

The Public

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

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Vol. XI

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1908.

No. 549

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 257 Dearborn Street, Chicago

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

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EDITORIAL

The Hard Times.

Like a bolt from the blue, must have seemed to our comfortable classes the report of last week that thousands of children in the Chicago public schools are suffering from hunger. No doubt the newspapers that support Mr. Taft, who talks about prosperity as if everybody had it since his intimates have, would gladly have minimized this disclosure; but it was too well authenticated and too awful. So all of them "played it up strong," as the newspaper slang goes. Every Republican newspaper in Chicago published the facts in prominent position and under "screaming" headlines. Yet nothing could be more significant of the continuance of the hard times which began 18 months ago, and came upon us with a crash about a year ago. The fact that these papers published this report so prominently indicates that they could not escape it, for the Republican newspapers of Chicago are not alert to publish disagreeable information just because it happens to be important to their readers. The conditions exist, they are demonstrated, and they are dreadful. And no doubt these conditions among school children in Chicago exist everywhere. No doubt they exist among others also than school children. Beyond further question, we are in the midst of hard times.



This condition is likely to tell heavily against Mr. Taft's candidacy at the coming election. And

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so it ought. His party has demagogically claimed credit for the periods of good times, and charged to its adversary responsibility for the periods of bad times which this country has experienced in the past forty years. Not only has his party persistently and deceitfully done this, but he himself only a few days ago in Kansas quoted cooked statistics to prove that Republicans make good times and Democrats make hard times. It would be only political justice, therefore, were Mr. Taft to go down in a popular avalanche of condemnation because he and his party have been caught with a virulent case of hard times on their hands. The political party that has been living by a lie should die by one.



In very truth, however, political parties have nothing to do with causing alternations of good and bad times. The Democratic party has never been responsible for hard times, nor has the Republican party been entitled to credit for good times. These alternations are natural results of long established economic institutions. The particular instance of hard times we are now enduring is no more dependent upon Republican or Democratic activities in politics than are drought or wet weather. As was said in these columns nearly a year ago (vol. x, p. 746), and as was perfectly clear at that time except to rule-of-thumb business men and parlor politicians, the hard times which then settled down upon us were world-wide and had come to stay for probably four or five years or longer. This is the seventh period of hard times in our history. Mr. Taft cannot restore good times if elected, and neither can Mr. Bryan. The only thing which in this connection either could do would be to influence the removal of institutional burdens upon industry. But as Mr. Taft's party policy runs toward maintaining such institutions, he would be absolutely barred from going even in the direction of eradicating hard times. Mr. Bryan's policies, on the other hand, especially his free trade policy, do run in the direction of removing the underlying causes of hard times. For that reason and to that extent, Mr. Bryan's election would give a reasonable hope, which Mr. Taft's would not, of bringing on better times and of making them permanent.



That these hard times are not temporary local conditions, which the result of a Presidential election might cure, is evident from the fact that the condition is found abroad as well as here. Coincident with the harrowing report that

thousands of Chicago school children are starving, are reports from Glasgow of 22,000 men out of work, from Birmingham of 10,000, from Liverpool of 14,000, from Manchester of 8,000, and so on. If we had reports of the unemployed from the Continent, we should find similar conditions there; and if we had reports from all our own industrial centers, a worse condition here would be revealed rather than a better one. There is of course a cause for all this, and it is a deep seated cause. It is not a cause that any one political campaign can cure. These campaigns and elections are encouraging, or the reverse, only as their tendency is in one direction or another—toward the maintenance of privileged classes, which is away from the only cure, or towards the abolition of privilege, which is the only cure. Of the two candidates who may by any possibility be elected, the one whose election would give new hope to the privileged absorbers of other men's work, is Mr. Taft: the one whose election would justify the hope of the unprivileged worker, is Mr. Bryan.



The Hungry School Children of Chicago.

The disclosure by the Chicago Board of Education of the conditions of want among school children, conditions so extreme that thousands go to school breakfastless and so ill-nourished as to be unfit for study, has highly excited the charitable impulses of the better-to-do. We would not discourage those impulses; charity is necessary for immediate relief. But charity will be somewhat worse than useless if nothing is done to secure permanent exemption from impoverished conditions.



School children must be nourished in body, that they may be mentally fit to receive the education which the public schools offer. If this is done in anywise at all at public expense, it should be done for all as matter of common right, and not for the destitute as charity, be the charity public or private. Everything necessary to effect the purpose of the public school system should be provided as freely for all the pupils as is the building itself. Not only should text books be free for every pupil, as for more than half a century they have been in New York, but food also should be free. While charity may be tolerated, and even commended when not disgustingly boasted of by the giver, this is with the proviso that it be a method of relief in an emergency, and only so. Perpetual charity is degrading, both to receiver and to giver; and this Chicago excitement

will be but a feverish sensation if it does not get us beyond charity, whether public or private. Laws should be enacted and funds appropriated to enable the school authorities to offer a nourishing breakfast and luncheon, along with free text books, to every pupil of the public schools. It must be done upon the basis not of personal destitution, but of civic necessity; not because the pupil is poor, but because he is a public school pupil. This is no more socialistic or communistic or paternalistic than is the public school system itself. It is in fact a logical, and as now appears in Chicago, an essential, feature of public education.



Nor will it be enough to provide free meals and free text books so that all public school children may be upon an equality of opportunity in the school system. The lesson of the Chicago disclosure goes deeper. If thousands of school children are discovered to be starving, there must be other thousands who have not yet been discovered, and thousands more under school age, and thousands more above school age, and thousands of adults who are in the same dreadful plight. In other words, this disclosure of starving school children is but a disclosure of the outer edge of a condition of poverty that puts our civilization to shame. Whatever may be done with reference to this condition for individual relief, nothing will have been done unless the cause is ferreted out. We have no intention of naming that cause as we see it. To do so might only excite futile controversy. But every one must agree that inadequacy of employment explains the situation and gives a clue to the cause.



To that explanation there are only two objections. One is that the cause is drink rather than inadequate employment. But those who explain the poverty of the poor by drink must explain the wealth of the rich, for there is more drinking in high life than in low life. Indeed, the drunkenness of the poor is better explained by poverty than is poverty by drunkenness. At the most, drunkenness will explain only the poverty of the drunkard and his family; it does not explain the poverty of the industrious and thrifty. Another objection rests upon the assertion that there is plenty of employment for the exceptionally competent. This objection is as weak as the other and not unlike it in substance. If the more competent now get work by displacing the less competent, the latter would keep their places if they were not less competent; in which case it

would be the others, and not they, who would be workless. Incompetency, like drunkenness, only affects cases of individual poverty by determining which of two workers shall be workless; it does not account for poverty as a social condition from which some could not escape, however competent and sober they might be.



There is really no disputing the explanation of poverty, that there isn't work enough to go around. Yet this is anomalous. How can it be that there isn't work enough to go around when everybody's capacity as a consumer, and consequently as a giver of work, exceeds his ability as a producer or doer of work? In the nature of things there must always be more work than workers. But if that were so there would be no impoverishment for lack of employment. There would be work even for the drunkard in his intervals of sobriety, and for the inefficient. How comes it, then, that there is such lack of employment as to make a perennial condition of poverty? Must it not be that in some way production and consumption fail to meet? But why? Is it in the nature of things, or are we victims of institutional obstructions to industrial cooperation? Along that line of inquiry the cause of poverty may be found.



President Roosevelt and the Steel Trust.

The steel trust has been called Mr. Roosevelt's favorite trust. There seem to be reasons for this accusation. President Roosevelt himself admits that J. Pierpont Morgan asked permission of him to consolidate its only competitor, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co., and that he granted the indulgence. He defends his having done so by saying that the Tennessee company was only a small competitor. Mr. Roosevelt ignores the fact that competition may be more a matter of margin than of magnitude. Even if the product which he says that company supplied was only 4 per cent of the whole, it might have been quite as effective a check potentially upon Mr. Morgan's big combine as if it had produced 50 per cent. At any rate Mr. Morgan wanted to rid his combine of the competition, and President Roosevelt consented to his doing so. What did this consent mean? It meant that no prosecution under the anti-trust law would be made during his administration nor under any succeeding administration which he could control. He argues—no, he states, not argues; Mr. Roosevelt seldom argues—that the consolidation was not in violation of the anti-trust law. But Mr. Morgan

must have thought it was, or he wouldn't have asked the indulgence. Most lawyers who have considered it are said to think that it was, and Mr. Bryan avers that it was and gives reasons. At any rate, if Mr. Bryan is elected the courts will be asked for their opinion; whereas if Mr. Taft should be elected the courts will not be bothered about it.

* * *

Somnambulistic Sense.

One of the really good jokes of the Presidential campaign is the criticism by a leading Republican paper, the Omaha Bee, of the tariff plank of the Republican platform. The point of the joke lies in the fact that the Bee, talking in its sleep as it were, mistook this plank for an excerpt from one of Bryan's speeches. Thinking it was cutting into Bryan's vitals, it in fact attacked with energy and sound sense a sentiment which Bryan strenuously rejects, but which the Republican party (including Mr. Taft) officially adopts. The Republican plank so criticised was the one which declares that—

In all tariff legislation the true principle is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with reasonable profit to American industries.

And this is the eminently sensible way in which the somnambulistic Omaha Bee of the 3d criticised that plank—supposing it to be one of Bryan's utterances:

Nothing prettier in the catch-all line has been offered in this campaign. The most hide-bound standpatter in the country can accept that as satisfactory and the rankest free trader can find delight in it. The declaration means simply nothing. An attempt to legislate along that line would simply open the way to interminable wrangling as to what constitutes "a reasonable profit," for hair-splitting on wages on one industry, price of raw materials in another, rebates and drawbacks in a third and so on through the list of thousands of articles that are now on the tariff revision, at Bryan's direction, would serve only to halt industrial and commercial progress and keep business unsettled during his term of office.

*

Peculiar importance attached to this excoriation of the Republican doctrine of tariff and labor, because the editor and owner of the Bee, Mr. Victor Rosewater, is a member of the national Republican executive committee and head of the bureau of publicity. Mr. Rosewater denies responsibility for the embarrassing editorial. He says it was written by one of his hired men in his absence from the sanctum. But that really makes the matter worse. It implies that the office force were under general instructions to shy bricks at Bryan

at every opportunity, and that one of them by mistake picked up a boomerang for a brick. This gives us a look behind the Republican newspaper curtain, and shows us how much the newspaper attacks upon Bryan really amount to. It is to be noted also that Mr. Rosewater's paper has not yet shown the fallacy of its hired man's criticism. The fact that the criticism was written under a mistaken impression as to the authorship of the sentiment criticized is indeed a joke on the Bee; but it is only a joke. The serious part of the matter is that the criticism itself is unanswerable. It completely exposes the hollowness of the Republican tariff-labor plank. Whatever discredit this Republican editorial writer may have incurred in the Bee sanctum for confusing Bryan with the Republican platform, and exposing the latter under the impression that he was belaboring the former, is more than offset by the credit he has earned outside as a common sense political economist.

* * *

The Business Bribe.

The promise of plutocratic manufacturers to raise the wages of their employes, if Taft carries the election, is both criminal and mean. It is as clearly a bribe as was ever a two-dollar bill at the polls. It is besides as certainly a fraud as was ever a three-card monte game at a county fair. If manufacturers can be sure of raising wages after election they can raise wages now. If they cannot raise wages now, they cannot be certain of raising them after election. What they are at is trying to influence hard working and poorly paid voters to vote against labor interests by offering them bribes that are never to be paid.

* * *

Robert Baker's Compliments to Mr. Van Cleave.

We call attention especially to ex-Congressman Baker's open letter to Mr. Van Cleave in this week's issue of *The Public*. It recalls his "full dinner pail" letter (p. 473) of last August. As that letter punctured the claims of the Republican party to being the creator and conservator of American prosperity, so this one punctures Mr. Van Cleave's pretenses with reference to "business" men and workingmen.

* * *

The Business Ideal.

"Do you like Demosthenes?" asked the old village pastor of the butcher's son who was home for vacation from the academy to which he himself had gone in his youth. "No, sir," the bud-

ding business man replied; "the old joker I like best was Nero. Nero did things. Demosthenes was a wind-jammer."

* * *

NATURAL INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

II. From Feudalism to Capitalism.—Feudalism.

Pardon me, Doctor; indulge me a little further. I have not yet wholly explained our socialistic friend's misapprehension (p. 557) as I conceive the explanation to be. I have spoken only of the habit he has in common with business men, of confusing the natural with the artificial instruments of social service. This habit is doubtless due very largely to the fact of their interchangeability, and their consequent capitalization in common. Being the same in capitalistic appearance, they seem to him to be in the same category of social effects and causes. And you know how earnestly our friend urges his historical point—the theory that we have passed from the age of feudalism into what he regards as the fundamentally different age of capitalism. He thinks, you will recollect, that in consequence of this change, monopoly of land has become of less importance than monopoly of capital—or at any rate of no greater importance. Here again he appears to me to be under the influence of a capitalistic superficiality. It is really, I take it, first cousin to the other one. Don't you think it about the same? Surely there can't be much difference. If we think of capital (an artificial and reproducible product of land), and of land (the natural and unproducible source of capital), as identical because they are interchangeable in trade, we are not far from the equally mistaken idea that monopoly of capital has come to be of equal or greater social importance than monopoly of land. But, however that may be, let's consider our friend's historical argument.

We have, indeed, passed from an age of feudalism to an age of capitalism—from an age in which the landlord was dominant, to one in which the capitalist is dominant. But our socialistic friend loses his balance, I think, over the essentials of this transition. What if the capitalist has displaced the landlord? Does it follow that the powers which may be incidental to capitalism have superseded the powers that are incidental to landlordism? I think not. To accept such reasoning is to put form above substance. It is to regard the ephemeral name or mask of landlordism as more vital than its essential power.

In the feudal period, which was quite distinctly

an age of landlordism, there were no capitalists in the modern sense. To be sure, it is true that in the free commercial cities there was commercial capital even in feudal times, and a degree of capitalization of land such as distinguishes present day capitalism. But those cities were only capitalistic pioneers, mere intruders here and there into the vast social territory over which landlordism held undisputed sway. As a rule, the landlord class was the ruling class; the working class was the dependent class; and the capitalist class, to the extent that there was one, was a toady class. You know the "push" that society's uppertendom of today contemptuously calls "climbers." Well, the capitalist class under feudalism was a good deal of the same breed—obsequious to their "betters," the landlord class, and insolent to their "inferiors," the working class. Yet they were the germ of a new kind of aristocracy which is only now coming into flower.

Strictly speaking, there were only two social classes in feudal times, the landlord class and the working class; for the capitalists were workers as well as "climbers,"—workers in their manufacturing and commercial pursuits, and "climbers" in their ambitions for power. Landlord and worker, social monarch and social servitor—these alone can be distinctly classified in the feudal regime, both as to their economic interests and as to their personality. But with extensions of personal liberty, the working class evolved capitalistic interests which encroached more and more upon feudalism. Those encroachments are traceable, however, to no such economic power of capital monopoly over land monopoly, of monopoly of the artificial instruments of production over monopoly of natural instruments of production, as our socialistic friend infers. There was no substitution for land monopoly of capital monopoly. There was simply a commercial absorption of landlord interests by capitalist interests. As the landlord class under feudalism had held dominion over the labor class, including what there then was of a capitalist class, so the capitalist class has come under capitalism to hold dominion over the labor class and what there is left of the landlord class. But this has involved no shifting of economic power from the natural to the artificial instruments of production. It is nothing more than a shifting of the ownership of the natural instruments of production from a landlord class to a capitalist class. The relative power of land monopoly and capital monopoly remains unaltered. What difference can it make to the rest of us, Doctor, whether landlordism absorbs ownership of capital, or capitalism absorbs ownership

of land? The thing that really concerns us is the question of how we shall most easily and most effectively dry up the source of the evil power of either.

Our friend refers to capitalism, you recall, as a stage in the progress of society from protoplasm to perfection—or, as old Judge Stinson used to say sometimes when he struck a snag in a farm survey, “from approximately thence, to there or thereabouts.” He looks back to feudalism, you remember also, as an old landmark along the same social highway; and he accounts for it as an evolution from what I shall have to call the personal slavery period, for I forget the name he uses. His history of this great human pilgrimage is all right in the main, I suppose; but I have my doubts about some of his interpretations, haven’t you? In resolving our doubts, we can’t go back to protoplasm quite as confidently as our friend does, in the simplicity of his materialistic faith; for even you, my dear Doctor, with all your tendency to agree with his philosophy of the origin of things, are inclined to balk at some of his inferences. But we may in our minds run rapidly along the path of this pilgrimage from the point at which it debouches from the wilderness of scientific conjecture into the foggy lowlands of history.

No, indeed, I guess we won’t try to settle any of the disputes of the historically learned. We won’t try to settle anything. We won’t even try to be profound. We will merely try to brush up on such general learning as can be obtained from any good school history. The trouble with people these days is not that they don’t know enough to consider their social problems, but that they don’t think enough about what they know. What do we find, then, as we glance down the pathway of economic history?

Well, leaving out the protoplasmic secrets and the mystical Edenic era, the era of the innocence of ignorance, we confront the history of human progress at a point where human selfishness had in one way and another acquired the power of getting service without giving service. This was apparently done at first by subjugation of the person direct; for slavery is one of the earliest phenomena of which we have historical demonstration. But subjugation of the person indirectly by means of land monopoly is also one of the earliest devices for getting without giving. These are the only ways of making slavery, when you get down to the last analysis. As an historical speculation it would seem that land monopoly must have been secondary in point of time; for

you can’t enslave men by monopolizing land, unless you monopolize all that they can gain access to. And we find this speculation borne out by the historical fact that indirect enslavement by means of land monopoly has existed only where land was scarce relatively to its desirability for use. Where land was plentiful relatively to its uses, as in the old pastoral regions, enslavement by direct subjugation of the person was the only kind of servitude. But where land was relatively scarce, we find a condition of landlessness generating conditions of slavery.

Only the other day I was reading some of Herbert Spencer’s speculations on this very point. He seems to think that in the human make up there is a natural sense of private property which relates to moveables and to habitations, and that these species of property were habitually recognized in primitive society. It is to this sense that he attributes social development. From a primitive individual’s assertion of property in his moveables and structures, comes a consciousness of right to the use of the parts of the earth to which moveables and structures adhere. Then comes a family claim to localities, which develops into a patriarchal claim and thence into communal claims. By communal claims, you are to understand those under which the land is held as common property by all its occupants except personal slaves. It may be occupied and worked individually—that is, private possession of particular sites may be recognized,—but the common ownership, if I understand Spencer’s point, is never lost sight of. If the occupant departs, he has no land to sell. If the population increases, new apportionments are made.

The change from this condition, as I apprehend Spencer, is accounted for by force. This seems to be the only adequate cause—internal or external force. The change, that is, from common ownership to individual ownership of places on the planet, is to be accounted for as slavery is accounted for. Only force accounts for the ownership of men; only force can account for the ownership of the land on which men must live if they live at all. After the initial force of conquest, according to the Spencerian explanation, a period of contract sets in with reference to land, precisely as it does with reference to slavery. Land is held under contract of trust, as in some species or variations of feudalism; or under contract of ownership, as in some species or variations of capitalism. The force in which slavery and land ownership originated is thus perpetuated by internal regulations of public policy—by what

our communist-anarchist friend over the way denounces as "government." And of course selfishness—personal selfishness, and class selfishness if you please,—perverts the contract. If it is a trust contract under feudalism, it grows into absolutism and comes to wear a halo of divine right; if it is an ownership contract under capitalism, it also grows into absolutism but carries the baton of business might.

Now, Doctor, we may see all this working out, I think, if we recall our studies, such as they were, of European history. The Roman dominions were conquests. Part of the lands the Romans conquered were left to the original inhabitants; the rest were taken as public lands, some of which were cut up into Roman homesteads and sold or rented, the rest being held as a public domain very much as we hold the great undeveloped West—I mean, as we used to. But by internal aggressions the common lands of Rome came to be largely the property of the patricians. This made the land question "the eternal question at Rome." Contractual land ownership led to land monopoly in Rome as it doubtless had done in the other countries of antiquity, and as it always will do anywhere.

Don't the land laws of Moses suggest a lesson he had probably learned at the Egyptian court? Isn't it probable that patrician ownership of land had developed in Egypt as it afterwards did in Rome, and that Moses saw its power? It is difficult in any other way to explain the Jewish year of jubilee with reference to land—the fiftieth year of ownership, when all lands were to revert to their original possessors. All contractual ownerships of land were upon that condition of reversion. Thus the principle of common ownership was recognized, and perpetual monopoly made practically impossible. You don't see how? Well, Milman, the historian, saw how. In his history of the Jews, Milman describes that jubilee-year regulation as "a singular agrarian law, which maintained the general equality, and effectually prevented the accumulation of large masses of property in one family, to the danger of the national independence and the establishment of a great oligarchy." These Mosaic contracts of land tenure were like ground leases, with a term of fifty years; they were not like deeds of ownership to endure "while grass grows and water runs."

But it was the Roman, not the Jewish system, that prevailed. For while it was a maxim of the Roman law, as it is of our law in most jurisdictions, that all land was held of the sovereign, yet absolute private ownership was in fact the rule

with the old Romans as it is with us. And I wish, Doctor, that you would put a pin in right there, against the time when our socialistic friend lectures us again upon the present capitalistic system as something new. The capitalistic system is simply the contract system. So was the Roman. Rome had personal slavery, it is true; but so have we had personal slavery. Rome had landlordism also; but it was landlordism as we have it—the ownership of land as a commodity. The ownership of land in Rome was in practice allodial, as it is with us. If there is any difference it is of form and not of substance. In our time capitalists monopolize capital through monopoly of land, thereby enslaving workingmen; whereas in Rome it was landlords that monopolized capital. In addition the Romans owned workingmen as commodities precisely as we have done down into your day and mine.

But I have no special desire to press my point that the social pathway runs along a period of ownership contracts into the feudal period of trust contracts, and thence to another period of ownership contracts differing from the Roman only in form and not in substance. Although I believe this to be true, I am nevertheless quite willing to disregard it and accept for our purposes our socialistic friend's idea of a personal enslavement period (represented by Rome), giving way to a landlord period (represented by the feudalism of the Middle Ages), which has now begun to give way to a period of capitalism. So let us jog along our pathway of social progress again.

At the period of the decline of Rome the system of allodial or contractual ownership of land was almost universal, although the term "allodial" did not come into vogue until needed as an antonym to "feudal." Said to be a term of the Middle Ages, suggested by the tribal customs of northern Europe, "allodial" denotes the tenure of absolute property in land as distinguished from that of conditional property in land.

In their origin, allodial tenures were perpetual, transferable and inheritable, and were subject to no conditions whatever but the bare necessities of public defense. But in time there came to be a species of allodial tenures known as "fiscal lands," which were reserved to the king, who made gifts from them to court favorites. These gifts—"benefices" they were called—were utilized by the beneficiaries to draw power unto themselves. They carved out sub-gifts for their own favorites—sub-tenancies, as we should call them; sub-infeudations as they were called in those days. By sub-infeudation the under-tenants declared

allegiance to the beneficiaries, who had declared theirs to the king; and in this manner feudalism as a system is believed to have originated. The king was overlord, but the beneficiaries were lords—barons with subjects of their own, whose allegiance was not to the king but to them. This had the effect of prostrating the authority of the king. For the beneficiaries, supported by their tenantry, were able to command an overwhelming military force, either to support or to defy him. And they added to their power by forcing all allodial proprietors into their service. Through their rapacity they had created a reign of terror among allodial proprietors—something like that which prevails among independent business men today who find themselves threatened by great trusts and who join the trust rather than be crushed by it. So the terrorized allodialists gladly surrendered their allodial holdings on condition of getting them back as feudal tenures. As the military compact of feudalism between landlord and tenant, or lord and vassal, was their only hope of protection, they delivered over their lands as gracefully as Slim Jim Pulsifer gave over his pocket book to the "hold-up" man—delivered them to the powerful lords, and received them back again charged with the feudal contract. This obligated the tenant to support the lord, and the lord to protect the tenant. It was a contract of trust, don't you see? in contradistinction to contracts of ownership.

The historical circumstances were such, however, that those feudal obligations developed a paternal relationship which had its attractive as well as its repulsive aspects as compared with the contractual tie—whether of trust or of absolute ownership—which had preceded feudalism and has come again. Custom, personal attachment, gratitude, honor, dread of penalization and infamy, cemented by the sanctions of religion, all contributed to that homogeneity which raised feudalism to the level of a social system.

As a political institution, Mr. Bryce describes feudalism—let me get his "Holy Roman Empire," and quote. Ah, here it is at page 113. He defines feudalism politically as—

the system which made the owner of a piece of land, whether large or small, the sovereign of those who dwelt thereon; an annexation of personal to territorial authority more familiar to Eastern despotism than to the free races of primitive Europe. On this principle were founded, and by it are explained, feudal law and justice, feudal finance, feudal legislation, each tenant holding toward his lord the position which his own tenants held toward himself. And it is just because the relation was so uniform, the principle so comprehensive, the ruling class so firmly bound

to its support, that feudalism has been able to lay upon society that grasp which the struggles of more than twenty generations have scarcely shaken off.

But all powerful, Doctor, as was that grasp in the eleventh century, and slowly as society has been able to shake it off, the evidences of its decline soon after the eleventh century are quite obvious. By the fifteenth century new social forces had greatly reduced its power; and in our day there are few feudal remnants except in our law of land tenures, and not so very many there. Feudalism has been almost completely superseded by capitalism.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, October 6, 1908.

The Bryan-Roosevelt Controversy.

Mr. Bryan's reply to Mr. Roosevelt's letter of the 27th appeared in the newspapers of the 30th. After referring to Mr. Roosevelt's "attempt to shift the issue," both as to his charges against Gov. Haskell and as to his insinuations against Mr. Bryan himself, Mr. Bryan writes:

You have since given wings to accusations that no disinterested party would make against another without investigation.

His letter then refers to Mr. Roosevelt's accusation that a St. Louis lawyer employed in a case by the Standard Oil Company is supporting Bryan, and says:

While the trust attorney to whom you refer is not an official of a trust, I will warn him and, through him, his clients that if I am elected I will not only vigorously enforce against all offenders the laws which we hope to have enacted in compliance with the Democratic platform, but that I also will vigorously enforce existing laws against any and all who violate them, and that I will enforce them, not spasmodically and intermittently, but persistently and consistently: they will not be suspended, even for the protection of cabinet officers.

Turning then to Mr. Roosevelt's assertion that the attitude of many men of large financial interests warrants him in expressing the belief that those trust magnates whose fear of being prosecuted under the law by Mr. Taft is greater than their fear of general business adversity under Bryan, are supporting Bryan rather than Taft, Mr. Bryan responds:

You have attempted to word that statement in such

a way as to claim the support of all the trust magnates, and yet put it on the ground that they are supporting your party for patriotic reasons rather than for the promotion of a selfish interest. That is ingenious, but it is not sound. The trust magnates are supporting the Republican party, and the Bible offers an explanation—"The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib." You admit you gave permission to the steel trust to absorb a rival and thus increase its control of the output of steel and iron products. I will leave the American people to pass judgment upon that act and compare your position on the trust question with mine.

After contrasting the campaign funds of the two parties in 1896 in answer to Mr. Roosevelt on that point, Mr. Bryan's letter directs attention to the question of publishing campaign contributions before instead of after election:

You are the first conspicuous member of your party to attempt an explanation of the party's opposition to publicity before the election, and the admission which you make will embarrass your party associates. Your position is that the publication before election of the contributions made to your campaign fund would furnish your political opponents an opportunity "to give a false impression" as to the fitness of the candidates. You cite as illustrations the contributions made to Gov. Hughes' campaign fund, the contribution collected by Mr. Harriman and the contributions which are now being collected for Mr. Taft's campaign fund. You charge, in effect, that the people are so lacking in intelligence that they might condemn as improper contributions which you declare to be proper. If the voters differ from you on this question are they necessarily ignorant and wrong? Must the members of the party organization act as self-appointed guardians of the people and conceal from them what is going on, lest the people be misled as to the purpose and effect of large contributions? Is this your explanation of the action of the Republican leaders in the national convention in voting down a publicity plank? If you will pardon the suggestion, I believe a better explanation can be found in Holy Writ, for do we not read of men "loving darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil"? You attempt to make a personal question of it and ask whether any one will accuse such men as you, Gov. Hughes, and Mr. Taft of being influenced by contributions. That is not the question. If it is found that a party to a suit has given a sum of money to one of the jurors, the court does not stop to inquire whether or not the juror is an incorruptible man or whether in accepting the money he explicitly stated that it was accepted with the understanding that he was under no obligation to consider it in making up his verdict. The court would hold that the giving of money by an interested party or the receiving of money was a contempt of court and an interference with the administration of justice. Public officials occupy much the same position as jurors. They are constantly called upon to decide questions between the favor seeking corporations on the one hand and the people on the other, and there is a general impression that officials of these favor seeking corporations do not put up large sums of money from purely patriotic motives. . . .

The reflection upon the people, involved in your charge, that they would misuse the knowledge which publicity would give, is unworthy of one who has been elevated to so high an office by the votes of the people, and I venture the assertion that you cannot procure from Mr. Taft an indorsement of your defense. He is now before the people; he is offering himself as a candidate for the Presidency; he dare not tell the people to whom he appeals that they have not sense enough to form a just and correct opinion as to the purpose which leads parties interested in special legislation to make big contributions. You fear that we would misrepresent the motives of those who are contributing to the Republican campaign fund, and cast an unjust suspicion upon Republican candidates if the names and amounts were made known before the election. Your argument, if sound, would prevent publication after the election, for why should an unjust suspicion be cast upon officials after the election any more than before? Does not the secrecy before the election increase this suspicion? We are going to give you an opportunity to misrepresent the motives of those who give to our campaign fund, and to arouse all the suspicion you can; we are going to prove to the people that we are making a fight for the whole people and not for those who have been enjoying privileges and favors at the hands of the government, and we expect that the honest sentiment of the country will rebuke the party whose convention refused to indorse any kind of publicity and whose candidates are not willing that the people should know until after the polls are closed what predatory interests have been active in support of the Republican party.



No reply has been made to this letter; but in an effort to explain Mr. Roosevelt's silence, his secretary, Mr. Loeb, stated for publication on the 30th that the "President felt that Mr. Bryan's letter was simply an attack upon him personally, and considered there was no reason why he should answer it." It was reported, however, that other reasons had decided the matter and that the President was restive under enforced silence. His part thus far in the campaign, as disclosed by good authority, appears to have been offensive to Mr. Taft's friends as putting Mr. Taft in second place, and objectionable to the managers of the campaign as being prejudicial to the candidate.



Mr. Taft's Speaking Tour.

After his meeting of the 29th at Sioux City (p. 634) Mr. Taft went on the 30th to Lincoln, Nebraska. Here he was received in a non-partisan way, Mr. Bryan having requested his friends to withdraw his portraits and banners for the day and treat Mr. Taft courteously as the guest of the city. On the 1st Mr. Taft spoke at Omaha and on the 2d at Denver. He was at Topeka on the 3d. He spoke to church audiences on the 4th in Kansas City, and on the 5th spoke at several places in

Missouri on his way to Macon, Mo., where he spoke at night.



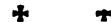
Mr. Bryan's Speaking Tour.

After his trip through South Dakota on the 29th (p. 634), Mr. Bryan spoke in the evening at Sioux City, and concluded his three weeks' tour with a series of speeches on the 30th in Iowa. He was at his home at Fairview, near Lincoln, on the 1st. After speaking at Lincoln on the 2d, he remained at home over Saturday and Sunday, the 3d and 4th, and spoke at Havelock, Neb., on the 5th.



The Bryan Federation.

The Bryan Federation, a body of New York independents of all parties, organized at Albany, on the 12th of September, by representatives from fourteen counties, has established headquarters at the Gilsey House, New York, and is pushing the organization of branches throughout the State. Its leaders intend to organize by senate districts and make a permanent independent Democratic Federation. For the present campaign it is sending out speakers to the number of a hundred or more to "stump" the State for Bryan and Kern. It is also mailing in behalf of Bryan and Kern an address of 50 prominent members of the Independence party in New York, opposed to Hearst's fight against Bryan, to the 35,000 enrolled members of that party. To avoid obligations to political bodies, the league is depending entirely upon individual subscriptions for financial resources. The president of the league is Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher, its secretary John J. Murphy, and its treasurer Dr. Geo. W. Thompson.



Traction Matters in Cleveland.

As reported by The Public of Cleveland in its issue for October, the following is the statement of earnings and expenses of the Municipal Traction System of Cleveland (pp. 564, 579, 587) for the months of June, July and August:

	June.	July.	August.
Gross earnings	\$409,279.54	\$437,174.15	\$427,656.96
Operating expenses	321,388.95	305,263.48	308,824.93
Gross profits	\$ 87,890.59	\$131,910.67	\$118,832.01
Interest rental	38,341.66	38,836.35	40,046.67
Profit above interest ..	\$ 49,548.93	\$ 93,074.32	\$ 78,785.34
Dividend rental	73,378.00	73,378.00	73,378.00
Loss	\$ 23,829.07
Surplus	\$ 19,696.32	\$ 5,407.34

Explaining this statement, The Public of Cleveland says that the surplus would have been much greater but for the expenditure of \$93,872.30 on maintenances and betterments in August. The expenditure for this purpose since April has been \$376,864.95. The total expenditure on repairs,

betterments, improvements and new constructions since the new regime, in order to bring the equipment up to the highest efficiency, has been \$950,000. On the subject of 3 cent fares, The Public reports that "three cent fare not only pays, but three cent fare is rebuilding the property;" and, "measured by the allowance for depreciation of other street railways in America \$400,000 a year is being added to the property out of the earnings alone." One citizen is quoted as saying: "I've just figured it out and I find that the difference between what I and my family pay now, and what we used to pay for car fare, amounts to just enough a year to pay our taxes and lighting."



Another effort at obstruction has been made by the officials of the old company. It leaked out that they intended to receive rental money due from the Municipal company to the Cleveland Railways company, and to apply it to disputed debts claimed by their lawyers in the old controversies and other "insiders," instead of paying dividends with it as they were obligated by the traction settlement to do. Consequently when the Municipal company as tenant tendered the rental charge to the Cleveland Railway Company as owner of the underlying franchise, it did so upon condition that the latter company promise not to pass the agreed quarterly dividend. The rental tendered was refused unless made unconditionally, and the Railways Company has brought suit for it. Meanwhile the Municipal Company has paid to stockholders of the old Forest City Company (the original 3-cent fare enterprise or "threeler") the amount of their dividends, and taken assignments. So long, therefore, as the Railways Company does pass its dividend, the stockholders to suffer will be only those whose interests rest upon ownership of the stock of the old Cleveland Electric or "Concon."



Asked about the controversy, Mayor Johnson said, as reported in the Cleveland Press of the 29th, that the Municipal company will not be embarrassed by the non-payment of dividends. He added:

We shall see that all persons who have bought stock from us get an advance from us equal to the regular dividend payment. That will head off any move to stampede our stockholders into asking for the redemption of their stock on our guarantee. I don't believe passing the Cleveland Railway dividend will hurt the sale of our stock. Our financial affairs are in good shape, and not subject to attack. The only ones to suffer will be the stockholders in the old Concon. When the Threeler took over the lines, we assumed a number of Concon debts, and a sum of money was turned over by the Concon to make payments. We have paid many bills, and we have held two or three for investigation. I don't

think the Cleveland Railway Co. can expect to get hold of the dividend money to pay such bills.

The vice-president of the franchise company said on the 1st in the Press that he believed "both companies should pay their debts before declaring any dividend." Mr. Goff, who represented the old company in the settlement, said through the Press on the 2d, that "it was clearly the intention at the time of the settlement that" the quarterly rentals "should be used for dividends, and for no other purpose." On the 4th, the Cleveland newspapers printed the following statement by Horace Andrews, president of the old company:

The directors of the Cleveland Railway Co. believe that, under present conditions, the declaration of a dividend, if the rental had been paid on Oct. 1, would not be in the interest of the stockholders of the company. The security franchise has not yet been approved or disapproved by popular vote and no provision has yet been made to discharge the floating debt of the company. When the last dividend was paid, no call for an election to validate the security franchise had been made. The directors of this company are charged with the duty of guarding the property of the stockholders and are under no obligation either morally or by contract under the lease to the Municipal to pay a dividend when such payment is not prudent or wise.



Referring to this statement by Mr. Andrews, Mayor Johnson said on the 5th that—

Under the letter, and certainly under the spirit of the lease, the use of the rental money for any other than dividend purposes is unwarranted. The withholding of the dividends is indefensible. It is the first evidence of bad faith. In valuing the property of the Cleveland Electric Railway Co., the people allowed more than \$2,000,000 for good will. They certainly ought to get it.



The referendum alluded to by Mr. Andrews is to come off on the 22d, and the campaign in favor of the leased franchise begins under the leadership of Mayor Johnson on the 12th. An effort on the part of some of the employees of the old company who were instrumental in maintaining a violent strike against the Municipal as soon as it began operations (pp. 227, 243, 300, 348), and are now agitating against the lease-franchise, was made on the 1st to secure the support of the local central labor body, the United Trades and Labor Council, but were defeated by 37 to 27.



A readjustment of the relations of the Municipal company to the traction system has been agreed upon and will be effected as soon as the papers are drawn. Heretofore the directors have held all the stock, \$10,000, and have been obligated in honor, but not legally, to operate the

system as lessees for the public good, and to turn it over to the city at cost upon the enactment of a municipal ownership law. The obligation was made one of honor, because it was necessary that the company should be a corporation for profit, and it was feared that if the profits were to be turned over to the public as matter of legal obligation the charter of the company might be attacked by the old traction ring. At Mayor Johnson's suggestion, however, several leading lawyers, including Mr. Goff, were called in to devise a plan whereby the purposes of the Municipal company could be made legally binding without risk of an attack upon the ground that the company is not a corporation for profit. They unanimously reported on the 2d that no legal hazard to the corporate existence of the Municipal arises from action of the individual stockholders in trusteeeing their stock and any dividends arising therefrom, and that the declaration of trust can be so limited as not to prevent or hamper the carrying forward to completion of the publicly announced and well understood policies of the company. Accordingly the Municipal accepted on the 3d the principle of the plan, which, as described editorially by the Plain Dealer of the 3d, is that "the stock of the Municipal be given over to a board of trustees to be held by them under strict agreement that profits shall be spent solely for the public good."



The Tuberculosis Congress.

At the Tuberculosis Congress now meeting in Washington, D. C. (p. 637), the session of the 4th was given over to a discussion of the interests of labor in the eradication of tuberculosis. John Mitchell presided. In addition to Mr. Mitchell and Samuel Gompers, Dr. Lawrence Flick of Philadelphia took part in the discussion. Dr. Flick described tuberculosis as "peculiarly a disease of the wage earner," because "one of the strongest predisposing causes of the disease is overwork," and because workshops are often unsanitary and the worker is often underfed. Mr. Mitchell attributed disease among workers to the attitude of employers who resist the enactment of laws for the promotion of health in working places; and Mr. Gompers stated that union workmen are less susceptible to tuberculosis than nonunion men, because the union shops are superior in sanitary appliances to other shops. The death rate from consumption among nonunion men is 100 per cent greater, he said, than among union men.



Land Reform in Scotland.

The progress of the land reform movement in Scotland (p. 612) was marked by a conference at Inverness on the 19th. The conference met un-

der the auspices of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, and the Highland Associations; and Mr. Duncan Mactavish, president of the Inverness-Shire organization of the Liberal party, presided. About 50 delegates were in attendance. One of the resolutions adopted declared it to be the opinion of the conference that—

The existing system of land tenure and taxation is directly responsible for the deplorable and backward condition of our agricultural industry and the poor condition of the country population, inasmuch as it enables the landlord class to appropriate in rent the legitimate earnings of farmer, crofter, cottar, market gardener, and laborer; keeps millions of acres of land from being put to its best use, and labor from its natural field of employment; stands in the way of valuable building land in town and country being put to its proper use for the growing requirements of the people; directly causing bad trade, poverty, slum dwellings, and chronic destitution; and that any system of landlordism which compels the people who work to yield up under the name of rent the produce of their labor to other human creatures for the privilege of living upon God's earth is a robbery of labor, and, obviously, a wicked violation of the benevolent intention of the Creator.

Another of the adopted resolutions approved the land policy of the British ministry, and another made the following declarations on the subject of the House of Lords:

That this Conference believes that the existence in Parliament of any body of non-elected persons is at once an insult to the intelligence of a free people, and a danger and a menace to the democratic institutions of the country; that the assumption by the House of Lords of the right to control and reject the legislative proposals of the elected representatives of the people in the House of Commons is both mischievous and intolerable; that this power of veto of the House of Lords over the Commons reduces the voting power and will of the people to a complete farce.

The resolution earnestly called upon the Ministry and the progressive members of Parliament to put an end to this veto at the earliest possible moment. At the close of the conference a public evening meeting was held as a finale to the conference, and Mr. Alexander Ure, solicitor-General for Scotland, made the principal speech.

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Integrity of the Ottoman Empire Threatened.

In the midst of her joy over her first days under a constitution (p. 566) Turkey finds herself confronted with difficulties on her borders. The status of provinces and nationalities under Turkish control was regulated by the treaty of Berlin, signed in 1878 by the Great Powers. Under this treaty the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, lying on the Adriatic, south of Austria and

west of Servia and Montenegro, though still reserved to the Ottoman Empire, were handed over to the Austro-Hungarian government for administration and military occupation; while the little district of Novi-Bazar, extending between Servia and Montenegro, was to be occupied by an Austrian military force, and administered civilly by Turkey. By the same treaty Bulgaria, lying south of Rumania, and between the Black Sea and Servia, was constituted an autonomous principality, tributary to Turkey. Eastern Rumelia, lying between Bulgaria and Turkey proper, by the treaty of Berlin was to remain under the direct political and military authority of the Sultan, but by revolution in 1885 succeeded in attaching itself to Bulgaria.

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A disquieting announcement of the 4th that Bulgaria had assumed control of the East Rumelian section of the Oriental railway—a Turkish enterprise—was followed on the 5th by proclamation at the old Bulgarian capital of Tirnova by Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, of Bulgaria as an independent kingdom, and of himself as Czar of the Bulgarians—a title understood to mean more than Czar of Bulgaria would mean, since it intimates sovereignty over all people of Bulgarian blood in the Orient. On the evening of the same day the Turkish council of ministers at Constantinople refused to recognize the independence of Bulgaria. On the day following Austria-Hungary gave recognition to Bulgaria as an independent state.

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Still more seriously threatening to the peace of Europe was the unexpected announcement by Austria, on the 5th, of her intention to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a slight offset she is withdrawing her troops from Novi-Bazar, with the purpose of abandoning that little district wholly to Turkey. This seizure of the two provinces by Austria is regarded as a far more dangerous violation of the Berlin treaty than the effort of a tributary province like Bulgaria to become independent, disturbing as the latter may be to the young Turks, who are naturally desirous in the first flush of popular rule, to preserve the integrity of their Empire. France, England, Russia and Italy give indications of readiness to prevent a general war, and are planning to call a conference of the signatories to the treaty of Berlin, to consider what action should be taken in regard to violations of that treaty.

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Stationer: "Typewriter ribbons? Yes, sir, we have all kinds. What particular brand do you wish?"

Private Secretary (of trust magnate): "Have you any that—er—when you use 'em, you know, the—the writing will fade away entirely in a few days?"—Chicago Tribune.

NEWS NOTES

—The Democrats of Massachusetts nominated James H. Vahey for Governor on the 1st.

—Up to the 2nd, nineteen counties in Ohio had voted upon referendum to banish saloons.

—The annual convention of the League of American Municipalities began its sessions at Omaha on the 30th.

—A national convention of unemployed persons was held at New York on the 28th, at which J. Eads How presided.

—Hungary's struggle for independence in 1849 was celebrated by the United Hungarian societies of Chicago, at Hull House on the 4th.

—Philadelphia is thronged with visitors for her foundation celebration (p. 638). The illuminations on the immense city hall building can be seen for miles in every direction.

—Fourteen women, under the leadership of Mrs. Julia Seaton Sears, applied for registration as voters in New York City on the 5th. They were rejected by the inspectors as disqualified by sex.

—At the opening of the seventy-ninth semi-annual conference of the Mormon Church at Salt Lake City on the 4th, 15,000 members in attendance unanimously voted approval of a resolution pledging the entire membership of the Church to support prohibition legislation.

—The candidates who were elected to office in the municipal elections in Cuba on August 1 (p. 444) entered upon their duties on the 1st. As a consequence, the officers of the United States army who were appointed last April by Gov. Magoon as governors of the provinces of Santiago, Camaguey, Matanzas, Havana, and Pinar del Rio have been withdrawn.

—The Atlantic-Pacific fleet (p. 541) reached Manila from Australia on the 2nd. On account of the epidemic of cholera in the Philippines (p. 638) only officers will be given shore leave. The fleet sails for Japan on the 9th, and will spend the week from October 17 to 24 in Japanese waters. According to schedule announced from Washington on the 3rd, they return to Manila, and on December 1 sail for Suez and the Mediterranean on their homeward way.

—More than a hundred representative colored professional and business men from all parts of New England and from New York and New Jersey met at Providence, R. I., on the 5th, to attend the fifth anniversary of the New England Constitution and Suffrage League. This league was organized for the purpose of uniting the colored people to secure the rights guaranteed them under the Constitution, and to insure united action against all men and measures opposed to the manhood and political rights of the race.

—The Supreme Court of Wisconsin decided on the 29th that the Wisconsin 8-hour telegraphers' law of 1907 is unconstitutional because it is in conflict with the provisions of the Federal Constitution, which clothe Congress with the power to regulate interstate commerce, and on the further ground that

Congress having already enacted a law fixing the hours of railway telegraphers at from nine to thirteen, it is not within the power of a State to enact a law which would in effect change these hours of labor.

—By the breaking down of a lake reservoir above the city of Hyderabad in south central India on one of the last days of September, many thousand persons lost their lives. A flood of water sixty feet high swept down upon the city, carrying everything before it and completely devastating some quarters. Thousands of tons of water crashed in a dense mass against the houses, burying the natives under the ruins. Upwards of 7,000 bodies had been taken from the ruins by the 3rd. Funeral pyres are kept burning day and night.

—The sixteenth national Irrigation Congress was in session at Albuquerque, N. M., from the 29th (p. 637) to the 3rd, with three thousand delegates present. The Congress divided on the question of whether irrigation enterprises and forest preservation should be undertaken by the States acting independently, or by the Federal government, with apparent victory for the latter principle. On the 2nd Mr. A. P. Davis, chief engineer of the United States reclamation service, described the irrigation work of the general government in the West. George I. Barstow, of Texas, was elected president. The next session of the Congress is to be held in Spokane.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (p. 372) for August, 1908, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909:

Receipts—	
Tariff	\$43,139,093.17
Internal revenue	41,635,325.91
Miscellaneous	12,689,408.89
	<u>\$97,463,827.97</u>
Expenses—	
Civil and miscellaneous.....	\$32,188,744.97
War	25,902,281.22
Navy	17,593,494.39
Indians	3,513,944.45
Pensions	27,268,488.65
Public works	14,773,942.98
Interest	5,001,496.59
	<u>\$126,242,393.25</u>

Deficit \$ 28,778,565.28

—The first meeting of the Associated Clubs of Domestic Science was held in Chicago on the 1st. The movement is national and already has a membership in many States. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. W. W. Gaar, of Richmond, Ind.; vice-president, Mrs. Ada B. Bogg; State vice-president, Mrs. Alonzo Daniels, Downer's Grove; treasurer, Paul Pierce; secretary, Mrs. Jean Cowgill Comerford. The president stated the function of the organization as follows: "The time has come when the people need more knowledge concerning domestic conditions. Domestic science is not alone the science of cookery and scrubbing. It is the science of the home. To have well regulated homes there must be an understanding not only of food, but of law and legislation, and conditions which concern the home. Much has been done along this line. We intend to do more. We mean to do it without aggression or conflict with any existing organization which has for its purpose the betterment of humanity. Ultimately we

shall have a vast membership, which will demand proper enforcement of laws that are vital to the home, and the enacting of others by our national and State legislative bodies."

PRESS OPINIONS

In Bryan We Trust.

The Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Oct. 3, 1908.—O, thus be it ever, when Bryan shall stand between our loved homes and the trusts' spoliation! Blest with Bryan and Kern may this near-rescued land praise the pair who will bring its complete liberation. Then conquer we must, for we've got to or bust, and this be our motto: In Bryan we trust! And the bar stangled spanner in triumph we'll wave if we manage to win by a mighty close shave!

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Cannon's Wealth and Bryan's.

Puck (neutral), Sept. 30.—Our American Abdul, Speaker Cannon, made a mistake in attacking Mr. Bryan; he laid himself open to certain obvious comebacks; and Mr. Bryan is especially swift on the comeback. . . . His remarks about Mr. Bryan's wealth called forth a challenge to declare the sum of his own possessions and to say how he came by them. Now, the Nebraskan's personal honesty has never been impugned; what he possesses he made by talking and writing. Mr. Cannon is reported a much richer man than Bryan, and he did not acquire his money by talking and writing. The opponents of the Peerless One would better confine their attacks to criticisms of the political theories he puts forth, and let his personal affairs alone. If they were all as honest as he there would be no call for muckrakers.

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Mr. Roosevelt's Pet Trust.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), September 28.—Mr. Roosevelt seeks to minimize the merging of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company into the Steel Trust on the plea that it controlled only 4 per cent of the steel and iron output. But he ignores the fact that it was the only company in the United States manufacturing steel rails in competition with the Steel Trust. And the newspaper reports at the time stated that as a result of the merger no further "cutting" would be made in the price of rails—a result that naturally would follow the trust's complete monopoly. If it was not a violation of the anti-trust law, why should the Steel Trust officials have consulted with Mr. Roosevelt and obtained his sanction to the deal? Obviously they knew that it violated the law and desired to obtain immunity. If it did not violate the anti-trust law, then the law utterly is without meaning or force. But it did violate the law and there is not a responsible lawyer in the United States, unless hired to express a contrary opinion, who would assent to Mr. Roosevelt's assertion that the merging of the Steel Trust's rival did not come within the prohibitions of the anti-trust statute. The fact is, the steel trust has been one of Mr. Roosevelt's "good" trusts. It is a tariff-sheltered trust, an infant industry, and its enfeebled

and helpless condition has appealed to his pity. For it not only has not been prosecuted for its past offenses, but its recent offenses have been condoned and pardoned before they have been committed.

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Starving School Children.

El Paso (Texas) Daily News (Dem.), Oct. 2.—In the heart of the greatest food producing section of the greatest civilized country in the world children are slowly starving. . . . under the prolonged and unshaken reign of Republicanism, Protectionism and Dingleyism. . . . Something is radically wrong. . . . There is a disease in the economy of this Republic that will not yield to the witchery of "confidence" and that fails to heal with the application of all the cures of all the sages of conservatism. . . . The mills, the mines, the factories, the offices, the farms have been closed in the face of labor. Willing hands are idle. Yet there is work that needs to be done to feed the world. . . . Labor is out of a job. . . . The workingman walks the streets for a job and the children go hungry to school. That the school children of Chicago, Pittsburg, New Ycrk and the great cities of the United States should go hungry to school and the hand of hunger reach in other parts of the country is an indictment against our civilization. . . . Privilege must go. Either that or our civilization must go. A scip thrown to privilege to be merciful and open the sources of livelihood to man will not suffice. Privilege and monopoly, twin sisters of iniquity, must be crushed with the heel of this nation as we would crush a serpent.

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Why Land Valuation Bills.

London Daily News (Lib.), September 2.—Many appear to overlook the fact that valuation must precede taxation. Some clear and definite basis of value must be ascertained before a new tax can be imposed. That is why the Government are standing so firmly by the Land Valuation Bill for Scotland, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Lords. We hope that we shall soon see the Valuation Bill for England and Wales. . . . One of the Tory Peers, Viscount Ridley, is reported as having said at Newcastle last year that "not far from a third of the land of the country is owned by the House of Lords in one way or another." We have seen calculations that make the extent of land owned by Peers even greater than that. But Lord Ridley's figures are sufficient for our purpose. Is it in the interest of the nation that about five hundred persons should have the power of saying that a third of the land in the country shall not be cultivated except as they choose; that none shall be available for the poor man's allotment; that cottages shall not be built; that plots shall not be acquired for larger dwellings; that preference shall be given to game preserves; and that nothing shall be done of which they do not approve? It is here that we find one of the keys to unemployment to-day. One of our correspondents points out that on his farm "every 17 acres supports its man." Yet thousands of acres of land are lying idle and thousands of men are clamoring for work and for land to till. No wonder the Peers are trying to put off land

valuation and taxation, and are crying for Tariff Reform instead. They know too well that taxation of land values means, at no distant time, the land for the people.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE WORKING GIRLS' SONG.

Dedicated by Miss Harriet Monroe to the Women's Trade Union League.

Sisters of the whirling wheel

Are we all day;

Builders of a house of steel

On Time's highway;

Giving bravely, hour by hour,

All we have of youth and power.

Chorus:

Oh, lords of the house we rear,

Hear us, hear!

Green are the fields in May-time,

Grant us our love-time, play-time.

Short is the day and dear.

Fingers fly and engines boom

The livelong day,

Through far fields when roses bloom

The soft winds play.

Vast the work is—sound and true

Be the tower we build for you!

Chorus:

Oh, lords of the house we rear,

Hear us, hear!

Green are the fields in May-time,

Grant us our love-time, play-time.

Short is the day and dear.

Ours the future is—we face

The whole world's needs.

In our hearts the coming race

For life's joy pleads.

As you make us—slaves or free—

So the men unborn shall be.

Chorus:

Oh, lords of the house we rear,

Hear us, hear!

Green are the fields in May-time,

Grant us our love-time, play-time.

Short is the day and dear.

+ + +

PUZZLE—FIND THE THIEF.

"Thou Shalt Not Steal!"

Every passenger who doesn't pay his fare steals.

Every conductor who doesn't turn in fares collected—steals.

—Car Sign.

"Thou shalt not steal."

Every street railway company that doesn't pay living salaries—steals.

Every street railway company that doesn't give transfers—steals.

Every street railway company that works its men over hours—steals.

Every street railway company that charges a fare for a standing passenger—steals.

Every street railway company that charges two fares to Coney Island—steals.

"Thou shalt not steal."

—Life.

+ + +

VAN CLEAVE, TAFT, GOMPERS, BRYAN.

An Open Letter for Such as Will "Read, Mark, Learn, and Inwardly Digest."

+

Austin Rotary Engine Company,
2nd Ave. & 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Oct. 3, 1908.

Mr. James W. Van Cleave,
President National Association of Manufacturers,
St Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir:—History affords no parallel for the wonderful unanimity on political matters you declare exists among "all the 142 national, State and local organizations leagued with the National Association of Manufacturers." One's surprise at the temerity of a perverse Congressional minority is increased by your assurance that the "great mass of the American people" were behind you at the Chicago convention. Your disclaimer, "there is no partisanship" in your association, is superfluous. Partisanship implies opposition. It is always the other fellow, he who opposes you, who is the "partisan." But the greatest surprise is: Why (with your assurance of this complete unanimity, 142 associations and the "great mass" of the people with you) does the national Republican committee maintain the pretense that there is a contest? Is it that Hitchcock needs the diversion before he enters the cabinet? Even so, why subject the ponderous Taft to an "undignified" emulation of his opponent's "demagogic" of rear-car campaigning. Why bother about the votes of the minor fraction outside your "great mass"? Are there not other exercises less fatiguing and repulsive to the heir apparent? Or are you and Hitchcock cruelly deceiving him into believing that Bryan "has a show"?

Did you work up this Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," from the party leaders in the "rock-ribbed" Republican States, so that those who are being fried on Sheldon's griddle may get their money's worth, by having the candidate "put through his paces" for their delectation? But why with this all-pervading "unanimity" should they be separated from their shekels? Why is the money needed? Seemingly some are so foolish as not to comprehend it is mere by-play. They squeal at the Sheldon touch in these "panicky" times. Is it wise to bare that sore spot? Why not frankly admit the fight is a farce, that only a

negligible quantity will vote for Bryan, the "142 organizations" and the "great mass" of the people being with you—and Taft. True, it wouldn't seem like a Presidential year. But think of the gain to the country from your announcement. You would bury that bug-bear, "Presidential campaigns disturb business." At once a Van Cleave-Taft prosperity would ensue, more "abounding," "amazing," "unparalleled," "unprecedented," "universal," "widespread," and "wonderful" than now exists.

You say, "alien heresies" were urged on the Chicago convention by enemies of the "party." As you assert that it not only voiced its own constituency, but that of your "142 organizations" and the "great mass" of the people, it is no longer a "party"; under the leadership of you and Taft it becomes "the people." Your admission is to be deplored. Without it, doubtless the "demagogue"—Bryan—would have seen the futility of tempting the fates—Van Cleave and Taft—and would have withdrawn, thus bringing peace and harmony to "business"—monopoly. I fear it affords an excuse to the vicious—the Denver convention and those outside of the "great mass"—to insist that a fight is on, and that their man "has a chance."

One entrusted with your great responsibility of speaking for the 142 organizations and the "great mass" of the people cannot be too careful. Because of your right thus to speak (a plebiscite is, of course, unnecessary, your intuition being an infallible guide) this admission may prolong the struggle. It is all the more regrettable, in that you say: "Our [your] victory marks a new epoch in the country's political development." It surely does. Your "unanimity" means the end of political contests. Never again will "business"—monopoly—"interests" be disturbed by political agitation. With the "heir apparent" succeeding to the throne; with the "demagogue," Bryan, getting a mere rump of a vote—where he is to get any outside of the "great mass" is a poser,—the country will be Morganized and Harrimanized into a calm and peaceful "business" condition—monopoly—undisturbed by labor agitators. One can only pray that after eight years of the serene and placid Taft, we may be favored with twelve—why not twenty—years of the brilliant Van Cleave!

Only the carping critic will insinuate that your "new epoch" means that you have driven the toilers—or those who would be toilers were it not for this "abounding" prosperity—to the support of Bryan. Only those who perversely refuse to see that "the ignorant and autocratic labor-bosses" have fallen into "discredit among the rank and file of their organizations" will attach any significance to the fact that a gathering of the officials of the organizations composing the American Federation of Labor unanimously voted to support Gompers, or that the United Mine Workers of America, and

nine out of ten of all the State bodies affiliated with the Federation—New York State on Sept. 23rd, and Indiana, Sept. 30th, being the latest—have taken similar action in support of those "demagogues"—Bryan and Gompers.

Your averment of "unanimity" should reassure the Crown Prince. Even his doubts of the outcome—due largely it is said by the vulgar to a feeling that he is outclassed by his opponent—can be eradicated by vigorous repetition. Every one appreciates the modesty of your claim that "business men have seen in the past few months, in a more striking way than ever before, the value of organization as a force in 'good' government." Only the hypercritical will say that they have long noticed how this "force" is used by the railroads and other monopolistic organizations for "good" government. Only those few outside the "great mass" will question the unsullied purity of your motives. Only the captious will declare that your action has solidified the labor organizations into supporting Bryan as the only effective means of getting relief from "government by injunction," and other seemingly cruel, but of course necessary measures if "labor is to be kept in its place."

Your further assertion that the "convulsion of 1893 was far more 'widespread and disastrous' than the 'setback'"—why not financial lark or holiday?—of 1907, is most comforting. It will soothe and calm the doubting Thomases—and they exist even among your "142"—who avow they never knew such "hard times." It will make their "panic" losses easier to bear and blot out all remembrance of their financial tragedies. But why did you withhold it so long? If made earlier, it might have saved thousands from bankruptcy—and some from suicide. It would have stiffened many a toppling pillar, buttressed many a failing business, rescued many who believe they have been brought to ruin by a "Republican" panic. All we needed was "confidence," when our banks suspended, when we business men were harassed on every side, unable to withdraw a penny of our funds which the banks corralled, closing their doors in our faces. Who more competent to inspire it—and thus ward off the importunate creditor, drive away the rent collector—than yourself? Why for twelve months have you abandoned the slogans, "All is well," "Leave well enough alone"?

But get after R. F. Cutting, the president of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Whoever suggests the need of such a body in a period of "marvellous" prosperity, should be hung, drawn and quartered. Although a Taftite, he is so indiscreet as to say, "not even in 1893-4 did the depression persist so long, nor was the suffering so widespread." Such "alien heresy" from within the Taft camp must be stamped out. Immerse him in boiling oil, or "Malmesbury" wine; make him recant; insist that he protest this is not a "Republican" panic, but is due to astronomical

derangements. Fortunately, as you have the "great mass" of the people with you, no serious harm can come from his revelation. Also nothing else was to be expected of Foraker. But were you not remiss in permitting Taft to publicly embrace him at Toledo in September, when on July 1st he had proclaimed "22,000 skilled workers are out of employment here in Cincinnati"? How wicked too of him at this time to reveal how Taft tried to have a prominent Standard Oil attorney appointed a Federal judge! This may stir the rascal to declare again that trust and railroad magnates generally land their men on the Federal bench.

Your letter to Mr. Bryan is so calm, dispassionate, serene, tranquil and unruffled in its tone, so unlike the "rantings" and "ravings" of "labor-bosses," that your declaration that "some of your members will vote for Bryan" disturbs me. It is the fly in the ointment of complete satisfaction at the political outlook. Accepting your assurance of June 30th, that not only "all" the 142 associations, but the "great mass" of the people were behind you, I deemed the battle already won. Your declaration causes disquiet, renews fears, suggests doubt, whether the "ignorant and autocratic labor-bosses" have been, as you claim, "overwhelmingly, ignominiously beaten" by the "solid, sane, conservative element" you lead so bravely. I would not question your infallibility. But the scoffer—he who neither understands nor appreciates how you have saved the country from "Bryanism,"—he may say, that in qualifying your assurance of June 30th by admitting that "some of the 142 are for Bryan," you lay your other statements open to question. Such will point out that while many workingmen have been convicted for "picketing," no manufacturer nor corporation has even been indicted for "blacklisting." It will be no satisfactory answer (to them) to say, that picketing is necessarily public, that it cannot be hidden or disguised, that hundreds participate, and thousands are cognizant of it; while "blacklisting," which robs the laborer of his all—his right to labor, to be denied which is to starve—is done in secret, known only by those who actually exchange lists or use the phone to suggest the boycott of workingmen; partners and stockholders preferring to leave this delicate matter to such as are discreet. Once your infallibility is doubted, sceptics will arise to maintain that while vigorously denouncing intimidation by strikers, you have yet to condemn, even tardily, the criminal aggregations of wealth for their crimes. For instance: The systematized and (through railroad agents) collusive espionage of the Standard Oil Company upon and the bribery of their competitors' employees; its rebates from and discriminative collusions with railroads; its 30 years of debauchery of public officials; its wholesale traffic in United States Senators—name one in the pay of organized labor or a

"labor-boss"; the arson and murder of its subsidiaries. But perhaps you regard this "American Beauty" rose as not too high a price to pay for the glory of having a Rockefeller. Again: Look at the suppression by the Steel Trust of all publicity of the fearful horrors daily enacted in its mills, hundreds of lives being needlessly sacrificed every year to the insatiable greed of this modern Moloch; the wanton destruction of life by the anthracite coal combine's refusal to obey life-guarding laws; the hourly killing or maiming of employees by the criminal neglect of railroads to provide law-directed appliances, the annual reckless and needless slaughter of life in mines and mills, and by the railroads, amounting to tens of thousands—nothing being so cheap to our "captains of industry" as human life; the debauchery by trust and railroad barons of legislatures, State and national, and boards of aldermen; their purchase of United States Senatorships; their wholesale bribery of administrative as well as legislative officials by passes—even Roosevelt accepting these favors to the tune of twenty-five special trains, with food, wines, cigars, etc., to the value of one hundred thousand dollars during the two years to Sept. 16, 1903; the looting of railroads like the Alton of \$60,000,000; the demand of the railroads for increased freights, yet willingly paying a tribute to the Steel trust of \$7 to \$8 a ton for steel rails over what they are sold for abroad; of the "gentlemen's agreement" between the Western Union and the Postal, so that telegraph tolls are yanked up 33% to 66%; the throttling of Congress by the Paper Trust, thus setting at naught the well-nigh universal demand of the newspapers for free wood-pulp, so as to limit that trust's extortion; and the coercion of employees by members of your association into voting for Taft, under the threat of closing the mills after the election if the men shall exercise the American right of an untrammeled suffrage, the while you are claiming to be for "freedom of contract" for labor. How proud Taft will feel if he is elected by such means. So much like the "Dear Harriman, you and I as 'practical men' \$260,000 fund," isn't it?

Was it not indiscreet of the New York "Times"—a Taft paper—to admit that the "leadership of Gompers is enthusiastically endorsed by the great majority of organized labor, and that the injunction issue is tremendously popular"—even in Indiana. If these admissions continue may not some of the "great mass" get away from you, stray after strange gods, even vote for the "demagogue"—Bryan?

Was it not also indiscreet for Roosevelt to threaten to veto the Oklahoma constitution because it provided for "jury trials in contempt cases"? And Taft, too! How unwise of him to stump Oklahoma, campaigning against the proposed constitution on the same grounds, when as the "father of injunctions," he was the prospec-

tive candidate? And when you recall that Oklahoma rebuked Roosevelt and Taft by over 100,000, have you no anxiety that others of the "great mass" will get away from your apron strings? I confess I have.

And then the panic! True, with bounteous crops, unlimited raw materials (Morgan and Hill kindly monopolizing them so we shant use them too rapidly), the most intelligent, virile, progressive, and adaptable labor in the world, with an abundance of stored-up labor (capital), there was no honest reason why there should be a panic. Then why did it occur, why does it persist? Why the industrial blight? Why the depression? The cause is not difficult to discover. It is that the above named natural forces, those which unhampered would yield bountifully for all, are hamstrung by legislation conferring privileges upon the few. These privileges enable their possessors to "hold up" natural laws, to forcibly take from producers and consumers alike the produce of their toil. A panic in a period of bounteous crops and intensified production is an anachronism. But what if the crops had failed? Then, the "worst panic ever known," the most "persistent depression, the most widespread suffering," might have become a cataclysm—and this, too, under the "ablest, wisest and best President we have ever had." Doesn't the thought of such a possibility make you quake? Even Bryan couldn't have done worse, could he?

Bryan plans to minimize the effect of panics by guaranteeing bank deposits. True to the interests he defends and will continue to serve if elected, Taft opposes the people having their deposits guaranteed—most of them deriving no profit thereon—although the nation, the States and the municipalities demand and obtain it. While opposing this safeguard for the people, he would insure a "reasonable" profit to manufacturers. Force-pump and gas-inflation methods, a vigorous beating of tom-toms, a universal insistence that "things are all right" by "let us alone," "sunshine," and optimistic leagues, may inject sufficient wind and gas into our industrial life to deceive the unwary until after election. But even if successful it merely postpones the day of reckoning. Of course the monopolists wish to stave off a crisis at this time. They hope under the egis of the complaisant Taft, by a further riveting of the shackles of monopoly upon industry, by increasing their power to subjugate the people, by greater solidity and more power to crush labor organizations, by a firmer control of government, national, State and local, to have the masses at their mercy when the economic evils they are creating bring the inevitable industrial cataclysm. The events of October-November last, prove their increasing control of government. A bold, arrogant, domineering, financial tyrant issues his orders like a despot. A meek, servile, complaisant secretary of the treasury summoned from Washington, comes weekly

into his august presence. Daily, aye, hourly the chief financial officer of the government, charged with the custody of an "imperial" nation's funds, is directed by the factotum of this autocrat how and with whom to place the people's money—the lion's share going, of course, to the dictator's own banks. Not content with this exhibition of his absolute sway over the nation's government, the tyrant sends his emissaries, Gary and Frick, to the White House to serve notice upon the nominal head of the government that he would brook no interference with his plans to get complete control of the largest of all industries; that there must be an unconditional surrender, a pledge that the Presidential oath to enforce the laws would be violated by agreeing neither to punish nor prevent the consummation of his illegal acts; the purpose to increase his monopolistic power by absorbing in brazen and contemptuous defiance of anti-trust laws his chief competitor—the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. The abject surrender made, the defence he now offers, is, that he did it to avert a greater panic—an admission from the nation's executive that Morgan is the nation's master, that he can make or mar its industrial life, that its business destiny is in his hands.

Upon what meat has this our Caesar fed that he has grown so great? Special privilege! Through his monopolization of anthracite, of steel, and of steel highways, he and a few others have acquired their enormous wealth and this dangerous power, a power which menaces every business compelled to use coal, steel, or other trust products.

You say, it is base and cowardly for working-men to cringe before "ignorant and autocratic labor-bosses." Where is the "labor-boss" with a millionth of this man's power over the business, aye, the very lives of others? What is to be said of the business men of the country—having larger opportunities, more leisure, greater comforts, a better education, than their employees—who submit to one man's assertion of his sovereignty over all business, insolently declaring that if any—even the chief executive of the nation—dares to interfere with his purposes, he will bring on an industrial cataclysm? What monarch has ever thus terrorized his subjects? What of the pusillanimity of business men before this financial despot? Is the game worth the candle? Is success worth while (to say nothing of the possibility of wholesale disaster) when purchased at such a price? Are the business men willing to permit this? Are they to bow down before this tyrant? Are the real business men of the country, those who ask a fair field and no favor—only an equal opportunity—prepared to pay this fearful price for what at most—if such power continues—can be but a temporary business improvement? Do the business men realize how opportunity is being more and more restricted? How every trust that is formed—and there are some 600 of them al-

ready—removes the possibility of their entering that line? How scores of thousands of business men have been forced to become employees of trusts and monopolies, 50,000 commercial travellers alone having been turned adrift because their employer's business had been trustified or bankrupted? How wealth and power is thus being concentrated, the tribute now paid to monopoly being not less than two billions a year? How in almost every case the trust is receiving rebates and other favors, ingenious trust managers and lawyers readily inventing new schemes for law evasion—the most recent being "accessorial allowance"? How the honest merchant and manufacturer is handicapped on every hand by trust control of railroads and banks, so that they have him at their mercy whenever ready to destroy him? How thousands have been destroyed by these unholy and unfair means? How there can be no relief from this condition, but rather it must become intensified if Taft is elected, for he is a defender of the system which has produced it, he stands for the status quo; whereas Bryan has openly, boldly, persistently, exposed and denounced them, and is pledged to extirpate private monopoly, thus restoring equal opportunity?

No further proof than the facts here recited is needed to show that Bryan is right—"a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable." Who can hesitate in the face of this growing menace to legitimate business? Who will willingly con-

tribute to the growth of such power, to the establishment of such a despotism? Let us free business from this thraldom! Let us unite to secure to everyone equality of opportunity, to secure equal and exact justice to all. Thus may each work out his own destiny, tyranny be overthrown, and liberty, freedom, justice be established.

ROBERT BAKER.

BOOKS

A PLEA FOR INTENSIVE AGRICULTURE.

A Little Land and a Living. By Bolton Hall. Published by the Arcadia Press, New York. 1908. Price, \$1.00.

The author of "Three Acres and Liberty," which challenged all our feeble city souls, speaks again in praise of the soil. Get a bit of land, he says, an acre or less or more, enrich it, till it deep and often, plant and tend it mindfully; and lo! at the end of a year or two or five, there shall come forth life—not only a living, but health and freedom and fair leisure.

The book puts the ideals of a reformer into the persuasive language of a land-boom booklet, and then satisfies our objecting common sense with names and dates, with places and persons and figures which actualize the vision and hearten our

YOU Subscriber and Reader of The Public:

Dear Sir:

There are more ways than one to help THE PUBLIC to become self-supporting. One is to get all the new subscribers you can. Go over the list of your acquaintances, see which ones might possibly be interested in such a paper, and do not rest until you have either secured their subscription or their positive and definite refusal.

Another way is to secure advertisements. Perhaps you know some business man who would profit by being in touch with THE PUBLIC's constituency. If so, you will be doing him a favor, as well as THE PUBLIC a service, by calling his attention to the opportunity. Just see how many business men you can reach.

Then you can do much to make the advertisements already in pay the advertiser. When you are in need of any article you can give the preference to the one advertised in THE PUBLIC. Some very good work along this line has been done already. The following letter speaks for itself:

Fels & Co.,
Philadelphia, Pa.

FORT DODGE, IA., 9-14-'08.

Gentlemen:—Having noticed your advertisement in THE PUBLIC, I am now using Fels-Naptha and am well pleased with same.

Very truly,
MRS. J. D. BURKE.

Mrs. Burke sets a good example which the several thousand readers of THE PUBLIC ought to follow.

Yours very truly,
DANIEL KIEFER.

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hopes. For the fact that many and many of us tenement-dwellers cherish farm-garden dreams is an open secret, now that this little volume of Mr. Hall's has gone into its third edition.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Lighted Lamp. By C. Hanford Henderson. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 1908. Price, \$1.50.

—Economics. By Scott Nearing and Frank D. Watson. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1908. Price \$1.90 net.

—An Occultist's Travels. By Willy Reichel. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. Seventeenth St., New York. 1908. Price \$1.00 net.

—Americans of To-day and To-morrow. By Albert J. Beveridge. Published by the Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. Price 50 cents net.

—Beginnings in Industrial Education and other Educational Discussions. By Paul H. Hanus, professor of the History and Art of Teaching in Harvard University. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company. Price \$1 net.

PAMPHLETS

"The Rule of Plutocracy in Colorado."

Under this title Judge Ben B. Lindsey, famous throughout the United States as the judge of the

juvenile court of Denver, outlines a retrospect and pronounces a warning. The one is shocking and the other startling. Tweedism was once the type of rotten politics; but it was innocence profound in comparison with the rottenness in business as well as politics which Judge Lindsey exposes in Denver.

+

Peace and War.

The paper of Lucia Ames Mead in the Arena of August-September, 1908, in which she answers Capt. Mahan, is reprinted as a pamphlet. Mrs. Mead is justly severe upon the muddleheadedness that characterizes opposition to the movement for universal peace, which she summarizes in this fine paragraph: "The peace party makes no 'mollycoddle' plea about hardship and pain, it has no craven fear of death; but it abhors in this age of enlightenment the beast's way of settling issues by tooth and claw."

PERIODICALS

The Chicago Anti-Vaccinator for September, in addition to a variety of matter in criticism of vaccination, explains the origin and purpose of the Anti-Compulsory Vaccination Society of Chicago, and urges opposition to the efforts to overturn by legislation the recent decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois against enforced vaccination in the public schools.

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"And shall you carry out your plan of visiting the blue grotto at Capri this year, Frau Lammer?"

"Alas! no, Frau Spits; we are in mourning this

A HANDSOME FRAMING PORTRAIT OF HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

I will have ready about October 20th a handsome framing portrait of Hon. William Jennings Bryan, by one of America's foremost portrait engravers, W. H. W. Bicknell.

(It is not a photogravure, a half tone, or process print of any kind, but a portrait printed from an engraved plate on which the artist has done all the engraving by hand, and is just as much an original work of art, and as worthy of a prominent place in the most elegantly furnished office or library, as an oil painting from a master hand. I make this explanation as the word "engraving" has been so misused in late years to describe all kinds of cheap process work as to brooke misleading.)

The portrait is a bust, size of the engraved surface is 14 x 17 inches. Mr. Bicknell has spared no effort to make it in every way worthy of its original, and the result is a speaking likeness of Mr. Bryan over which all of his admirers to whom I have shown the finished proof have become enthusiastic.

It is not a campaign picture, but is one of my series of framing portraits of American Statesmen. I started Mr. Bicknell on the plate long before Mr. Bryan's nomination at Denver, as I felt that whether he was nominated or not there are thousands of Democrats all over the country who will want his portrait for the ideals for which he stands, and not for any public office he may hold.

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WILLIAM J. CAMPBELL

PUBLISHER

1008 Walnut Street.

PHILADELPHIA

summer, so we are going to the Black Forest."—Figaro.

+ + +

"This government is becoming more and more centralized every year," said the student of politics.

"Yes," answered Colonel Stillwell of Kentucky,

"it's getting so that the States don't do much more than furnish titles for battle ships and popular songs."—Washington Star.

+ + +

What Willie learned on Sunday from Mr. Bisnis, his teacher: "Yes, Willie, now that you've taken

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Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

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+ + +

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+ + +

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X. X. X.

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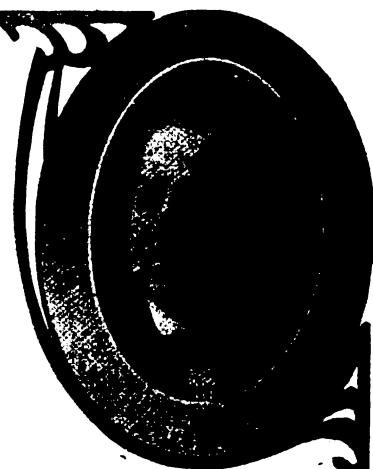
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