

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### The Bryan-Roosevelt Debate.

"When a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him—at least I find it so myself; but when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him." This comment might appropriately be made by William J. Bryan upon the personal parts of President Roosevelt's letters. But it was first made by Abraham Lincoln a little over fifty years ago, and with reference to Senator Douglas. Mr. Lincoln and Senator Douglas were debating "on the stump," as Mr. Bryan and President Roosevelt are now debating through open letters. Senator Douglas was then in office as one of the leaders of a party long in power and enthralled by the slavery interests, as President Roosevelt is now in office as one of the leaders of a party long in power and enthralled by plutocratic interests. Senator Douglas was then trying to check aggressions of the slavery interests without offending them, as President Roosevelt is now trying to check aggressions of plutocratic interests without losing their support. Conversely, Mr. Lincoln was then a private citizen, of no official experience except a term in the legislature and one in Congress, but of wide study of the public questions of that time, as Mr. Bryan is now a private citizen of no official experience except two terms in Congress, but of wide study of the public questions of this time. Nor does the parallel end there. Senator Douglas was arrogant, ill-natured,

vituperative, brutal, and given to misrepresentation, in that famous debate with Mr. Lincoln, as President Roosevelt is arrogant, ill-natured, vituperative, brutal and given to misrepresentation in this famous debate with Bryan. But Mr. Lincoln was simple, self-contained, respectful and fair then in debating with Senator Douglas, as Mr. Bryan is in debating with President Roosevelt now. Although Mr. Bryan has not yet quoted Lincoln literally in reply to President Roosevelt's misrepresentations, he might truly do so. President Roosevelt has laid himself as widely open as Douglas did to the retort that "when a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented it provokes him, but when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable it is more apt to amuse him." In the case of Roosevelt and Bryan perhaps "pain" would be a better word than "amuse"; for Douglas flavored his misrepresentations with humor, whereas Roosevelt is only malignant.

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### The Miraculous Bryan.

An Indiana man gives notice that if Bryan is elected he will close his factory, whereas if Taft is elected he will build a larger one. As he manufactures surgical instruments, he apparently expects that Bryan's election would lessen accidents. Happy thought! Why not organize Taft clubs of surgical instrument makers, doctors and undertakers with some such motto as, "Save us from Bryan and the abolition of wounds, disease and death!"

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### The Haskell Episode.

Whatever may be Governor Haskell's record, which is now in dispute, and whatever his essential character as a man, he has done the honorable thing in resigning his high office in the Democratic national committee. It was an honorable act if his record had in fact been bad; it was all the more honorable if through falsehood he had been made a victim of partisan malignity. The whole affair being personal to himself, fair dealing demanded that he divorce the personal controversy from a political campaign in which his associates, and he himself if sincere, are making a fight for fundamental democracy. Especially is this so of a campaign against such tremendous odds of money and political patronage and party narrowness and corporate power and newspaper malice and aristocratic paternalism and arrogance. Regarding the merits of the controversy, it is only just to say that in so far as the facts have been disclosed, the case is with Governor Haskell and not with his accusers. Not a particle of evidence

has yet been published upon which, if the accusations be simply denied, any fair man would venture to conclude that Governor Haskell is unfit for the official position he holds as Governor of a State. The accusations would unfit him for decent companionship if true, but they are only accusations. They are not proved to the extent even of reasonable probability, and this much at least should be required before pronouncing the Oklahoma Governor guilty.

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President Roosevelt's part in this affair has been simply despicable. A hard epithet that, to apply to a President of the United States; but it is the mildest appropriate one in the language, unless we are ready in this country to accept the dictum that "the king can do no wrong." It is a milder epithet, too, than those which this particular President is himself accustomed to using, and with utter disregard of personal reputations. Let fair-minded men consider his behavior in this instance. Gov. Haskell had been accused of attempted bribery and had denied it. He could do no more, for the circumstances of the accusation did not admit of the possibility of proving a negative. The burden of proof—not merely upon the principles of evidence in law, but according to ordinary perceptions of morality and common sense, if there be any difference, as President Roosevelt seems to think there is—the burden of proof was morally and rationally as well as legally upon the accuser. This was true at any rate up to the point of refusal by Governor Haskell to submit himself to cross-examination, and he had not refused. So far from refusing, he had done everything in his power, to all appearances at least, to bring himself to cross-examination; and not only now, but from the time when the accusation was first made, some ten years ago. Yet President Roosevelt publicly declared Governor Haskell's guilt, and upon being called to account, brushed his declaration aside as if it had never been made. He neither justified the accusation, as he was properly called upon to do; nor explained the facts which had seemed to him suspicious, as he might have done; nor withdrew his hasty censure, as he was in honor bound to do if he could neither justify nor give grounds for suspicion. This is not according to the code of men, whether in private or official station, who mean to be right and try to be fair.

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### Mr. Monnett and Mr. Taft.

So much of billingsgate has been flying about in the campaign since Hearst got himself back

into the good graces of the Roosevelt coterie, that the substantial issues of the campaign have been largely obscured. Except in the speeches of Mr. Bryan, and those of Mr. Taft ("little Willie," as his running mate flippantly called him at the Orchestra Hall meeting in Chicago, though whether with ribald reference to physical proportions or as an irreverent allusion to Mr. Roosevelt's tutorial relationship, was not quite clear), the really serious work of the campaign has been somewhat disregarded on both sides. It is not vitally important whether certain persons of aforetime affiliation with trusts are prominent on either side. No great "line-up" of the masses of the people for a national election is possible without the presence of men of possibly criticizable records in important fighting positions on both sides. What is important is the personal character, and the disposition and requisite ability with reference to the public policies at issue, of the two principal candidates between whom the choice will be made. As to character, there need be no controversy; for it will be generally conceded that Mr. Taft is a good man of aristocratic impulses, and that Mr. Bryan is a good man of democratic impulses. But the question of disposition and ability to deal with plutocratic evils does raise an issue, and this issue, in so far as it affects Mr. Taft, is rightly dealt with by the former Republican Attorney-General of Ohio, Mr. Monnett.

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Having been freed to participate in the campaign, by the resignation of Governor Haskell, against whom circumstances had placed him in the position of prosecutor, although he has neither personal knowledge nor adequate evidence of guilt, Mr. Monnett has volunteered to speak for Mr. Bryan; and of Mr. Taft as a Presidential candidate in the present emergency he makes this analysis:

W. H. Taft is honest but lacks initiative, and in my opinion would do nothing to destroy the trusts if elected President. For twelve years he was a judge of the Federal court in Ohio, where the mother of all trusts was growing up, corrupting the State courts and the legislature; and he did nothing to prevent it, although as judge instructing grand juries he had more direct power than he would have as President. For fifteen years he has been socially intimate with the men that run trusts; has wine and dined with them. In this respect he has not been different from other Federal judges, whom they overwhelm with social attentions—private cars, yacht trips, hunting trips, dinners, etc. Some judges, like Judge Grosscup, have to ask for them; others get them without. While Mr. Taft was at the club, the trust weeds grow up in his front yard. He did nothing to cut them down, and his record gives me good

ground for predicting that he would do nothing as President.

That is a just estimate in so far as the personal fitness of Taft is concerned, and it presents the antithesis of Bryan's qualities. No one who knows Mr. Bryan could for one instant think of accepting such an estimate of him, nor of imagining for him such a career upon the bench had he sat there under similar circumstances. Mr. Bryan has the disposition to uproot trusts, and Mr. Taft has not.

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### Mr. Shepard and Mr. Taft.

To no one could the news that the late ex-President Cleveland's article against Bryan and for Taft was a forgery have come more gratefully than to Edward M. Shepard. While the article was accepted as genuine, and was so supposed to be by Mr. Shepard himself, and although he was a devoted personal and political friend of Cleveland's, he took public ground directly in opposition to the article. It can hardly be otherwise than gratifying to him now to learn that his view of the political situation was not necessarily hostile to his dead friend's. Mr. Shepard's letter does, with reference to Mr. Taft's declared opinions, what Mr. Monnett's does with reference to his personal unfitness for representing the interests of the people in the economic problems that are now so rapidly developing.

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There are three fundamental policies which Mr. Shepard attributes to Mr. Taft—protection, imperialism, and the administrative lawlessness which has characterized some of President Roosevelt's policies. Commenting upon this program, Mr. Shepard says:

The Government, if Mr. Taft be elected, is expressly to assume, as a duty, the guarantee of "reasonable profits" to the small number of chief and already opulent beneficiaries of the protective tariff. As schedules are made up by Senate finance and House ways and means committees, this means profits which those beneficiaries deem reasonable. That is to say, the United States, at the expense of all its people, most of them poor men, is to continue the present profits to the steel trust and the other great beneficiaries of the tariff; and, if the future is to be inferred from the past, the effort, in case of Mr. Taft's election, will be to increase the profits.

On Mr. Taft's imperialism, Mr. Shepard observes that—

It means the perversion of the American Government from its true and traditional ideal of democratic and equal rights here and abroad, to the ideal of military and naval power abroad, of rulership of other and weaker countries and peoples against their

will, and of that sort of overlordship and insolent discrimination of the weaker from the stronger, which, from the American White House, found so preposterous an illustration in the President's dismissal of the two colored companies at Brownsville. Most significant, however, of all Mr. Shepard's incisive utterances is this on the Roosevelt policies, for it points to probable facts that ought to be definitely explained by Mr. Taft and widely understood:

Mr. Taft explicitly warns us that if he be elected, he will promote and continue all the policies of Mr. Roosevelt. I know well that here at the Northeast the greater number of men rich or well-to-do, and nearly all great pecuniary interests, are supporting Mr. Taft upon the quiet but widespread and seemingly explicit understanding that, if successful, he is not to keep his word, that he is to do the reverse of all this. After the votes are safely and irrevocably counted he is, we are confidently assured, to disappoint those whose votes were cast for him as a President who would continue all of the Roosevelt program which has at the last turned out to be so disastrous and dangerous. This support imputes to Mr. Taft an insincerity of which I do not believe him guilty. If he had been out of sympathy with the Roosevelt program, which is abhorrent today to ninety-nine out of every hundred Cleveland Democrats, we should long ago, I am sure, have heard from him some outspoken and courageous words. He would not have remained as he has, during all these years of his Cabinet service, a supporter either openly or tacitly of all the items and every item of Mr. Roosevelt's program; nor, beyond a doubt, would he today ask for the Presidency on the promise that his Administration would continue them all.

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Summing up the facts of the present situation, and speaking as a Cleveland Democrat to Cleveland Democrats, Mr. Shepard makes this argument, to which it would seem that those among them who, like himself, are democratic as distinguished from plutocratic Cleveland Democrats, can hardly fail to respond, and to which no reasonable democratic Democrat of any other affiliation ought to object:

What if we think the problems of monopoly can find no solution, even partial, in some of the devices approved by Mr. Bryan? Which, indeed, of these devices does Mr. Taft or his party condemn? Which of them, indeed, does not have the highest Republican approval? The only device of that kind approved by Mr. Bryan which Mr. Taft finds himself able articulately to condemn is the abatement of the evils of the protective tariff—a device which truly is no device at all, but a statesmanlike policy practically sufficient for the result to be accomplished. And what if we dislike the guarantee of bank deposits? Is there anything momentous in that suggestion? Can we not trust so much to the wisdom of the next Congress. . . . The wonderful love which Mr. Bryan has inspired among the masses of Americans is not stupid. He feels indeed human rights more

intensely than most men; but we cannot infer that, when vested with official power, he will not have the sobriety which, under Republican administration, has been sadly lacking at the White House. Quite the contrary. If Mr. Bryan comes there, we know, in his unquestioned patriotism, that he will, so far as he can, reverse the three great policies for which Mr. Taft stands, and that, on lesser matters, he will act with wise caution and after a reasonable and deferential consideration of the sentiments of the great body of citizens who, while they opposed him in 1896, (and most of them in 1900,) give him today their earnest and I trust their decisive support.

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### Mr. Taft on Protection.

The letter of Edward M. Shepard on Mr. Taft's three distinctive policies—protection, imperialism and administrative lawlessness—was fully confirmed by Mr. Taft himself when he spoke at Milwaukee. He had been asked by Mr. Bryan whether it would be his policy if elected to "revise" the tariff up or down. Mr. Taft has frequently spoken, as his platform does, of "revising the tariff." But he has been very cautious not to say whether the revision is to be in the direction of a greater or a less tariff burden upon consumers. Like Mr. Roosevelt, he does not propose doing it in any particular way, but in a "just" way. As to what would be just—well, elect Mr. Taft and see! He was equally indefinite in going through the motions at Milwaukee of answering Mr. Bryan's question. As soon as inaugurated he declared he would call Congress together and "recommend a genuine and honest revision of the tariff in accordance with the principle of protection laid down in the party platform." In this revision, the protected manufacturers will ("as they ought," said he), try to get all the tariff plunder from consumers they can. And the consumers—well, "there is," said Mr. Taft, "a large element in the Republican party representing the consumer, through whom the demand for a revision of the tariff on conservative protective lines to reduce excessive rates has crystallized into the definite pledge to revise the tariff." That is an interesting bit of political intelligence, to be sure; but we fail to find in it anything more about Mr. Taft's purpose than that he will allow the consumers to fight it out with the protected manufacturers "who ought," etc., while he himself sits as placidly as possible in what he describes as the chair with upturned tacks on the seat. On the question of the direction in which Mr. Taft will try to have the tariff revised, whether up or down, for the unprivileged consumer or for the Interests, he is as dumb as an oyster. And on this question President Roosevelt does not rush in to help him out.

**Mr. Taft and "the Facts."**

"Let us examine the facts," said Mr. Taft in his address to the Norwood voters, near Cincinnati, last week. What facts? The political conditions of Hamilton county? The fact that he proclaimed with so much emphasis at Akron in 1905 that "the whole government of both city and county is absolutely under Cox's control and every Republican political convention nominates men whom he dictates"? No; not those facts. "I have selected for a subject for discussion," he said, "one very near my heart, and that is the Philippine Islands." And so, Hamilton county voters were enlightened for the coming election by a recital of the situation in the Philippines. And how much of the facts in that situation did Mr. Taft tell them? Is it right for us to inquire whether that perpetual franchise for the railroad he spoke of was of any pecuniary benefit to any official representative of the American Government? Were any officials interested in the Benguet land boom that resulted from the improvements made by the United States Government during his administration there? Another fact he referred to very partially was the Filipino desire for national independence. "There is evidently a difference of opinion," he admitted, "among the Independistas" on that subject; but he did not mention the important fact that in June of this year the Philippine Assembly voted on this question, and declared for national independence by 54 in favor, to only 18 against. Another fact he referred to was "our educational work" there in fitting the Filipinos for self-government. But was it not under his administration in the Philippines that a law was enforced which made it treason for the natives to hold public meetings in favor of national independence? Or to speak in favor of independence even in private conversation? Or so much as to circulate the American Declaration of Independence? He referred in general terms approvingly to "our treatment of the Philippines." Then why has the full report of that treatment, as made by Gen. Miles after his visit there, never been allowed to be published? What was published of his report showed that our treatment of them had been ruthless, bloody and horribly savage. If Mr. Taft claims credit for his treatment of the Philippines, why has he suppressed the larger part of Gen. Miles's report? By implication he denies the charge that he departed from the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Why not tell, then, about Mabini, whom he exiled to Guam and to death because he refused to swear allegiance to the United States government? That brave man (too feeble,

as a chronic invalid, to offer any physical resistance to the alien invasion of his country) told Mr. Taft he had no right to swear allegiance to our government; for the principle was a true one, he said, as expressed in our Declaration of Independence, that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Was the report false that Mr. Taft told Mabini he was not there to discuss abstract principles and that he had no more to do with the Declaration of Independence than the Czar of Russia had? Was it for loyalty to that doctrine of the Declaration that Mr. Taft "educated" that Filipino patriot by sending him back to prison and afterward to Guam? Let Mr. Taft tell all the facts, at least the important ones, if he is going to turn our thoughts away from the terrible economic situation we have at our own door.

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**Journalistic Ethics.**

There was a time when the grocer sanded his sugar and thought he had to. The present is a time when newspaper publishers sand their news and think they have to. But the one is as bad policy as the other, to say nothing of the morals of either. Grocers have found out the bad policy of sanding sugar and quit it. But publishers have not yet found out the bad policy of sanding news, though they will. Some papers, however, stand out against the present prevailing policy on the ground of its immorality. One of these is the Sacramento Bee. This paper has a set of "shop rules" which are so unique and significant that we reproduce them in full, in the hope that they may fall here and there in good soil and bring up fruit a thousandfold. We take them from the Coast Seamen's Journal, which first gave them publicity outside the sanctum of the Bee:

The Bee demands from all its writers accuracy before anything else. Better lose an item than make a splurge one day and correct it next.

Equally with that, it demands absolute fairness in the treatment of news. Reports must not be colored to please a friend or wrong an enemy.

Don't editorialize in the news columns. An accurate report is its own best editorial.

Don't exaggerate. Every exaggeration hurts immeasurably the cause it pretends to help.

If a mistake is made, it must be corrected. It is as much the duty of a Bee writer to work to the rectification of a wrong done by an error in an item, as it is first to use every precaution not to allow that error to creep in.

Be extremely careful of the name and reputation of women. Even when dealing with an unfortunate, remember that so long as she commits no crime other than her own sin against chastity, she is entitled at least to pity.

Sneers at race, or religion, or physical deformity will not be tolerated. "Dago," "Mick," "Sheeny," even "Chink" or "Jap," these are absolutely forbidden. This rule of regard for the feelings of others must be observed in every avenue of news, under any and all conditions.

There is a time for humor and there is a time for seriousness. The Bee likes snap and ginger at all times. It will not tolerate flippancy on serious subjects on any occasion.

The furnisher of an item is entitled to a hearing for his side at all times, not championship. If the latter is ever deemed necessary, the editorial department will attend to it.

Interviews given the paper at the paper's request are to be considered immune from sneers or criticism.

In every accusation against a public official or private citizen, make every effort to have the statement of the accused given prominence in the original item.

In the case of charges which are not ex-officio or from a public source, it is better to lose an item than to chance the doing of a wrong.

Consider the Bee always as a tribunal that desires to do justice to all; that fears far more to do injustice to the poorest beggar than to clash swords with wealthy injustice.

If every daily newspaper were to adopt those rules and in good faith enforce them, as does the Bee, we should have a journalism to be proud of. And it would be easy. The reporters of the United States, although there are some among them that are flippant and some that are malicious, are for the most part of honest purpose and serious motive. They need only to be assured by their superiors that it is the conscientious observance of such rules as the Bee's, and not their habitual violation, which brings professional recognition and reward. Let them be assured of this, practically and not merely by word of mouth, and they would be not only a brilliant group as they already are, but their brilliancy would shine with a genuine glow and no longer with an artificial sparkle.

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### The March of the Referendum.

When South Dakota in 1898 adopted the initiative and referendum very slight attention was paid to the fact. But in a little while other States adopted it, and in 1902 Oregon came forward with a majority for it of 11 to 1, after a struggle of ten years led by W. S. U'Ren, who is sometimes called the father of the referendum in America. There was further encouragement in 1904 when the people of Oregon made their first use of the system by passing two laws without the intervention of the legislature, one for direct primaries and one for liquor local option, both of which previous legislatures had refused to enact. Oregon, bordering on the Pacific Ocean, though large in area was

small in population and might not exert much influence; but the friends of the movement saw in the action of that State a prophecy of greater things yet to come for pure democracy. With that thought in mind the Referendum League of Illinois, of which James P. Cadman is president, placed upon its literature the words, "Behold, there ariseth a cloud out of the sea, as small as a man's hand." Soon afterwards Oregon's example was followed by Montana and Oklahoma, west of the Mississippi; and now comes Maine on the Atlantic into the referendum sisterhood. The great strength of the referendum movement in Maine is indicated by the fact that although John P. Hale, U. S. Senator from Maine, honored these many years by his State, made a special canvass of every county urging the voters to oppose the amendment, it was ratified by a vote of over 2 to 1, and every county gave a majority for it.

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### Death of Frank Parsons.

Many thousands will be shocked to learn of the death of Professor Frank Parsons, and grieved as well. He was a man whose democratic impulses were vitalized with a degree of industry that shrank from no task necessary to public enlightenment, and throughout the land there is an army of men and women he never knew who are grateful for the service he did them. As the author of "The City for the People," "Direct Legislation," "The Bondage of Cities," "The Story of New Zealand," and "The Heart of the Railroad Problem," Professor Parsons performed a public service which cannot soon be forgotten.

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### POLITICS AND RELIGION.

Mr. Taft's candidacy has evoked opposition from some religious quarters because he is a Unitarian in religious faith. All such opposition to any candidate is unwholesome and to be discouraged. The religious convictions which Mr. Taft professes ought not to enter at all into the question of his fitness for the office of President of the United States. To fair minded citizens it makes no difference, not as citizens, whether a candidate for President is a Unitarian, a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Roman Catholic, or anything else, in his religious faith. It does make a difference, though, a very profound difference, and one which should appeal to American citizens with tremendous force, regardless of the candidate's religious affiliations, whether he is subject in any way in political matters to any for-

sign authority. We allude, of course, to the fact that the Italian hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church not only stands for Roman Catholicism as a religious faith, but has sometimes assumed world-wide political functions. Of the religious authority of this hierarchy, American citizenship ought to take no more notice than of the religious authority of any other church dignitaries; but American citizenship should be extremely vigilant regarding the affiliations of political candidates with any foreign hierarchy in connection with any effort the latter may make to influence our elections. Foreign entanglements are none the less dangerous for being churchly.

This duty of vigilance, which should apply to candidates regardless of whether or not they are Catholics in religious faith, or Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians or Unitarians, applies with peculiar force to Mr. Taft, though he is not a Roman Catholic in religion; for of Mr. Taft's political coterie there is much gossip indicative of secret understandings with the Roman hierarchy on its political side—understandings of a kind that endanger the freedom of American citizenship. The gossip to that effect is so general, the quarters in which it circulates are so significant of special knowledge, and it has endured so long, that it cannot be lightly ignored. These understandings are said to have grown out of Philippine affairs, and to have played an influential if not a decisive part in behalf of Mr. McKinley in the election of 1900, and in behalf of Mr. Roosevelt in the election of 1904. They are frequently referred to with confidence in the present campaign as not unlikely to be influential now in behalf of Mr. Taft.

Disturbing confirmation of the gossip referred to above may be found in the Westminster Gazette of August 15. It appears in what purports to be a dispatch from Rome, coming from or through some unnamed "Exchange." The dispatch is as follows:

**The American Presidency.**—Rome, Friday.—The Pope to-day received Cardinal Gibbons in farewell audience, and discussed with him the United States Presidential campaign. His Holiness expressed the hope that all Catholics in America would unite in working for the success of Mr. Taft, who in all questions in which the Catholic church was interested had shown himself favorably disposed towards the Papacy.—Exchange.

Inasmuch as gossip regarding the political understandings between Mr. Taft's coterie and the Roman hierarchy has all along associated the names of Cardinal Gibbons and Mr. Taft, the dispatch quoted above is more than usually signifi-

cant. American Catholics who, like the great Irish Catholic, Daniel O'Connell, take religion but not politics from Rome, would be uninfluenced by any politico-hierarchical understanding that might exist, unless to resent it. But there is a vast throng of naturalized immigrants from the Continent of Europe, whose ignorance of the difference between their religious and their political obligations might make them automatically responsive to the subtle influence of just such understandings. To discourage these Italian influences on political action in this country, presses upon thoughtful American Catholics as a civic duty. To all other Americans the subject is of vastly more importance with reference to Mr. Taft's candidacy than the petty and impertinent objection that he is a Unitarian.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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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.

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Week ending Tuesday, September 29, 1908.

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### The Bryan-Roosevelt Controversy.

In replying on the 23d to Mr. Bryan's letter to him of the 22d (p. 608), President Roosevelt evaded the issue over Gov. Haskell which he had made on the strength of Mr. Hearst's charge that Gov. Haskell had once tried, in the interest of the Standard Oil Co., to bribe Attorney-General Mott of Ohio, and for which Mr. Bryan had in his letter asked proof. On this point President Roosevelt's letter of the 23d was as follows:

In my statement I purposely made no specific allusion to the Ohio matter, and shall at this time make none, in spite of its significance, and in spite of the further fact that Gov. Haskell's close relations with the Standard Oil interests while he was in Ohio is a matter of common notoriety.

Having thus disposed of the original question in the controversy, President Roosevelt proceeded to charge Gov. Haskell with other delinquencies, the details of which would necessitate a report too long for these columns.

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The remainder of President Roosevelt's letter, also long and argumentative, dealt with the general issues of the campaign. In the course of it the President again vouched for Mr. Taft as the representative in the campaign of the policies of the Roosevelt administration.

Before Mr. Bryan replied to President Roosevelt's letter, Gov. Haskell issued a statement from Guthrie by way of reply in his own behalf. It bore date the 23d. On the original issue of alleged attempt at bribing Attorney-General Monett of Ohio, in 1899 in behalf of the Standard Oil Co., Gov. Haskell said:

It is fair for me to assume if my case was to be dignified by an all day cabinet meeting that beyond question Mr. Hearst and his campaign associate, President Roosevelt, left no stone unturned to blacken my character. That being true they certainly raked Ohio fore and aft concerning the Ohio Standard Oil cases of 1899 and finding absolutely nothing reflecting on me the President tried to waive his charge of last Monday aside by saying he will make no allusion to that. He drops this subject because his original statement was untruthful and he must know from what he knows and tried to find in Ohio that I spoke the truth when I said that I never in all my life had any interest in connection with nor service for that company. I say the President knows now that my statement is true, and I regret that he tries to brush it aside without doing me candid justice. Were I to adopt the character of language so commonly used by the President I would spell it in fewer letters than "falsehood."

Then taking up the congeries of accusations which President Roosevelt had added in his letter to Mr. Bryan, Gov. Haskell proceeded to deny some and explain as to others.

Gov. Haskell resigned as treasurer of the Democratic committee on the 25th, his letter to Chairman Mack being as follows:

Since the President and his cabinet have joined forces with Mr. Hearst and three Wall street brokers to make a personal fight against me, notwithstanding the President in his answer to Mr. Bryan abandoned his charge about Ohio Standard Oil cases, yet by all the means at the command of the government and the millions of Hearst and his Wall street allies, they persist in vicious, unwarranted and untruthful attack on me. Personally, I welcome their attack, and shall meet it with all the vigor at my command. I shall treat them all as private citizens and subject to the penalties of the law which they merit. In this I know I shall have the aid of my neighbors at home for all proper purposes, but my time must be free from other demands here. Again, my heart is full of hope for the election of Bryan and Kern. Honest government and rule by the people is at stake. Important beyond any battle at the polls in the last generation is the pending contest. I would not for one moment consider remaining in any way connected with the committee, therefore I hereby tender my resignation as treasurer of the Democratic national committee that not the slightest contest of my own could in any way be used by the President to cloud the sky and shield our opponents from discussing the real issues and laying bare the Republican duplicity to the people.

Mr. Herman Ridder, editor of the New York

Staats Zeitung, has been appointed treasurer in Gov. Haskell's place.

Closely following Gov. Haskell's resignation from the Democratic committee, Mr. Coleman du Pont resigned from the executive committee and as chairman of the speakers' bureau of the Republican national committee. This was because he is reputed to be a member of the powder trust.

Mr. Bryan answered Mr. Roosevelt on the 26th, saying:

Mr. Haskell having voluntarily resigned from the committee that he might be more free to prosecute those who have brought charges against him, I need not discuss the question of his guilt or innocence, further than to say that the public service which he has rendered and the vote of confidence which he has received from the people of his State ought to protect him from condemnation until the charges can be examined in some court where partisanship does not bias, and where campaign exigencies do not compel prejudgment. I would not deem it necessary to address you further, but for the fact that you seize upon the charges and attempt to make political capital out of them. You even charge that my connection with Mr. Haskell's selection as a member of the resolutions committee and as treasurer of the committee raises a question as to my sincerity as an opponent of trusts and monopolies. As an individual and as the candidate of my party, I resent the charge and repel the insinuation. I have been in public life for eighteen years and I have been sufficiently conspicuous to make my conduct a matter of public interest. I have passed through two Presidential campaigns in which party feeling ran high and epithet was exhausted. I have no hesitation in saying that you cannot find an act, a word, or a thought of mine to justify your partisan charge. I had never been informed of any charge that had been made against Mr. Haskell connecting him with the Standard Oil company or with any other trust. I had known him as a leader in the Constitutional convention of Oklahoma and had known him as one of the men principally responsible for the excellent Constitution which has since been adopted—and adopted by a majority of more than 100,000, 70,000 of which was furnished by Republicans. I had known of his election to the Governorship of that great young State by a majority of some 30,000. I had known that the Constitution was adopted, and that Gov. Haskell was elected in spite of the efforts of your administration and in spite of the speeches made in Oklahoma by Mr. Taft. You say that it was a matter of common notoriety that Mr. Haskell was connected with the Standard Oil company. I have a right to assume that if so serious an objection had existed to Mr. Haskell's election and had been a matter of common notoriety in Ohio, as you say, Mr. Taft would have felt it his conscientious duty to warn the people when he spoke in Oklahoma. If he did not have the knowledge, why can it be assumed that I had it? And if he had it, how can you excuse his failure to communicate the

information to the people of Oklahoma? If you feel it your patriotic duty to denounce Mr. Haskell when he is only a member of the national organization, how much more would Mr. Taft have felt it his patriotic duty to denounce Mr. Haskell when he was aspiring to be the chief executive of a great State.

The remainder of Mr. Bryan's letter dealt with Mr. Roosevelt's supplementary accusations and with the general issues of the campaign.

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In reply Mr. Roosevelt wrote to Mr. Bryan on the 27th a letter devoted chiefly to the general issues of the campaign and to the history of his administration with reference to trusts. Regarding the Haskell controversy this letter reasserted all the accusations against Gov. Haskell, including, though somewhat ambiguously, the charge of attempting to bribe Attorney-General Monett. The reassertion was made in these terms:

You speak highly of the public service which he has rendered and protest against any condemnation of him except such as may come in a court. Out of your own mouth you are condemned. You thereby set up that standard of "law honesty," which has been the bane of this people in endeavoring to get equity and fair dealing—as they should obtain among high-minded men—from great business corporations and from individuals like Mr. Haskell. Apparently you disclaim even asking Mr. Haskell to retire from the position in which you placed him, so that he retires of his own free will, and you utter no word of condemnation of his gross offenses against public decency and honesty. On the contrary you strive to make it appear that his misconduct in reference to the Standard Oil Company is all of which he is accused; whereas, shameless though this particular act of his is, it is no worse than countless others in his career.

The evidence cited by the President in support of this "blanket" accusation is too voluminous to reproduce here. It consists, however, of personal letters and newspaper clippings which do not amount to proof from which any person of judicial mind would infer the validity of President Roosevelt's accusations. On the basis of this evidence, however, President Roosevelt concludes his letter to Mr. Bryan as follows:

Of all corruption the most far-reaching for evil is that which hides itself behind the mask of furious demagoguery, seeking to arouse and to pander to the basest passions of mankind. No better exemplification of this type of corruption could be found than in the case of Mr. Haskell. You have uttered no word of condemnation of Haskellism, as we thus see it. That you consciously sought to bring it about, I do not believe. That it was the natural result of the effort to apply in practice your teachings, I have no question.

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#### Senator Foraker and Mr. Taft.

President Roosevelt having brought Senator Foraker into disagreeable contrast with Mr. Taft,

in his original attack upon Gov. Haskell, and also in his first letter of reply to Mr. Bryan (p. 609), Senator Foraker published a long and circumstantial personal statement on the 25th with reference to himself which begins as follows:

The President commences his statement connected with the publication of Judge Taft's letter with a bitter arraignment of me because of Mr. Hearst's charges, which he appears to have accepted as fully proved as soon as made. He does not wait for proof or explanation, nor accept the same when offered. Mr. Hearst's charges are not simply that I was in the employment of the Standard Oil Company, and that I was paid for my services, but that I was secretly in that employment for illegitimate purposes, and that the money I received was paid as compensation for improperly influencing legislation by Congress in conflict with and in violation of my official duties. He read a number of letters and made certain comments calculated, if unanswered or unexplained, to create the belief that his charges were true. That I was employed by the company was never concealed or denied. On the contrary, such employment was well known at the time to all concerned. Only a few days ago ex-Attorney General Monnett, who was prosecuting the proceedings against the Standard Oil Company at the time, stated, in a public interview, that I told him at the time that I had been retained by the company. If employed and rendering services, presumably I was compensated. In announcing, therefore, the mere fact that I was employed by the company, and that I received payments on that account, no information was imparted by Mr. Hearst and no offense was established, for it remained that such employment and payment might be entirely proper and legitimate. Under all the circumstances an explanation was required, and in former statements I made such explanation by showing that my employment was confined to the affairs of the company in Ohio and its reorganization after the trust was dissolved by order of our Supreme Court, and that my employment had no relation in the slightest degree to anything in which the Federal government was then interested, or with respect to which the Congress was then legislating or at that time proposing to legislate, and that the employment was ended long before the company was made the subject of any special attention in Congress and longer still before it was attacked in the Federal courts or proceeded against in any way by the Federal government; and further, that the employment was not to defend the company against charges of violation of the laws of Ohio or the United States or the orders of any of the courts, but only to assist in executing the orders of the courts and so reorganizing as to conform to all laws, State and national, and to fully comply with all the orders of the courts that had been made against it. If my statements in this behalf are true, they make a complete defense against Mr. Hearst's charges and all deductions therefrom of improper conduct, unless the ethics involved have been radically changed from what they have always heretofore been supposed to be. From the beginning of our government, senators and congressmen who were lawyers have been regarded as free to continue the practice of their profession, if they so

desired, during their terms of office in so far as they might be able to do so without interfering with their public duties; and in such practice free to take any kind of employment that was offered which did not in any way conflict with their duties as members of Congress. Nobody has ever before been criticised on such account. The only question has been as to the character of business a senator or member of Congress was at liberty to take, and uniformly and universally it has been considered that there was no prohibition of any class of business outside of those named in the statutes and such business as might conflict with public duties.

Senator Foraker then takes up his senatorial record to show that he helped to frame and to enact Congressional legislation "aimed directly at the Standard Oil trust and the other great corporations" which ought to show that he "was not employed by the company at that time," and that he "was not influenced" in the discharge of his public duties "by reason of the employment that had ended long before." Proceeding then to the Hearst charges based upon the Archbold letters and adopted by President Roosevelt, Senator Foraker makes explanations to show with reference to the Standard Oil Co. that Mr. Archbold has—

never addressed me on any subject since my employment except only as any other citizen with whom I was acquainted might have done, and there was never a suggestion from him or from anybody else that I was under the slightest obligation to support or oppose any proposed legislation on behalf of that company; nor was there ever a suggestion by anybody that I should receive any compensation or reward of any kind whatsoever on that account.

Announcing then that "what is true in this respect as to the Standard Oil Company is also and equally true as to every other trust, corporation or person," Senator Foraker narrates in detail the circumstances of his conflict with Mr. Taft over the Roosevelt policies, and after charging Mr. Taft with certain acts in connection with trust lawyers and agents (which Mr. Taft has since explained), he turns to the Brownsville matter (vol. ix, p. 818) and proceeds:

As to the Brownsville matter, Mr. Taft says, speaking of me: "He has seized upon and magnified an unimportant and incidental matter to embarrass the Administration, using in this without scruple a blind race prejudice to accomplish his main purpose." I have no way of proving what was in my mind except by referring to the record. Any one who reads that will fail to find a sentence or a word to justify any such statement as Mr. Taft makes. In view of Judge Taft's statement, I trust I may be allowed to repeat what I have said a number of times, that in this whole matter I had no revenges to seek, or personal ends to serve, but was anxious to see that common justice was done to the representatives of a noble and loyal race, every one of whom is by nature a Republican. The colored voters are known to be more or less displeased with the action of the Republican party in not passing

some relief measure for these soldiers, and many of them have signified a purpose to vote against Judge Taft because of his official relation to the matter. Much work has been done to overcome this trouble, and to induce the colored Republican voters of the country to stand by the party with which they have always affiliated. And now comes the President and publishes Judge Taft's letter containing his unfortunate reference to this unfortunate case. What does he mean? Does anybody imagine that the President is unable to see that he is rubbing a sore when he should have brought a plaster? Does he imagine or can anybody suppose that the Republican colored voters of this country can be brought to the support of Judge Taft by parading in these closing days of the campaign Judge Taft's belittling of their chief grievance by mentioning it as "an incidental matter" which has been "seized upon and magnified, using in this without scruple a blind race prejudice," and then adding the charge that all this is done to "embarrass the administration" of President Roosevelt? Can it be possible that the President wants to defeat Judge Taft? That cannot be, and yet he could hardly do any other one thing better calculated to lose him votes, for no self-respecting Negro reading what Judge Taft says in this letter and adding it to all that has gone before, can vote for him without feeling that he is making a greater sacrifice than most men, white or black, are willing to make.

In conclusion Senator Foraker says:

If in making this defense I have said anything that will work the slightest injury to the Republican party I shall regret it, but I shall always feel that those who have no consideration for me, my family or good name, but would glacially rejoice if they could accomplish the shame and humiliation they have attempted, are not entitled to any consideration at my hands, and that my duty to the party should be subordinated to duty to family and the good name I have striven to make, that I may leave it to them as their heritage, more priceless in their estimation than anything else within my power to give them.

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#### Mr. Taft's Speaking Tour.

Pursuant to his arrangements for following Mr. Bryan's plan of going to the people (p. 611), Mr. Taft spoke at Ade, Ind., on the 23d, in the afternoon to a large gathering from the country side, and in the evening to a meager audience in Chicago assembled as a workingmen's meeting. On the 24th he spoke at several places in Wisconsin, closing at Milwaukee, where he had a large meeting in the Hippodrome. The principal meeting of the 25th was at Des Moines, Iowa, in the evening, and that of the 26th at Minneapolis. After resting over Sunday in Minneapolis, Mr. Taft went to Fargo, North Dakota, on the 28th, and to Sioux City, Iowa, on the 29th, speaking at intermediate points on the way.

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#### Mr. Bryan's Speaking Tour.

From Detroit on the 22d (p. 610) Mr. Bryan

went to Columbus, Ohio, where he spoke on the 23d, after making numerous speeches at intermediate points during the day. He spoke at Cincinnati on the 24th at night after speaking in the afternoon at Dayton, to what the Associated Press reports as "two of the biggest audiences he has ever faced." On the 25th he was in Indianapolis at a day meeting and at two night meetings in Terre Haute, Indiana. The latter are described by the Associated Press as "two monster gatherings." Passing through Chicago on the 26th, he spoke at Riverview Rink, two days after Mr. Taft's speech at the Hippodrome, to what the Associated Press describes as "a vast audience, and which in fact was much larger than Mr. Taft's. He rested in Minnesota on the 27th and conducted a one day's campaign in South Dakota on the 28th. Between these principal points he made numerous speeches.

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#### The Socialist Party Campaign.

Eugene V. Debs, as the Socialist candidate for President (p. 541), returned to Chicago on the 25th in his special train, the "Red Special," after covering 9,000 miles of territory to the west since August 31st, and making 187 speeches in the 25 days. They were made in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. The "Red Special," with Mr. Debs and his party aboard, left for the East on the day of its arrival from the West, and is due in New York on October 5th.

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#### The Independence Party Campaign.

Thomas L. Hisgen, as the Presidential candidate of the Independence party (p. 538), is making a speaking tour of the country, assisted by William Randolph Hearst. Mr. Hearst was scheduled for several speeches in Oklahoma, but cancelled them after the controversy which his paper had started over Gov. Haskell.

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#### The Prohibition Party Campaign.

What appears to have been in some sense a feature of the Prohibition campaign for Eugene W. Chafin as the Presidential candidate (pp. 506, 517, 542), was a parade in Chicago on the 26th, of men, women and children, including clergymen. The Presidential candidate rode and sang in one of the vans. The number of paraders was estimated at 8,000, and the spectators at 40,000. The demonstration was nominally non-partisan.

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#### The Cleveland Letter a Forgery.

It is now authoritatively announced that the letter approving Mr. Taft for the Presidency,

(p. 613), originally published by the New York Times and purporting to have been written by the late ex-President Cleveland, was a forgery. It seems that Mrs. Cleveland denounced it from the first as in her belief a forgery. Her opinion was suppressed, however, until the 26th, when the Times published a letter from S. S. Hastings, executor of Mr. Cleveland's estate, in which Mr. Hastings said:

Since our interview of Sept. 22 there has come to my knowledge evidence which leave in my mind no doubt of the fact that the said article was not written nor signed by Grover Cleveland, and, therefore, is, in my opinion, no longer entitled to credit as his production. Mrs. Cleveland, in my judgment, was right regarding it when she positively declared to us since its publication, "I do not believe it is genuine."

The Times explains that it got the article from a manuscript broker of the name of Broughton Brandenburg. This is also the name of the man whom Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, accuses under oath—in the proceedings against him (p. 589) which are brought by J. W. Van Cleave—of coming to him as an emissary of Mr. Van Cleave in 1895, and trying to bribe him to betray organized labor. Mr. Van Cleave is the president of the Manufacturers' Association, and was especially active in inducing the convention that nominated Mr. Taft to stand for the injunction methods which Mr. Taft advocates.

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#### Initiative and Referendum in Maine.

At the recent State election in Maine (p. 611) the constitutional amendment establishing the Initiative and Referendum in that State, was adopted by a vote of 51,991 to 23,712. The total vote on this question, 75,703, fell 63,462 below the vote for governor, which was 139,165. The majority for it, 28,279, was 20,480 more than the Republican majority for governor which was only 7,799.

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By the official figures the measure carried in every one of the 16 counties of the State. It received its highest relative majority (5.4 to 1) in Somerset county; and its lowest (1.1 to 1) in Aroostook county. Androscoggin county (which contains Lewiston) gave a majority of 4.7 to 1 for the measure; Kennebec county (which contains Augusta, the State capital), gave a majority for it of 4.4 to 1; while Cumberland county (in which Portland is located) gave a majority of 2.1 to 1. Maine has quite closely followed Oregon in the general features of its amendment, the principal difference seeming to be in the basis of the construction of petitions. Oregon requires the signature of eight per cent of the voters on an initiative petition and five per cent on a referen-

dum petition; whereas Maine requires 12,000 signatures for the first, and 10,000 for the second.

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#### Conference of the National Women's Trade Union League.

The National Women's Trade Union League (p. 566) held its second Interstate Conference (p. 495) simultaneously in Boston, New York and Chicago on the afternoon of the 27th. Resolutions prepared at preliminary sessions were adopted, and telegrams were exchanged between the three cities. The sessions in Chicago were attended by delegates from ten States and twenty-seven cities. Among the resolutions adopted in Chicago were the following:

Whereas, The laws governing the industrial work-day and its conditions apply equally to women and men; and

Whereas, Law should be the political expression of the common will; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the welfare of the community requires the admission of women to full citizenship without limitation of property qualification, and that the Women's Trade Union League work to bring about a closer relationship between the equal suffrage movement and the labor movement, so that women may have a voice in the public affairs which so vitally concern them.

And—

Whereas, Long hours of labor and low wages are especially prejudicial to women workers; and

Whereas, It is to the best interests of the community, State and nation, that women be free, strong, well nourished and not overworked; therefore

Resolved, That the National Women's Trade Union League stand for the eight-hour work day, and urge its establishment through legislation as well as through trade organizations.

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#### The Single Tax in New South Wales.

There is unusual excitement in New South Wales over the coming into practical operation throughout that State of the law (pp. 273, 488, 494) for compulsory taxation of land values and optional exemption of improvement values. This reform was promoted by the League for the Rating of Unimproved Values, of which A. G. Huie is organizing secretary, and was accomplished by Sir Joseph Carruthers as prime minister of the State. The law as it now exists is described by Mr. Huie as revolutionary in its results.

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Almost the entire State of New South Wales is administered by shire (or county) councils which were established in 1907, and by municipal councils which were established in 1908. All councils are required to levy their taxes for general State purposes, on land values exclusively, the minimum being fixed at a penny in the pound (about 2 cents

in 480) or a little less than one-twentieth of one per cent on the capital as distinguished from the rental value. There is no maximum limit. For local and special purposes the councils may impose taxes on either land values or improvement values, subject, however, to veto by a referendum of tax payers, one of the referendum questions being on the issue of taxing land values alone or improvement values also. To facilitate the operation of this system an assessment of values must be made every three years in three categories—capitalized land values, capitalized improvement values, and annual values, the latter being for statistical purposes only. It is worthy of special note that on the question of local rates an overwhelming number of councils have levied on land values alone; although seven tried to levy on both land values and improvement values, they were defeated on referendum in every instance by large majorities. In the city of Sydney and its suburbs, governed by 40 councils, the highest rate is 5½ pence in the pound (about 2½ per cent) and the average about 3½ pence (say 1½ per cent), and the whole amount, except about \$4,000 out of a total of \$1,750,000, is imposed on land values exclusively.

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The wholesome economic effects of even this small measure of the single tax policy—"unimproved land value taxation" as they call it in Australia—is indicated by an explanation that Mr. Huie makes. He says: "A good many councils are raising largely increased revenues, but for all that it is estimated that the change in the system of rating means a reduction in the rates paid by over 50 per cent of the ratepayers, while largely increased sums are demanded from owners of idle land, or land with improvements unworthy of the site. The owners of good shops, factories and homes on reasonable areas pay lower rates, in many cases less than half the amount paid formerly. The owners of idle land are much more willing to meet the ideas of buyers, and many old buildings are to give place to new." This statement is fully confirmed by interviews in the Australian newspapers. From the Sydney Morning Herald of June 12 we take this significant extract from an interview with a prominent real estate dealer:

Everybody who has a little bit of land around his place which he does not want will sell it, and where are the people to buy the land to come from? That is where our trouble will come in. It certainly means a fall in land values, and a heavy one, too. Then again there are the owners of large estates in the suburbs. They cannot afford to let their land lie idle, waiting for increase in values, because they will naturally realize that with everybody being anxious to sell, values, instead of going up, must come down, and they will be rushing the residues of subdivided estates into the market and cutting up other estates.

Indeed the leading firms in the city conducting a business such as ours are already beginning to feel the strain. Then again many people that I know are getting ready to build. They want to get some return from their land, seeing that the rates are the same whether there is a house there or not. That of course means a reduction in house rents, for there will be too much building going on to meet the demands of the population, and when house rents come down capital values will fall.

In the same paper another prominent real estate dealer of Sydney said:

Undoubtedly land values will come down. I have had a proof of that to-day in connection with the sale of Botany land. A week or two ago the local council assessed the unsold portions in Lord's estate, Botany, at 30s per foot. I was called to give evidence as to value in the Appeal Court. I told the magistrate that if I went out to Botany and put those allotments up for sale they would not fetch more than 10s a foot. I was laughed at by the assessor, who swore that 30s a foot was the market value of this land, and that he had offered 27s 6d a foot for certain allotments, and was refused. I told the court then that I was prepared to sell the land at 10s per foot, but I was not taken seriously. However, I have now had an opportunity of proving my statement, for to-day I put the whole of those allotments under the hammer. We advertised the sale well, stating that the upset price was 10s, and that the land had been assessed at 30s. Notwithstanding all this, I could not sell a single allotment, and I may add that the assessor who offered the 27s 6d was sitting in the room. That, I think, is proof enough that land values are coming down. People won't invest in land now, unless they actually want it, and then they will buy as little as possible. There is no doubt the market will be glutted with suburban land within the next twelve months. Under the new system of rating, people have a taste of single tax business pure and simple, and they know that there is no escape for them; for, even if the land is brought down in value, the council requires a certain revenue, and they immediately raise the rate. In other words, if the council values the land at £1 a foot and charges 6d in the £ rate and then finds that the court sets the value at 10s a foot, the rate must be raised to 1s in the £1 in order to produce the same revenue. No matter what the capital value is lowered to, the owner of the land still pays increased rates, in most cases four and five times more than he was paying under the old system. This fact will force people to either do something with the land in the way of building or put it into the market for sale. Take it any way you like, the capital value must decrease. There is enough suburban land unoccupied to house the population of London, and I dare say that there is enough subdivided at the present time to give every man, woman, and child in Sydney two allotments, so that if everybody wants to sell there must be a serious glut. There is another class who must suffer; that is the people who have bought land on payments extending over a number of years. Their rates under the old system were 5s for every 15s or £1 they are now paying. Consequently, these people will not be content to pay out year after year

this extra amount, and will rush the land into the market, and help to increase the already glutted condition. I am convinced that land values must come down. I have given you a proof of that in my attempt to sell land to-day.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The Illinois State Conference of Charities is to be held at Rock Island, October 10 to 13.

—The National Irrigation Congress (p. 506) opened at Albuquerque, New Mexico, on the 29th.

—The Swedish parliamentary elections have resulted in the election of 138 Liberals and Socialists, and 98 Conservatives.

—A big turret gun on the French armored cruiser *Iatouche Treville* exploded during gunnery drill on the 22d at Toulon. The entire gun crew of thirteen men were killed outright (vol. ix, p. 1187).

—At the New York State convention of the Independence party, held in Cooper Union, New York City, on the 24th, Clarence S. Shearn, Mr. Hearst's principal attorney, was nominated for Governor.

—The National Deep Waterways Convention (vol. x, p. 828) is to be held in Chicago October 7, 8 and 9, when the Chicago Association of Commerce is to have as its guests Wm. H. Taft and Wm. J. Bryan.

—The International Tuberculosis Congress (p. 613) convened in Washington on the 28th, for sessions which are to continue for several weeks. More than 4,500 delegates have arrived from all parts of the world.

—The preliminary programs of the second international conference on State and local taxation, to be held at Toronto from the 6th to the 9th of October (p. 158), are ready for distribution by Allen Ripley Foote at Columbus, Ohio.

—Professor Frank Parsons, distinguished as a lawyer, an educator, an economist and an author, died at Boston on the 26th at the age of 53. He was most widely known for his investigations and writings on public ownership questions.

—The severe drought (p. 613) from which almost all parts of the United States have been suffering for from six to eight weeks or longer, was very generally broken on the 28th, when rain, snow or hail fell over almost the whole country east of the Rocky mountains. Forest fires have ceased to be a menace.

—State Senator Everett Colby (vol. ix p. 635), who has become a national political figure because of his aggressive leadership of the democratic element in the Republican party in New Jersey, and who is the father of the direct primary law in that State, was renominated for senator at the Republican primaries on the 23d.

—Tolstoy's eightieth birthday (p. 588) brought to him more than a thousand telegrams and letters from all parts of the world, according to C. T. Haggberg Wright, Secretary and Librarian of the London Library, who was himself bearer of an address from Tolstoy's English friends. The New York World quotes Mr. Wright as saying that "the most touching of all the addresses were from the single taxers of Australia, the followers of Henry George, and one

from the waiters of a music hall in Moscow. This last one was the one which Tolstoy most valued."

—The Rhode Island Tax Reform Association (p. 589) has asked the State Committees of the Republican and Democratic parties to submit in their respective State conventions resolutions providing for municipal home rule in taxation. The Democratic convention meets on October 6, the Republican convention on October 14.

—The Democratic convention of Utah adopted a platform and nominated Jesse Knight of Provo for Governor by acclamation on the 22d. One plank of the platform declares: "We favor the absolute separation of church and state both in theory and practice and are opposed to assaults on religious organizations by political parties."

—Philadelphia begins on Sunday, the 4th, a week's celebration of the two hundred and twenty-fifth year of her foundation, with open air services in her old public squares and in Fairmount park. Military and industrial parades come on Monday and Wednesday, and on Friday a historical pageant on a scale larger than ever before attempted in the United States.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 371) for August, 1908, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash balance.....	189,890,138.67

Total .....	\$339,890,138.67
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1908 .....	389,557,933.16

Decrease .....	\$ 49,667,794.49
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—The cholera epidemic in St. Petersburg (p. 612) increased in intensity up to the 25th, at which time it had invaded the aristocratic precincts, even reaching the Winter palace which was being made ready for the Czar's use during the coming season. Since the 25th the disease seems to be on the decrease. Official reports, which are not regarded as nearly covering all cases, give since the beginning of the epidemic, for all Russia, 15,683 cases of cholera, and 7,102 deaths; in St. Petersburg since September 8, 4,931 cases, and 1,875 deaths. The number of cholera cases in Manila is also decreasing.

—Mrs. William C. Eakins, a former Chicago woman and a graduate of the Cook County Normal School, has been elected to the position of school trustee in the town of Kearney, New Jersey. The campaign which resulted in her election was a bitter three-cornered fight, in which Mrs. Eakins, another woman candidate and a man candidate figured. When it came to counting the ballots there was a surprise in store for professional politicians. Not only did Mrs. Eakins poll an enormous vote, but she so far outdistanced the man candidate that he could scarcely have been said to have had a "look-in." Mrs. Louise McArthur will be the associate trustee of Mrs. Eakins on the school board. The mothers of Kearney are jubilant over their victory, and it is declared that henceforth the schools of the town shall be run by women. These are the first women to hold public office in New Jersey.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 350) for the year ending June 30, 1908, as given by the statistical sheet of the Depart-

ment of Commerce and Labor for June, were as follows (M. standing for merchandise, G. for gold and S. for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M. ....	\$1,860,799,097	\$1,194,341,994	\$666,457,103 exp.
G. ....	72,432,924	148,297,533	75,864,609 imp.
S. ....	57,921,202	44,571,081	13,350,121 exp.
	\$1,991,153,223	\$1,387,210,608	\$603,942,615 exp.
1907 (M., G. & S.) (vol. x, p. 469).....			397,183,715 exp.
1906 (M., G. & S.) (vol. ix, p. 374).....			\$ 480,941,163 exp.
1905 (M., G. & S.) (vol. viii, p. 249).....			461,329,924 exp.
1904 (M., G. & S.) (vol. vii, p. 248).....			474,333,007 exp.
1903 (M., G. & S.) (vol. vii, p. 248).....			416,617,778 exp.
1902 (M., G. & S.) (vol. vii, p. 248).....			496,446,235 exp.
1901 (M., G. & S.) (vol. vii, p. 248).....			671,458,818 exp.
1900 (M., G. & S.) (vol. vii, p. 248).....			571,677,235 exp.
1899 (M., G. & S.) (vol. vii, p. 248).....			504,086,295 exp.
1898 (M., G. & S.) (vol. vii, p. 248).....			534,624,851 exp.

Total balance of exports, 1898 to 1908..\$3,612,641,686 exp.

Total balance of exports, 1834 to 1908..\$8,235,619,317 exp.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Republican Degeneracy.

Chicago Daily Journal (Ind. Dem.), Sept. 29.—What a feast of reason and flow of soul the Orchestra hall meeting of the Republicans last evening must have been. . . . The most interesting feature of the Orchestra hall affair was the statesmanlike declaration of James Schoolcraft Sherman, "I speak for Little Willie as well as myself." . . . The American public has been treated to a lot of brag about the ability of this same Sherman. But the secret is out. The Republican party no longer appeals for votes for Taft and Sherman. It is Little Willie and Sunny Jim.

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### William H. Taft.

Wynne (Ark.) Blade-Democrat (Dem.)—He was born to the purple, so to speak. Things have come his way through heredity and inheritance. He belongs to what in England would be termed the nobility. His habits of thought and manner of living are those of the aristocrat. . . . He is complacently satisfied with the present order of things. His processes of thought are hedged about by the conventions of the little circle in which he moves. Himself a favored child of fortune he knows nothing and can know nothing of the fundamental needs of the multitude. He does not aspire to be a reformer. He has no utopian dreams of a political millennium. He has no ideals. He is not a leader but a follower. To him the accepted order is the best order. For him there are just two classes, the rulers and the subjects.

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### The Overshadowing of Mr. Taft.

The (Chicago) Inter Ocean (Rep.), Sept. 25.—Why should not Mr. Taft's speeches be the news of the day on the Republican side of the campaign, as Mr. Bryan's are on the Democratic side? Why should attention be diverted from Mr. Taft by proclamations from the White House against Senator Foraker, or against Governor Haskell, or about the Standard Oil Company, or about the domestic affairs of Oklahoma?

Senator Foraker is not running for President. Neither is Governor Haskell. Neither is Mr. Roosevelt. The Standard Oil Company is visibly not in this campaign—not even with a contribution, as certain gentlemen on both sides sincerely regret. The domestic affairs of Oklahoma are not a national concern. The political morals of Governor Haskell are not at issue for national decision. These irrelevancies, no matter how illustrious their source, but confuse the real issue and becloud the public mind. Why not give Mr. Taft a chance? Why not give him at least as much of a chance to focus public attention on himself as Mr. Bryan has? Other Democrats are not thrusting themselves in front of Mr. Bryan.

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The Chicago Daily News (Ind. Rep.), Sept. 25.—Bryan asks a square deal. Taft should have a square deal also. The people want the same. Mr. Roosevelt should stay out of partisan politics until after the first Tuesday in November.

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#### The Haskell Episode.

Sacramento (Cal.) Bee (Ind. Dem.), Sept. 24.—If Theodore Roosevelt continues to attack William J. Bryan as he has attacked him in his last screed, which The Bee publishes in full to-day, he will make votes for Bryan wherever his attacks are read. The letter partakes too much entirely of the methods of William Randolph Hearst. It is not a manly thing to find a man guilty on hearsay evidence before he has had a chance to be heard.

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Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer (Ind. Dem.), Sept. 27.—It was necessary for Gov. Haskell to give up his position as treasurer of the Democratic national committee. His continued services in so prominent a position could not but affect unfavorably the candidacy of Mr. Bryan. By resigning Mr. Haskell by no means admits the truth of the charges brought against him by Messrs. Hearst and Roosevelt, but he removes from Mr. Bryan the responsibility of answering them. Mr. Haskell has already filed his own answer, which is a complete denial. The question is now one of veracity between Hearst-Roosevelt and the Governor of Oklahoma. . . . Mr. Haskell is by no means clear, and he pursued the only possible course in stepping down and out. It is one of the few instances where a man quitting under fire deserves credit rather than censure.

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#### A Republican View of the Election.

The (Chicago) Inter Ocean (Rep.), Sept. 25.—The Inter Ocean is for Mr. Taft. That is plain to every reader of this page. The Inter Ocean does not believe that Mr. Taft is as good as elected. That is where it differs from some of its readers and most of its Chicago contemporaries. The truth, as seen by The Inter Ocean, is that today Mr. Taft has no more than an even chance with Mr. Bryan and that, unless he can wake up his managers, he may go to the polls in November without improving his position. The Hon. William H. Taft must run as the Hon. William H. Taft, formerly Secretary of War, administrator of

the Philippines, and Federal judge, if he is to win. As Mr. Roosevelt's alias he cannot do himself justice. Even Mr. Roosevelt's warmest friends may not look with favor on an alias, and Mr. Roosevelt's critics, who are numerous, certainly do not. Yet their votes are needed. In setting forth these undeniable facts on this page The Inter Ocean is doing what it considers its highest duty to the Republican party. That other newspapers are not doing this proves simply that they are wrong. That The Inter Ocean does it proves that The Inter Ocean is right. The situation is equally plain to all. As to the news published in The Inter Ocean regarding both parties to the campaign, there is no need to make a statement here. The publication speaks for itself. The Inter Ocean prints the facts. The facts require no apology for their existence. They are their own justification. We alter them for nobody. We suppress them for nobody. . . . Two of The Inter Ocean's contemporaries are lading fiction out by the bucketful every morning.

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#### The Land Question in Africa.

The (East London, So. Africa) Izwi Labantu (Kafir), August 11 (quoting S. A. Review).—The system of taxation of unimproved land values, which has taken so strong a hold in New Zealand and Australia, and is to be introduced in Scotland, is slowly but surely creeping ahead even in South Africa. The important report of the Transvaal Indigency Commission, recommends under that portion of the report headed "Land Policy," "that a graduated land tax be placed upon unimproved land values." The present taxation proposals of the Natal Government include a tax on unimproved land values. That this form of taxation is destined to become universal in all civilized countries, is certain, for it is iniquitous that landlords should take the whole benefit of increased values, when that increase is due not to themselves but to the general community.

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#### The Malice of Journalism.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), June 18.—The course of the newspaper towards the reformer is an interesting one. If a reformer arises anywhere, if the people take to him, the press follows for a time—but only for a time. Take the case of Folk, in Missouri; La Follette, in Wisconsin; Heney, in San Francisco; Pingree, in Detroit; Golden Rule Jones, in Toledo; Tom L. Johnson, in Cleveland; Henry George, in New York. For awhile—so long as they are new to the public—the great daily press will exploit such men, but as soon as it becomes evident that the reformer is sincere, that he really means to make war upon privilege, that he purposes to carry out his promises to the people—what do we find? Invariably, that the bigger press turns upon him unanimously, and if his position is economically sound and logical in character, and cannot be successfully assailed in rational argument, recourse is had at once to the weapons of abuse and ridicule. There is not a man in the United States to-day who has tried honestly to do anything to change the fundamental conditions that make for poverty, disease, vice and crime in our cities, in our courts and

in our legislatures, who, at the very time at which his efforts seemed most likely to succeed, has not been suddenly turned upon and rent by the great newspaper publications. If this occurred but once in awhile, we might regard such matters as mere coincidences, but in view of the fact that it occurs all the time, there must be a cause for it, and in searching for the cause we must look for the motive, and by the process of exclusion and elimination we come finally to the last motive, which is self-interest, and we find, from what we know of the people who own and control great newspapers, that everyone of them is identified through sympathy, through investments, through revenue, through association, with the great corporations who milk the community by means of the powers which they have filched from the body politic.

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## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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### IN PASSING.

For The Public.

Beside a marble house I stood,  
Whose sculptured walls with ivy hung;  
Rare flowers were there in plentitude,  
And birds their carols sung.  
O'er ample lawns, fair vistas led,  
'Neath drooping branches stretched away.  
The house was builded for the dead,  
Its tenant but a lump of clay.

Within the selfsame city's bounds,  
I passed where pale-faced children dwell;  
No grass, no trees, no flowers around,—  
On dull, grey pavements fell  
The little feet,—o'er velvet green,  
That should, in childish glee, have sped.  
I thought, tho tranquil and serene,  
How selfish are the dead.

DWIGHT MARVEN.

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### REASONS FOR CHANGE.

A Portion of a Private Letter Written by a Young  
Western Man to His Father Early in the  
Present Campaign.

Now for politics.

I rejoice every day I live that you were a soldier for the Union, but it would be presumptuous for any party to claim the honors of that war. You fought as an American citizen, not as a Republican, alongside of loyal citizens of all parties. Grant, Logan and many others of the most celebrated contributors to our success, were Democrats until the war. Stephen A. Douglas said, "Henceforth there can be but two parties—Loyal and Disloyal." I thank God that the Republican party, the new party then, was so successful, and had I been alive during those memorable days I would have been a red hot Republican. But parties

change their complexion, as does the face of the ever-changing sea, and it behooves every American not to be so blind to his party interest as to forget his greater duty as a patriot. I am as much opposed as any one to the old Democratic party, the party of obstruction, the party of Cleveland, Hill et al.

In 1892 a great mistake was made in tinkering with the tariff; but today conditions are changed and parties are changed. Both platforms call for tariff revision, and both are very conservative on this point. The Republican platform has an emasculated plank on anti-injunction which is sweetly worded to deceive labor, but with a careful scrutiny one can detect the cloven foot of the "Interests." The Democratic platform gives to labor what it rightfully needs and should have. The Republican platform does not declare for publication of campaign contributions; the Democratic does. So I might go on, showing how on many points vital to American interests the Democratic is the stronger platform.

Now for your men.

Taft has never been elected to an office—always appointed; has a notorious record as an injunction judge; an able administrator, as many other men in either party would have been under similar circumstances; in all his public life not one act for the people's rights; in his position on the question of People versus Interests, he is obscure, being involved in his explanations.

Bryan, the greatest orator of his age, the man of spotless Christian character, has never held but one office in his life. Why? Because he did not belong to the majority party. I admire a man for standing by his convictions, even to the loss of political prestige. He is brave, a fearless and outspoken champion of the people's rights. No hesitancy in his case; no involved explanation. His world trip has given him opportunities to study governmental conditions and to qualify himself for office. I am foolish enough to believe that continuous office-holding is not in every case vitally necessary to qualify for the Presidency.

There is no doubt in my mind as to what course to take. I am not afraid of the name "Democrat," and Bryan represents the new Democratic party (the people ruling); not the old party of obstruction, but the party of the people. Taft represents a new, conservative Republican party; not the party of Lincoln, but a party which is surely but slowly becoming the party of the "Interests." If I thought the "Interests" would make hard times if Bryan should be elected, as those devils are able to do, I would be willing to vote for him just the same. Let us have hard times, if need be, to give us a chance to purge out the iniquitous system that is rapidly throttling our government and de-Americanizing our people. I am anarchist enough to believe that there is something else in this world besides Almighty God and the Republican party.

Your reference to R— is amusing. What a remarkable woman she must be! I have scarcely exchanged ten sentences on politics with her for two years, but she is accused of giving me my politics. I have noticed that many Republicans think as I do on these principles. I wonder if they get their politics from R—. Wonderful woman! But then, you never give me credit for any original thinking when I do not agree with you. Never mind; I love and honor you just the same.

The "Interests" brought on a panic last Fall in good, prosperous Republican times—a panic so serious that it has shaken the confidence of the people in our financiers as never before, and shown the utter inefficiency of our banking institutions, and left a deficit in the national treasury. This fact only strengthens my argument that it makes no difference about times, whichever party is in power. The "Interests" are to blame, and they are supporting the party and candidate this year which they think, if elected, will be least injurious to them—Taft.

I have briefly outlined my position politically, and reasons for taking it. I shall vote as I learned to vote when I began to think for myself—independently.

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## POLITICAL MORALITY AND THE AMERICAN TARIFF.

Principal Parts of the Address of Franklin Pierce of New York, Before the International Free Trade Congress at London, August 4-7.

I am gratified to meet with earnest men from all parts of the world gathered to counsel together on the freedom of trade and the peace of the world. While I appreciate the great honor of addressing you, I can but lament that the subject upon which you have asked me to speak involves a grievous condition of affairs in my country. . . .

The alliance between our captains of industry and politicians for private gain is a standing menace to political morality. We have deliberately given to our legislators the power by Congressional enactment of transferring through protective tariffs millions of dollars from the hands of the people to the pockets of a few industrial leaders. By restricting foreign competition these colossal combinations have been permitted to spring up and to become stronger than Congress and the President, and more persistent than any general public opinion. They are growing more and more powerful every day to fight for their advancement. The protected monopoly strikes down the small manufacturer, turns tens of thousands of independent dealers into mere workmen, creates a king of feudal state with the whole country dependent upon it, and seeks to add millions to its already acquired millions through tariff acts, ship subsidies, and other special legislation. Behind every tariff

law will be found nothing but private interests, clinging like parasites to the Government, constantly urging their claims, and seeking by discreditable means to interest senators and representatives in the passage of their measures. . . .

The approved method of procuring tariff legislation is by contributions on the part of the trusts to the campaign committees of both political parties, in cases where there is doubt as to which party will win. In national campaigns, in State campaigns, and even in municipal contests, about every protected trust, for the purpose of winning the favor of the politicians, opens its bank balance to one or both of the parties. The Republican manager says to the manufacturer, "Protection has made you rich; Free Trade will make you poor. The Democrats are Free Traders; if they win in the city or in the State, they will be just so much stronger in the nation, and they will give you Free Trade. If we win, we will continue to give you Protection and special legislation. This is the condition; come down with your cash." They do come down with their cash, and the control of the tariff question and of other special legislation, touching the welfare of every man, woman, and child in our country, is placed in the hands of political leaders and United States senators who have received this money under the pledge to return to the giver such legislation as he desires. . . .

It is estimated that about \$5,000,000, was contributed by manufacturers and bankers to the Republican party in the Presidential campaign of 1896. . . . In 1900, and again in 1904, corruption funds amounting to millions of dollars were gathered by the Republican party from the manufacturers and from stockholders in manufacturing corporations. . . . In the campaign of 1904, President Roosevelt selected as the campaign manager, George B. Cortelyou, the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor in the National Government. The law creating that department of the Government conferred upon its head extensive powers of investigation into the affairs of every manufacturing company engaged in interstate commerce in the United States. Because of his official position, Mr. Cortelyou had procured wide information as to the secrets of the great manufacturing combinations. Surely no man in the country was better fitted to procure campaign contributions from the monopolists than Mr. Cortelyou, the inquisitor of their business. Mr. Cortelyou has been for some time the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in President Roosevelt's Cabinet. In the autumn of last year, in the midst of the financial panic, he deposited large amounts of Government money with New York City national banks. The men connected with these banks and with Wall Street are also largely interested in industrial undertakings

and industrial stocks. So wisely did Mr. Cortelyou parcel out the moneys of the Government with the banks that in return therefor he was promised the aid of Wall Street for the Presidency. When the matter came to the attention of the President he promptly destroyed this presidential boom of his secretary. The support of the men who had pledged themselves to Mr. Cortelyou was transferred, it is said, to Mr. Taft. . . .

Thousands of contributions from manufacturers are made to the National Campaign Committee of the Republican party in each national campaign. In the last Congress, a Bill was introduced requiring the chairman of the National Campaign Committees to disclose to the public the names of the contributors to their funds and the several amounts given, and to make this disclosure before the election so that the people might know to what extent money was being used in the campaign, but this measure was defeated. Again, in the recent National Convention of the Republican party at Chicago, a proposed plank in the platform favoring such a law was voted down by a vote of 880 to 94. The same convention nominated James S. Sherman, a member of the House of Representatives for many years from the State of New York, for the office of Vice-President of the United States. For many years Mr. Sherman has been the chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee and as chairman was the collector of the campaign tribute of manufacturers to Congressional elections. While in the House of Representatives he has for many years been a member of the Committee on Rules. This committee is omnipotent in the control of legislation, being able to prevent the passage of any measure in the House. Occupying this position of power, he was able to ward off legislation unfavorable to contributors of campaign funds, and now he has been rewarded with a nomination to the second office in honor which can be conferred upon a citizen of our country. . . .

We allow the trusts to finance our political campaigns, and then permit their existence and abuses to become an excuse on the part of our President and his party for the exercise of arbitrary government to suppress them. The source of the trust could be easily destroyed by removing the tariff, but that would stop contributions to campaign disbursements, so our politicians continue the tariff, and then as a remedy prescribe penal statutes, interstate-commerce commissions, administrative tribunals, and other similar measures. Because such action is apparently directed against the monopolies the people approve it, and arbitrary government has gone forward in recent years by leaps and bounds. We are even told by our President that the power of the Federal Government—a power delegated by the people and which can be changed legally only through a Constitutional

amendment by the people—may be increased when deemed necessary “through executive action and through judicial interpretation and construction” of the Constitution. Never before in human history, I believe, has the head of a constitutional government, who had sworn to protect, preserve and defend its written fundamental provisions, openly advised their subversion through “executive action and through judicial interpretation.” . . .

Americans look with aversion on the Russian bureaucracy, but they fail to observe that in recent years they are drifting toward just such absolute government at home. We are a republic in the Occident ruled largely by commissions, and an empire in the Orient ruled by military power. From year to year we have been adopting precisely the same methods of bureaucratic government that have long existed in Russia and Prussia. . . . Leslie M. Shaw, the late Secretary of the treasury of the United States, in a speech in Chicago on May 22 of the present year said: “A few months ago the largest capitalized corporation on the globe sent its representative to the chief executive of the United States asking permission to take over its principal competitor. It is concurrently reported that permission was granted, and so far as I know the American people approve.” Mr. Shaw referred to a well known fact in our country. The Trust Company of America in the financial panic of last autumn, while facing a run of its depositors, applied to J. Pierpont Morgan, of the United States Steel Corporation, for assistance. At that time this Trust Company was the owner of a controlling interest in the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, about the only large competitor in America of the United States Steel Corporation. Mr. Morgan made it a condition of extending aid to the Trust Company that it should sell its interest in the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company to the United States Steel Corporation. This combination was in direct violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The United States Steel Corporation therefore applied to the President, and he gave his permission that the combination be made—the exercise of a power which no other chief executive in the world outside of Russia would dare to assume. . . .

But usurpation of power is not confined to the President; it is apparent in all the branches of Government, and especially in the growth of the power of administrative tribunals. . . . Let me give you one startling instance of the exercise of such arbitrary power. A Chinaman by the name of Ju Toy, in the year 1903, was a passenger on the steamship *Dorick*, returning from China to San Francisco. The immigration officers of San Francisco detained him as a person not allowed to enter our country under our laws. Ju Toy declared that he had been a citizen of the United

States for many years and that the Commission had no right to deport him to China. Now observe the kind of hearing he had. The rules of the Immigration Bureau require its officers to prevent communication between a Chinese immigrant and anyone aside from the immigration officers. They conduct a private examination to determine whether he has the right to land, the head of the Commission designating the only witnesses who may be present upon the examination. After such a hearing without counsel Ju Toy was held by the Commissioner of Immigration as not entitled to admission. He took an appeal from this decision to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and the decision was affirmed. Then Ju Toy procured a writ of habeas corpus from a Federal District Judge alleging that he was a citizen of the United States, that he had gone to China on a visit, and the other facts connected with his detention. The district Judge granted the writ of habeas corpus, and upon the return thereof the Court refused to dismiss the writ, but appointed a referee to take the testimony. Thereafter the referee reported that Ju Toy was a citizen of the United States, and this decision was confirmed by the Court. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States it was held by a majority of that Court that the decision of the administrative tribunals, the Commissioner of Immigration, and the Secretary of the Treasury was conclusive upon Ju Toy, that a mistake in their decision could not be remedied in the Courts, and that Ju Toy, although a citizen of the United States, must be returned to China. . . .

The trust magnates own the mines and minerals; they own a considerable part of the remaining forest lands; they control the great railway systems; they control the majority of manufacturing, and hold the franchises of the cities. Through these acquisitions they have become the rulers of our Republic without holding any office whatever. But the people are slow to see the danger of such vast and irresponsible power exercised by a few men, because they plot in secret and mine and countermine our public life. Eventually, if they are not stopped, they will reduce the American people to servitude. . . .

The right of commercial intercourse between nations derives its force from the laws of nature. Gathered from all parts of the world, let us hope for the approach of the day when Government will cease to obstruct the action of these natural laws, when armies and navies shall be dispersed, and peace shall for ever reign among the children of men. It probably will not come in our day; it may not come in a century, but still let us hope and work that it may eventually come.

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We live under a political republic and under an industrial despotism.—New Castle (Pa.) Free Press.

## PROTECTING THE FRENCHMAN AGAINST THE YANKEE.

For The Public.

The Machine Tool builders of France are asking for a very much higher duty to protect the French workmen against the competition of America and Germany, claiming that without it they cannot build tools at a profit, owing to the cheapness of American tools due to our advanced shop methods.

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An appeal comes o'er the water,  
With a most familiar sound  
That we hear at home so often  
When election's coming round.

In France the great tool builders  
To the makers of laws now pray  
For a higher duty on things they make,  
To keep our tools away.

"Protect us against the Yankee  
With his mighty, ingenious plants;  
For we can't compete with his products  
Here in our beautiful France.

"Protect us, oh, only protect us  
With a tariff wall high and long,  
Till our infant industries grow apace,  
And become like theirs, so strong.

"And then you'll see our prices  
Drop even lower than theirs;  
But we must protect our workmen  
From competing with their wares."

Now this strikes me as funny  
When so often we hear, perchance,  
The plea to protect our workmen  
From the pauper labor of France;

While the employers of that labor,  
With tears in their voice and eyes,  
Complain that our tools are cheaper.  
I wonder who 'tis that lies?

Oh! when will our high-priced workers  
Look around and understand  
That high prices are made by tariffs,  
Wage, by supply and demand?

See that the talk of protection,  
Is not for them or theirs,  
But to fill the employer's pocket  
With high prices on his wares;

And that spite of our higher wages,  
We can sell our tools in France,  
And need not the high wall duty  
To protect our large tool plants?

Oh! when will you see, you workers?  
Why will you the answer shirk?  
Wage depends not on tariff,  
But on how many men need work.

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## BOOKS

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### A NEW PHASE OF THE OLD TRUTH.

*The Heavenly Life.* By James Allen. R. F. Fenno & Co., New York, 18 East 17th St. Price, 50 cts.

In adding another volume to the endless series of what is termed the New Thought Philosophy Mr. Allen makes his point in the opening paragraph:

The secret of life, of abundant life, with its strength, its felicity, and its unbroken peace, is to find the Divine Center within oneself, and to live in and from that instead of in that outer circumference of disturbances—the clamors, cravings and argumentations which make up the animal and intellectual man. These selfish elements constitute the mere husks of life, and must be thrown away by him who would penetrate to the Central Heart of things—to Life itself.

“The Eternal How,” which names the second essay, does away with the illusion of time, and suggests:

That which is done now remains; that which is done to-morrow does not appear. It is wisdom to leave that which has not arrived and to attend to that which is, and to attend to it with such concentration of soul and effort as shall leave no possible loophole for regret to creep in.

In “Original Simplicity” it is remarked that

Pythagoras saw the Universe in ten numbers, but even this simplicity may be further reduced, and the Universe ultimately found to be contained in the number One, for all the numerals with their infinite complications are but additions to the One.

“The Unfailing Wisdom” counsels a man to be superior to his possessions, his body, his circumstances, his surroundings, the opinions of others, and their attitude toward him.

There is no evil but will vanish if thou wilt wisely meet it.

“The Might of Meekness” shows a fine analysis of a much abused virtue.

“The Righteous Man,” “Perfect Love,” “Perfect Freedom,” “Greatness and Goodness,” and “Heaven in the Heart” are all potent themes briefly but clearly set forth in the light of a truth which is being pressed from many thought centers upon the world consciousness.

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A. L. M.

### OUR DEGENERATE RICH.

*The Metropolis.* By Upton Sinclair. Published by Moffet, Yard & Co., New York. 1908.

Copious extracts from this latest book by the author of “The Jungle” were published serially in *The American Magazine* last winter. Now, more detailed and more sombre, comes the whole work,

flash-light photographs of the black horrors of New York’s vulgar millionaire society. The pictures are hung on a slender plot. An honorable and aristocratic Southerner is taken by his too-knowing brother into the inner circle of idle wickedness; and to the attractive stranger’s astonished and recoiling soul is disclosed in its intimacy the social and business rottenness of our plutocracy.

If “The Metropolis” had been published before “Frenzied Finance,” or the details of the Thaw murder trial, we should have called it a hideous and unpardonably filthy lie. But now, alas! the book to us, like Shakespeare to the old lady, is “full of quotations.” Woe to our nation and our age that before we rid ourselves of this foul monster, Privilege, we must feel the contamination of its presence!

ANGELINE LOESCH.

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### CLEVER COURTESY THE BEST POLICY.

*Don'ts for Bachelors and Old Maids.* By Minna Thomas Antrim. Published by the Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 1908. Price, 50 cents.

In this tiny bookful of disconnected epigrams on the niceties of social intercourse, the bits of advice are keenly chosen and smartly put, but with here and there a cynical and offensive fling at the sanctities of life.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Class-Conflict—Is It Growing and Inevitable?

Class conflict in America was the theme of Prof. Commons's paper, read and discussed at the Sociological Congress in Madison last spring. Prof. Commons concludes that class conflict between employer and employe may be growing but is not inevitable if the great economically separate group of neutrals—chiefly farmers—“is able to determine directly the issues.” To this end “serious political obstacles” must be removed, and their place taken by direct nomination and election, and the initiative and referendum. Prof. H. R. Mussey, in discussing the paper, said that these political measures were not enough, insisting that “our time has no more important task, if social peace is to be preserved, than to devise such accounting and reporting machinery as will exact from the captains of industry and give to the public definite information as to investment, methods of operation, and standards of service, costs, prices, profits and their distribution, in all the great industries.” For “the thing underlying class conflict is the effort to secure a larger share of the economic surplus.” “I doubt,” continues Professor Mussey, “whether the lines of sharpest conflict at present are those drawn horizontally through industry, separating employer and employe. Are they not rather the lines drawn vertically, separating different industries, or more exactly, separating me-

nopolists from all other members of the community? Though this is not the ordinary notion of class conflict, yet it appears to me unquestionable that the real economic struggle of our day is between monopoly and privilege on the one hand, and the consumers of monopoly goods and the unprivileged on the other. More and more, political issues frame themselves along these lines."

"From my own experience," remarked Miss Jane Addams in her discussion of the paper, "I should say perhaps that the one symptom among workmen which most definitely indicates a class feeling is a growing distrust of the integrity of the courts, the belief that the present judge has been a corporation attorney, that his sympathies and experience and his whole view of life is on the corporation side. Either this distrust is growing rapidly or the statement of it is being more distinctly made every day."

The address, with its discussion, comes as a reprint from the American Journal of Sociology, sent out by the American Bureau of Industrial Research at Madison, Wis.

A. L.

## PERIODICALS

The Arcadia Press (150 Nassau street, New York) has been so much encouraged by the call for the third thousand of Bolton Hall's "A Little Land and a Living" within four months, that they are publishing a uniform edition of six of Bolton Hall's books revised and enlarged. "Things as They Are," "Game

of Life," "Money Making in Free America" and a practically new book, "Life and Love and Peace" are in the series. Mr. Hall says he has concluded that there is nothing, at least for him, in jeering and fault finding, and has therefore revised all these books with the idea of positive and constructive effort.

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Biblical Sociology is the leading article of the American Journal of Sociology (Chicago and New York) for September. It is from the pen of Louis Wallis of the Ohio State University, whose Bible studies have given him a leading place among sociologists, and the old book a new interest and value.

+ + +

The Grand Duke: "What's the latest report from the plague? Speak man."

The Aid: "I regret to announce that the disease is spreading."

The Grand Duke: "Send for the leading sanitary engineer of the Empire."

The Aid: "He was driven out of Russia last month, your highness."

The Grand Duke: "Call up the city's best plumber."

The Aid: "He was sent to Siberia, your highness."

The Grand Duke: "Summon the chief authority on epidemics."

The Aid: "He is a fugitive, your highness. The secret police have lost all trace of him."

The Grand Duke, after a pause: "Well, go out and

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order the seizure of three newspaper offices and the arrest of forty suspected revolutionists."

—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

\* \* \*

Elder McNabb—"I'm not denying that the Duke of Argyle is a great man, and a learned man, but what I contend is this—he's not a popular man. He's not a man that has many friends."

Andra Fergusson—"Weel, ye see, the Duke is in a vera deeficult position—his pride o' birth prevents

him associatin' with men o' his ain intelleck, and his pride o' intelleck equally prevents him associatin' with men o' his ain birth."—(English) Weekly Telegraph.

\* \* \*

"Do you think that wealth brings happiness?"

"No," answered Mr. Dustin Stax. "It doesn't bring happiness. But it gives a man a little bit of option about the kind of worry he will take on."—Washington Star.

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