

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

The Taft Candidacy.

When the Republican convention nominated Mr. Taft for the Presidency, upon the platform which it adopted, including the deliberate omissions as well as the specific declarations of that platform, it went a long way toward establishing plainly in public apprehension the real issue in American politics.

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Mr. Taft is neither a plutocrat nor a democratic pretender. He is an honest aristocrat. A better representative of the aristocratic ideal could hardly be found anywhere in American public life. To him there appears to be an upper class and a lower class, a directing class and a working class, a guardian class and a class of wards. Are we considering the independence of the Philippines? The Filipinos should have independence as soon as they are fitted for it, and meanwhile we who are already fitted for it must help these backward ones up toward our own level. Noblesse oblige! Are we considering labor questions? Workingmen should be encouraged to improve their lot, and there should be paternal legislation to ameliorate their condition without menacing "vested rights." Noblesse oblige! Secure the upper classes in their privileges, and they will care for the lower classes who have no privileges. Noblesse oblige! Such is the philosophy which Mr. Taft represents. The antithesis of democracy, it

proposes patronage from above instead of growth from within.

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And as with Mr. Taft the candidate, so with his platform. In spirit and letter it is the platform of a party that contemplates privileges for the few and protection for the many. Like its candidate, this party as it now clearly declares itself, would go down among the people and do them good and regulate their lives; preserving intact the while the vested privileges which make such condescension possible. If there is now left in the Republican party as an organization the slightest spark of the old Lincolnian doctrine of democracy, that the masses must redeem themselves, and that they will do so if unburdened with the privileges of "upper" classes, it appears neither in the character of the candidate nor in the spirit of the platform.

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This is not to be deprecated. On the contrary, let us sincerely hope that a candidate and a platform so frankly aristocratic will draw to the support of the Republican party, with enthusiastic approval, all voters who are honestly hostile to the democratic spirit. There is nothing in either platform or candidate to complicate the issue. If we are to go as a nation in the direction of the aristocratic ideal, we could not do so with greater confidence in the personal integrity of a leader than under the candidacy of Mr. Taft, commissioned by such a platform as his. The party might have nominated a demagogue or a plutagogue—a candidate without sincerity, or one who stands for the supremacy of the Big Business which respects no one's rights. It has done neither. It has given us a fair-minded patrician, to whom the judiciously guarded rights of plebians are as sacred, narrow, though they be, as the expansive privileges of his own class.

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Thereby the Republican party has relieved the pending political contest of all diverting influences. Aristocracy has through it thrown down the gauntlet to democracy. Here is the man and here the platform which the aristocratic spirit thrusts into the arena. Both are free from guile. There is no wickedness and no hypocrisy. Shall our government be aristocratic in the truest sense, or democratic in the truest sense? Shall government of all by an upper class, yet for the good of all in their several stations, as that class sees the good of each to be, supersede government of all by all and for all? This is the welcome issue

which the Republican nomination and platform, so frankly representative of the spirit of aristocracy, precipitates. It is an issue which gives promise of a campaign of vital principle frankly declared, in place of the campaigns preceding it, with their masquerades of principle and their fury of personalities.

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The Republican Labor Plank.

One of the planks of the Republican platform, the plank on labor injunctions, is denounced by many as deceptive. We do not read it so. It is one of the fairest declarations in the whole document. It could not possibly have been any more frank without disregarding every principle of diplomacy in the formulation of public declarations.

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What the convention meant, and what Mr. Taft stands for on this subject, is the utilization of the autocratic process of injunction for the protection of employers in the hiring of workmen in the cheapest market. Labor injunctions are utilized for the purpose of defining offenses against property in particular cases, without the intervention of the legislature; they are utilized for the purpose of defining as property the right to make any kind of contracts of hire that a glutted labor market affords; their violation is tested by mere affidavits, and without living witnesses or the benefits of cross-examination, and before the injunction-issuing judge and without the intervention of a jury; the punishment is as absolutely in the discretion of the judge as is the finding of fact. The writ itself is a survival of the autocratic power of the king, acting through his chancellor. It was manifestly intended by the Republican leaders to preserve this autocratic power in cases of labor strikes, and that is precisely what the Republican platform, with almost brutal frankness, demands.

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It declares against any modification of the process of injunction; and while it expresses belief in the desirability of a notice before the process issues, except in emergent cases, it thereby merely re-declares the law as it exists. The evil of injunctions in labor cases is not that they are issued without notice. Neither is it that prompt hearings are denied. The substantial evil is that they create judge-made law; that under them convictions of crime are secured indirectly without a jury; that the testimony is by affidavit, and that there is no opportunity to cross-examine witnesses. The innovation of labor injunctions—for these

injunctions were legal novelties only a few years ago—was a distinct stride in the direction of creating a new species of property for business men. They created property for employers in the labor of workingmen. And for the preservation of this new kind of property they subject strikers to a summary and irresponsible trial, by a judge without a jury, for alleged crime. This is the evil which the Republican convention was called upon by labor organizations to declare against. It is the evil which employers' organizations asked it to perpetuate. The refusal of the convention to declare against this judicial innovation was frank enough; its declaration in favor of it was equally frank. Whatever else may be said of the labor-injunction plank of the Republican platform, it cannot be denounced as deficient in candor.

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Republican Protection.

"The true principle of protection is best maintained," says the Republican platform, "by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries." Since it is now well established as a fact that the cost of production in American industries is less than abroad in the same industries, there can be no real difference in cost of production to protect by tariff. All that is left, therefore, of the "true principle of protection" is the requirement that there be added to the difference in labor cost "a reasonable profit to American industries." Now to whom is that profit to go? Who is this fellow called "American industries," into whose pockets our generous friends of the Republican party want to legislate "a reasonable profit"?

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Our Foreign Trade.

In one plank the Republican platform proposes continued obstruction to our foreign commerce, by making it unprofitable to trade foreign for American products in the American market; and in another it proposes to stimulate our foreign commerce by subsidizing American ships. The Republican leaders would carry our products abroad by paying for ships out of taxes to do it; and yet they would obstruct the bringing back of foreign products to pay for those carried out at the taxpayers' expense. Was a more topsy turvy policy ever seen this side the looking glass? And yet there is method in the absurdity. Foreign products are kept out so as to subsidize Big Business by compelling American consumers to pay extra

prices for goods; and ship building is subsidized so as to enable Big Business to profit by manufacturing ships which won't pay for themselves in open trade. Big Business is the point all the time; for Big Business is our aristocracy. Give Big Business a subsidy for ships, and Big Business will give to ship builders and sailors so much of the subsidy as is good for them in the estimation of the "better classes" whom Mr. Taft represents, and as much more as can be extorted by the lower from the upper class without breeding necessities for the injunction process.

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The Distribution of Wealth.

The Republican platform boasts that the wealth of the United States is \$110,000,000,000; but it is discreetly silent about the distribution of that wealth. The matter is only one of simple arithmetic, however. If there is indeed as much wealth as that—one hundred and ten thousand millions—there is an average of \$1,300 or more for every man, woman and child in the country, which makes an average of over \$6,000 for every family. Now we may ignore the families that are thriftless and idle and poor, and those that are thriftless and idle and rich, and consider only those that are thrifty and industrious whether rich or poor. Some of these can doubtless show their \$6,000. But how many? Ask your industrious and thrifty neighbor whether he has his share of this wealth—whether he can put his hands upon \$6,000 of which he can say, "This is the share of my family"?

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In considering the question of the accumulated wealth of a country with reference to the boasts of a political party long in power, it is much more important to know how the accumulated wealth is divided than how much it foots up to. A political party long in power may be entitled to little or no credit for the amount of wealth accumulated; for accumulation depends upon the work and thrift of the people of a country in far greater degree than upon its politics. But a party long in power is responsible in large measure for the distribution of accumulated wealth; for its distribution may depend upon the laws of the country in far greater degree than upon the work and thrift of the people. Under unfair laws the accumulated wealth of a country may be taken from the industrious and thrifty who create and conserve it, and be given to the idle and cunning who influence law-making. It is of utmost importance to know, therefore, how this \$110,000,000,000 of

accumulated wealth, of which the Republican platform boasts, is distributed. Has every industrious and thrifty family of five got its share of \$6,000? If not, why not? What account have the boasters of the Republican party to give of this phase of their stewardship?

* *

Senator Burrows and American Wealth.

Some of those who listened to Senator Burrows at the Chicago convention, saw and heard things which did not reach the eye and ear of the thoughtless throng. Senator Burrows was telling of the great productions of wealth of the past year. He specified \$4,331,000,000 in flocks and herds; \$7,412,000,000 in farm products; 420,000,000 tons of coal; \$90,000,000 of gold; 5,000,000 bales of cotton and 19,000,000 pounds of silk in manufactures; 25,178,000 tons of pig iron; and billions of dollars' worth of other products. Just then there came from a distant corner of the gallery a voice that would have paralyzed Senator Burrows had he heard it; a voice that would have stampeded the delegates had it reached them; a voice that nevertheless seemed to those with ears to hear to fill the auditorium. Alluding to this vast catalogue of wealth, that voice asked, "Who got it?" And at the instant, as if in answer, a great scroll at the rear of the platform unrolled, visible only to those who had the eyes to see, as the voice was audible only to those who had the ears to hear. The Daniel who interpreted the mystic legends on that scroll, pointing his finger the while at the delegates in the body of the hall, read these ominous words: "More millionaires than ever before. Millions of tenant farmers, and of farm owners staggering under purchase-money mortgages. Fewer home-owners. Greater need for charity to relieve the sufferings of workless workers." Luckily for Senator Burrows and his co-partisans, they neither saw the scroll nor heard the interpreter. But the scroll was there, and the voice was there, and the judgment is at hand.

* *

The Negro and the Republican Party.

One of the clearly thought out suggestions regarding the treatment of the Negro race by the Republican party managers was that of J. G. H. Woods at a meeting of the Negro-American Political Equality League at Chicago during convention week. As reported by the Chicago Tribune of the 19th, Mr. Woods said:

There is just one way for the Negro to get his rights, and that is to use the balance of power that God has given him in these Northern States regard-

less of parties. If we put the Republican party out of business this Fall it may not do us any immediate good. But you can bet that four years from now the Republican party will be around wanting to do business with us. And what is more, if we show the Democrats that we can put them into power, these same Democrats that have passed the laws against us will be mighty tender of our feelings in order to keep in power.

If the Negro of the North had adopted that policy ten years ago, there would have been little more than a remnant of the race question at the South to-day. How can Negroes expect any special consideration from the Democratic party, when they vote against that party in a mass, every time, everywhere, and under all circumstances? And why should they expect any special consideration from the Republican party, so long as every time, everywhere, and under all circumstances, they vote for the Republican party?

* *

Press Censorship.

The longest stride yet in the direction of a press censorship in the United States, of the most autocratic and irresponsible type, was taken last week by the Postmaster General. He acts under a law passed with hardly a protest at the recent session of Congress. Senator Hale did give notice upon its passage that it was a censoring law, but it went through the legislative mill without a jar. Under this law the Postmaster General has just issued a notice to postmasters to exclude from the mail all publications which in their respective opinions contain "matter tending to incite to arson, murder or assassination." If the publication is in a foreign language, and the postmaster "has reason to believe" that it contains "matter tending to incite to arson, murder or assassination," he may withhold its transmission through the mails until a certified translation is filed, and continue to do so until the department rules if he asks a ruling. If the local postmaster is "in doubt" in any case, he must submit the question to the Department, and pending its decision must exclude the matter from the mails. This is a terrific power to place in the hands of postmasters. Scores of thousands of censors are thereby established, centralized justices of the peace, each with his own test of what constitutes a publication "tending to incite to arson, murder or assassination," and each beyond the reach of the courts. But postmasters are expected to act with "wise discretion and conservatism, in order that no innocent publisher may suffer injustice." Ah! Publications that are "right" must not be disturbed. To call a Republican President a despot might

subject a socialist publication to suppression as tending to incite to assassination. But to call a socialist on trial for his life an "undesirable citizen" might be legitimate in the interests of justice. It would depend upon the point of view of the postmaster.

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Who is the man so blind as not to see that this postal regime places every publication at the mercy of the party in power? Who so obtuse as not to understand that here is an engine for the suppression of opinion not yet popular, more formidable than any engine with which the advocates of free press and free speech have ever before been confronted. This is the sedition law of a hundred years ago, done over into a form infinitely more dangerous to personal liberty. Rights of publication depend no longer upon the principle of a free press. They depend upon the "wise discretion and conservatism" of an army of postmasters, subject to no other review than their bureaucratic superiors. The writ of injunction so necessary to the protection of the property of Big Business men in the labor market, does not protect the property of little business men in periodical publications.

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The Church and Socialism.

The best attended session of the pan-Anglican church congress in London, that of the 22d, was distinguished for the emphasis its speakers laid upon the importance of socialism. All the speakers but one are reported to have displayed socialist tendencies; and the paper of the Bishop of Birmingham, after contrasting the grinding poverty of the workers with the extravagant luxury of the idle rich, demanded of the Church "a tremendous act of penitence for having failed so long and so greatly to champion the oppressed and weak." The significance of this is not that churchmen are becoming socialists, in any scientific or definite sense of that term. Few if any of them could pass the simplest examination, probably, at the door of a socialist temple. But there is great significance to it nevertheless. It is indicative of an awakening of the sense of social justice, which has been numb in all the churches. A very great revival is that in any church which makes its ministers exclaim with indignation against social injustice, which makes them denounce as sin a state of society wherein, so distinctively as in ours, the poor are of the working class and the rich are of the idle class. The economic, not to say the moral, incongruity of such a condition, since

poverty means lack of labor products and riches means abundance of labor products, should have burned into the consciences of churchmen long ago. That it is burning into them now is significant of social readjustments of the greatest value to mankind.

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Back in the Game.

In considering the princely offer of Thomas W. Lawson to raise a campaign fund of \$500,000 for the Democrats if they nominate Governor Johnson for President, and Bryan for second place instead of first, it is important to bear in mind one very suggestive fact. Through Everybody's Magazine several months ago, Mr. Lawson declared his intention of abandoning his fight against plutocracy and going back into the Big Business game.

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The Police and the Golden Rule.

One of the men to whom the Chief of Police of Cleveland has appealed by his application of the Golden Rule to the police service, and who has written us expressions of gratitude for our having scattered Chief Kohler's admirable address over the country through *The Public*, makes these very sensible as well as appreciative observations: "If there is any class that deserves all the help and encouragement yourself or others can give, it is that very small class of which I may be considered a member, who still believe in the efficacy of the Golden Rule for the world's redemption. Only last night I saw two boys (17 or 18 years old) arrested. I do not know with what crime they were charged, but I know that if Chief Kohler were at the head of our police department it would be the boys' own fault if they ever offended again except that poverty instigated their 'crime.' But what will in all probability happen to them? Roughly hustled into a cell; in the course of a few days brought out and confronted by judge and jury composed of men who, even if charitably disposed, are not allowed by custom or law to exercise undue leniency; probably sent to jail for a period, long or short as the judge may see fit; then the completion of their term, and their return to their former haunts and acquaintances. Perhaps they try to do better, but find the doors of opportunity closed against them. Then what? Chief Kohler's deeds and my beliefs may not be 'practical'; they may be only the phantasies of disordered minds. But it seems to me as a believer in the Golden Rule, that if his figures are correct, we should at least give his plan a trial."

LABOR INJUNCTIONS.

Listen to the Republican bird of freedom yell! How in the name of science can a stuffed eagle make such a noise? Step around behind, and you will detect a Delphic-oracle connection between its mouth and that of a gentleman who proposes to "stand pat."

When Uncle Joe gets weary, the good Mr. Van Cleave will take his place awhile.

Why are these gentlemen so excited?

Reason enough: The country is hovering on the edge of the brink of destruction, and the life preservers are being distributed to the passengers aboard the ship of state.

What is the matter?

The right of employers to forbid workmen to do something that very likely they did not intend to do, is in the gravest peril.

Government by injunction, for which our forefathers charged up and down Bunker Hill; of which Jefferson and Adams, Paine and Franklin spoke with words of burning eloquence; and which is plainly set forth in the Constitution as the bulwark of a free and orderly ruling of the people by and for the Manufacturers' Association, has been assailed.

✦

If judges could not issue injunctions, workmen on a strike would have liberty to run with bowie knives and dynamite upon the public highway, tear down buildings, fill the streets with blood, block the wheels of commerce, shoot the innocent by-standers for practice and amusement, and make the reputed burning of Rome under Nero appear by comparison as mild as Shakespeare expurgated by Lieutenant Smith.

Are there no laws to prevent murder, riot, arson, and the like? Is it impossible to arrest and imprison those who resort to improper means to win a strike? Alas, we do not have such laws; the framers of the Constitution never thought they would be necessary when they had left us the injunction to protect our liberties.

✦

Is anyone except the striker ever guilty of destroying the life, liberty and happiness of other folk? Yes. The Illinois Steel plant destroys its workers and the happiness of their families; also the packers of Chicago have been detected putting up meat that would annihilate the happiness of an Angora goat and six lives of an alley cat. Can the courts stop the business of a packer while an investigation of the plant is going on? Great heaven, no; the packer's business would be dam-

aged by radical and dangerous measures of that sort. There was, indeed, some talk of such a proceeding a short time ago, and the loud protest of the packer against this unjust invasion of his rights, rose to the brazen dome of heaven and smote it till it shook. Nothing was heard then about protecting the integrity of the courts.

What is the business of a workman on a strike? It is to get a higher wage.

How will he do this? By persuading other men not to work for the persons against whom the strike is called.

How can he accomplish this if he is forbidden to walk on the same side of the street with those whom the packer has persuaded by his money to work for him, and whom the striker wishes to persuade with his argument to quit the job? He cannot win if peaceful picketing is not allowed.

Then the injunction interferes with his business, but not the packer's business; and the law "makes fair for one and foul for another" after all?

By no means. If the striker does not want to work, what is to prevent his going fishing for a year or so?

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But what will happen if he does not like to fish, and cannot win the strike? He will go back to work for such a wage as he can get.

If this is not a "living wage," will he get out an injunction to prevent the starving of himself and family? Oh, not at all; it is not admissible to get injunctions over the "mere matter of wages" for a workingman.

What, then, will he do? He will die peaceably of malnutrition, I suppose.

How is his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness protected then? You do not read the Declaration well. It says: Every citizen is entitled to life if he can pay for it, liberty to work for what the employer will give him, and the happiness which comes to those who are content with what they have—even should that chance to be a thirty days' sentence to the rock pile for looking hungry in the public park.

✦

If it were not for the exalted patriotism of Uncle Joe and the Manufacturers, as successors to, and interpreters of Adams, Paine, et al., how should the common man be able to appreciate these things?

LOUISA DANA HARDING.

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Imperialism is the pleasure of living with one's inferiors.—G. K. Chesterton.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

EMMA GOLDMAN IN OREGON.

Portland, Oregon, June 14.—Emma Goldman has come, given five lectures, and gone; and we are all laughing at the comedy you Chicago people played for Emma's benefit, and we shoot the lip at your big chief of police.

A small blue-eyed woman, and five interesting lectures. Oh, not nearly so violent as Thomas Carlyle, Bernard Shaw or Wendell Phillips. What's the matter with you people? Are you suppressing free speech just from pure tyranny because you don't agree with the thinker, or are you an advertising bureau for Emma?

She tells me she has been dragged off the platform in Chicago and New York before she uttered a word. Nice home of the free and land of the brave, this is!

Some of our hysterical people wanted her suppressed here. That's a catching disease—suppression. The wretch, whose grandfather was suppressed by jail or scaffold in Freedom's cause, no sooner gets freedom for his own ism or ology, but he immediately wishes to suppress all other isms and ologies. Mayor Lane of Portland told the hysterical ones that a document called the Constitution of Oregon, expressly reserved the right of the people to alter or abolish the government, and gave to every person the right to freely speak on any question whatever, subject only to a legal responsibility for the abuse of that right. And Chief of Police Entzmacher said that whenever she violated the law he would arrest her, as he would any one; and meanwhile she had the same right as every other American to utter her ideas. Rev. Mr. Eliot, the Unitarian minister, offered his church as a home for free speech. But this was not necessary. No difficulty was found in getting a hall, and Miss Goldman gave five lectures about as turbulent as prayer meetings, or a Chautauqua lecture.

They were attended by men and women of the dinner bucket, and men and women of the idle rich. Many came from mere curiosity, but most were thoughtful people, interested to know what Anarchism really is. And I am ashamed to say, many were surprised to learn that it is Christian Brotherhood of Mankind—not bomb-throwing. Help for the disinherited and oppressed, not murder of rulers.

True, rulers were considered as useless and oppressive, and forcible government supporting special privilege was considered a last survival of despotic institutions; but the remedy proposed was by thought and evolution, not by murder.

Emma Goldman said in a tired, weary way, that she supposed many who came from curiosity, having got their knowledge of her from the newspapers, would be disappointed. "But," she went on, "I have never advocated violence in my life. Anarchism expressly condemns force against peaceable men. And besides, violence as tactics would be folly. It only entrenches more firmly the ones assailed. Individual force against individual officials is worse than useless. It is not the official who is to blame; it is the institution; and the only way to destroy

the institution is to make it obnoxious to the human mind. An act of violence obscures the whole issue; creates sympathy for the one attacked, fear for the peace of society, and discredits the sanity of the cause."

"Of course," she explained, "poor, excited, unbalanced individuals do brood over the wrongs done in the name of government, and rush off to kill. They are insane; they have my pity. But such insane people are found among Republicans, as Guiteau; or Democrats, as Booth; or among religious denominations. It is only your ignorance, and the ignorance, or worse, of your newspapers, which makes you believe that I ever did advocate violence." "I am afraid," she said, in the same weary way, "if you have come to be excited by sensational utterances you will be disappointed."

One of her lectures was on the "Revolutionary Spirit of the Modern Drama," dealing in a very sympathetic and intellectual manner with Ibsen, Hauptmann, Shaw and Suderman, but especially Ibsen. As I witnessed these quiet meetings to discuss high thoughts, I felt how ridiculous the city would have made itself in sending in police, or shadowing this woman with detectives. You might as well send police to the meetings of the trustees of the Chicago University.

I admit the wisdom of police supervision over a political convention, or a meeting of the legislature; but Emma Goldman! Pshaw! You Chicagoans are making spectacles of yourselves. By the way, by what right do your police prohibit speech before it is uttered?

I notice that *The Public* has commented on the Buwalda case (p. 220)—the man who, after fifteen years' honorable service, was court martialed for attending in San Francisco these identical lectures given here in Portland. And for applauding during the lectures, and for shaking hands with Emma Goldman afterward, he was sentenced to dishonorable discharge and five years at hard labor in Alcatraz prison. (Commuted to three years by General Funston.) Think of it! and this "the land of the free!" Five years' hard labor and a dishonorable discharge, after fifteen years' service, for hearing Ralph Waldo Emerson or Abraham Lincoln! For hearing a woman simply plead for more freedom, less special privilege, more humanity, less exploiting of the masses; for more universal brotherhood and less of blind patriotism and glory, so-called, which leads men to destroy other men! Think of Buwalda being imprisoned for hearing the doctrines of Christ made practical and modern!

It is a shame and a disgrace to American manhood and American intelligence. Nothing before that Republican convention in Chicago was as important as this case of this obscure soldier, for it is the eternal cause of immortal liberty.

It does not appear that there was any evidence before the court to show what Emma Goldman said, and what Buwalda applauded. He is court martialed for going to hear Emma Goldman. He is court martialed and convicted on the testimony of two spies—hired detectives. It would be an educational act if the members of the court martial could be compelled to go and hear just what Emma Goldman says in those lectures. It might at least give them some

ideas beyond sword belts and Russian militarism! If the Grand Army of the Republic, which fought for human freedom, lets this man suffer in prison, I shall believe the times have changed, and the spirit of liberty is dead.

I suggest that those desiring to do so write to their Congressmen. If we are all selfish cowards and sunk in the mire of gold, with no thought but comfort, let us know it.

C. E. S. WOOD.

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, June 23, 1908.

The Republican Convention.

Following the address of Senator Burrows as temporary chairman of the Republican convention at Chicago on the 16th (p. 274), the convention adjourned for the day. On the 17th, after a session of fifteen hours, the committee on credentials reported that the delegates placed on the temporary roll by the national committee were the delegates entitled to seats, and recommended that the temporary roll call be the permanent roll call. The report was adopted without debate. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts was then elected permanent chairman. After speaking half an hour he evoked a long continued expression of enthusiasm with his climax to the following tribute to President Roosevelt:

For his performance of his sworn duty he has been bitterly attacked. It was to be expected. Vested abuses and profitable wrongs cry out loudly when their entrenchments are carried, and some one is sure to be hurt when the bayonets of the law are pushed home. In the great American electorate money has few votes, but it can command many voices and cause many birds to sing. The result is that the President is the best abused and the most popular man in the United States to-day. The applause lasted 47 minutes.

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Meanwhile the committee on resolutions had been in a turmoil over the platform since the assembling of the convention. Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, had appeared before the appropriate subcommittee with a request for the adoption of the following plank in the platform:

The Republican party is in accord with the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, when he declared that "labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and never could

have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much more consideration." Through his wise and humane policy the shackles were stricken from the limbs of 4,000,000 chattel slaves. The Republican party has been the staunch defender of property and property rights, yet holds and declares that personal rights and human liberty are and must of necessity be entitled to the first and highest consideration. Recognizing the new conditions arising from our marvelous industrial development, our people and our nation realize the fact that the wheels of industry and commerce of our time require that new law and new concepts of law must be enacted to conform to modern industry and commerce and advance freedom in line therewith. We therefore pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law by Congress guaranteeing to the wage earners, agriculturists and horticulturists of our country the right of organized effort to the end that such associations or their members shall not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade. We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a law to prohibit the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes, when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed; and, that in no case shall an injunction be issued when there exists a remedy by the ordinary process of law, and which act shall provide that in the procedure for the punishment of contempt of court, the party cited for contempt shall when such contempt was not committed in the actual presence of the court be entitled to a trial by jury. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of an amendment extending the existing eight-hour law to all government employes, and to all workers, whether employed by contractors or subcontractors doing work for or on behalf of the Federal government. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law by Congress as far as the Federal jurisdiction extends, for a general employers' liability act, for injury to body or loss of life of employes. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law to the extent of Federal jurisdiction granting women's suffrage and to submit a Constitutional amendment for ratification to the States for the absolute suffrage of women, co-equal with men. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor, separate from any existing department, with a secretary at its head having a seat in the President's cabinet. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law for the creation of a Federal bureau of mines and mining, preferably under the proposed department of labor, and the appropriation of sufficient funds to thoroughly investigate the cause of mine disasters, so that laws and regulations may be recommended and enacted which will prevent the terrible maiming and loss of life in the mines. We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of a law for the establishment of United States government postal savings banks.

In behalf of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Firemen and Trainmen, Mr. H. R. Fuller asked the adoption of the following plank on the same subject:

We pledge ourselves to such legislation as will

guarantee to workmen those rights necessary to their industrial protection, including the right to strike and to induce or to persuade others to do so; and to such legislation as will prevent the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions without hearing; and guaranteeing trial by jury to persons accused of contempt of court, if such alleged contempt be not committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice.

A spirited discussion took place in support of these clauses respectively by Mr. Gompers and Mr. Fuller, and by representatives of the National Manufacturers' Association against any declaration whatever on the subject of labor injunctions. Both of the proposed planks were ignored by the committee on resolutions.

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A woman suffrage plank supported before the committee on resolutions by Mrs. Charles Henrotin, Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Iva G. Wooden, was also ignored in the platform as reported.

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The platform as adopted by the convention on the 18th, which made no reference to woman suffrage, embodied only the following declarations on labor questions:

The enactment in Constitutional form at the present session of Congress of the employers' liability law; the passage and enforcement of the safety appliance statutes; as well as the additional protection secured for engineers and firemen; the reduction in the hours of labor of trainmen and railroad telegraphers; the successful exercise of the powers of mediation and arbitration between interstate railroads and their employees, and the law making a beginning in the policy of compensation for injured employees of the government, are among the most commendable accomplishments of the present administration. But there is further work in this direction yet to be done, and the Republican party pledges its continued devotion to every cause that makes for safety and the betterment of conditions among those whose labor contributes so much to the progress and welfare of the country.

The same wise policy which has induced the Republican party to maintain protection to American labor; to establish an eight-hour day on the construction of all public works; to increase the list of employees who shall have preferred claims for wages under the bankruptcy laws; to adopt a child labor statute for the District of Columbia; to direct an investigation into the conditions of working women and children, and later of employees of telephone and telegraph companies engaged in inter-State business; to appropriate \$150,000 at the recent session of Congress in order to secure a thorough inquiry into the causes of catastrophes and loss of life in the mines; and to amend and strengthen the law prohibiting the importation of contract labor, will be pursued in every legitimate direction within Federal authority to lighten the burdens and increase the opportunity for happiness and advancement of all who toil.

The Republican party recognizes the special needs

of wage workers generally, for their well-being means the well-being of all. But more important than all other considerations is that of good citizenship, and we especially stand for the needs of every American, whatever his occupation, in his capacity as a self-respecting citizen.

The Republican party will uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, State and Federal, and will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. We believe, however, that the rules of procedure in the Federal courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted.

The controversy turned upon the last of the above paragraphs. This paragraph is said to have been prepared under the direction and with the sanction of President Roosevelt and Mr. Taft, as part of the platform as approved by them, and to have been retained by the committee on resolutions by a vote of 35 to 16.

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A minority report on platform was submitted to the convention by the Wisconsin delegation through Congressman Cooper, their member of the committee. It was signed only by himself, the other 52 members of the committee having signed the majority report, and it presented the following propositions:

Physical valuation of railroads in order to establish the basis of a proper adjustment of rates, as decided by the United States Supreme Court and recommended by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Publicity of campaign contributions.

Election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

No railroad rate to be advanced until after the Interstate Commerce Commission has had opportunity to judge of its justice.

These planks had been presented to the full committee on resolutions, but rejected. In the convention the vote upon them was as follows:

	Nay	Yea
Publicity of campaign contributions....	880	94
Valuation of railroads.....	917	63
Popular election of senators.....	866	114
Against increase of railroad rates without approval of Commerce Commission.	952	28

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As adopted by the convention the platform's specific and definite declarations of party policy were as follows:

Continuance of the Roosevelt policies.

Equal opportunity for all in the development and enjoyment of wealth.

Revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately after the inauguration of the next

President, in accordance with the principle of imposing "such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad together with a reasonable profit to American industries," favoring the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discriminations by foreign countries against American goods entering their markets, and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home; the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which the American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system." Between the United States and the Philippines "a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests."

As to currency, "a more elastic and adaptable system" which shall "meet the requirements of agriculturists, manufacturers, merchants and business generally," "be automatic in operation, minimizing the fluctuations in interest rates, and above all" "be in harmony with that Republican doctrine which insists that every dollar shall be based upon and as good as gold."

Postal savings banks.

Amendment of the Sherman law so as to "give to the Federal government greater supervision and control over, and secure greater publicity in, the management of that class of corporations engaged in inter-State commerce having power and opportunity to effect monopolies."

Amendment of the inter-State commerce law "so as to give railroads the right to make and publish traffic agreements subject to the approval of the Commission, but maintaining always the principle of competition between naturally competing lines and avoiding the common control of such lines by any means whatsoever."

Such "national legislation and supervision as will prevent the future overissue of stocks and bonds by inter-State carriers."

Preservation of present uses of injunction process in labor cases by the courts, except that injunctions should not be issued without notice unless irreparable injury would result from delay.

Extension of free rural postal service.

Maintenance of good public roads "more and more largely at public expense, and less and less at the expense of the abutting owner."

Equal justice for all men without regard to race or color and "the enforcement in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments."

Conservation of national resources.

Devotion to "a policy that will keep this Republic ready at all times to defend her traditional doctrines and assure her appropriate part in promoting permanent tranquillity among the nations."

Just and equal protection of all citizens abroad.

Ship subsidies.

Increased pensions.

Maintenance of the civil service laws.

A bureau of mines and mining.

American citizenship for Porto Ricans.

An ever-increasing measure of home rule for the Philippines.

Immediate admission of Arizona and New Mexico to Statehood.

Celebration of the Lincoln centenary.

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Immediately after the adoption of the platform on the 18th, the convention proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for President. Illinois nominated Speaker Cannon, through Congressman Boutell. Governor Hanley nominated Vice President Fairbanks in behalf of Indiana; and Stewart L. Woodford presented the name of Governor Hughes in behalf of New York. Congressman Burton nominated Secretary Taft of Ohio, while C. D. McCoy of the same State nominated Senator Foraker. Lieutenant Governor Murphy of Pennsylvania nominated Philander C. Knox. Henry C. Cochems of Wisconsin brought forward the name of Senator La Follette. The balloting was as follows:

President Roosevelt	3
J. B. Foraker	16
Robert M. La Follette	25
Charles W. Fairbanks	40
Joseph G. Cannon	61
Charles E. Hughes	63
Philander C. Knox	68
William H. Taft	702

The result having been announced the convention adjourned for the day; and on the 19th Congressman James S. Sherman was nominated for Vice President on the first ballot by the following vote:

James S. Sherman of New York	816
Franklin Murphy of New Jersey	77
Curtis Guild of Massachusetts	75
Governor Sheldon of Nebraska	10
Vice-President Fairbanks	1

Immediately after the announcement of Mr. Sherman's nomination the convention adjourned sine die.

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Democratic Presidential Politics.

At the Democratic convention for Tennessee on the 17th, the delegation to Denver was instructed to vote as a unit for Bryan. The same instructions were given on the same day by the Mississippi convention to the delegates from that State. On the 20th the delegates from all parts (omitting 6 from Florida not yet chosen) were classified as follows:

Positively instructed for Bryan	693
Chosen under endorsement of Bryan	23
Declared for Bryan	72

Total for Bryan	788
Necessary to nominate (two-thirds)	672

Bryan's margin	116
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Instructed for Johnson	22
Declared for Johnson	10
.....	32
Instructed for Gray	6
Declared for Gray	5
.....	11
Uncommitted	171
Contested	40

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Labor in Politics in Illinois.

Pursuant to a call of the Illinois Federation of Labor (p. 251), representatives of central labor bodies from all over the State assembled in political convention at Springfield on the 21st. Several candidates were endorsed for action at the primaries, and a resolution was adopted requesting John Mitchell to allow the use of his name as a candidate at the primaries for Governor.

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Mr. Mitchell replied to this request in a letter of the 22d to John C. Harding, secretary of the convention, in which he said:

You are undoubtedly aware that for several years past I have suffered much as a result of ill health, and while at present I am reasonably strong and hope that in the not distant future my health will be fully restored, I fear that to undertake this hardship incident to a political campaign would bring a recurrence of those physical disabilities which necessitated my retirement from the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America. In addition to this, I have felt that my training was of such a character that I could render better service to the whole people and especially to our fellow workers by continuing my efforts in the industrial world rather than by entering the political field.

For some time I have had under advisement a proposition to take charge and direct the work of the trade agreement department of the National Civic Federation, of which department I have been chairman for several years. This position, while neither so lucrative nor so conspicuous as the high political office with which my name has been associated, would enable me to prosecute a work in which I am much interested and in which the welfare of the industrial forces of our country is vitally concerned. The promotion of industrial peace through the medium of the trade agreement is one of the essential principles of the trade union movement. The attitude of sagacious and humane employers of labor in recognizing that in modern life the conduct of business is no longer the exclusive concern of the proprietors but the function of owners and workmen acting jointly has made it possible to demonstrate that industrial peace upon a basis of mutual advantage may be maintained by means of the collective bargain. As indicated above, I am constrained to believe that in extending the scope and effectiveness of this movement I could contribute more real service to our fellow workers and to the industrial life of our country than I could as Governor

of Illinois or in any other political position for which my name has been mentioned.

In reaching this conclusion I trust that no one will believe that I am seeking to escape obligations or responsibilities of citizenship. I recognize that no citizen is absolute master of himself. If the State or the nation call him to perform any service he may not refuse unless he can give good reasons for his action, and, while I do not underestimate the high honor implied in the suggestion of my name for the governorship, especially at a time when the prospects of election are so encouraging, I feel, nevertheless, that my own health and peace of mind would be promoted by pursuing in some sphere the activities for which I believe myself to be best equipped.

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Mr. Mitchell's declaration is reported as having strengthened the candidacy of Governor Deneen. The Chicago Tribune of the 23d said of the matter:

He will take charge of the trade agreement department of the National Civic Federation. This position carries with it a salary of \$6,000 a year, and Mr. Mitchell's work will be to try to settle disputes between employer and employes without resort to strikes and lockouts. In other words, he will try as far as he can to secure industrial peace.

His refusal to run will have marked results on Illinois politics, both at the August primaries and the November election. Many politicians have been anxiously awaiting his decision for some time. Primarily it will help Governor Deneen. The Governor has many friends in the ranks of organized labor, particularly the coal miners. He has helped them materially at Springfield. If foot loose, they would vote for him both at the primaries and at the election. But with Mr. Mitchell as a candidate they would go into the Democratic primaries, and if he were nominated, as the chances were he would be, they, of course, would vote for him in November.

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The Traction Situation in Cleveland.

Traction matters in Cleveland (p. 243) are getting into better shape since the difficulties incident to the strike and other forms of opposition to the 3-cent service have begun to yield to skillful management. It is reported that the referendum petition (p. 227) was not signed by a sufficient number of voters, and this does not take into consideration the large number of withdrawals of signatures. In behalf of the old monopoly company a suit has been brought to declare the referendum law invalid. Judge Phillips has granted an injunction against the municipal company in behalf of East Cleveland, a suburb. The company charges 3-cent fares for service in Cleveland and 5 cents if the passenger goes beyond the city limits. In the East Cleveland case Judge Phillips decides that the company may charge 5 cents for service to East Cleveland, but only in case it raises its fares to 5 cents all along the line. The decision affects only the Euclid avenue line. The

municipal or holding company has notified the franchise company that the first quarter's rent of \$210,000 will be paid on the 1st.

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On the 21st the municipal company made a labor agreement with "The American Federation of Car Men, Local 445," comprising its employees. The agreement is for a year, and provides that the union must not affiliate with any labor organization except the United Trades and Labor Council; that all employees must join the union; that each new employe will be put on 60 days' probation, during which time he may quit or be discharged, but after that period he can only be discharged for cause, stated in writing; that the union may discharge a man in the probation period; that questions in dispute must first be submitted to the superintendent, then to the president, and finally to an arbitration board of three; that employees agree to obey all rules and afterward arbitrate any that are considered unfair; that strikes can be called only by affirmative vote of a majority of men having day runs, the vote to be taken in the presence of a representative of the company, but to be secret; and that wages shall be 23 cents an hour the first year, 24 the second and 25 the third. The older employees are guaranteed the better runs, and the company must keep the hours of employment as nearly as possible to 10 a day.

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The Filipinos Ask for Independence.

The Philippine Assembly (p. 158) declared on the 19th, on the eve of adjournment, by a vote of 57 to 15, that independence was the aspiration of the Filipino people, and that they desired and were ready for immediate independence.

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Peace with the Yaquis Deferred.

It was reported early in the month that the Yaquis—the never conquered Indians of the northwest corner of old Mexico—desired to make their peace with the Mexican government, and that they would hold a final ratification meeting on the 15th (p. 228). At the meeting on the 15th, however, according to the meagre and apparently censored dispatches, the Yaquis refused to give up their arms, and negotiations are said to be off for the present. In connection with these reports it is interesting to find in a Chicago newspaper of the 21st an advertisement dated Los Angeles, June 20, in which it is announced that "the immense Yaqui River Valley, which is noted for its extreme fertility, will soon be opened to settlers under the most favorable circumstances."

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Civil War in Persia.

The helplessness of the Shas's government in

the face of lawlessness on the frontiers of Persia, and the repeated invasive entry into Persian territory of Russian Cossacks on the plea of establishing order (p. 133), seems to have produced a state of anarchy which has naturally enhanced the bitterness of the continuous struggle between the Shah and the Assembly (vol. x, pp. 922, 1164). Word came from Teheran on the 23d that the Shah's troops had stormed and captured the parliament buildings, and that the square in front of the parliament was heaped with corpses. Early on that morning, according to the report, soldiers surrounded the parliament buildings and the adjoining mosque and asked the parliament to give up some of the persons whose arrest the Shah had ordered. This the parliament refused to do, and the members of the political clubs fired on the soldiers, killing several of them. Artillery was brought up, and the city was bombarded.

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Political Trials in Russia.

Participants in the Jewish massacre at Bialystok in June, 1906 (vol. ix, p. 274), when seventy-three Jews and eleven Christians were killed, and eighty-two Jews and twenty-three Christians wounded, were sentenced on the 22d. One of the prisoners was sentenced to three years' penal servitude, thirteen others were condemned to from six months to a year's imprisonment, and fifteen were acquitted. Four of the condemned were found guilty of actual participation in the killing of Jews, and the others of pillage. The lightness of these sentences is in marked contrast with numerous sentences of the past Winter and Spring, under which groups and crowds of peasants were condemned to death for having taken part in agrarian uprisings.

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Count Nicholas Tchaykovsky, in prison in St. Petersburg, whose speedy trial on account of his advanced age and weakened health has been urged by his American friends (vol. x, p. 949), is to be tried, according to a dispatch of the 21st, by court martial, on a charge of high treason.

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Another Woman Suffrage Parade in London.

Encouraged by the success of the parade of the more sober-minded women suffragists in London on the 13th (p. 275), the more radical "suffragettes" held a monster parade on Sunday, the 21st. Newspaper dispatches report that "never before was such a political demonstration seen in London." For two or three hours the whole center of the city was in a ferment. Various processions from the several railroad stations, composed of suffragettes from the provinces and their London suffragette escorts, almost all dressed in white with colored sashes inscribed, "Votes for Women," went marching through the streets to Hyde Park

in columns, each column as much as a mile in length. At Hyde Park there was speaking, and a half million people assembled there.

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An Advance in the Treatment of Criminals.

The English Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, has introduced a bill in the House of Commons making better provision for the prevention of crime, through a wiser treatment of the criminal. According to a dispatch to the Chicago Inter Ocean, some of the salient features of the measure are:

A system of state reformatories, known as Borstal Institutions, to be substituted for the present treatment of young offenders.

Habitual criminals—that is, persons who have been convicted of three serious crimes—to be committed to "preventive detention" until the prisoner gives "bona-fide and sufficient assurances" that he will lead an honest life; or by age or infirmity is incapable of resuming a life of crime.

Unqualified right of appeal for the habitual criminal.

The term of detention to be added to that of penal servitude inflicted for the latest crime.

Less rigorous discipline as regards hours, talking, recreative occupation, and food to be a feature of the treatment of detained prisoners.

Prisoners will be able to earn wages.

In speaking to this bill Mr. Gladstone laid emphasis on the fact that civilized countries are devoting special attention to prevention rather than punishment of crime. The larger class of prisoners, he asserted, consists of persons "who are a difficulty and a nuisance, rather than a danger to the state—those who are criminals chiefly because of mental or physical deficiency rather than from any settled intention to pursue a life of crime." "Men will not be allowed to lose hope in this place of detention," he declared. "Hope and not fear is the best antidote to criminal tendencies."

NEWS NOTES

—John Sharp Williams has resigned as floor leader of the Democrats in Congress.

—A second son was born to the King and Queen of Spain on the 23d (vol. x, pp. 152, 178).

—The biennial meeting of the General Federation of Women's Clubs opened in Boston on the 22d.

—The International Woman's Suffrage Congress at Amsterdam (vol. ix, p. 467) closed its sessions on the 20th.

—The synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Holland has extended the right to vote to all its women members on equal terms with the men.

—Leo Tolstoy's works on Christianity, patriotism, and the history of materialism, according to a dispatch of the 20th, have been suppressed by the cen-

sorship department of the Russian Ministry of the Interior.

—Employees of the Federal government are beginning the work of securing authentic data of the natural resources—water, forest, land and mineral—of the United States.

—William H. Taft resigned as Secretary of War on the 19th, his resignation to take effect on the 30th; and General Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, formerly Governor of the Philippines, has been appointed to succeed him.

—The French Deputies and Senators who voted for the laws separating church and state, the working out of which gave France such a shaking up last year (vol. x, p. 973), have been excommunicated by the Pope according to news received in Paris from Rome.

—As a result of the second elections for the Prussian legislature (p. 253) on the 16th, there will be six socialist members, and possibly seven. The Poles will be increased by two members. The extreme conservatives have gained eight seats at the expense of the more liberal groups. Otherwise the changes are merely in persons.

—"No taxation without representation!" is the cry of a new women's movement in England. Professional and other women of means are refusing to pay the income taxes assessed against them, and purpose fighting their battles through the courts, and through the picturesque and sympathy-exciting scenes of distraint upon their possessions and the public auction of them. This form of warfare is expensive, but the women believe that the result will justify the expense and the unpleasantness.

—In the recount of ballots in the Hearst-McClellan contest for Mayor in New York (p. 275), Mr. Hearst had gained only 588 net on the 22nd, when 1,460 out of the 1,948 boxes had been recounted. At the close of the count on the 17th, when 1,089 boxes had been recounted, the Hearst vote had risen from 118,563 on the original count, to 119,162 on the recount, a gain of 599; and the McClellan vote had risen from 137,400 on the original count to 137,713, a gain of 313. The net gain to Hearst at that point was therefore 286, and McClellan's plurality had been reduced from 3,834 to 3,458.

—Twenty-four companies manufacturing manila wrapping paper were fined \$2,000 each by Judge Hough in the United States Circuit Court at New York on the 22nd. They had pleaded guilty on the 19th to maintaining an illegal combination in restraint of trade. In imposing the fines Judge Hough said that the combination of paper manufacturers was a clear violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, but because of extenuating circumstances he would impose a fine only. The case against the companies was instituted through the instrumentality of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association.

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"That orator says he feels that he can never repay his constituents for the honor they have conferred on him."

"Yes," answered the voter, "that's his polite way of telling us we needn't expect much from him in the way of actual work."—Washington Star.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Advantage of Labor Injunctions.

Washington Herald.—The advantage of the injunction in suppressing the practices of labor unions lies in the fact that these practices are made unlawful by judicial decree. It goes without saying that no legislative body would enact a body of statutes containing the inhibitions put in force by injunctive process against members of labor unions; and so employers resort to judge-made law. A piece of governmental mechanism that makes, enforces, and interprets its own statutes is necessarily more effective than one in which the legislative, judicial, and executive functions are separated. And a modern court wielding the injunction is an imperium in imperio that needs no legislature and no executive. It is sufficient unto itself for the business it undertakes to do.

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A Free Trade Argument.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (ind. Dem.), June 8.—Postmaster General Meyer unconsciously made a ripping argument for free trade, or at least for freer trade, in his jubilation over the "penny postage" agreement with Great Britain. The Postmaster General is quite justified in his rejoicings over this really important achievement. It will do all and perhaps more than he claims, and it will benefit both countries in a material degree. The cheapening of postal rates has always resulted in an increase in revenues, and we have no doubt that the "penny postage" arrangement will so stimulate correspondence between the two great English speaking countries that the reduction will not involve a loss in receipts. A reduction in tariff rates would have precisely the same effect. The prevailing high Dingley duties now tend to kill trade. They certainly present a bar to commercial intercourse, and while they build up threatening monopolies on this side of the water they discourage importations. They therefore tend to reduce revenues, and at the same time they promote an artificial scarcity which is reflected in high prices. Every workingman in America is hit by this wicked device. It robs the poor to enrich those already rich. Nothing short of its destruction should satisfy its victims.

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Inaccuracies of the Plutocratic Penny-a-Liner.

Collier's (ind.), June 13.—Rather a pity, it surely is, to be inaccurate and emotionally unbalanced on a matter that touches the welfare of some millions of people. An article in the June "Broadway Magazine" on "The Menace of the Red Flag" will prove a grief to the Jewish race. A person should possess calm and facts in writing of anarchy. It shows a slight defect of information, for instance, to call Michael Bakunin, the high priest of the philosophy of anarchy, a Frenchman. It is much like calling Charles Dickens an Italian. There is nothing gained in twice misspelling the name of so well known a writer and speaker as Morris Hillquit. The author speaks of Sunday gatherings of Jews in Tompkins Square and Hamilton Fish Park, New York City,

with "hundreds of speakers" dealing out "revolutionary propaganda." If Mr. Brandenburg will spend a few quiet Sundays in the East Side parks he will withdraw that statement. He speaks of "the attempts of Auerbach to kill Chief Shippy in Chicago." The young man whom he calls Auerbach was named Averbuch, and it is by no means certain that this Jewish youth went to Chief Shippy's house with murder in his mind. Such articles make for loose thinking and unwise, impulsive action. The great race of Jews has suffered many things in history because of wild-cat "stories" and popular opinion based on assumption. Anarchy is a word out of which it is easy to build big head-lines, and few publications have the restraint to deal with it temperately.

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Bryan on Republican Injunctions.

Commoner (Dem.), June 19.—The man who wrote the injunction plank copied the statute almost word for word and made the exception as broad as the statute. If the convention had been frank in the statement of its position it would have quoted the present statute and said that it was in favor of enforcing the law just as it is. It would have said, Whereas at present a court or judge may grant a temporary restraining order if there appears to be danger of irreparable injury from delay, therefore, be it resolved that we are opposed to changing it. The men who are responsible for the language of the injunction plank may have fooled the rest of the committee and they may have fooled the convention, but they cannot fool the laboring men or the voters in general. The injunction plank has not even the value of a gold-plated brick, for the plating is brass, as well as the interior of the brick.

If the demand of the laboring man was unreasonable, why did not the convention say so? Why did it resort to deception? The Republican party will find that an honest course would have been safer than the dishonest course pursued. The fraud which the convention attempted will not mislead any one because there is time between now and election for everyone to find out the facts. Secretary Taft is known as the father of government by injunction and his speeches in Oklahoma last year gave conclusive proof of his adherence to the position taken by him on the bench. He is still in favor of the use of the writ of injunction in labor cases, and he is opposed to trial by jury.

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With perfect apathy the village resident listened to the city visitor's account of the joys and excitement of life in town. "We get everything here that is worth seeing," said the villager. "Why, last week we had the champion brass band here, the week before the greatest cornet-player in the country, and this week we are going to have a great production of the drama, 'Lewis the Cross-Eye.' I tell you that is going to be tiptop."

"What did you say was the name of the play?" asked the visitor.

"Here, have a look for yourself," said the proud villager, as he pulled out a grubby, much-folded program, announcing "a grand production of 'Louis XI.'"—Le Temps.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE REBEL.

For The Public.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will rack your bones with pain,"
said Sickness.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will puncture your heart with grief,"
said Ingratitude.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will cover you with slime," said
Slander.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will hunt you day and night," said
Persecution.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will keep food from your mouth,"
said Starvation.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will pull the pillow from your
head," said Sleeplessness.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will clutch you with clanking chain,"
said Imprisonment.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will make the dark dungeon your
home," said Torture.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel.
"Turn back, or I will compel you to mount the scaf-
fold," said Death.

"I have put my hand to the plough," said the rebel,
"and I will not turn back."

VICTOR ROBINSON.

* * *

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

For The Public.

At the beginning I did not object to the atten-
tions of my neighbor, No. 2465, the man who sat
at my left during the times we ate our wretched
meals. But as soon as I discovered he was a
long-term prisoner, he having filched a five cent
loaf of bread, I ignored him completely, and de-
termined to appeal to the warden for a change
of location so I should not be subjected to the
annoyance of the fellow's advances.

But in spite of my irritation, I could not help
appreciating the humor of the situation, and
smiling at the man's presumption in aspiring to
be en rapport with me. And, in justice to my
sense of charity, it is only fair that I should con-
fess that I did not condemn the creature for his
endeavors to fraternize. I reasoned that it was
quite likely he was ignorant of my record, and
did not know that, by a unique and wonderfully
ingenious system of bookkeeping, I had succeed-
ed in acquiring, and retaining for a considerable
length of time, a complete chain of large bakeries,

the output of which was more than thirty-five
hundred loaves of ten-cent bread per day.

G. T. E.

* * *

OUR FAITH CONTRASTED WITH OUR LIFE.

From the Address of William Lloyd Garrison at the
Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, Long-
wood, Pa., June 6, 1908.

There is a beautiful book, called "The Soul of
a People," written by an Englishman dwelling for
a long time in Burma. Impressed with the lofty
sentiments of Buddha, whom the Burmese wor-
ship, and the contrast between his sublime doc-
trines and the daily life of his worshippers, he
was perplexed. Having a strong sense of justice,
he became eager to arrive at a fair basis of judg-
ment. Having also imagination and sympathy,
he bethought himself of a Burman visiting Eng-
land to study the religion of the English and try-
ing to comprehend the impulses which shaped
their lives. In this way the discrepancy between
Eastern profession and practice might be made
clear to him.

From this point of view he saw how puzzled
the student would be on English ground, his in-
quiries regarding popular religion being answered
by advice to study the Bible, if he would under-
stand the basis of Christianity. "I followed him
in imagination," says the writer, "as he took the
Bible and studied it and then went forth and
watched our acts. And I could see him puzzled
as I was now puzzled when I studied his people."
The writer imagines the man from Burma reading
the New Testament and coming upon the verses
where we are told to love our enemies and to do
good to those that hate us; to bless them that curse
us and pray for them that spitefully use us.
More than that, he notes the advice that when
smitten on one cheek we should offer the other,
and that if one taketh away our cloak we should
forbid him not to take our coat also. Besides this
we should give to every man that asketh, and of
him that taketh away our goods ask them not
again.

After reading these wonderful sentiments, which
he is told the church holds sacred, the Burman
goes forth to observe the lives of those who believe
such beautiful things. As the same religious creed
is professed in Boston as in London, let us sup-
pose the investigation made there. The man would
be told that it is the center of moral force, the
birthplace and theater of unselfish movements for
human progress. On Arlington street he would be
shown the memorial to William Ellery Channing,
whose peace utterances, full of the Christ-like
spirit, are preserved and quoted. On the Public
Garden by the subway entrance, he would view
the statue of Charles Sumner, whose enduring
peace discourse, "The True Grandeur of Nations,"

may outlast the memory of his service to the slave. And on Commonwealth avenue there will be pointed out to him the seated figure of a non-resistant abolitionist whom the citizens of the town once mobbed, because he took seriously the precepts of Jesus. From these the stranger would infer that the honored effigies typified the prevailing spirit of the citizens. "Happy the-land where peace dwells," he would say.

Proceeding further he meets a youthful procession with muskets and martial music, and is told that it is the parade of the school battalion, boys taught to drill and use firearms, preparing to make soldiers in time of war. Whereat a puzzled feeling possesses him, much deepened by the big headlines in the morning papers, indicating popular interest in a fleet of murderous battleships, steaming up the Pacific coast, "ready for a fight or a frolic," jealously watched by the great war nations whose armaments consume the people's earnings. The enthusiasm excited by the squadron brings out murmurs of pride and patriotism, but singularly enough, the name of Jesus is not connected with the important affair.

Supposing the stranger's visit to have happened at the time of the latest birthday celebration to honor Lincoln, the emancipator of four million slaves. He would have been startled to hear the oration of Secretary Taft, declaring that were the great benefactor still living, he would rejoice in the American subjection of eight million brown people in the Philippines. This, notwithstanding that these conquered people are begging for deliverance, after the destruction of over half a million of their brothers and friends by American troops, their industries paralyzed, and delusive half-promises of distant independence their only hope.

The inquirer would read of the pride taken in our swelling and costly navy, devouring millions of the country's earnings, and of the accompanying demand for a greater army, although two-thirds of the national revenues are now annually swallowed up by the war establishment. Taking up the religious organ of the Congregationalists, the Burman notes with astonishment that the editor, so far from protesting against the horror, defends the building of new destroyers, and, while advocating foreign missions to carry the Bible to heathen lands, is yet in favor of blowing fellow-Christians into atoms with shot and shell. In this view he is joined by Mrs. Eddy, the leader of the Christian Science faith. Were ever things more topsy-turvy and incomprehensible?

Instead of the sacredness of human life, on every hand is the evidence of carelessness concerning it. Murders and suicides crowd the newspapers' columns, and courts are overworked in disposing of the guilty. At the State House the inquirer will observe that a few tender-hearted people, asking for the abolition of capital punish-

ment (a savage survival of the Old Testament code), are rebuffed by the committee and given leave to withdraw. The injunctions of the great exemplar of peace, which the petitioners quoted, were as ineffective upon the minds of the Christian committee as a handful of gravel upon the hide of a rhinoceros. On the other hand, laws to protect property, however unjustly acquired, are the chief concern of legislatures. No mercy is shown to the infringers of property rights.

How strange this seems in a Christian community where, every Sunday, the preachers read to the congregation that riches are an offense to righteousness and that hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of God. If the Burman were present he would hear how the Teacher of the faith lived the life of the poorest and taught always that riches were to be avoided. Seeking for the impression made by these ideas, he would turn his eyes upon a nation struggling madly for material wealth, adding field to field and coin to coin till death arrives. In short, he would see prevailing an actual worship of wealth with a formal and professed belief in ideals held to be incompatible with real life.

+ + +

THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

For The Public.

IV.

Passenger Fares and Service of Leading Publicly Owned Systems.

1. Germany.

We have seen in the preceding part of our inquiry that publicly owned railways have proved to be sound undertakings financially, and that, had they been built by actually paid in stock capital, thus comparing them with a sound private enterprise, there is not a single publicly owned system in Europe or Australia which would have failed financially. This is more than can be said of many a privately built and managed road.

In the present article we will examine the service rendered by publicly owned railroads, and the charges exacted for service. This is the final test of the soundness of government operation of railways. If by government operation it has proved possible to earn a high percentage of net profits, at the same time as rates have been low, and having a tendency of constantly becoming lower, then we may well conclude that government operation is in all respects equally efficient with private management in the case of railroads; and, inasmuch as the general public, and not private manipulators, is benefited by the success of the system, government operation would be preferred, if for nothing else, for reasons of pure expediency.

The trains on the German railroads carry three, and in some cases four classes for passengers. In

a general way it may be said that the first and second class correspond to our Pullman and chair cars; third class to our coaches, and that there is no corresponding accommodation to the fourth class in this country. In regard to comfort there is but a slight difference between first and second class. Both compare, when the differences in the habits and requirements of the people are considered, well with the accommodations offered by Pullman cars on American railroads. That these two classes are decidedly superior to the accommodation offered by our regular coaches should be specially noted; one proof of this is that first and second class cars in Germany of about the same size as our regular passenger cars, seat only about half the number of passengers that can be seated in our coaches, so that, as to space, a second class passenger is given nearly double the space accorded to regular travelers on our roads. First class cars, in fact, are even more spacious than that, per passenger.

The third class, again, is not as comfortable as our coaches, comparing more nearly with the comfort accorded passengers on some of the elevated railroads in New York (strap hanging, however, excluded). Still, the third class cars are always clean, hygienic, and kept in excellent condition.

Fares vary, of course, according to classes, and also according to kind of train. An extra charge is made for travel with through express trains. While the fares have always been low in Germany as compared with either the United States or Great Britain, last year a marked reduction in the passenger fares was inaugurated, and according to this new German tariff the fares are:

2.66 cents per mile for first class,
1.71 cents per mile for second class,
1.14 cents per mile for second class, and
0.76 cents per mile for fourth class.

These fares are uniform for all German state railways, an agreement having been entered into between all the various governments to introduce these rates.

For admission to through express trains, the extra charge given below is required:

	1st-2nd class.	3rd class.
For distance less than 47 miles.....	12 cents	6 cents
For distances over 47, but less than 94 miles	24 cents	12 cents
For distances over 94 miles.....	48 cents	24 cents

The object of this extra charge is to prevent the local traffic in the vicinities of the larger cities from patronizing and crowding the express trains, which are intended for long distance traveling.

The fares for local travel, commutation travel, in the neighborhood of Berlin are on an average:

	2nd class.	3rd class.
For 5 miles.....	4 cents	2.5 cents
For 9.5 miles.....	8 cents	5 cents
For 12.5 miles.....	12 cents	7.5 cents
For 20 miles.....	24 cents	16 cents

To obtain these rates it is not necessary to buy monthly tickets as on American railroads. Single tickets are supplied for local traveling at the prices above.

In comparing the regular mileage rate charged on German railroads, with the rates on American railroads, the high first class rate should not be compared with American rates. This rate is the price of exclusiveness and distinction, and not of accommodation merely. The second class rates are the ones that should equitably be compared with the charge required for the best American service. The second class passengers, in general, represent the same class as travelers in Pullman cars in America, and the class of travelers which use the third class in Germany correspond to those who use the ordinary coaches in this country. This statement is amplified by statistics showing that in 1901, of all the passengers on the German state railroads, 0.37 per cent only traveled first class; 8.95 per cent, second class; and 89.01 per cent, third and fourth class; 1.67 per cent, were military persons. From these figures and our table of mileage rates we see that practically nine-tenths of all the passengers on the German state railroads are carried at a rate of 1.14 cents per mile or less, or, if the extra charge for express trains be added, for 1.4 cents a mile or less. In fact, the average rate is less than this, as may be seen from Table V. The average fares in cents per mile given in this table should be compared with the average rate of 2 cents a mile on American railroads, if a true comparison is sought.

TABLE V.

Average Receipts Per Passenger Mile in 1901, German State Railways.

State Railway System.	Per passenger mile, cents.
Baden	1.15
Bavaria	1.20
Oldenburg	1.04
Saxony	1.06
Mecklenburg	1.25
Württemberg	1.05
Prussia	0.98 ¹

TABLE VI.

Fares Resulting if German State Railway Tariffs were Applied on the Railroads in the United States.

	Miles.	Lowest fare, express train.
New York-New Haven	75	\$ 0.96
New York-Hartford.....	110	1.50
New York-Boston	232	2.91
New York-Altoona	326	3.99
New York-Pittsburg	445	5.36
New York-Cincinnati	758	8.96
New York-Chicago	942	11.07
New York-St. Louis.....	1,066	12.50

¹In 1904 the average receipts per passenger mile on the Prussian state railways was 0.94 cents, and for the whole of Germany 0.96 cents.

To compare the second or first class rate on German railroads with our regular so-called "first class" ticket rate is absolutely erroneous, and is done either out of ignorance or for reasons of willful deception. The only comparison possible is to compare the coaches on the American roads with the third class cars in Europe, because both of these accommodations serve *the bulk of the traffic*, and the space accommodations per passenger is also equal in these two kinds of cars, although as mentioned before, the coaches here are superior in comfort, not on account of giving any more space, but because of their upholstery.

Comparing with English roads, which are all private, and which cannot even claim higher rate of wages paid as an excuse for high passenger fares, we find that the lowest German rates are less than one-half the lowest regular English rate, and that the average German rate is but slightly more than one-half of the English average rate.

These cheap German passenger fares, however, do not permit of any baggage to be carried free of charge. For baggage an extra charge is made. The following table will give an idea of the amount of this extra charge:

Distance in miles.	Charge per 55 pounds (25 kilograms.)
30.....	\$0.06
60.....	0.12
90.....	0.18
120.....	0.24
150.....	0.30
200.....	0.42
500.....	0.95
over 500.....	1.19

To an American this extra charge does not appeal at first sight. But the German state railways did not adopt it without due consideration. It is intended that this charge shall make the traveler think twice before packing his trunk, which is doubtless desirable. In one European country where the matter was investigated, it was found that but one passenger in seven had any baggage for the baggage car, and it may well be questioned whether the other six may equitably be taxed, through uniform ticket prices, with baggage allowance, for the benefit of the end who has baggage.

In comparing with conditions in this country, it should be remembered that the German passenger cars, through superior shelving arrangements over the seats enable the passenger to carry into the car, and conveniently dispose of, probably more than three times the amount of baggage that he could dispose of in one of our cars without being a nuisance to his fellow passengers.

At the rates stated above, baggage will be taken on one ticket up to 440 pounds (200 kilograms). For weights in excess of this, the rates are doubled. These provisions are sound. There is no reason why the baggage carried should take the form of general freight service. The high rates for large amounts of baggage make this prohibitory.

An indication of the high standard of accommodation offered is also given by mentioning the sleeping cars on the German state railways. These are all divided in actual state-rooms, and the modern cars have only two berths in each state-room, there being ten state-rooms in each car. These cars are a trifle longer than the regular Pullman sleepers, so that the space per passenger is greater than here. In each state-room there is a washstand, mirror, etc., giving a far superior accommodation to the regular Pullman sleepers in this country.

The speed of the trains on German railways is, of course, also a consideration in regard to good service. Most Americans are under the misapprehension that trains run faster on American railways than on the European continent. In order to settle this question the following facts are quoted from two articles by Mr. W. A. Schulze in the "*Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen*," and in the "*Zeitung des Vereins deutscher Eisenbahnverwaltungen*," regarding the fastest trains in the United States and Germany.

Between Berlin and Halle there are seven express trains a day, running at an *average* speed of over 50 miles an hour, one of them running at an average speed of close to 55 miles an hour. Between Berlin and Hamburg there are five trains a day running at an average speed of between 51 and 53.5 miles an hour. On all other leading German lines there is at least one, and often more, trains daily, running at an average speed of 50 miles an hour.

Turning now to the United States we find that the *average* speed of the Empire State express, so much spoken of, is not more than 54.5 miles an hour, and that, with the exception of the one fast Chicago express, the 18-hour train, all other trains run at an *average* speed of less than 50 miles an hour on the New York Central railroad. On the New York, New Haven and Hartford railroad, which may be taken as an average of Eastern railroads, the average speed of express trains is less than 45 miles an hour, and, we regret to say, the trains seldom keep up to the schedule time at that. The best record in America is presented by the two New York-Chicago expresses on the New York Central and the Pennsylvania, running at average speeds from 53.5 to 54.5 miles an hour. But all other express trains on these routes between New York and Chicago average but 40 to 43 miles an hour.

The figures given in Mr. Schulze's articles show that the highest speeds of American express trains are in many cases only made in one direction, or by one train in either direction, whereas the next fastest trains on the same lines generally run at appreciably slower speeds. On German railways, on the other hand, there are generally, on trunk lines, several express trains per day, running at the same, or very nearly the same speed. Taking

it altogether, if we leave out of consideration the high speeds of 62 to 67.7 miles per hour of several trains on the short distance between Camden and Atlantic City under the special conditions of competitive pressure, the speed of the German trains is not only not inferior to the similar performances on American roads, but is ahead of them as regards the larger number of fast trains running on the same lines, not to mention that fast trains in Germany run according to schedule time, whereas fast trains in America generally do not do that.

Summarizing, therefore, it is beyond question that the publicly owned railroads in Germany give equal or better passenger service as compared with private railways in America for a cheaper, and in some cases decidedly cheaper rate.

ERIK OBERG.

* * *

MARY'S LITTLE FARM.

**This Poem, by an Unknown Author, Is Being Used
at the Present Moment as an Argument for the
Purchase of Real Estate, by a Real Estate
Dealer in the Middle West.**

+

Mary had a little farm
As level as a floor,
She placed it at a fancy price
And struggled to get more.

She kept the land until one day
The country settled up,
And where a wilderness had been
There grew a bumper crop.

Then Mary rented out her land,
She would not sell, you know,
And waited patiently about
For prices still to grow.

They grew as population came
And Mary raised the rent.
With common food and raiment now
She could not be content.

She built her up a mansion fine,
Had bric-a-brac galore,
And every time the prices rose
She raised the rent some more.

"What makes the land keep Mary so?"
The curious people cry.
"Why, Mary keeps the land, you know,"
The wise ones would reply.

And so each one of you might be
Wealthy, refined and wise,
If you will only buy some land
And hold it for the rise.

* * *

"Can't I go out in the back-yard and play in the garden, mama?"

"Certainly not, child. You must stay in and study your nature books."—Life,

BOOKS

LLOYD'S LAST BOOK.

Man, the Social Creator. By Henry Demarest Lloyd, author of "Wealth Against Commonwealth," "Newest England," etc. Published by Doubleday, Page & Company, New York.

Mr. Lloyd's statement that "man is a creator, and in his province is the creator and redeemer of himself and society," is at first suggestive of an attribution to man of powers beyond his nature. Strictly, man is an adapter rather than a creator. But it is as a being whose powers of adaptation are analogous to creative powers that Mr. Lloyd writes of him as a creator. The recognition of natural laws to which man must conform in all his creative activities is manifest in every chapter of this inspiring book.

As Mr. Lloyd expresses it, "Love is the motive power and reciprocity the law" of all enduring creations; "the progressive discovery of new applications of this force and its law, and the creation of new social organs for its use" being civilization. In response to this force and in obedience to this law "man has created, one after the other, the family, the tribe, friendship, the church, brotherhood, the State"; and now "the historic moment has struck for another creative act in this series of progressive harmonizations."

In accounting for this development by assigning Love as the motive power, the author's allusion is to love as a natural force—"a universal, most matter of fact natural force," whose "field is the world of life, as gravitation and electricity have theirs in the world of matter." His description of the manifestations of this indefinable force are deeply impressive. "It has its good conductors in sympathetic people and free institutions; it has its cataclysmal manifestations, the outburst of affectional passion, like the discharges of a thunder storm or the cyclonic patriotism with which the French met the Allies in 1793; it has its steady magnetic flow in the ever-rising tide of the average good will among men; it has its opposite, or negative, hate; its laws are being discovered and codified into maxims of universal and practical use; it can be gathered, concentrated, stored, made to do routine work; it needs tools, machinery, a place, as much as any of the other mechanical forces; the social forces embodied in good manners and the constitutions of great states are some of these tools, machinery; it exists in the national reservoirs of life in inextinguishable quantities, and its applications are limited only by the progress man makes in providing taps and vessels; it flows between all forms of life, between man and the lower animals, between man and man, between group and group; it is animal, human, individual, social, natural, in-

ternational." Mr. Lloyd does not say so, but he would doubtless have assented to the proposition that scientists who would look for this force must not expect to find it in laboratories and dissecting rooms.

Pursuing his analogies, Mr. Lloyd happily likens love as a social force to heat as a physical force; and one of the most striking resemblances to which he refers is the development of love by bringing man into contact with man as heat is developed by friction. "Love is the heat of society."

Nor is this force a flabby, sentimental affair. It does not destroy self interest, it harmonizes self interests. "It is the self interest of the individual; and, more, it is the self interest of the community; and, more, it is the loves and self interests of the individuals and community harmonized; it is the creator and reconciler of all." It is "the law of service, and service calls for service." It means "not good owners but free men, not good kings but enfranchised citizens, not employes but self-employing workingmen." The full fact is "love and self interest in harmony."

But he is not the social leader who only tells us that love is the social force. This is an old truism. "He is the leader who guides us to the next application;" he is the wise one "who can tell us what answer this law of love makes to the special problem, the social life of our time;" he is "the statesman who will contrive the institution by which the love latent in the people can be set to work in the regions of contact where now hate rules, and he the saviour who can persuade the people to enter it."

Perhaps at no other point does the author more deeply penetrate the practical problem to which his conception of love as the original social force leads on, than when he puts his finger upon monopoly as the generator of love's negative—the disintegrating force of hate. "The world," he says, "has been growing an eye which watches and notes that co-operation is the secret of opulence; and a spreading wit is apprehending that the tyrant and monopolist could be taken and the co-operation left, and that where the compulsion and selfishness were less the opulence would be more."

That Mr. Lloyd does not regard competition as a social evil—that could hardly be when he so characterizes its antithesis, monopoly,—appears clearly when he writes: "A co-operative political economy will not banish competition, but will make it progressively more a competition to create livelihood, property, opportunity for all in the best ways." In contending that the thing most needing emphasis in the social world today, "love, the force which unites," he does not overlook the truth that "the force that separates, self interest, individualism, competition, is as eternal, as necessary, as beneficent as the other." And herein he recognizes what seems to us to be a funda-

mental social principle, ignored in one of its phases by most professed socialists and in the other by many individualists, the truth, namely, that there is a socialistic and also an individualistic principle in the social universe, and that civilization consists in securing their normal adjustment. Though love is the force, "love and freedom is the law," says Mr. Lloyd.

Mr. Lloyd is an optimist, a true optimist, one of those optimists who realizes that "love must pull down as well as build up, must come with sword as well as with peace." He sees that "there has always been at least one new war for every kind of love;" that "even hate is but a mask of love's"—righteous hate; for "love of justice, right, truth, is hate of lies, oppression, wrong."

There is no attempt at logical sequence in the construction of this book, which was prepared for the press after Mr. Lloyd's death by Jane Addams and Anne Withington, and from miscellaneous notes accumulated by Mr. Lloyd during the decade prior to his death. Some of its chapters have been published in other connections, but, as the editors explain, "the rest of the material familiar to Mr. Lloyd's many friends as characteristic of his strongest convictions, here appears in print for the first time."

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Real Bryan. Being extracts from the speeches and writings of "A Well Rounded Man." Compiled by Richard L. Metcalfe. Published by Personal Help Publishing Co., Des Moines, Iowa.

—Henry George and his Gospel. By Lieut.-Col. D. C. Pedder. Social Reformers Series, No. 2. Published by A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet St., London, E. C. 1908. Price, paper, sixpence; cloth, one shilling.

—Robert Owen: Pioneer of Social Reforms. By Joseph Clayton. Social Reformers Series, No. 1. Published by A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet St., London, E. C. 1908. Price, paper, sixpence; cloth, one shilling.

—Twelfth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics. Part V. Wisconsin's Resources, Industries and Opportunities. Second Edition. From State Board of Immigration, Madison, Wis.

—A Little Land and a Living. By Bolton Hall, author of "Three Acres and Liberty," "Things as They Are," "Free America," etc. With a letter as an introduction by William Bossedl. Published by the Arcadia Press, New York. Price \$1.

PERIODICALS

The New York Independent of June 18, in an editorial note, speaks of certain recent actions at Syracuse University, and quotes, by way of "Science," a sentence from a letter written by Chancellor Day, as follows: "Our professors have nothing to do with the hiring, continuing, or dismissing of professors or students." Then the Independent, with childlike blandness, remarks that "the faculty should have

RAYMOND ROBINS

will occupy the following pulpits in Denver, July 5:

—10.30 a. m., Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church.

— 7.30 p. m., First Baptist Church.

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