

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Interests, Not Classes.

Of all the good work that Lincoln Steffens has done, the very best is his "apology for graft," in the June American. It would seem almost hopeless to indicate in fewer words or with truer insight the real socialistic evolution that is rising up out of the muck and mire of our decaying capitalism. For the real socialistic evolution gives little promise, and let us be thankful for that, of a struggle of personal classes. It is prophetic of no struggle between master class and servant class, nor between labor class and business class, nor even between labor class and privileged class. The real socialistic struggle will be between the principle of Labor and the principle of Privilege, with combatants aligned not by their class interests but by their apprehensions of public righteousness. And Steffens's "apology for graft" is one of the most pronounced indications of a quickening perception in the common mind of this social evolution.



Mr. Steffens had seen vulgar police graft in Minneapolis and denounced the police. He had seen politicians' graft in St. Louis and denounced the politicians. He had perceived business graft back of both everywhere, and denounced business men. But he now sees that, special privileges "are temptations too great for human nature to resist," and "that the desire for them is the source of our political corruption." So

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he turns from denouncing the men of any class, and calls for readjustments of conditions. His "apology for graft" is "an attempt to do justice, and therefore an appeal for mercy upon men, all men." We quote the appeal with which Mr. Steffens's most deeply interesting story of San Francisco, in support of his appeal, begins:

We Americans have been out on a man-hunt. Some of us still are at it. We are crying to have somebody put into jail; to make some individual suffer; and we may, mob-like, catch some victim some day and we may wreak upon him our hate. I hate this hate and this hunt. I have bayed my bay in it, and I am sick of it. I am convinced that if I should follow far enough the human trail I was on, I should catch myself. For I have gone far enough already to see where I am to blame; how I have done or neglected to do things which have contributed to the guilt of the most intelligent rascal in the United States. And, if I have not done wrongs as great as his, I wish never again to forget that I have lacked his ability and his temptation. Happening into a cleaner business, the only temptations I have fallen before are those of my business. But the whole hunt, the hate and the spirit of vengeance upon men, whether of the law or of the mob, is wrong. It is things, not men, that hurt us; it is bad conditions, not ill-will, that make men do wrong.

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The expression of faith with which Mr. Steffens closes, shows his faith to be of the kind that in reality does move mountains. It is not the faith of the Christian pharisee, nor the optimism of the Fourth of July patriot; it is the faith of the Christian spirit, and the sane confidence of a broad patriotism. "Man has only to tackle a problem to solve it somehow," he writes; "and it is enough, for the present, that we are realizing that it is indeed things, not alone men, that we have to deal with; that it is conditions, not solely the devil in us, that makes bad men bad." We are coming to see, that is, that however good may be the purposes of men, their actions will be determined largely by social environments, and therefore that the work for all of us to do is to create social environments that will make it easier for every one to act right than for any one to act wrong.

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Essence of the Negro Problem.

It is a singular coincidence that Lincoln Steffens's higher note in the social anthem should be sounded in the same issue of the same magazine along with one exactly like it from Ray Stannard Baker. Mr. Baker, who is drawing conclusions from his investigations into the Negro problem as is Mr. Steffens from his exposures of graft, accounts for that problem, with absolute pre-

cision, simply as one of the problems of the world-old conflict between aristocracy and democracy. "The chief object of any aristocracy," writes Mr. Baker, "the reason why it wishes to monopolize government and learning, is because it wishes to supervise the division of labor and the products of labor. That is the bottom fact." Here we see more of the indications of class division than in the facts from which Mr. Steffens makes his conclusions. The white man draws himself apart from the Negro. He makes two classes of the two races, pretty much as the Normans did with their Saxon serfs. But even if aristocracy does fortify itself behind class lines, democracy fights in the open field. Its only class is the man class. Only as democracy ceases to be democratic, do class lines develop in democracies; and as it revives, these are cast off. Even race conflicts are not really determined by class interests. They, (too, grow out of special privileges; and special privileges of all kinds tend on the whole to divide men less along the lines of personal or class interests than along the lines of their perceptions of public righteousness. If it were not so, the privileged classes would always conquer; for in a class environment they would be the fittest to survive. But in fact social progress is a succession of triumphs of justice over privilege. There must be a reason for this; and what other efficient reason can there be, than that on the whole moral principles are more potent than class interests?

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Negro Voting and Southern Apportionment.

Although the Crumpacker amendment was attached by the House to the elections publicity bill as one of the tricks of peanut politics, for the purpose of unfairly defeating the bill, yet in itself it is a good measure. Southern members who insist upon disfranchising Negroes at the polls, ought not to expect them to be counted in apportioning representation. This is too much like the antebellum method of treating Negroes as three-fifths human for purposes of Congressional apportionment, and five-fifths cattle for property purposes. There is no rational escape from the accusation that the basis of Congressional apportionment at the South is a fraud, lawless and shameless, not only upon the disfranchised Negroes but also upon the people of the rest of the country whose representation in Congress is thereby unbalanced. The one plausible response is, that the rest of the States also disfranchise large elements of the population that are counted in Congressional apportionment—aliens, paupers, the illiterate in

some States; and women in most States. But this is really no answer. While these disfranchisements are wrong in themselves and exceedingly unwise, and while in some respects they may be unfair as matter of apportionment, the Negro-disfranchising States are guilty to the same extent in those respects, and in respect of the disfranchisement of Negroes besides. Moreover, as a simple matter of obedience to the national law, the one is lawful and the other is unlawful.

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The Campaign Against Bryan.

The plutocratic campaign for Governor Johnson goes merrily on, but democratic voters carry the Democratic primaries for Bryan delegates. While democratic Democrats like to win as well as anybody, they are so well accustomed to defeat and so indifferent to spoils, that a candidate who offers them nothing better than victory doesn't tempt them. The candidate who stands merely to win, as Johnson confessedly does, would be a poor leader when Democracy is in a death grapple with Privilege—the more especially as the last Democratic candidate who stood merely to win, was the worst defeated candidate of his generation.

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Bryan's "Conservatism."

One of the slogans against Bryan is the cry that he "is getting conservative." Examine into it and you will find that it rests upon his unwillingness to turn his party platform into an omnium gatherum of unripe issues. He objects, for instance, to inserting a plank for government ownership of railroads, not because he has changed his mind on that question but because it isn't ripe as a national issue. Does any one doubt where Bryan would stand should the question thrust itself forward during his term of office as President? Not one of us. The straight out Republican papers show more gumption about this matter than Democrats do who want to load the platform down with questions not yet in issue. They say that Bryan would be his own platform. And so he would. He has declared for government ownership, and has never retracted. He has declared for the initiative and referendum, and has never retracted. He has declared against party control by such men as Roger Sullivan, and has never retracted. Now it is one of the characteristics of this man that when he declares for anything he stands by his declarations on all appropriate occasions, unless he candidly retracts them. Frequent repetition is not

necessary. While he is no mummy, which never changes, neither should he be regarded as a phonograph record, which is in bad condition when it doesn't repeat.

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The Illinois Primary Law.

There is an outcry against the machine politicians for attempting to nullify the Illinois primary law by making machine nominations at conventions to be voted upon at the primaries. In other words they are undertaking to establish machine power at caucuses and conventions before the primaries, as heretofore they have done before the elections. This was to have been expected. But it will accomplish nothing. The power of political machines depends upon the party loyalty of the voting masses. But under the Illinois primary system, the voters of any party may meet the machine of their own party within the party itself and overthrow it. Only factional loyalty can serve the machines at primaries, and factional loyalty is never likely to become the powerful factor at primaries that party loyalty has become at elections. An independent movement within a party will always win against a discredited party machine.

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Cleveland Traction and Chicago Traction.

As the Chicago Tribune holds a brief for the traction ring of Chicago, and for the recent one in Cleveland, and has withal a growing reputation as town liar, there is no reason for surprise at its contrasting the Cleveland with the Chicago traction situation to the advantage of the latter. But it must have required much gall, even for the Tribune, to make the absurd contrast it has made in this case. Summed up in a few words its contrast comes to this: that Cleveland went in for 3-cent fares with poor service, and is getting both; whereas Chicago went in for good service with 5-cent fares, and also is getting both. Even if that statement were true, the comparison would be ridiculous. The new regime in Chicago began over a year ago; the new regime in Cleveland is hardly one month old. But the statement itself is false. Chicago is not yet getting good service, although good service was promised for a time more than twelve months past. Its street cars are still run at long and irregular intervals, and strap hanging is the regular thing. No one honestly supposes that it has good traction service except the people who ride in automobiles instead of street cars. Cleveland on the other hand (apart from the dynamiting, which the Tribune apparently ap-

proves) is getting better service than ever, unless it be to points where the need for any service at all is of slight concern to anybody but speculators in vacant land.

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There are only two reasons for the supposition that the Cleveland service has deteriorated. One reason is the widespread newspaper reports of a crooked strike, evidently instigated and fostered by the Chicago Tribune's clients, the aforesaid monopoly street car management. This enables the Tribune rather naively to say of the people of Cleveland that "they can ride for 3 cents when rioters"—its own traction ring's rioters, mind you—"do not upset the car." The other reason is the holding of indignation meetings, also stimulated by the old management, which are led by disturbed speculators in vacant land. But both reasons are failing the interests represented by the Chicago Tribune—the property of the tax-dodging McCormicks (p. 78) by the way, as is also the Cleveland Leader of which it is the echo in Cleveland matters. The crooked strike has been a flash in the pan, and the indignation meetings are fizzling out. The people of Cleveland begin to realize that they have not only low fares, but also a rapidly improving service. There is something even more to the point in the contrast between the traction policies of the two cities. In Chicago the traction system is a stock-jobbing private system; in Cleveland it offers no margin for stock-jobbing. While Chicago is a nominal partner as to some of the profits of the system, over interest and commissions on capital, Cleveland is an active partner as to all profits above interest. While Chicago is practically tied up hard and fast to absolute private ownership, the people of Cleveland may go back to absolute private ownership at any time, or forward to public ownership as soon as the legislature allows it, or continue under a "holding" company managed in the public interest, as they themselves may wish and not as a pack of stock-jobbers may dictate.

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"Business" in Politics.

The "business" administration of Chicago met with financial disaster in the closing hours of the long drawn out Illinois legislature, which has alternately recessed and legislated through the entire period of its two year term. By custom it should have died a year ago; in fact it died only last week. Some of its legislation has been of the worst and some of the best order. It served the political rings by mauling the Chicago char-

ter beyond recognition as a decent document, and thereby causing its defeat by the people. But it enacted a primary law that sounds the death knell of machine politics. And as it expired, it refused to pass a Busse bill for bonding Chicago to the tune of \$16,000,000 without a referendum. Mayor Busse's efforts to manage the public interests of Chicago along the lines of Big Business, without consulting the people, makes slow progress. In fact it makes none at all. With the spirit of the referendum hovering over the land, he and his have fallen upon what they doubtless regard as evil days.

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Women Teachers.

Low salaries in our public school systems have had a tendency, so it is frequently said in educational circles, to drive men out of this employment and to fill the schools with women teachers. In New York the tendency has been pretty frankly met, not to say artlessly, by giving higher salaries to men than to women, and with might and main resisting all efforts to secure equal pay for equal work. But in Chicago, where equal pay for equal work prevails—except for a grotesque salary promotional system, which, however, does not turn upon sex distinctions—great complaints are made of the crowding out of men from the teaching force by women. This is an unconscious confession, of course, that the boast of equal pay for equal work is misleading. For men would not stay out—the work being equal—if women teachers were fairly paid for their work. The inference is, as the fact is, that the Chicago teachers are paid, not upon the basis of earnings, but upon the basis of cost of living. It is because women teachers can live for less than men, not because they are worth less, that they are crowding the men out. To the honor of the high school teachers of Chicago be it said, that while in trying to secure better pay they deplore the loss of men from the system, they do not seek any salary discrimination between men and women. Neither do they aim at making the public schools masculine institutions. On the contrary, they recognize the sound doctrine that the school, like the home, should be under both masculine and feminine influences. And if they do not distinctly assert that these influences should be equally balanced, that may be inferred. At any rate it is true. Wherever the public school system exists, the principle is a sound one, that masculine and feminine influences should be as nearly equal as possible. Neither should dominate; the two should co-operate.

Crimes of Society.

The barbarous antiquity of our criminal law is illustrated by the case of a man of unblemished character who has served a year and a half of a five years' sentence for forgery in the Pennsylvania penitentiary. His identity was mistaken for that of a professional criminal. Such grievous errors might indeed occur under the best possible system of criminal jurisprudence, but the fact of their occurrence is not the gravamen of the indictment against society. The social barbarity consists in the total absence of any fair method of redressing the wrong. When such errors are discovered, the victim is not discharged with honor and awarded compensation for his injury; he is pardoned as an act of mercy. He goes back to his home with the prison taint upon him, and penniless except for charity. If our civilization were truly civilized, its prisoners if it had prisons would be restored, as fully as the nature of each case would permit, to all the rights of which erroneous convictions might have deprived them. Outside of prisons the victim may get damages for the loss of a leg—enough at least to buy a crutch; for the loss of a breadwinner by death, the family may get enough to pay the rent for a few months. But for loss of time and labor in prison under an erroneous conviction, and the consequent death of reputation, there is no remedy. Society says to this victim something like what the careless dentist said to his patient upon finding he had pulled the wrong tooth, "Never mind, my good fellow; I can save the one I intended to pull." And, as with prisoners erroneously convicted, so with prisoners erroneously accused. They are imprisoned unless they can get bail; they are prosecuted with the unlimited resources of the State; they must defend at their own expense, or as paupers, and in either case with the meagerest resources as a rule; and when they are acquitted, nothing whatever is done by society to restore their reputations or even to recompense them for the expense so unjustly imposed upon them.

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Another Dangerous Class.

Is farming a menace to human society? Logically it would seem so. At any rate, the killing of a Catholic priest at his altar in Denver by a crazy Italian who "looked like an anarchist," was widely heralded as an outbreak of anarchy; and now a crazy German, who not only looks like a farmer but really is one, kills a Catholic priest at his altar in Salisbury, Missouri. Doesn't social

preservation demand the suppression of Granges and denial of mail facilities to farmers?

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Christ as Labor's Champion.

There was much more sense than appears upon the surface of the reports, in what a Presbyterian minister said of Christ and Labor at a great mass meeting in Kansas City last Sunday. Christ "is today sending forth a challenge to workingmen," said this preacher, "daring them to accept him as their leader." Considered as a theological allusion to an anthropological god, those words may not strike a responsive chord in our intensely practical life. They may have too high a flavor of other-worldliness. But divest them of the personification, and we may all see instantly that Christ is indeed daring workingmen to accept him as their leader. For what the preacher meant, as the rest of his sermon shows, is that the everlasting principles of truth and justice are challenging the acceptance of workingmen. He was raising aloft the banner of justice against injustice, of the Golden Rule against selfishness. Already labor unions are closer to this principle than business unions. In so far as the business unions unfurl the banner of the Nazarene, it is usually as a fetich; in so far as the labor unions unfurl it, it is usually as a principle of brotherly love. Let them make it wholly their own, and the war between Labor and Privilege will soon be at an end. The Kansas City preacher was right. If the workingmen accept Christ as their leader—in the sense of accepting as their gospel the principle of the Golden Rule, which is the principle of justice—they are sure to win. They may lose many a labor battle, but they will not lose this labor war.

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THE TRUE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS.

Some one is proposing an excellent short cut to a settlement of the railroad question. It comes to us in the form of the first rough draft of a legislative bill embodying the essential idea for which Mayor Johnson of Cleveland has contended—government ownership of railways with competitive private operation of railway service.

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The bill asserts its authority in the preamble, which reads:

Whereas the railroad companies of this State, by discriminating rates and watering stock, have in equity forfeited the right of eminent domain granted

them by the State for transportation purposes, and have tended, and even sometimes sought, to corrupt legislation to such an extent as to threaten the stability of republican government.

Proceeding then from the enacting clause the bill proposes—

That on and after [blank date] any responsible party shall have the right to use a locomotive and cars on any railroad track in this State, on application to the State Train Dispatcher as hereinafter provided. There shall be a man of ability and experience appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the legislature as Train Dispatcher for each railroad in the State, with power to appoint his assistants, and all yard masters and switchmen. He shall have ample compensation, and be responsible to the State only, under heavy penalties for any discrimination among applicants for right of way, each party taking their turn, as boats on the canal. On application of any railroad company for the transfer of title of the road bed and appurtenances to the State, a commission shall be appointed, part by the Governor and part by the local authorities of some of the largest towns on the railroad, to ascertain and report to the legislature, what would be a just compensation for the same, and in no case more than it would cost to duplicate it. On the acquisition by the State of one or more railroad beds and track fixed appurtenances, a permanent commission shall be appointed in such manner as the legislature shall provide, under which said road bed, tracks and fixed appurtenances shall be maintained in complete order and condition at State expense for public use. No tolls or charges of any kind shall be levied for the use of these roads. The expense to the State of the salaries of train dispatcher, yard masters, and switchmen, shall be considered as track rent and ample compensation to the Railroad companies, until the transfer of title.

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The author of this measure asks everyone into whose hands it falls to read it carefully and then talk it over with his friends. We repeat the request. For ought we know, a practicable bill might have to go much more into detail, and differently into detail in different States. But the principle has here been hammered into good general form so as to be adaptable to the railway laws of any State. The only seriously doubtful point is that which is raised by the preamble, and this will not be doubtful if public sentiment overwhelmingly supports it. The courts—even those whose judges are appointed and for life—also have their “ears to the ground.”

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A good many years ago the people of England sent all their criminals to Australia. They began raising corn and wheat, cattle and sheep; they waxed rich in a couple of generations, and the people of the parent country found that the descendants of their criminals were better than they were, and England organized land syndicates to take the land away from them.—Commonsense, of Cleveland.

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, May 26, 1908.

Presidential Politics.

William Jennings Bryan was the guest of honor at the banquet of the Bankers' Club of Chicago on the 22nd. He spoke with absolute plainness, yet with courtesy. At one point he declared, amid profound silence, as the scene is reported, that officials of banks should be held to criminal account for violating the law which forbids loans of more than 10 per cent of a bank's capital to one person. In the same silence he is reported to have asked why any one should be squeamish about applying as harsh laws to bankers as are applied to the poorest citizen in the land. In the course of his speech, which is characterized by the local papers as one of the most notable he has ever made in Chicago, Mr. Bryan proposed that—

Absolute security should be guaranteed depositors.

The Oklahoma system should be adopted and every bank in a certain district should stand behind every other bank; all banks should guarantee each other. This should be done by a tax of one-quarter of 1 per cent on the amount of the deposits.

There should be a criminal penalty for infringement by bank officials of the present law, which forbids the loaning of more than 10 per cent of the capital and surplus to one person.

An emergency currency should be issued by the government, and not by the banks.

The emergency currency should be given to the banks on liberal terms as to security, and bonds should not be insisted upon as security.

No foreign system of banking should be introduced; the American system should be improved so as to make it a secure system.

“Despite the almost unbroken silence which met the main portions of Mr. Bryan's speech and greeted all his chief suggestions,” says the Record-Herald, “the audience seemed to be impressed by the very force and audacity of the Nebraska.” From Chicago Mr. Bryan went to Kenosha, Wisconsin, where he made a political speech in which he is reported to have said that there is—

Only one Republican candidate for President who could really be considered as representative of the reforms that the people demand and that is Senator La Follette of this State. How much sympathy the Republican leaders of the country have for these reforms is shown by the fact that save in Wiscon-

sin, Sentaor La Follette has received no support in his Presidential aspirations.

Referring to President Roosevelt's policies, Mr. Bryan said in his speech:

A Republican asked me if I did not think President Roosevelt had talked too much and acted too little. I answered by asking the man what could a person do whose hands were tied behind his back by a lot of highwaymen and who had nothing left but his voice. Would you not give him credit for making a noise?

Prior to these speeches Mr. Bryan had addressed the Methodist General Conference at Baltimore on the 19th.

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On the 22nd the Democratic conventions (p. 178) of Missouri and South Carolina respectively instructed for Bryan, as did the Democratic convention of Michigan. At Harrisburgh on the same day the Pennsylvania convention, controlled by Colonel Guffy, refused to instruct by a vote of 187 to 123. Most of the 64 district delegates are under local instructions for Bryan. Counting only those that are instructed, Bryan now has 473 votes, which is but 199 short of the necessary two-thirds. A large number of the uninstructed delegates are Bryan men.

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A rumor having been started in consequence of a European trip which William Randolph Hearst contemplates taking, that the Independence Party (pp. 60, 133, 156) would be abandoned, Mr. Hearst published the following interview in his own papers on the 20th:

The best answer will be the events of the next two months. The Independence Party already has organized in thirty-three States, and I make the statement confidently that on the 27th of July delegates from every State in the Union will assemble at the convention of the Independence Party in Chicago. I am going abroad now to take a brief rest before the campaign. I shall come back for the convention and for the campaign. I am not a candidate for the nomination myself and have not been, but I am preparing to work to the utmost of my ability for the men whom the convention of the Independence Party shall see fit to nominate. It is not true that I have abandoned the Independence Party; it is not true that I am going to support Mr. Bryan or Mr. Taft or any but an Independence Party nominee; it is not true that Mr. Hisgen has declined to run if nominated; it is not true that I have seen Mr. Connors many times or even once.

A conference of Independence Party leaders has been called here, and from the Far West, from the Middle West, from the South and from New England, these leaders are already in the city ready to plan organization and activity from now until the convention. That organization will be complete, and that activity sufficient to satisfy the Independence Party and to surprise both of the old parties.

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Mr. Bryan has challenged Mr. Taft to join him

in asking Congress for a law requiring publicity of campaign expenditures. He did so on the 26th in the following telegram from Lincoln to Mr. Taft at Washington:

I beg to suggest that as leading candidates of our respective parties we join in asking Congress to pass a bill requiring publication of campaign contributions prior to election. If you think best we can ask other candidates to unite with us in the request.

To this suggestion Mr. Taft made the following reply on the same day:

Your telegram received. On April 30 last I sent the following letter to Senator Burrows, the chairman of the committee on privileges and elections of the Senate:

My Dear Mr. Burrows—I sincerely believe that it would greatly tend to the absence of corruption in politics if the expenditures for nominations and elections of all candidates and all contributions received and expenditures made by political committees could be made public, both in respect to State and national politics. For that reason I am strongly in favor of the passage of the bill which is now pending in the Senate and House to bring about this result as far as the national politics is concerned. I mark this letter personal, because I am anxious to avoid assuming an attitude in the campaign which it is quite possible I shall never have the right to assume, but so far as my personal influence is concerned I am anxious to give it for the passage of the bill. Very sincerely yours, William H. Taft.

Since writing the above, in answer to inquiry I have said publicly I hoped that a bill would pass.

Mr. Taft has not yet indicated his willingness to join Mr. Bryan in asking Congress to pass such a bill.

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Congress.

Hope of an agreement on financial legislation by the conference committee of the two Houses (p. 179) was reported on the 20th as having been abandoned; but members of the lower House are holding back appropriations for local improvements throughout the country in order to force action by the Senate on financial measures. On the 21st the anti-injunction bill, which is urged by the President, was reported to have been dropped; and the postoffice appropriation bill is reported as not likely to pass with the ship subsidy clause in it. The campaign publicity bill, when it came before the House on the 22nd, was passed with an amendment, the Crumpacker bill, requiring a report upon the number of male citizens in each State to whom the right of voting has been denied or in any way abridged except for crime. The amendment is intended to expose officially the suppression of the Negro vote in Southern States.

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The Cleveland Street Car Strike.

The first agreement for arbitration of the Cleveland street car strike (p. 180) fell through and violence was renewed. There were no mobs, but trolley wires were cut, stones were thrown

and dynamite was used. Several cars were destroyed by explosions and passengers injured. In consequence of these crimes, Mayor Johnson issued the following proclamation on the 20th:

I call upon every right-thinking citizen to aid in breaking up the crowd of lawless and cowardly thugs who from dark and secluded places are throwing stones, destroying property and dynamiting street railroad cars carrying innocent people, by giving information to me at the Mayor's office as to all such acts of lawlessness. The police force is more than adequate to suppress mobs and open violence, but sneaking attacks from criminals in hiding can best be suppressed by the co-operation of the citizens generally. I therefore offer the following rewards: For any information furnished, payments ranging from \$5 to \$100, according to the value of the information given, and \$300 in case of conviction growing out of information furnished as to the placing of any explosive or obstruction upon the street railroad tracks, resulting in injury to person or property. The information desired is as to persons handling or purchasing dynamite and high explosives, persons caught in the act of destroying property, cutting wires, throwing stones at street railroad cars, and especially information as to the putting of high explosives and obstructions on the wires or street railroad tracks, and thereby menacing the lives of our people. My hope is that every citizen will perform his part of this public duty and bring to the Mayor's office, commencing tomorrow morning, any information he can secure. The information brought will be treated as confidential, and the person bringing it protected. All reports will be verified and the rewards paid within 24 hours, in proportion to the service of the information furnished.

Immediate responses to the Mayor's proclamation were received, and the clandestine violence promptly ceased. Thirteen arrests have since been made. The prisoners are all motormen or conductors of the old "Concon." On the 25th two of them, Otto Posehke and Jas. J. Stanard, confessed, the former that he had been given dynamite at strike headquarters and had dynamited a St. Clair street car; and the latter that he had directed the former where and how to find the dynamite.

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So long as the dynamiting continued, the Municipal management refused to consider arbitration; but when that phase of the situation was at an end, arbitration negotiations were renewed. On the 21st the strikers selected Elroy M. Avery, and the Municipal, Arthur A. Stearns, as arbitrators. At first Mr. Behner, vice-president of the international union, demanded that all employes be restored to their places of seniority—choices of runs and increase of pay—pending the arbitration. This was refused by the Municipal, which offered, however, to arbitrate the question of seniority, provided a majority of the men agreed to it—the old "Con-con" strikers still out, the strikers who have returned, the old "Threefer"

men who refused to strike, and such new men as have taken the places of strikers. The strikers, by a small margin, voted on the 24th to submit the question of seniority to arbitration; but the men at work voted against it on the 25th by 1,076 to 129.

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The adverse vote cast by the men employed, on the question of submitting the question of seniority to arbitration, again stopped arbitration proceedings. For President du Pont of the Municipal refuses to involve their rights of seniority in arbitration without their consent. The facts in that respect, in so far as they affect the old employes of the so-called "Threefer" or low-fare system, were told by the Cleveland Press on the 21st as follows:

When the first cars [low fare] were run on the old Denison-av road, the employes formed a union and negotiated an agreement with President du Pont. National Vice-President Behner of the street railway men's union, and Business Agent Harry D. Thomas, of the United Trades and Labor Council, helped draw the agreement. In June of the last year this agreement was renewed. Just before the Threefer men organized the Concon had discharged 100 men for trying to form a union of the Concon employes. After the Threefer men organized the Concon stopped fighting the movement among its men to unionize. The Threefer men operated their injunction-ridden cars under the greatest difficulties. Their runs were cut up by court order, and railroading on the struggling 3-cent road was difficult work. For 18 months and up to the present time the gray-coated Threefer men kept "on the job" and ran their cars. In order to make way for the strike of the Concon men when the Municipal took over the Cleveland Electric operation, the charter of the Threefer union was revoked by Behner, though the agreement of the Threefer union provided that it should not be broken except after arbitration. The Threefer men felt that their contract was a binding one, and they continued to live up to it even after the strike was ordered. In all negotiations before the strike and in all efforts to arbitrate since the strike, du Pont has insisted that the old Threefer men were good union men and their rights must be considered, in any settlement.

At the time of the publication of this statement the "Threefer" men had voted to submit their seniority to arbitration rather than embarrass the Municipal. How they voted on the 25th is not known, as the ballot was secret; but by far the greatest number of them must have voted against, jeopardizing their seniority since the proposition commanded only 129 votes all told.

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After the refusal of the men now at work to submit their seniority to arbitration, the men still on strike were notified to meet on the 26th to decide upon their course. Their numbers are reputed to be greatly reduced. The Municipal an-

nounced that it would arbitrate all questions but seniority, and sent the following report to the State Board of Arbitration:

To the State board of Arbitration: By a vote of 129 for and 1,076 against, the motormen and conductors now employed by The Municipal declined to submit their rights to seniority position to arbitration. This question, therefore, cannot be arbitrated. The men now at work will maintain their seniority. The company is willing to take back as many of the striking employes as possible. It prefers experienced men to new ones. Motormen and conductors reporting for duty before 6 p. m., Tuesday, May 26, will receive the same rate of pay as if they had not left the company's service. No men guilty of violence during the strike will be either employed or continued in employment.

The Plain Dealer of the 26th states editorially that "the company, in the face of grave difficulties, has restored service to practically its former standard."

* *

The Traction Question in New York.

Governor Hughes has vetoed the Robinson rapid transit bill (p. 149), the salient feature of which, as the Governor describes it in his veto memorandum of the 24th, "is the provision for the sale of the privilege or franchise to construct, maintain and operate rapid transit railways in the city of New York, with the reservation to the city of the right to purchase and take the privilege or franchise and the plant and property of the grantee at the expiration of a fixed period, which is not to exceed fifty years." In giving his reasons for the veto, Governor Hughes says:

These railways, except in the case of certain extensions of existing lines, cannot now be constructed, save by the use of public moneys. The purpose of the bill is to authorize construction also by private capital and thus to provide additional transportation facilities, which are greatly needed. I am convinced, after careful consideration of the matter, that the plan proposed by this bill is illusory and injurious. This bill, in its main features, means that to have additional rapid transit in New York we should give fifty year grants. I do not believe in that policy. The city should not lose its control over its highways for rapid transit purposes for such a period. Anyone who reflects upon what the city was fifty years ago and upon what it is likely to become in the course of the next fifty years must realize this. . . . Proper control over the highways and public improvements of the city must be reserved and we must not allow temporary exigencies to force grants contrary to sound judgment and wise policy. The present bill, with what amounts, as I read it, to a practical provision for fifty year franchises, is thoroughly objectionable. There are some other features of the bill which have been criticised, but I do not think it necessary to discuss them as I cannot in any event approve it.

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A hearing on the question had taken place on

the 15th, at which it was noted that almost without exception the speakers who urged Governor Hughes to approve the measure, avowedly represented private interests in vacant land. The principal argument in favor of the bill was made by Allan Robinson, president of the Allied Real Estate interests. The Manhattan Single Tax Club, in opposition, was represented by Frederic C. Leubuscher and J. P. Kohler. Other speakers in opposition were Ex-Sheriff Flaherty for the Central Federated Union, of Brooklyn; Thomas Ryan, for the Brotherhood of Carpenters, and Charles Sprague Smith, for the People's Institute. Mr. Smith presented an argument by Calvin Tomkins, president of the Reform Club, and another by William M. Ivins, the Republican candidate for Mayor three years ago.

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In a review of the situation, Frederic C. Leubuscher, President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, who appeared before the Governor in opposition to the bill, writes that the Governor has refrained "from mentioning the principal objections to the bill, namely, that it was opposed to the letter and to the spirit of the referendum vote of 1894." Mr. Leubuscher adds that the Governor "wishes to leave the way clear for future legislation providing for the employment of private capital with the objectionable features of the Robinson bill eliminated." Continuing, Mr. Leubuscher says:

Without wishing to derogate from the effects of the good work of others, I contend that were it not for the agitation set on foot by the Manhattan Single Tax Club, there would probably have been little or no opposition to the passage of the bill. On July 1, 1907, the very day the Public Service Commission came into being, the Manhattan Single Tax Club held a mass meeting at Cooper Union (vol. x, pp. 301, 344) in order to stiffen the backbones of the commissioners to uphold the referendum of 1894 and make no concessions whatsoever to the Interests. Following this, the Club was represented at a number of hearings before the Commission. In January, immediately after the Governor sent his annual message to the legislature, in which he gave credence to the "debt limit" cry, and hinted at the employment of private capital, the Club sent a protest to him. The following month the Public Service Commission gave a hearing on the propositions to allow the use of private capital and to extend the leasing term with an indeterminate franchise. Arguments were heard pro and con and the radical utterances of the representative of the Manhattan Single Tax Club were the most heartily applauded. Although this meeting was held on a Friday afternoon and lasted about five hours, all of the speeches being reported stenographically with the ostensible intention of having a full report made for the deliberate consideration of the Commissioners, the following morning the Commission sent a printed report of its recommendations to the legislature, thus showing that its action had been predetermined and that the

hearing was a mere farce. Those recommendations favored the employment of private capital with an indeterminate franchise, upon which the Robinson bill was based. We considered this so outrageous that we called another mass meeting in Cooper Union (vol. x, p. 1042) to denounce the action of the Commission. After this there were a number of mass meetings called by the People's Institute and by citizens' organizations in favor of the bill; but we attended the meetings and they indorsed our position. At the meeting of the People's Institute held the night before the day appointed for the Mayor's hearing, the vote was about 1,500 to 6 against the Robinson bill. Before the Mayor, owing to a confusion as to the hour of hearing, I was the only one heard in opposition. As was expected from his previous actions in similar matters and from his friendship for the Interests, Mayor McClellan approved the bill. It was then "up to" the Governor. Until the Mayor's hearing not a single organization or person, other than the Manhattan Single Tax Club and its representatives, had, so far as I can find out, opposed this steal of the people's rights. Immediately after the Mayor's hearing, I called on William M. Ivins, and urged him to join in the opposition, with the result that he wrote an unanswerable argument against the proposed law. About the same time Calvin Tomkins wrote a strong brief. At the hearing before Governor Hughes the argument of the Manhattan Single Tax Club was seconded by Charles Sprague Smith. In giving credit for this fight against the Interests, L. S. Bedford, an old-time single taxer, must not be overlooked. For more than ten years he has been fighting the traction trust, and while his methods have not always commended themselves to his associates, he has been the most persistent foe of franchise grabbers. It was he who induced the Manhattan Single Tax Club to start the war and to keep it up. Through Edward Polak he aroused the Bronx, and through the Central Federated Union of Brooklyn he aroused that Borough. He attended a number of rapid transit meetings, going so far in his opposition in some of them as to lead to his being put out by the managers of the meetings and once even to his being arrested. But he carried his point every time. He is a poor man, earning his daily bread by typesetting; and the time he devoted to the fight made serious inroads upon his income.

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Writing on this subject, with reference to ex-Congressman Baker's letter in Editorial Correspondence of the 8th (p. 130), Mr. Charles Sprague Smith, managing director of The People's Institute, which holds its public meetings regularly in Cooper Union, explains that neither of the two Cooper Union meetings mentioned in Mr. Baker's letter were held for the purpose of endorsing the rapid transit bills to which Mr. Baker objects. Of these two meetings Mr. Smith writes:

The first was planned by the legislative committee of The People's Institute purely in order to instruct the audience as to the rapid transit situation and the bills pending. A resolution introduced at the close of the meeting by one of the speakers was

made entirely on his own motion. It was not, as interpreted by those who denounced it, a resolution in favor of the bills, but in opposition to them unless amended in important particulars. Whatever its character it was not an Institute motion but a personal one. The second meeting, two weeks later, was held for the distinct purpose of discussing the transit bills which had in the interim reached their final form, passed the legislature, and were to come before the Mayor and the Governor. As representative of the Institute, I invited Mr. Fred C. Leubuscher, president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, and Mr. John Martin of the Reform Club, to represent the opposition to the bills, and Mr. Allan Robinson, representative of the United Real Estate Interests and Mr. J. Aspirwall Hodge, to defend them; Mr. Julius Henry Cohen being asked to give, subject to corrections made by any person on the platform, an impartial statement as to the whole rapid transit situation, the law as it stood originally, as modified by the new legislation. The confusion and disorder that occurred at both meetings, notably at the last, were occasioned, in the first place, by the denunciation in print and from the floor made by one individual; on the second occasion, by lack of self-control manifested not merely by this individual, but also by others. It would seem a sufficient reply to the verbal and written denunciations of these persons to point out that Mr. Ivins, who was the first object of attack and proclaimed to be "a tool of the traction thieves," has presented to the Governor an exhaustive brief attacking these bills, which brief will have furnished the convincing argument against them in case they are rejected. As to the Institute itself, its managing director had charge of the opposition at the hearing, and on the Institute's behalf there was presented first the brief of Mr. William M. Ivins, second the argument of Mr. Calvin Tomkins, who spoke not merely in behalf of the Reform Club but also the Institute, and third, a brief statement by the managing director.

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From ex-Congressman Baker we have the following comments upon the veto:

That continued agitation sometimes brings results is again shown in the action of Governor Hughes on the Robinson bill to permit the construction of subways by private capital. In the face of what seemed insurmountable obstacles, unceasing agitation to arouse the needed opposition to the bill has had its legitimate effect. The veto gives us a year's respite. But it does even more. Those who would turn much needed and loudly demanded subways over to private exploitation, must now change their tactics. Their chief cry has been, "As the city is without the funds, let us build by private capital;" and the real estate interests, anxious to reap the unearned increment of added land values, helped in the demand. But this avenue being closed for at least another year, we may now expect real estate boomers to change their tune and insist that "the most urgent need is more subways, and other and less pressing public improvements must wait; that the funds available on July 1st must be kept for subways, as their building will increase the real estate

assessment to be paid for out of the increased borrowing capacity." Our success in defeating the Robinson bill should give a new stimulus to intelligently directed agitation on matters of immediate public interest where vital democratic principles are involved.

* *

The Lake Mohonk Conference Sees Blood.

The 14th of the conferences held annually at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., to consider international arbitration and other humanitarian subjects, held its sessions last week, closing on the 22nd. Speaking on the 21st, General Horatio C. King, of Brooklyn, said that, if only because of internal conditions, it would be utterly impossible to disarm or reduce the army or navy of the United States today. At the closing session on the 22nd Rear Admiral French E. Chadwick startled his audience by asserting that "There is no use in crying 'Peace' when there is no peace. The world moves from plane to plane chiefly by convulsions. We are now rapidly approaching another convulsive period. There is certain before long to be a new readjustment. Shall this be bloody or peaceful? The army and navy are the great arms of conservatism. When you can arrange revolutions by academic discussion, you may perhaps do without them, but as yet I can see no signs of such an outcome." And Baron Kogoro Takahira, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, declared that a careful study of international disputes shows that they arise almost as much, if not more, from the internal conditions of the country affected as they do from the conflict of outside interests.

* *

Liberia Appeals to the United States.

Liberia, the little state created on the southwest corner of equatorial Africa by Negroes who had been released from slavery in America, is suffering from inability to cope with the growing spheres of influence exerted in its neighborhood and over its borders by England and France. A series of boundary disputes with both of them has been settled by yielding in every case to the strong nations. Worse yet, the difficulty of maintaining order among the native tribes of the country is coupled with responsibility for the disorder as it reaches out of bounds, and now England has delivered an ultimatum to the effect that Liberia must either maintain better government or submit to intervention. A Liberian delegation is now in this country, bearing an appeal to the United States to give advice, and, if possible, still more substantial aid to the black Republic in its distress.

* *

Woman Suffrage in the English Liberal Program.

To a delegation of radical members of the House of Commons, the new Prime Minister, Mr.

Asquith (p. 157), declared on the 20th, that the government intended, before the close of the present Parliament, to introduce a comprehensive measure of electoral reform. He said he was not himself an advocate of woman suffrage, not having yet been convinced of its desirability, but he had an open mind on the subject, and if an amendment was introduced to the projected reform bill favoring woman suffrage on democratic lines, the government would not oppose it. He said also that he recognized that the woman's suffrage movement had gained a great impetus of late years, but no change of the kind proposed could be carried through with effect unless it had the women of the country as well as the electors behind it. A later dispatch, to the Chicago Tribune, asserts that—

A definite deal has been made between the Liberal leaders and the moderate suffragists whereby the government will endeavor to make votes for women the principal issue of the next general election. This move, which is intensely repugnant to Premier Asquith personally, has been forced on him by the political exigencies of the situation. The by-elections demonstrated pretty clearly that the Liberals cannot hope to carry the country on the free trade issue alone or even principally. The suffragist movement has gained such strength among the Liberal masses that the radical party is doomed to defeat unless it can gain the co-operation of the women who, even without votes, are a greater political force in England than in any country of the world. The reform bill which the government will introduce at the close of the session will be designed solely for electioneering purposes. There is not the slightest doubt that a sweeping woman suffrage provision will be inserted by a big majority. The attitude of the Unionists on the question is not yet defined. There are many woman suffragists in that party. Also they may seek to embarrass the government by proposing to grant suffrage to single women and those in possession of property qualifications in their own right. The effect of this undoubtedly would be to increase the strength of the Unionists among the new electorate. It was in anticipation of this that Asquith insisted that suffrage for women, if granted, must be along democratic lines. One thing now certain is that the great question of universal adult suffrage for both sexes will be brought to an issue in this country in the near future.

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The by-election to Parliament (p. 158) in the Sterling district in Scotland, to replace the membership of the late Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (p. 109), resulted in the election of Sir Henry's secretary, Arthur Ponsonby, by the greatly increased majority of 1,361.

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Teacher: "Wait a moment, Johnny. What do you understand by that word 'deficit'?"

"It's what you've got when you haven't got as much as if you just hadn't nothin'."—The Methodist Recorder.

NEWS NOTES

—The Atlantic-Pacific fleet reached Seattle, Wash., on the 23d (p. 157).

—Francois Eduard Joachim Coppée, French poet and dramatist, and member of the Academy since 1884, has died.

—The Forty-fifth General Assembly of Illinois adjourned on the 23d after being in session at intervals for nearly eighteen months.

—Governor John Sparks of Nevada, who was involved in the Goldfield labor troubles (vol. x, p. 1090) died near Reno on the 22nd at the age of 65.

—Cloudbursts and floods have been working great havoc in Texas and Oklahoma. Seven dead and 5,000 homeless were reported on the 24th from Guthrie, Okla., and many more from Fort Worth, Tex.

—An injunction against the street car union of Chicago (p. 181) in behalf of employes refusing to retain their membership, was denied on the 19th, and the objecting employes resumed their membership.

—The National Association of Manufacturers (p. 179) appointed a committee to attend the Republican and the Democratic conventions for the purpose of preventing the insertion of "class declaration planks" in the platforms. They re-elected J. W. Van Cleave as president.

—The graduated land tax bill, which by means of taxation seeks to prevent the owning of more than 640 acres of land by one person in Oklahoma, was finally passed on the 22d and sent to the governor. An income tax bill and an inheritance tax bill are in the governor's hands also.

—At the hearing on the 25th in the Hearst-McClellan election contest for mayor in New York (p.10) the counsel for Mayor McClellan made 16 objections to the opening of ballot boxes for the purpose of recounting the votes cast for mayor in 1905. The objections were overruled on the 26th and the count ordered.

—At the thirty-third annual convention of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers at Youngstown on the 25th, the organization was thrown open to Negro workmen by an almost unanimous vote. For the past few years Negroes have been used as strike-breakers, not only in the South, but largely in the North, and it was deemed best to recognize them.

—A huge airship, said to be the largest in the world, exploded in midair at Berkeley, Cal., on the 23d. When about 300 feet above the earth the ship, apparently unevenly loaded, tipped, and then burst its airbag. It fell with increasing velocity, carrying down its sixteen passengers, some of whom jumped as they approached the earth. All were more or less injured, but none fatally.

—The new wage agreement between the cotton manufacturers of Fall River and the textile council (p. 151) which will be in force until next November, became effective on the 25th. Under the agreement the 25,000 operatives accept a wage reduction of 17.94 per cent. This swells the number of cotton op-

eratives in New England, whose wages have been reduced this Spring, to about 170,000.

—Belgium's worst railroad wreck occurred on the 21st near Antwerp. An express train, led off its line by an inert or misplaced switch, crashed into a train loaded with religious pilgrims standing on a siding. The total number of the dead is placed at sixty, and the wounded at over a hundred.

—A statue by St. Gaudens of the late Senator Hanna was dedicated at Cleveland on the 23d. The addresses were by Secretary Taft, John W. Griggs of New Jersey (former United States Attorney General), Warren S. Stone, head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and ex-Governor Myron T. Herrick.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Alabama Primaries.

The Johnston (Pa.) Democrat, (Dem.), May 21.—Mr. Bryan has received a majority of nearly seventy-five thousand in the State which the Johnson managers had picked out as their fighting ground. It is quite time to contradict certain statements made in the newspapers throughout the United States. There was no organized fight made for Mr. Bryan in Alabama until it was discovered that the hired partisans of Gov. Johnson had come into that State for the purpose of securing an anti-Bryan delegation. Alabama has always been a state friendly to William Jennings Bryan. It was not necessary to use money to maintain its loyalty to him. No money was used. With the exception of Senator Johnston and Congressman Hobson, all the representatives of the State at Washington were earnestly and enthusiastically for an instructed delegation. The money of the Johnson syndicate was poured fluently into the State. Speeches and public documents were sent to every registered voter. Newspapers were kept filled with the story of the wonderful progress of the Johnson boom. Even on the day after the primaries many Alabama newspapers announced that the decision was still in doubt, and up to the day of the primaries Mr. Bryan had little or no newspaper support in that State. It is up to the Alabama papers to explain why, when three-fourths of the Democratic voters stand for Mr. Bryan and his policies, there is hardly one great Alabama newspaper which will come out frankly and fairly and fight for his success either in the State or in the nation.

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The Democratic Principle.

The Memphis News-Scimitar (dem. Dem.), April 28. The students of Washington and Lee University have started a paper called "The Democrat," with the motto "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none." . . . This principle is "the rock of ages cleft" for our Republic. This principle once having become universal and followed in our public life, will do away with the sinister forces of anarchy in high places, which are now undermining our free institutions, corrupting our government, to the same degree as special privileges are secured by a favored few. For what is one man's privilege is the other man's

right. But the robbers who have for so long preyed on the people have finally come to regard their privileges as vested rights, instead of what they are—vested wrongs—and the long habit of seeing them basking in the sunshine of their privileges and growing fat on their plunder has even lulled to sleep the public conscience and dulled the public's sense for right and wrong. . . . Many proofs there are that the people all over the country are awakening to an appreciation of this fact and one of the most hopeful signs, that promises a renaissance of our people and a reconstruction of our institutions on the old, true democratic foundation of equality of opportunity, is that the youth of the country is realizing where a continuation of the present policy of privileged plunder would land us.

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Independent Newspapers.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), May 2.—A newspaper can be no more independent than an individual, for the owner of a newspaper is an individual who may or may not give voice to sound ideas. He may or may not be honest in his convictions. The really independent editor is he who has convictions and honestly maintains them, no matter what may be the consequences. . . . It is an old saying, which we do not believe to be true, that there are two sides to every question. There is only one side and that is the right side. There may be two opinions, but there are no two sides to any question. . . . The question, therefore, is which side is wrong and which side is right. Both may be wrong, but both cannot be right. That is an infallible proposition. So we have the precedent of a divergence of opinions, one advocating one thing and another the very opposite. If the former is swayed by prejudice or the love of gain he is not independent. If the latter is inspired by the belief that he is right he is in the very broadest sense independent. It matters not so much what principle the editor may advance, but it does matter very much what actuates him, whether personal or partisan prejudice or honest conviction. . . . It is for this reason we have little faith in the non-partisan newspaper. As a general rule the non-partisan journal is ready to swing in any direction. Usually it is without any permanent conviction. Usually it is purchasable. At least you can depend upon the partisan newspaper. If it is honest—and we believe the great majority of partisan newspapers are honest—it will be found every day in the year where it was at the beginning. It is not one thing to-day and another thing to-morrow. It stands like the eternal rocks for what it may believe to be right and therefore is in the strictest sense independent. As we stated at the outset, a newspaper can be no more independent than an individual. Hence it must be partisan or wholly without principle. The men it may support are not in the calculation. It is the principle that is involved and when an editor abandons a principle to support men who are opposed to that principle, though they may be known as "good men," he is a traitor. He is not in any sense independent.

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In maxims there is often more sound than sense.
—The Silent Partner.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

LITTLE BITS OF PAPER.

For The Public.

Little bits of paper
Written on with pen
Make a mighty people
Slaves to daring men,
Make them follow notions
Of folks dead long ago,
Tho it bring them naught
But poverty and woe.

Little bits of paper,
Sealed with ruthless hands
Give to haughty idlers
Might by owning lands,
Make the foolish people
Sweat, produce and do
All the useful labor,
Making rich the few.

Little bits of paper
Put into a box
Make the simple voters
Proudly orthodox,
While the real rulers
Pull the cunning strings,
Snickering the meanwhile
At the antics of the "kings."

A little bit of paper
Given man and wife
Makes the woman property
All the rest of life.
He assumes to own her,
Body, soul and thought,
As the piece of paper
Says he may and ought.

Little bits of paper
Keep us all as clods
Just so long as mankind
To superstition nods.
Little bits of paper
By authority
Rob the unsuspecting
Of their liberty!

JOSEPH A. LABADIE.

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WOMEN WHO KNOW THAT THEY
NEED THE BALLOT.

From the Woman's Journal of March 28, 1908.

Jane Addams, in her recent address at Boston University, gave some practical examples showing how the poorer women in Chicago find themselves at a disadvantage for want of a vote. She said:
"The Russian Jewish women are always grumbling because there are no covered markets in Chicago. They look upon the buying of food for

their families as a matter of importance; they are anxious that it should be wholesome, and with them the food question is associated with very ancient ceremonials. They do not like to take home their meat all grimy and dusty. They say such dirty markets would never be allowed in Russia. We are accustomed to hearing Chicago compared unfavorably with New York and Boston, but when it is compared unfavorably with Russia, we feel mortified.

"The Italian women are greatly dissatisfied because there is no public wash-house. In their own country they always washed the clothes together, either at a stream or in a village wash-house, and they talked and had a great deal of laughter and fun while they did it. They find it very dull to do their washing alone, and very uncomfortable to have to hang the wet clothes up to dry among their families, in a small room. But they have no votes, and they cannot get attention for their perfectly reasonable and legitimate wish for a municipal wash-house.

"Then there is the burning question of fire-escapes. A woman with young children was very much troubled because her tenement had no fire-escape. She came to Hull House to ask us to put one on. We advised her to have her husband see the alderman from our ward, who had scattered promises of fire-escapes right and left, before he was elected. She answered, 'But my husband is away at work for months at a time, and when he is at home he is not as much afraid of fire as I am, and he does not understand as well as I do how helpless the children would be if there was a fire.' That woman was from the interior of Sicily, and there is no more conservative woman anywhere than can be found in the interior of Sicily; but at the end of our talk she said, 'Well, if I had a vote, I believe I should get a fire-escape!' So women are being brought to the wish for the ballot in a thousand ways, not through any theory, but as a result of their own practical experience.

"The American women are being converted in the same way. The Chicago Woman's Club has more than a thousand members, including many women of influence. They have been very successful in getting good laws passed and improvements introduced. But they find that in order to get them enforced and steadily carried out, they need the power that a vote gives. Take the Juvenile Court. Several different men have acted as judges. The women have followed the proceedings of the Juvenile Court with close interest, and they know very well which of those judges was the ablest in dealing with the children's cases. They often say, 'Oh, if we could only have Judge So and So back again!' But they have no voice in choosing the judges.

"Around us there are many factories that employ young girls in running dangerous machinery, making tin cans, etc. Our women collected a

long list of bad accidents, the loss of fingers and of hands. They went before a committee of the Legislature, and told the result of their investigations. The committee seemed impressed, and promised to recommend legislation calling for the use of guards on the machines. But a deputation of business men went to the Legislature after us, and destroyed all the effect of our hearing. They had votes, and they succeeded in preventing the needed legislation."

Miss Addams said that women living in a city could no longer, by their individual efforts, safeguard their homes from dirt, impure food, and the danger of fire. These things are now done by the city collectively, i. e., by the government, and the women, to deal with them effectively, must have a vote. "We must be contemporaneous, if we are to be useful," she said, "and women constantly find their efforts for good checked by the lack of this simple mechanism, the ballot. It is so simple a thing that one wonders why there is all this tumult over the idea of women voting. The polling booths in Chicago are now in respectable localities, and in no way a demoralizing place for women to go to. This violent opposition is largely the result of tradition."

* * *

WHAT OF THE WOMEN YOU KNOW?

H. N. Rickey in Cleveland Press.

People don't agree about woman suffrage. It may be just as well they don't, any more than that everybody should think the same about politics or making love or religion. It would be a stupid old world if everybody was a Republican and we all drank the same brand of coffee.

You may believe that woman's place is in the kitchen, or taking care of the baby, or mending your socks. You may go even further and believe that is her *only* place.

They don't agree with you in Finland.

In Finland they think a woman has as much sense as a man has.

The new Finland is only about two years old. It has had self-government only about that long. Just as soon as Russia gave autonomy to the Finnish people, the people bestowed absolute suffrage upon their women. They not only decided to let them vote, but they opened all the elective offices to them, such as judge and mayor and member of parliament. They told them they might even be policemen if they liked.

The women *did* like. At the first national election 56 per cent of the entire vote was cast by women. There are 32 of them in the Finnish parliament. They are filling many administrative offices, and filling them wisely and devotedly and well.

Finland is the first nation to enact a national law totally prohibiting the liquor traffic.

The women did it.

The parliament has carried through a number of reforms of the very greatest importance.

The women did this too—planned the measures, worked for them, put them through.

Grover Cleveland said once that woman suffrage was impossible in America because the good women would stay at home and the bad women would vote for the rascals.

It hasn't been so in Finland. It couldn't be so in America unless American women are of coarser stuff than the women of Finland.

Grover Cleveland doesn't believe that. Neither do you.

In Finland they had an idea that there wasn't anything too good to be used in self-government.

Some men thought their mothers were wonderfully good women, rather purer and nobler than most men, with higher ideals and a deeper sense of duty. They knew their women were practical, because they had seen them manage their domestic affairs. Others felt the same way about their sisters and their daughters and their sweethearts.

Honestly, what do you think?

* * *

SUFFRAGE NOTES FROM AUSTRALIA.

Extracts from an Article on "The Australian Women and the Ballot" by Alice Henry in the North American Review of December 21, 1907

Of all the plans tried in the campaign—petitioning, newspaper correspondence, public meetings and the persistent questioning in writing of candidates and legislators—the last seems to have been the only one that was worth the labor bestowed upon it. For years, every candidate for every office was questioned as to his views on this one subject. His answer, or the fact of his not answering, was filed; a careful record was kept of his subsequent speeches and votes, and he was called upon, politely but firmly, to explain any inconsistency between promise and performance. . .

As regards educative effects, those have been most strikingly seen among conservative women. These have organized and taken part in movements for legislative reform, sometimes on party lines, more often on non-party lines, to an extent unknown before. There are also many proofs that there is a good deal of family discussion of public questions, of an unquestionably educative tendency, now that the women of the family are no longer ciphers, but openly acknowledged citizens. But, while the family which has added a new stock of subjects to the interest of breakfast-table conversation is so common as to attract no notice, the family disintegrated by political differences has not yet been unearthed, even by the most obstinate legislative councillor. . . . The polling-booths are as respectable as the vestibule of a rail-

road depot or a theater, and the process of voting is as simple as that of buying a ticket. The ordinary housewife votes during the slack hours when she would be out marketing, very likely, anyway, the baby—who was to be, so we were told, so hopelessly neglected when his mother took to politics—often accompanying her in his go-cart.

The argument that women will not vote is completely disproved by Australian experience. They not only vote, but they vote in continually increasing numbers as time goes on, and they become educated up to a sense of their political responsibilities and all that these imply. Not all the States discriminate in their returns between men and women voters, but those that do show something like the following: In South Australia, at the last general election, 59 per cent of the men on the rolls voted, and 42 per cent of the women; in Western Australia, 49 per cent of the men and 47 per cent of the women voted; at the last Federal election, 56 per cent of the men voted, and 40 per cent of the women. None of the Australian States has yet reached the extraordinary record of New Zealand, where, in 1902, nearly 75 per cent of the women electors recorded their votes, as against 76 per cent of their brothers.

* * *

THE RISE OF THE JAPANESE WOMAN.

From an Article in The Circle (Funk & Wagnalls, New York), by Henry George, Jr.

To arrive at the real position of the Japanese woman it is necessary to look into social as well as legal conditions.

This brings into immediate view the largest part of the feminine half of the nation—the physical laborers—those who from ten years of age or less upward work in the paddy-fields or on the diminutive farms, in the newly established mills and factories, and at the countless variety of mercantile and mechanical pursuits, her following which, on first sight, startles the American traveler.

In the cotton-mills may be seen children as young as eight, in spite of the law against child labor, and, occasionally, under the same roof, women with very young infants tied on their backs, tending the whirring machinery.

In the government cigar and cigaret factories are thousands of girls whose fingers move with a speed that tires the eye to follow. Every such factory has its champion operative. Generally she is young, and often pretty, conscious, and flattered by attentions. She is a kind of local Carmen. She earns, perhaps, as much as fifty cents a day! This is extraordinarily high pay.

Or, observe the women who pole the heavy barges along through the canals; or those who, in company with men, coal the ships at Kobé and Nagasaki, carrying the mineral on their backs; or

those who drag heavily laden vehicles through the narrow streets of the other cities; or those who mix mortar and carry bricks in building operations; or those who, their babies toddling about nearby, all day long, to the rhythm of their own cries and songs, sway on ropes of pile-driving machinery.

Then there are the women above these in the hierarchy of employment—those who tend store; those who serve as clerks and can and do keep accounts; those who are in the government departments, especially in the Department of Communications, embracing telegraphs, railroads, and telephones. The telephone girl is an important institution even in Japan.

Moreover, women have made their appearance and are more than holding their own in printing-offices and also on newspapers; while the fame of the Japanese trained female nurse spread over the world during the recent war. Women are even now appearing on the stage, and with distinction. The most notable are Madam Kumehachi and Madam Sada Yakko. The latter made a success in Paris. She is now to be seen by turn in the larger cities of Japan in modern plays, after the European type.

The peculiar significance of this feminine stage appearance is seen in the fact that while the founders of the Japanese theater seem to have been two women, O-Kuni and O-Tsu, practically down to the present generation it was thought immoral for a woman to appear on a stage with a man. The female parts were assumed by males.

The wages paid in these and other lines of women's vocations are not high. To us they would seem very low. But then the Japanese standard of living is also very low. Yet low as these wages are, they are generally higher than women could earn formerly; and they have, as a consequence, made for the dignity and independence of women as a whole.

A silk merchant told me, for instance, that in his native province of Kaga field laborers get twenty sen (ten cents of our money a day, while their wives, in the silk industry, get forty sen; and that, as a consequence, the wives are asserting themselves.

Economic conditions are, therefore, having a material effect in the ascendancy of Japanese women. Another element in this transition is the public school, which is modeled on the American system and is established in every part of the empire. Attendance is made obligatory. Girls have the same studies as boys, at least in the primary and grammar divisions. To a degree at least there is a corresponding higher education, too.

So that at the threshold a strong equalizing impression is being given to the young girls' minds, such as would have scandalized, and, perhaps, frightened their grandmothers. Bevy of these schoolgirls—"students," they are called—may be

seen in certain hours in the streets of Tokyo, without hats, their black hair brushed smoothly and tied with ribbons, wearing dark Japanese waists, dark brown Europeanized skirts, and European stockings and shoes, or here and there the short, native ankle-stockings ("tabi") and straw or wooden sandals. Carrying bundles of books on their arms, they have all the unconscious charm and freedom of American schoolgirls.

* * *

WHY MANY POLITICAL REFORMERS ARE INDIFFERENT TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Outline of an Address Delivered Before the 1907 Convention of the Washington Equal Suffrage Association, Seattle, Sept. 27, 1907, by Joe Smith.

An observing essayist has said that there are two classes of occasions when one may be called upon to speak in public: when he has something to say, and when he has to say something. Having accepted the kind invitation to address your association I have been placed under the necessity of saying something; but more than this I have been fairly besieged with suggestions of things I desire to say to the progressive women of Washington who are engaged in this effort to win for themselves the privilege (as they already possess the right) of participating in the government which rules over them.

I am frank to confess that I have never devoted much time nor much energy to the advancement of the cause for which your association stands. And without apologizing for that delinquency I desire to explain to you, for myself and for thousands of other men who agree with me that you are being denied a very precious and fundamental right, why it is that we have not made and are not making more of an effort to secure for you the legal recognition of that right.

As a matter of fact our government is not a popular government. It is merely a great battlefield on which tremendous battles are being waged between the champions of popular government on the one hand and its opponents on the other. True it is that in theory at least our government looks back to the governed as the source of all power. But the source of that power is in many instances so far removed, and the stream of that power flows in such devious channels from that source to its outfall in the protection of the rights and interests of the citizen, that the stream is frequently turned from its proper channels, like the waters of an irrigation ditch, to flow over and fertilize with private profit the fields of special interest. From time to time these obstructions in the stream of governmental power are removed or swept away, and from time to time new and different ones are erected, until the stream of government has come to be a very devious and troubled

one, difficult, and at times even impossible, to trace to its theoretical source in the popular will.

First and fundamental among the devices for the prevention of popular government is the device of restricted suffrage. Were the government genuinely representative and readily responsive in all other respects the device of restricted suffrage would still prevent it from being truly a representative one. The question naturally arises, therefore, why is it that all champions of popular government do not devote their first and greatest efforts to procuring a fair and honest extension of the right of suffrage? It is this question which I desire to answer.

The reason is that this is not as yet even a government of those who are permitted to vote. In other words there are so many other devices for the prevention of popular government that even the exercise of the suffrage does not carry with it full actual participation in governmental matters. And until it has been made so the extension to women of the right of suffrage as men possess it would be nothing but a pretty compliment, high sounding but meaningless, granting your demands in form while denying them in fact.

In short, while your demand strikes at the most fundamental device for the prevention of popular government it does not strike at the most vital and immediate ones, the ones interposed to exclude present voters from exercising control of their government. And I speak for many champions of popular government when I assure you that the reason that we do not give our first energies to the championship of your demands is that our first energies are absorbed in the battle for our own rights. It is more vital to our welfare and to yours that we give real significance to the right of suffrage in a limited constituency than it is to extend a restricted and meaningless imitation suffrage to a larger constituency. If the right of suffrage can be made vital and significant in the hands of those who already possess it, our present voters will easily correct many of the gravest abuses of our government. But without restoring to the citizen the power to control his government through the exercise of the suffrage no mere extension of the suffrage can enable us to do so.

We Americans are a resourceful people. And this is as true of those who are opposed to popular government as it is of those who champion it. The opponents of popular government have been intensely resourceful in the erection of devices for preventing it. The champions of popular government are rapidly becoming equally resourceful in the removal of those devices or in the erection of other devices for overcoming or counteracting them. A description of the devices for the prevention of popular government therefore somewhat resembles a description of naval armor. You know as soon as one inventor perfects a projectile which will pierce any known armor another in-

ventor, or the same one perhaps, proceeds to invent an armor which will resist any known projectile. The perpetual warfare, therefore, between special privilege and popular government is a contest of political ingenuity, with a constantly shifting scene of battle, constantly changing weapons, and constantly reorganizing armies, and a contest which in the very nature of things does not depend for its final result upon the outcome of any one skirmish, no matter of how great importance.

The original devices for the prevention of popular government under our federal Constitution were those which were inserted in the Constitution itself by the opponents of popular government. One of these is the delegation of the power of interpreting the Constitution to a body of men who are not chosen by the governed and are only very distantly responsive to their will. This device has given to a power other than the people the privilege of amending that constitution, while denying the exercise of that privilege by the people themselves. Theoretically the people of the United States may amend their constitution through their government machinery, but that machinery is so bunglesome that for forty years the people have not been able to operate it in behalf of any amendment expanding the privileges of popular government.

Another device inserted in the Constitution for the prevention of popular government was that providing for the selection of the president by an electoral college. But the champions of popular government soon found a device for overcoming that device, by the organization of political parties and the nomination of presidential candidates through them. This worked for a while until the special interests invented means for the control of political parties through political machines, thereby defeating the device for overcoming the first device. Champions of popular government thereupon developed the power of the press as a means of checking the iniquity of the political machine, and this proved effective for a while until special interests began to acquire, subsidize and otherwise dominate the press and to corrupt in it that function of representing the general welfare. This device of a muzzled and subsidized press has already been carried by the privileged interests to the extent of causing citizens quite generally to discredit the political integrity of our great newspapers, and it is a humiliating reflection upon the integrity of our newspapers that our great crusades and campaigns for the restoration of popular government are now being conducted through the medium of magazines and periodicals.

Another device written in the federal Constitution for the prevention of popular government is that providing for the indirect election of United States senators. Through the agency of this device the enemies of popular government have been able to dominate the American House of Lords

throughout the history of its existence, and one can count on his fingers, almost, all the conspicuous champions of popular government who ever occupied seats in that body. In the earlier years of the republic this end was accomplished through the simple agency of political persuasion, legislators being prevailed upon in good faith to vote for the candidates put forward by the special interests. Of later years resort has been had to political coercion and to the corrupt use of money, power and influence.

But the champions of popular government have perfected a device to overcome the device of indirect senatorial elections, and in one State at least senators are elected by the people under an efficient direct primary law which transforms the State legislature from a house of thieves into a second electoral college merely recording the will of its constituents.

Devices for the prevention of popular government may be divided into two general classes, those which operate within and under the law, and those which operate in violation of the law but with the consent and connivance of those sworn to enforce the law. Of legal obstructions we have the denial of the right of the people, by extra legal form and extra constitutional machinery, to choose their public servants in the original instance or to remove them during their terms of office by popular vote. Also the people are denied, by constitutional and legal form, the power and privilege of revoking the acts of their legislative officers. But we are rapidly perfecting devices for the overthrow of these devices of our opponents. The direct primary method of nominating candidates for public office promises materially to assist in removing the first of these causes for complaint. The principle of the recall from office, now written in our city charter, will assist in removing the second, and the privilege of direct legislation, adopted in eight States and now being agitated in our own, will remedy the third. These are the battlegrounds of our prevailing contests, and these battles are so absorbing the energies of many champions of popular government that their attention is, for the present at least, distracted from other and perhaps equally fundamental political abuses.

Coming now to the lawless devices for the prevention of popular government we have the political machine, the corporate campaign contribution, the public service political boss, the corrupted public servant, and the ballot-box fraud which prevents an honest election and a fair count.

I submit to you that there is plenty of work for champions of popular government to do besides promoting the campaign for the extension of the suffrage. I submit to you that it is our duty first to correct such of the evils of our government as rob us of the fruits of the suffrage we already pos-

sess before we abandon our own rights to assist you in the enforcement of yours.

It may be argued that were we to give our first efforts to your propaganda for the extension of the suffrage you could and would be of assistance to those of us who are fighting the other battles for the principles of popular government. So far as the members of your association are concerned, so far as all of those women actively engaged in your campaign are concerned, I am convinced that this is true. And yet it is not a part of the history of your movement that the extension of the suffrage to women has contributed in any significant degree to the general effort to overcome the other devices for the prevention of popular government. I do not offer this as a reason for opposing the extension of the suffrage; I hold that we mere men have no right to deny the suffrage in the first place. I merely offer it as the reason why so many champions of popular government devote their first energies to the removal of other devices for its prevention.

Do not understand me as holding up equal suffrage in Colorado as a horrible example of equal suffrage, when I remind you that Colorado is probably the worst governed State in the Union. This is not because of equal suffrage—far from it; but in spite of equal suffrage, and because of the perfection of other devices interposed to prevent the people of the State from dominating their government. I offer that State as an example to illustrate my argument that equal suffrage cannot of itself break down the elaborate machinery erected by selfish special interests to prevent majority rule.

Nor do I have to go so far afield to find a similar example. You have it in the government of the Seattle public schools in which you participate on an equality with us. And yet our city schools are conducted by a self-perpetuating school board, dominated by the attorney for a great public service corporation, and governed as much for the protection of big business as for the promotion of popular education.

Under the big business domination of our city school system the intelligent and energetic women who instruct our children are not permitted to perfect any channel through which they may express their ideas of how our school should be conducted, and the whole system is domineering and autocratic, utterly subversive of the very spirit of democratic government, and a superintendent is employed at a high salary as a means of commanding the services of a man for that position who can procure and retain teachers, at least in the lower grades, at low salaries. I take it that it is a regrettable circumstance that the great wave of prosperity which has swept over the land in the last ten years is not reflected in any adequate increase in the salaries of those whom we employ to educate our children.

I submit that these abuses could be corrected

by the women of the City of Seattle. It is not for me to advise you that you give them your earnest and thoughtful attention. But this much is certain: that when you win your demand for equal suffrage you will win it as the result of the championship of it by other champions of popular government. And you women could tremendously advance the cause for which you are fighting if you would devote more of your attention to the efforts which other champions of popular government are making to remove other devices for the prevention of popular government.

As I have repeatedly declared, I believe that your cause is fundamentally right and just. Permit me to declare that I believe that within the near future this will be universally recognized. I am convinced that whenever you and we can command the attention of all good citizens for the cause which your association represents it will not be difficult to procure a verdict that your rights are fundamental, and that man has no legal or moral right to relegate women to the class with children, soldiers, aliens, idiots and insane persons.

BOOKS

FREE TRADE THAT IS MORE THAN TARIFF REFORM.

The Whole Hog Book; or, a Dry Subject Made Juicy—Being George's Thoro'going work, "Protection or Free Trade?" rendered into words of one syllable, and illustrated with pictures. By J. W. Bengough. Published by the American Free Trade League, Boston. Price 25 cents.

Henry George's book on Free Trade was a new departure. While it dealt with the subject of tariffs, it treated them as mere outcroppings of the deeper subject which the question of unrestricted trade calls forth. Not only did it show the importance of free exchanges of products between the people regardless of whether they are of the same or of different nations, but it showed also that trade is a mode of production and that therefore opportunities to dig, and build, and sow, and reap, and manufacture, should be as free as opportunities to trade. In other words free trade was to Henry George synonymous with free industrial activity and association. It was natural socialism as opposed to arbitrary socialism, of which protection is one of the great manifestations.

The significance of George's view is much more marked now than when his book appeared some twenty years ago. There have been great advances in popular thought since that time; and the conflict of interests—labor interests against monopoly interests—which he foresaw, is now upon us. Mr. Bengough's condensation of George's book is therefore not only a desirable but a highly

commendable offering of the American Free Trade League. It at once serves the purposes of agitation for fundamental free trade, and testifies to the recognition by the League of the widening scope of free trade agitation.

Mr. Bengough has done his part with great skill. He has rendered the essentials of George's book into words of one syllable, without straining the English or fracturing the sense. Here is an example on the fallacy that trade follows the flag: "Trade knows nought of what we call states; it has to do with men and men, and makes no note of flags at all." In expressing the difference between protection from good and from bad things, this is a fine example of one-syllable work: "Men speak of trade in the terms they use for war and storm and such dread things," but trade "is not like hail, flood and storm; it is a law of man's life as much as his breath, it is the free act of man; the act that marks him off from the brutes. There can be no such thing as trade if there be not men who want to and who try to trade." And the core of the whole subject comes out in this simple way: "The cause of true free trade is the cause of the rights of man. . . . To pack it all into a few words—we must make the earth as free to all as air and light and the warmth of the sun are now free. . . . If it should rain food and clothes and all the forms of wealth we need from the sky, it would not help the man who has no claim to the land on which they fall."

* * *

AMERICAN COMMUNISM.

American Communities and Co-operative Colonies.
By William Alfred Hinds, Ph. B. Second revision.
Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Company.

The brevity of the articles is compensated for by the completeness of the collection. It begins with the communistic settlement of Jamestown in 1707 and concludes with the Fellowship Farm Association of Massachusetts. Among these experiments are included Robert Owen's communities, the Icarians, Brook Farm, Ruskin, Fairhope, the ill-fated Topolobampo, the Roycrofters, the Straight-Edgers, Spirit Fruit Society, and Helicon Home Colony.

From these histories the author makes the deduction that "agreement is indispensable" to the success of colonies, and that "thus far that has most surely come through the religious life." The conclusion cannot be avoided. Indeed it might be much more strongly stated than the author ventures to state it. Communistic communities not fused with a strong religious devotion do not seem capable of holding together. As this volume shows, we still have the Shakers, The Amana, the Koreschans, all founded upon a religious philosophy, and while some others so founded have gone down, none not so founded have greatly thrived. Of

those among the non-religious settlements that may still be found, none are to be compared for prosperity with the Theosophical (religious) Colony at Point Loma.

The philosophy of this is probably not far to seek. Men co-operate from two distinguishable motives. One is the religious motive, pursuant to which each makes himself the uncomplaining servant of his brethren; the other is the personal interest motive. The most normal condition would be one in which each motive would blend with the other, as in a free-trading society where the free demands of all would regulate the free activities of each. But if conditions are unfavorable to the coalition, any attempt at communism must be dominated, to be successful, by the religious motive. Personal interest must be subordinated or suppressed.

* * *

"THE SCARLET SHADOW."

The Scarlet Shadow. A story of the great Colorado conspiracy. By Walter Hurt, Girard, Kansas. The Appeal to Reason. Price, \$1.50.

A romance or a tragedy in which all the actors are real personages of marked individuality must have an interest beyond the ordinary so-called "realistic" story. Mr. Hurt's fine character delineations are in themselves remarkably good reading and one can readily accept the publisher's explanatory note that the newspaper men who are given parts in the narrative have been the actual working associates of the author.

Timid people who are familiar only with the reports given to conservative newspapers during the reign of terror attendant on the struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the Mine Owners' Association would find food for thought in Mr. Hurt's vivid recital of events of which they may have had but a partial and garbled account. Though they might not be able always to distinguish between fact and fiction in the personal affairs which the author of "The Scarlet Shadow" connects so intimately with the "Great Conspiracy," there is, no doubt, undeniable truth in the startling disclosure of the secret motives and intrigues underlying the tragic events which have disgraced the Republic with its boasted claims to equality and protection of individual rights.

As Raley Husted Bell says in the prolegomenon introductory to the book—"It breathes unaided. It is conscious and capable of conveying its own message."

And "The Scarlet Shadow" is worth reading to get its "message" which stirs the blood of all workers in the cause of human liberty. Apart from the tragic interest of the story there are numberless philosophic reflections put into the mouths of the various actors which suggest a new outlook on matters hitherto viewed from conservative standpoints. Mr. Hurt has the happy faculty

of showing the exalted side of unpopular causes and the heroic qualities of the advocates who espouse them. As his eulogist in the prolegomenon further remarks: "Walter Hurt is a genius. His brain is an altar wherein the sacred fires are burning. His soul worships in the sanctuary of the world under the blue skies. No other dome is high enough, no other church is broad enough for him."

A. L. M.

* * *

A POLITICAL NOVEL.

The Liberators. A Story of Future American Politics. By Isaac N. Stevens. Illustrations by Nella Fountain Benkley. Published by B. W. Dodge & Company, New York.

The dedication discloses the spirit of the story. It is "to the ambitious young men of America and to their mothers, wives and sweethearts who may wish them to achieve honorable fame in public life." Well would it be for their country if all to whom that dedication is made were to read the book and profit as much by its lesson as they would be interested in the narrative. It is a narrative of the time, set in a social, business and political environment. Although described as a story of future American politics, every one acquainted with Denver politics will readily perceive that the political part of the narrative is very decidedly of the present time.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Patris.** By Florence Ellinwood Allen. Published by Horace Carr, Cleveland. 1908.

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

—**The Common Sense of Socialism.** By John Spargo. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1908.

—**The Disinherited.** Observations in Travel, Giving New Views and Descriptions of old Routes and Scenes; also Conditions of Old World People, Observed and Depicted, with Incidental Study of the Cause of the Poverty which Affects so Many; followed by Timely Comments on Home Topics. By George Wallace. Published by J. S. Ogilvie, 57 Rose street, New York. Price \$1.

PERIODICALS

Moody's (New York) for May notes a brighter outlook because of the old saying that Wall street reflects coming events far ahead of the events themselves. With "railroad earnings still falling; with forbidding trade reports from many centers; with the number of idle railroad cars at a total even exceeding that of January; with bank clearings and other returns from financial circles still of a discouraging nature," yet there has been a steady

rise in stocks. Mr. Moody's serial "Romance of the Railways" is especially interesting this month for its description of "the remarkable career of the Erie."

+

Lincoln Steffens does thoughtful work in Everybody's (New York) for June. He photographs the minds of the leading Republican candidates, as he will in next month's number those of the Democratic candidates. Writing of Roosevelt, who protests that he represents not public opinion but the public in-

terest, Mr. Steffens acutely observes: "Sound doctrine that; but the leader who follows it should have either a pretty definite philosophy of the common good or—a substitute;" and "Mr. Roosevelt has the substitute." The difference between Taft and Roosevelt is summed up brilliantly by Mr. Steffens when he says that the former is beginning to locate the System as the social enemy, but the latter is not; and that if Mr. Taft should come to do so he would probably fight the System squarely, "but the people would not," and "there's the difference be-

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Mrs. Gilman and W. C. Gannett.
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* * *

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