourish of trumpets as illustrating Tom L. Johnson's failure to make good. But the experiment has not failed as a matter of fact. It is true that a deficit has been shown during the first three months under the new system. But, in view of present industrial conditions and considering the disastrous strike which embarrassed the undertaking at its very beginning, the financial results must be looked upon as very encouraging. However, the fixed charges which the holding company must meet are undoubtedly excessive. They eat up an undue proportion of the receipts and it may become necessary in the long run to abandon the 3-cent for a higher fare. But this will not mean the failure of Tom L. Johnson's plans. It will mean only that in his fight with corporate monopoly he has been forced for a time to charge a higher rate for services than would be necessary if monopoly had not been entrenched.



Reading (Pa.) Herald, July 22.—The ululation over the downfall of the three-cent trolley system comes a little too previously. The shouts have about them an artificiality that grates. There is a kind of suggestion there that the main shouters are the servile followers of trolley magnates, pass-bearing henchmen and such. The general public ought to be greatly interested in seeing the three-cent fare succeed. Even if it shall ultimately fail, the public should note that failure with sorrow. It is to the public's interest that low rates and universal transfers become popular and widespread. If they shall be proven impractical, that will be to the public's loss. . . . So long as we must pay 10 cents to travel from the Reading post-office to the Franklin Street station, a distance of four short blocks, we will insist that the methods of the local Traction Company are grossly iniquitous and inequitable. And until Tom Johnson himself concedes that it is all a mistake and that a three-cent fare and universal transfers are commercial impossibilities, we will continue to believe that Tom Johnson's principle is correct and will ultimately triumph.



The Standard Oil Fine.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), July 24.—It is not at all surprising that the United States circuit court has reversed Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis of the United States district court, who some time ago smashed the world's record by fining the Standard Oil company \$29,240,000. For a month or

two thereafter Judge Landis was the biggest man in the country—and that is saying a good deal, for at that time Mr. Roosevelt was so strenuously thundering against "malefactors of great wealth" that it was thought the hour had come when they would be put out of business, the gigantic fine against the great monopoly being accepted as evidence that Teddy was earnest in his intention to swallow the Trusts whole. Indeed Landis became such a luminous figure that quite a number saw in him a great presidential possibility and so far had his boom proceeded that it became a serious question who should be chosen as his running mate. But his boom collapsed almost as suddenly as it was developed. It went all to pieces the very moment it became known that the fine was not against the Standard Oil company, but against the patrons of that monstrous combine. Even school boys were able to figure it out that if the \$29,240,000 should be paid there was no power on earth to prevent the Standard Oil company from raising the price of its product and in the end collecting the entire penalty and a fat interest on it from every user of petroleum in the country. In fact it became apparent to the dullest mind that Judge Landis had not rendered a decision against the Standard Oil octopus, but had afforded it a splendid excuse to advance the price of oil and have much more than the amount of the fine in its possession when it should come time to pay it, indeed if it ever should come time for it to pay. For immediately after Judge Landis imposed the sensational fine the market pages of the American newspapers contained the illuminating information that Standard Oil prices had advanced in every direction, and now to-day, as a direct result of the Landis verdict, consumers are out of pocket more than the fine, the Standard Oil company has more than an extra \$29,240,000 in its coffers, with a United States circuit court decision besides that if it is liable to a fine at all it cannot be in excess of \$720,000.



Tariffs as Temptations.

Puck (New York), July 8.—"The Tariff should not be so high as to furnish a temptation to the formation of monopolies to appropriate the undue profit of excessive rates."—(The Republican Candidate.) True, very true. Who knows but some day, in the indefinite future of course, a monopoly might be formed, the tariff providing the "temptation"? Competition killed by "excessive rates," certain home industries might see in the tariff a chance for "undue profit." The sharpest among them might even detect that with foreign goods shut out and domestic goods regulated and controlled in price, the consumer would be at the mercy of the producer. There might be a beef trust. There might be a steel trust. There might be other trusts, all tempted by the tariff "to the formation of monopolies to appropriate the undue profit of excessive rates." Mind, we say might.



"You live outside of the city limits? How far out-side?"

"Goodness knows. I don't. It's about fifteen minutes the other side of where the map stops."—Chicago Tribune.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

IN THE GARDEN OF THE DEAD: A DREAM.

Translated from the Yiddish of Morris Rosenfeld for The Public.

The night is silent, brightly shines the moon,
Deep in the sky the twinkling star-fires gleam.
By the Dream Angel I am borne away
Through life and death; now listen to my dream!

An ancient cemetery: buried joy
And buried sorrows, hid in scattered graves;
The righteous and the wicked there are laid,
There slumber the oppressors and the slaves.

And here and there a silent willow-dreams;
A soft wind sways the branches to and fro.
I stand in anguish, and no word I hear;
The dead, the dead—all mute they sleep below.

I look upon the tombstones round about;
The silent mounds in hundreds meet my view.
I gaze—the tombs show plainly what they are—
Graves of the poor, the rich, the pious, too.

Across the hillocks now a zephyr blows,
And stirs the leaves above the sleepers' heads:
"May sacred peace be with you in your graves,
Sweet peace to you within your little beds!"

I stand and shudder! The Dream Angel speaks:
"Look to the South and to the North, and see!
On those two quiet resting places gaze;
Canst thou their meaning read? Speak out to me!"

I look: How different are those sepulchres!
How come distinctions here 'twixt mound and mound?

Why is one grave all desolate and bare,
And why with blossoms is the other crowned?

"Know'st thou, O man, why flowers are growing
there,
While nothing here but sands and rocks we see?"

Thus the Dream Angel spoke; and he averred
That he the secret knew, and only he.

"Beneath this mound, where grass is growing thick
Lies one who was a flayer of his kind;
The weak he tortured; poor child-laborers
He sweated grievously, with ruthless mind.

"He lived upon the blood of those who toil,
Tormented the poor slaves who pine in dearth;
And this gave sustenance unto his limbs,
And brought him fatness when he dwelt on earth.

"Now from the strength of those poor laborers,
Which he devoured, consumed and made a prey,
That little garden o'er him has grown up;
The blossoms of the working man are they!

"'Tis to that bare mound yonder they belong;
They are the toiler's flowers, born of his pains;

**They from his marrow and his blood grew up,
And from the tear-drops that he shed in chains!"**

**A wind comes blowing softly o'er the graves,
And words are heard the garden's leaves among:
"The lovely blossoms, they are stolen flowers;
'Tis yonder, over yonder they belong!"**

**And stronger blows the wind across the graves,
And loud it roars, in wrath that naught can tame;
Words, awful words are in the garden heard:
"The pious, 'tis the pious are to blame!"**

**The toiler's grave clove suddenly apart;
The dead man thundered from his narrow cell:
"Not the flowers only, nay, but e'en the boards
That make his coffin, they are mine as well!"**

**"And not the coffin only, but the shroud
That wraps his limbs in linen smooth and fine,
It is not his—through me he gained it all,
Through my poor toil; the whole, the whole is
mine!"**

**Then through the air the dead man passed away
With cries: "You yet will pay for it!" he said;
And as he passed from sight he clenched his fist,
And shook it at the world, in menace dread.**

**In sudden terror from my dream I woke;
But still, in tones where grief and wrath combine,
Ring in my ears the words, "Nay, not alone
The flowers are stolen; all, yes, all is mine!"**

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.



ECHOES FROM OREGON.

Fred C. Denton in the Oregon Journal.

Any man moving among the people of Oregon is struck by the confidence they have in themselves to keep the political machines out of business. . . . The common citizen of Oregon has not yet spit on his hands to hit established graft a lick; he has only tapped in the wedge of the initiative.



In many parts of Oregon people are very "sore" on the local land monopolists. One of the largest in southwestern Oregon recently said that he was the worst hated man in that section. He further remarked that if some method was not devised to compel the use of idle land that the people would take it all away by pure confiscation, and that they would be justified in so doing. From some landless Socialist this would be treason and anarchy, but when delivered before a commercial body by an experienced and successful land-grabber it caused thinking men to think more.



BUSINESS.

Ellis O. Jones in Puck.

It has been definitely announced that business is the one thing above all else that must be protected at any hazard. All discussion of business

and the ramifications thereof must be carefully eschewed by the press and the pulpit. For the benefit of those who are not clear as to what topics a man may hold or express opinions upon, the following two lists have been compiled which, though necessarily incomplete, are fairly inclusive and typical. The first may only be discussed upon pain of being dubbed anarchistic, socialistic or some other istic popularly recognized as opprobrious. The second may be discussed by pulling babes and women's clubs without danger.

The following will injure business: Child labor, stock-watering, railroad rates, pure food, trades unions, cost of living, wages, trusts, tariff, graft, safety devices, hours of labor and bank regulations.

The following will not injure business: Spelling reform, Esperanto, art, lighthouses, light housekeeping, light fiction, baseball scores, cigars, the author of Shakespeare, the age of Ann, the inhabitants of Mars, the American girl, the civil war, the Passover, higher criticism, the size of the ark and the assailant of Billy Patterson.



HOW TO ABOLISH LAND MONOPOLY.

From an Address Delivered by W. L. Crosman, of Boston, at Crescent Park, R. I., July 18, 1908.

The cause of low wages and unemployed labor is land monopoly. Land is the source of our living and the source of all wealth, the field of employment for all labor. Because of man-made laws the benevolent intentions of the Creator have been violated and that natural element called land, which was created for the use and wants of all mankind, has been given over to private ownership. And in consequence we have a system of land monopoly which encourages land speculation and the holding out of use of valuable natural opportunities. And this is an obstacle in the way of the investment of capital and the employment of labor.

In order to abolish poverty and establish the equal right of all persons to the use of the earth and to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," it is necessary to abolish landlordism and legalized special privileges. That can be done by adopting the principle advocated by Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," which would mean that the annual rent of all land would be taxed into the public treasury and all other taxes could then be abolished.

Land speculators would then have to use idle land by employing labor, sell for whatever price could be obtained, or abandon it to those who would put it to use. Unused land would then be open for the employment of labor, and no man who wished to be at work need be idle. Wages would rise to their natural level—the full earnings

of labor—for no man would then work for another for less than he could make by working for himself. Free or easy access to land in new countries accounts for high wages in such places, and the absence of poverty and unemployed laborers.

Laborers demand justice, not charity; equal rights for all, not special privileges for some. Only by the establishing of justice and freedom can involuntary poverty be abolished, and the first step in that direction should be the extension of home rule or local option to the system of taxation, and that would open the door for the adoption in communities, both large and small, of the principle called the single tax. The necessity for government and the value of land are both the result of population, and the revenue of ground rent from the one should be used to pay the cost of the other. This would be conforming social conditions to natural law, and as a result poverty would be abolished, as well as the greed, vice, crime and intemperance that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty.

* * *

THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAIL- ROADS.

For The Public.

IX.

General Observations and Conclusions.

1. State Railways as Employers.

An important question in connection with the success attained by existing State railways is the condition of the employees. Of course the wages paid are not as high as the wages in the United States, but if State railway employment is compared with private employment in the same country, or in countries of similar conditions, it will be found that the employees of the public railway systems are as a rule better satisfied and a higher class of men, than can be found elsewhere. It is true that some countries, notably Italy and Rumania, have had troubles with their railway employees, but, while these cases are exceptions in regard to publicly owned railways, there are hardly any private roads anywhere, which have not, at some time or other, had troubles with employees who have been dissatisfied with their treatment. We have previously compared German State railways with English private railroads in certain respects. It may be profitable for us to complete our comparison by a reference to the manner in which each system handles its employees. Private monopoly in England has made itself subject to the same charge as American railroads, that of working the railway employees unreasonably long hours, although it must be admitted that such extreme cases as were brought forth in this country during the investigations connected with some of our most terrible railway accidents about a year ago, have not been heard of in

England. In Germany, however, the hours of duty are strictly limited. The working hours of 70 per cent of the locomotive and trainmen is less than 10 hours a day and does not exceed 11 hours, except in emergency cases, for any trainmen. In the State railway show the working time is limited to 9 hours.

On the Swedish State railways no general rules have been laid down as to the length of the working day. The principle of rendering the service of the train staff as easy as possible, is, however, applied as far as possible. With regard to Sunday labor, reductions have been made in connection with the freight traffic. Neither receiving nor delivering of freight takes place on that day, and a number of freight trains regularly run on week days are not run on Sundays. It is also the practice on all the government lines to provide for one Sunday off every third week for all employees, and they also have fifteen days' leave of absence yearly with full pay. The minimum compensation paid to the cheapest class of employees is \$318 a year, including compensation for clothing. The average minimum compensation on American roads is \$1.32 per day, or \$440 a year for 333 working days, this number being the number of working days on the Swedish State railroads for each employee. Considering the average cost of living, this comparison is most favorable to the publicly owned systems considered.

On all the larger publicly owned systems the employees are retired with a pension at a certain age, their employment is steady, and they need fear the future far less than the employees on many of our railroads, where the first pinch of depression in trade throws thousands out of employment.

2. Working Expenses.

It has been charged, and with very plausible reasons, that government administration of railroads would be a far more expensive business venture, considered merely as such, than results from private management. Few people, even the most ardent advocates of government ownership, would feel justified in arguing on this subject, unless supported by actual figures from practical results.

There are also a great many people who believe in government ownership in principle, and who would be willing to support its application in practice, if they were confident that the cost of administration would not be out of all proportion to the cost of private management. Of course it is true that logically the railways should be owned by the government, no matter what the cost of administration, because the railways to-day constitute our most important public highways, and we have outgrown the time of toll-roads, and highway franchises. We do not need, however, to argue this matter against any such odds as would

be necessary if we advocated something that would be commercially unprofitable. We have already shown that State railways have always been self-supporting, and that they also, as a rule, have paid a fair, and sometimes, a high per cent of interest on the capital invested. Surprising as it may seem to the superficial observer, even the cost of the administration proper is in general not higher for government railroads than for private roads. This we shall immediately show by figures which were a few years ago collected by English authorities.

The proper basis for a comparison between the administration cost of government and private railroads is obviously to compare State roads and private roads in the same country, and not to compare government railways in one country with private roads in another. The figures given below state the percentage of the total working expenses expended on administration of government and private railroads, respectively, in different European countries:

	Government railroads. Per Cent.	Private railroads.
Germany	9.40	13.10
Austria-Hungary	6.50	8.47
Belgium	5.05	10.13
Denmark	6.89	5.77
France	16.16	9.58
Italy	6.49	8.76
Norway	7.30	7.00
Holland	5.30	10.35
Rumania.....	4.40	10.80
Russia	9.27	13.70

From the foregoing figures it will be noticed that in France alone is the cost of government administration considerably higher than private administration; the difference in Norway and Denmark is very slight. On the other hand, in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Rumania and Russia the administration cost of the government railroads bears a far smaller proportion to the total working expenses than that of the private lines in those countries. The case of France is really of small significance, considering the fact that so small a proportion of the total system (only between 8 and 9 per cent) is in the hands of the government, and that, therefore, the public railways of France are by no means an example of the possibilities of a developed publicly owned railway system. Disregarding France, for these reasons, our quoted figures show decidedly lower expenses for government administration than for private management. Such a conclusion seems really unreasonable if we do not analyze the conditions. We have become so used to the idea that a private undertaking can be conducted more economically than a government enterprise, that we feel inclined to doubt the statistical information on which we have founded our conclusion. If we remember, however, that government railroads do not need to keep on their

pay-roll expensive lobbyists, that they do not need to "influence" legislation, that they do not need any corporation counsel in the ordinary sense of the word, that they do not need to provide jobs for political assistants who may be wholly inefficient in railway work, that they do not need to provide offices and fat salaries for relations of influential stockholders—if we remember these and similar things which are constantly providing new channels for the expenditures of a private railway monopoly, we may realize why it is that, when it comes to the matter of railways, European governments have proved themselves able to conduct business equally cheap or cheaper than private companies. There is no good reason why these results could not be duplicated in America. Think of the enormous sums which American railroads have spent annually on influencing legislation. Think of the railway lobby at every one of our forty-six State capitols, and the one at our national capitol. Think of the salaries we have known some of our United States Senators to receive as dummy directors in railway companies. Think of the expenses of legal proceedings; of the expenses of getting the laws passed by our elected representatives declared unconstitutional. Conceive of the salaries paid to many a railroad president, wholly incompetent as a railroad man. All this is "dead waste," which could be eliminated in a publicly owned system.

Having made a comparison of administrative cost, let us now proceed and compare the expenditure applied to the permanent way, and that of traffic expenses. The following table shows the amount of these expenditures in percentage of the total operation cost for government as well as private railways of several European countries:

Countries.	Maintenance of Way.		Traffic Expenses.	
	Gov. Lines.	Private Lines.	Gov. Lines.	Private Lines.
Germany	35.90	28.20	31.10	35.30
Austria-Hungary	38.12	30.21	29.03	32.54
Belgium	24.04	24.86	25.96	32.79
France	24.15	20.83	27.57	34.77
Italy	22.01	26.68	35.98	31.14
Holland	29.70	25.59	36.90	35.53
Rumania.....	38.10	29.20	22.70	28.40
Russia	40.40	31.03	11.83	21.34

From the preceding table we can easily draw two conclusions. In the first place we find that the maintenance of the permanent way is generally higher on the government lines, and in the second place that traffic expenses are higher, as a rule, on private railways. "It may be easily contended and even proved beyond all doubt," says Mr. J. S. Jeans, in "Railway Problems," "that the first characteristic is a result of the better conditions in which the State keeps the permanent way; and so far as this is the case, the public convenience, safety, and general advantage are promoted. The higher range of traffic expenses on the compan-

ies' lines undoubtedly argues greater laxity of management. . . . The experience of Continental Europe points unmistakably to the exercise of greater economy in State management."

3. Political Difficulties of Public Ownership.

The difficulties which would arise in this country, in case the railroads passed into the hands of the public, would nearly all be of a political nature. The European countries have provided for these difficulties by divorcing as much as possible the legislative and administrative powers of the State. Our political system of rapid rotation in office is not fitted for administrative offices, no matter how desirable it may be for legislative and executive bodies. Capable men, when once placed in responsible positions in business management, such as that of the railways would be, should be permitted to remain as long as the business prospered under their management. This would prevent political favoritism. We must also do away with the appointive system in any except the very highest, managing positions, and must depend entirely on a well-devised merit system. The European countries have proved that it is possible to make the railways wholly independent of the party in power, and we can learn a valuable lesson from them.

If the railroads are kept aloof from politics as much as they are in Germany and the Scandinavian countries, we do not need to fear a great body of voters in the government service who would always throw their influence in a certain direction. These fears are merely imaginary, and are used to frighten off people who prefer to let others think for them, from that terrible monster, government ownership. But even if we could conceive of the influence of the railway employees as being thrown entirely in favor of one party, still, this influence would only be but a fraction compared with the past and present influence of the men who have, as beneficiaries of a private monopoly, corrupted all our legislative bodies, from the United States Senate, all the way down through the State legislatures to the town and city councils. This is the political influence most to be feared.

All considered, the political difficulties, while of a more serious nature than any of the other conditions we have investigated, are by no means insurmountable. We can model our railroad departments from Europe; there is no reason why we should be too proud to learn from our sister nations when in this particular case they can teach us a valuable lesson. We can surely do as well as they have done. How inconsistent if we, who boast of being the foremost nation in the world, and the best business men, should not consider ourselves capable of handling our railway system the same as does Germany.

The American people have not yet failed in anything they earnestly undertook. Nor will they fail

when they once realize their duty and their rights in regard to the public highways of their country.

ERIK OBERG.



P. WEAVER, CLAIMANT.

T. K. Hedrick in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

I am a air-at-law; I meen 2 so
phor mi phull shair ov adam's vast estait;
mi claim is just—mi relative hee dyed
an made no will—what law kalls "intestait."

now eve an adam, so the bible sez,
they oaned thee earth and thereoff evry frute,
an i, a true desendent ov them 2,
deemand mi proper shair in this mi sute.

itt matters knot 2 mee whut men hav dun
2 wards improving this estait ov mine,
that jumped mi claim without mi phull konsent,
lett them sho enny papers i did sine!

thee earth, thee air, thee water ar three things
thatt no man kan sustane hiz life without,
an thatt is why old adam maid no will,
hee left them 2 us awl beyond a dout.

iff enny man kan oan a bit of earth,
itt's logikal thatt hee kan oan itt awl,
an oaning itt, no other foaks kan live
on itt unless he sez so—att hiz beck an kawl.

itts getting thatt way now, a phew men claim
to oan thee better parts ov awl thee earth,
thee rest ov us must pay them what they ask
as rental, whith iz awl yore life iz wirth.

an thatt iz why thatt i intend 2 so
phor a division, an deemand account,
i pheer the trustees hav ben krooked, an
perhaps embezzled quite a large amount.

BOOKS

THE LAST WORD ON SOCIALISM.

New Worlds for Old. By H. G. Wells. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1908.

Not a Utopian romance this time, but an exposition of modern Socialism, comes from Mr. Wells's famous pen. The fundamental idea of Socialism, says the author, is the denial that chance rules the world, the affirmation that things social (like things material) are by nature orderly. And the Socialist declares a "constructive design" for society.

This design of the Socialist rests upon two main generalizations. First,—since "the most important of all public questions,"—is "the question of the welfare and upbringing of the next generation." "The ideas of the private individual rights of the parent and of his isolated responsibility for his children are harmfully exaggerated in the contemporary world. . . . The Socialist holds that the community as a whole should be respon-

sible and every individual in the community, married or single, parent or childless, should be responsible, for the welfare and upbringing of every child born into that community. . . . Parentage rightly undertaken is a service as well as a duty to the world, carrying with it not only obligations, but a claim, the strongest of claims, upon the whole community. It must be paid for like any other public service; in any completely civilized state it must be sustained, rewarded and controlled. And this is to be done not to supersede the love, pride, and conscience of the parent, but to supplement, encourage, and maintain it."

And the second generalization is: "The idea of the private ownership of things and the rights of owners is enormously and mischievously exaggerated in the contemporary world. . . . The Socialist holds that the community as a whole should be inalienably the owner and administrator of the land, of all raw materials, of all values and resources accumulated from the past, and that all private property must be of a terminable nature, reverting to the community, and subject to the general welfare."

These two doctrines, misunderstood, give rise to the charges that Socialism would destroy the home and would destroy property. It is the present organization, or rather chaos, of society, answers Mr. Wells, which is destroying the home, and he calls to witness incontrovertible facts. Socialism would restore and cherish it in freedom. As for private property, Socialism "will sustain far more property than the average working-class man has to-day." "Modern Socialism tends to create and confirm property and rights, the property of the user, the rights of the Creator."

What of the past and present of the Socialistic movement? The author reiterates that Socialism is a "developing doctrine." It has passed from its preliminary stage of experimental Utopianism; through the "Revolutionary Socialism" of Marx—"which tends to an unreasonable fatalism" and "narrows the range of Socialism to only the economic aspect of life;" on into the "Administrative Socialism" of the English Fabians; and now in this very decade stands forth in its latest phase as "Constructive Socialism."

This modern "Constructive" Socialist has great tasks before him. He must (1) "do whatever lies in his power toward the enrichment of the Socialist idea;" he must (2) "direct his energies to political reform," that is, "the scientific reconstruction of our representative and administrative machinery;" and he must (3) "set himself to forward the resumption of the land by the community" and go on "with the work of socializing the main public services, by transferring them steadily from private enterprise to municipal and state control."

The whole book is, needless to say, brilliant. Persuasive in argument, reasonable in tone, vivid

in portrayal, enthusiastic in spirit, fascinating in style—all these of course it is. And the unwary reader lays down the book only to rise up and proclaim himself a Socialist—until by some deep and experienced reformer he is made to see that Mr. Wells has led every progressive to acknowledge himself a Socialist by the simple expedient of embracing all progress in Socialism.

ANGELINE LOESCH.



STEPPING-STONES TO HEAVEN.

Stepping Stones to Heaven. Three Lectures by C. L. Brewer. To-Morrow Publishing Co., Chicago. Cloth, 50 cts.; paper, 25 cts.

"The Gospel of To-Day," "Ignorance," and "The Sex Question," are subjects treated with a refreshing frankness and freedom that might startle and possibly shock the conservative mind or what Mr. Brewer calls the "Mortal Mind," dignified by the capital "M," in contradistinction to Mrs. Eddy, who is satisfied to put her favorite term in the small type, emblematic of its "no account" quality.

Mr. Brewer preaches the gospel of to-day—or, shall we say of to-morrow?—with a cataract rush of anathemas against the old, and panegyrics to the new that would be likely to confound the small-type mortal mind unable to grasp what the gospeller is driving at.

Mr. Brewer is blackly pessimistic regarding the state from which we are slowly evolving. It does not seem to hold the promise even of the glorious vision of the future with which he now and then assures us like this:

One not versed in the ways of God with men would think our foremost teachers given over to psychic riot, and revelling in the delusions of Mortal Mind gone mad. And so, indeed, they are; but under cover of that expanding hysteria the vibrations are going forth that will transform the Mortal into the Immortal Mind and usher us into Celestial Spheres of Cosmic Consciousness. We are now staggering under the cumulative Truth and Falsehood of a million experimental years of mental and spiritual evolution, and the actinic heat of the light that never shone on land or sea is burning away the dross, and they who identify themselves with the dross and make Falsehood their Truth are burning with it.

On the Sex Question our lecturer utters some wholesome and needed truths, at present quite above the range of the ordinary mortal mind in small type. But despite the slave ideals of the past he sees that:

We shall not always sleep nor vegetate as thorn and gum trees walking in misty dream land. When we have been transformed by the renewing of our minds, and our souls have stood upright within us, and come, each to its own peculiar place of power and majesty as a right hand of God, we shall laugh softly at the embryonic folly of the mewling period

and go forth as risen sons and daughters of God to establish the kingdom that shall never be destroyed, extend Jerusalem's Holy Mount until it fills the whole earth.

A. L. M.

+ + +

BEHIND THE SCENES.

Stories of the Struggle. By Morris Winchevsky.
Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1908.

Though crudely chronicled, these incidents in the lives of obscure and alien Socialists in London, have an interest and a force which only the drama of life can give.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

PAMPHLETS

Chicago's North Shore.

The State Geological Survey of Illinois has just issued Bulletin No. 7, "The Physical Geography of the Evanston-Waukegan Region," written by Wallace W. Atwood and James Walter Goldthwaite, and published at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. The

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HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS

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A. L.

+ +

Religion and Sex.

One of the profoundest of religious truths is touched upon by Theodore Schroeder (63 East 59th street) in an essay on "Religion and Sensualism." The writer quotes copiously to show how generally religious ecstasy is associated with lust, either in the direction of stimulating or of suppressing it, his own conclusion being that "in the stage of racial adolescence the human consciousness of sex-functioning necessarily evolved to sex worship, and this to all other forms of religion." To a believer in material origins this interpretation it doubtless plausible. But so long as the matter is at best only hypothetical with scientists, there seems to be greater plausibility in the idealistic hypothesis that normal marriage is expressive of religion, the normal relationship of man to God, whereas lust is expressive of religious perversion.

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PERIODICALS

Representation is the name of a new monthly journal published by the Proportional Representation Society in Great Britain. The American Proportional Representation League controls a quarterly Review in the Equity Series of Philadelphia, and conducts a department in the Arena, both under the competent editorship of Robert Tyson, the secretary-treas-

urer of the League (10 Harbord St., Toronto, Canada).



—The National Geographic Magazine for June devotes sixty pages to "One Season's Game-Bag with the Camera," by Hon. George Shiras, 3d. Scores of beautiful and marvelous photographs of wild animals and birds are given along with the account of this new and humane sort of hunting.

A. L.

Ernest Crosby's Books

Labor and Neighbor, Ernest Crosby's posthumous economic message, which has appeared serially in recent issues of *The Public*, is now to be had in book form, simple but readable, bound in stiff drab paper with portrait of the author. ¶ If you have missed reading any of the chapters you will want the book to fill the lapse, for every one of these chapters treats a separate economic phase. ¶ If you have read every chapter as it appeared, you will want many copies of the book to send to persons you know of, making Crosby's message your message. ¶ For this reason the book has been put out plainly, and it is sold as close to the margin of cost as the publishers dare to carry it—that every one who finds Crosby's message in these pages may be able to make it his own message to every other man of whom he believes that he has ears to hear. ¶ We send, without charge for postage, one book for twenty-five cents; and for a dollar, six books; and for three dollars, twenty books.

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+ + +

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