

SEP 4 1908

The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR
ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Massachusetts
L. P. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
HENRY F. RING, Texas
WILLIAM H. FLEMING, Georgia
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
BOLTON HALL, New York
FRANCIS I. DU PONT, Delaware
HERRBERT QUICK, Iowa
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois
R. P. PETTIGREW, South Dakota
LEWIS H. BERENS, England
J. W. S. CALLIE, England
JOSEPH PELS, England
JOHN PAUL, Scotland
MAX HIRSCH, Australia
GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XI

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1908.

No. 544

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

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

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Mr. Taft and the History of Bank Deposit Insurance	529
Political Coercion of Workingmen	530
Mr. Taft's Business Fakirs	531
How Is the Balance Paid?	531
Mayor Johnson and the Traction Trust	531
The Single Tax in Washington	532
The "Gentleman" Farmer	533
The American Press Censorship	533
The Voice of Grover Cleveland	533
A Laborious Task	534
The Lesson of Springfield (James F. Morton, Jr.)	534

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

The British "Suffragettes" (L. F. P.)	535
---	-----

NEWS NARRATIVE:

Bryan's Speech on Trusts	538
Mr. Kern's Notification	538
Independence Party Notification	538
Negro Opposition to Taft	538
National Politics in Kansas	539
State Election in Vermont	539
New York Traction Failures	539
Tolstoy's Birthday	539
Advance Toward Constitutional Government in China	540
The Burden of India	540
News Notes	541
Press Opinions	542

RELATED THINGS:

Lines (W. S. Rogers)	544
Civil Freedom a Universal Right (George Bush)	544
Democratic Housekeeping	545
Land Tenure in Germany's One Successful Colony	545
The Brain-Fag of the Republican Editors (Lona Ingham Robinson)	545
The Domestic Infelicities of the Hornbill (Louisa Dana Harding)	546

BOOKS:

Red Russia	547
Books Received	548
Periodicals	548

EDITORIAL

Mr. Taft and the History of Bank Deposit Insurance.

In his speech at Hot Springs on the 26th, Mr. Taft denounced Mr. Bryan's proposal to require the insurance of bank deposits; and in doing so he said:

I am told that such a law was in force in New York, and that the result was that when a panic ensued, the tax having been improperly calculated, there were not sufficient funds to pay the loss, but this I have only on the authority of a well known writer on the subject.

The evident purpose of this remark was to carry an implication that insurance of bank deposits had been once tried and had failed, and therefore that banking experience was a witness against Mr. Bryan. Unless this was its purpose, the remark had no point.

The "well known writer" to whom Mr. Taft refers and whom he would have named had he been altogether candid, was the late John J. Knox, a distinguished banker who for many years served in Republican administrations as Comptroller of the Currency. Mr. Taft's allusion is evidently to Mr. Knox's well known work, "A History of Banking in the United States." Reference to this valuable volume, from pages 390 to 429, shows that Mr. Taft has neglected to consult his authority with the care demanded of a man in his position who presumes to draw conclusions for public use.

What was called the "safety fund system" of New York was, according to Mr. Knox, to whom Mr. Taft alludes, adopted in that State in 1829. It was the dominant system until 1838, when the "free banking" system was introduced. As understood at the time of its passage, the safety-fund" law provided insurance for circulation only; but twelve years after its enactment, the courts held that the fund was responsible not alone for the circulation but for all the other debts of insolvent banks. Of course an insurance fund based upon only one class of obligations was not large enough for all obligations, especially under stress of universal insolvency. It failed to meet the emergency, just as accident insurance companies would fail to meet obligations if their premiums, calculated upon accidental deaths alone and in normal conditions, were in the end unexpectedly held by the courts to be responsible for all the deaths of a great epidemic.

+

Until the very worst year of the hard times of 1837-42, in which all the business of the entire country was disastrously involved, the "safety fund" system of New York was a complete success. Investments in "safety fund" bank stocks were largely made; and, as Mr. Knox writes, "from the year 1829 to the year 1841, covering a period of twelve years' duration, the safety fund was not drawn upon, as no chartered bank became insolvent during that time." When the stress came, the insurance fund was indeed insufficient, but this was due, not to an improper calculation of "the tax," as Mr. Taft has it, but, as Mr. Knox clearly explains, to what he calls an "oversight or misunderstanding" with reference to the scope of the law. "If, as was the probable intention of its suggestor," says Mr. Knox at page 409, "the fund had only been drawn on for the redemption of the circulation of the banks that became insolvent, it would have been amply sufficient for the purpose." And at page 411 he further observes—a very important fact which Mr. Taft should have noticed but did not—that the lack of legal restraints upon circulation had forced a vast volume of unguarded fraudulent issues upon the insurance fund for redemption.

+

According to Mr. Knox's conclusion, at page 413 of his book—which Mr. Taft should have read before he spoke,—it was "owing to defects in the practical application rather than in the principle of the safety fund act," that "the banks under the system were called upon to contribute

about a million dollars more than they would had the defects referred to been seen and obviated at the outset." That is to say, if the law had secured circulation only, the New York "safety fund" would have been adequate. It is evidently as true that if responsibility for all debts had been intended, the insurance percentage would have been larger and the fund consequently sufficient. The essential point, therefore, is that failure of the "safety fund" of New York at a time of stress, when everything else failed from one end of the country to the other, was due to an oversight in the details of law making and not to the principle of the plan that Mr. Bryan proposes. Even as it was, both depositors and note holders got much more of their money back than either would have got but for the "safety fund" which Mr. Taft so lightly condemns.

+

Since Mr. Taft has ignored so much in Mr. Knox's history of the New York banks, in order to make a false point against Mr. Bryan's bank deposit insurance, he could hardly have been expected to consider the history of the banks of other States, though included in the same volume to which he resorted for the point he has tried to make. Yet Mr. Knox tells, at page 732 of his history, of the deliberate adoption of the New York "safety fund" plan by Michigan seven years after it had gone into operation in New York; and at page 355 he describes the adoption of the same plan by Vermont in 1831. In Vermont legal safeguards were established which had been omitted in New York. Not only was the business so regulated as to prevent fraud, but the insurance fund was required by the law to be large enough to cover deposits as well as circulation. In consequence, writes Mr. Knox at page 356, the safety fund law in Vermont "*proved satisfactory in its operations and raised the standard of banking throughout the State.*"

+ +

Political Coercion of Workingmen.

Mr. D. M. Parry, whose bitterness toward workingmen's unions has brought down upon him a good deal of just condemnation, takes patriotic and righteous ground with reference to the custom of his party in coercing workingmen in politics, and takes it boldly. In a letter to Mr. Kern, the Democratic candidate for Vice President, he speaks of that subject in these words:

I have had a good deal to say in the past about the abuse of power by the labor unions—some people tell me I have said too much on the subject—but I have yet to say a word in favor of any abuse

of power by the employer. And it is an abuse of the power of the employer to intimate to the employe that his services will not be needed if he does not vote a certain way. When a man is made to believe that his bread and butter depend on how he votes, he is no longer free to exercise his own judgment—he is deprived of the most important of his citizenship rights. I believe it is our duty to frown down upon all efforts to sway the judgment of men other than by methods of proper argument and persuasion untingered with coercion.

It is difficult to believe that the man who writes in that spirit has been unjust to labor unions consciously. The inference is irresistible that his impulses are for men, regardless of class or condition, and that for such injustice as he may have done labor organizations, unconscious class influences and bias are responsible.

+ +

Mr. Taft's Business Fakirs.

That Leather Belting Company whose coercive campaigning for Mr. Taft drew out so comprehensive and unanswerable a reply from ex-Congressman Robert Baker, in behalf of the Austin Engine Company of Brooklyn (p. 473), has aroused another business house, the American Electric Telephone Company of Chicago, which makes this response:

Gentlemen: We have your favor of the 23rd inst. asking us to post in our factory the following sign:

Believing that the election of Taft and Sherman means a safe and progressive business administration, the day following we shall start this plant on "full time and keep going."

We will not do this for several reasons, principally these:

We do not believe it good policy for a business concern to send out campaign literature, and we do not wish to post in our factory a statement which would be coercing our employes.

Such a statement on a poster would not be the truth.

We could not afford to carry out the promise any better after election than it was possible in any period of the past year.

Business has been about as poor as possible for upwards of a year and a half. Which party have you to blame for it?

Your cry for a business administration has got to be a "chestnut." Every man is a business man.

Your ideal business men are no doubt those who can by questionable methods get a franchise or some special privilege from government, start the printing process on the largest amount of watered stock and bonds, and sell them to the "widows and orphans," and then try to make the abuses of today become the vested rights of tomorrow.

Your system of intimidation to the voter (your poster) has got the old system of stealing the insurance and other moneys to carry the election, "beat a mile."

Your cry of disaster every four years if a certain ticket is not elected, is doing a great injury to

the country. Can't we ever have a change of administration without the "interests" crying disaster? If not, you had better have Van Cleave and the National Association of Manufacturers appoint our Presidents, and failing in this, let us have a monarchy. It is the only way you can be consistent.

+ +

How Is the Balance Paid?

One of the Commerce and Labor Bulletins, that for September 2, makes this interesting comparison of our trade with Germany:

	Seven months ending July—	Imports from Germany.	Exports to Germany.
1904	\$60,216,323	\$93,376,319
1905	66,723,255	99,734,816
1906	79,257,760	122,705,276
1907	92,897,120	138,819,968
1908	71,906,376	136,649,182

It will be noted that every year shows a balance of exports—that is, of outgo over income—amounting in round numbers to \$33,000,000, \$33,000,000, \$45,000,000, \$46,000,000, and \$65,000,000 for the years mentioned respectively. Now, how does Germany pay us this balance? Does the balance run the other way during the unreported five months of each of those years? Is the balance paid in gold or silver? Has it ever been paid? Will it ever be paid? These are important facts. Profitable trading consists in getting more value than you give. But these figures show, on their face, that we give more than we get. What is the explanation? and will the Department of Commerce and Labor make it and publish it?

+ +

Mayor Johnson and the Traction Trust.

The astute representative of the Associated Press at Cleveland, whoever he may be, certainly has earned more than his regular salary in the dissemination this summer of false news about the Municipal Traction company of that city. His latest exploit in this respect was the widespread publication of another "failure" of Mayor Johnson's three cent fare enterprise. In Cleveland nobody is deceived by these publications. But newspaper readers outside of Cleveland, apt to forget the deceptions which the Associated Press has practiced upon them again and again respecting Johnson's traction policy, are in danger of being gulled by each new falsehood.

+

The fact is that three cent fares in Cleveland have not failed nor been abandoned. On the contrary they are proving their merits in the most satisfactory manner. While the private traction rings of New York are going into bankruptcy on

five cent fares, the municipal system under Johnson in Cleveland is making money on three cent fares. Hampered as it is with inadequate rolling stock—a deficiency which is being overcome as fast as is physically possible,—it is nevertheless carrying 460,000 passengers a day, or 60,000 more than the private monopoly system carried, and is operating more economically and collecting fares closer. Owing to the temporary inadequacy of cars after five months of the present municipal regime, the straps are much in use; but not nearly so much as in Chicago after eighteen months of operation under our “strap hanger” franchise.

+

The only basis for the Associated Press story that three cent fares have been abandoned in Cleveland and five cent fares resumed, is the introduction of a system for securing full collection of fares. It had been impossible for conductors to make full collections, owing to delays in making change. Many of these delays were caused in good faith by passengers who thoughtlessly presented bills for change—one dollar and two dollar bills. But a large percentage of the delays was caused maliciously by persons who, like the Associated Press agent in Cleveland, were interested in one way and another in embarrassing the new system. Even ten dollar bills were handed to the conductors until the company adopted the awkward plan of requiring these passengers to go to the office of the company for their change, all bills over two dollars in denomination being meanwhile turned in by the conductors. Finally, to completely cure the evil of these delays and prevent the loss, the fare was changed to five cents *unless paid in aluminum tickets*, the tickets being sold by all conductors anywhere at five for fifteen cents and at either end of the line by starters at three cents apiece. It was this common sense requirement—necessary to secure payment for service and to minimize losses from careless or dishonest conductors,—that the Associated Press falsely reported throughout the country as an abandonment of three cent fares and a return to five cent fares.

+

Plans are now in progress which will secure the largest possible return of fares with the least possible delay in collection. “Pay-enter” cars are being introduced with fare boxes on the rear platform. The conductors on these cars do nothing but sell fare tickets at the rate of five for fifteen cents. The passenger must put his own ticket into the box on the platform, and does not enter the car until he has done so. When these boxes

are brought into use, three kinds of payment will be allowed: An aluminum ticket costing three cents each in quantities of five, a nickel for passengers having neither tickets nor pennies, and three pennies for passengers preferring pennies to tickets. In other words, the fares will be three cents, with a penalty of two cents to cover loss for making change for passengers who ignore the reasonable requirement that they provide themselves with either tickets or change.

+

For three months, a cent was charged for transfers, but this charge is no longer made. To prevent abuses of free transfers, however, the passenger pays a cent to the conductor who gives him his transfer, and receives back a cent from the conductor who takes it up. Experience shows that by thus giving a money value to transfers, passengers seldom take them unless they intend in good faith to use them.

+

Despite obstructions by corporation interests both in Cleveland and elsewhere, despite the misrepresentations of local papers and the Associated Press, despite the hard times which have bankrupted private traction systems in New York, and caused others there to pass their dividends for more than a year, despite all the difficulties which enterprises honestly in the public interest always encounter, the Municipal Traction system of Cleveland has a foothold from which it cannot be displaced. Its service is better than ever, better than the Chicago service, better than the New York service; its fares are three cents instead of five to all passengers who provide exact change; and the margin of gross profit over operating expenses is already nearly as much as that of its monopoly predecessor. Whoever qualifies himself to judge can plainly see that Mayor Johnson's street car policy, so far from being the failure it has been represented to be by those who would profit should it fail, is a pronounced success. Only one step yet remains to make its success irrevocably complete, and that is the adoption of the plan by the people at the referendum. Of this no one in Cleveland has any doubt. All expressions of pretended doubt are obviously for stock-jobbing purposes.

+ +

The Single Tax in Washington.

There is a superstition that the farming community will always stand as a rock against the adoption of Henry George's single tax program.

That they will do so is doubtless true, as long as they remain in ignorance. But every one who understands the single tax knows that it would be beneficial to all farmers who farm farms; and farmers themselves are beginning also to find that this is true. Here and there a farmer may be found who grasps the matter; and at Bellingham, Washington, the county Grange has voted unanimously for the adoption of the single tax. A little more of this, and the whole structure of farming opposition will collapse.

+

A favorable opportunity for promoting the single tax movement is opening in Washington. The people of that State are to vote in November on an amendment to the Constitution permitting differential taxation. Under the Constitution as it has stood, all property must be assessed alike; but the proposed amendment allows discriminations as to classes of property, the restriction of uniformity of rate being limited to property of the same class. The amendment was proposed in order to enable the legislature to exempt bank deposits; but when adopted, as it probably will be, exemptions of other classes of property will be allowable, and the single taxers are not unlikely to succeed in exempting all personal property and real estate improvements, thereby casting the burden of taxation where it justly belongs—upon the monopoly value of land. This movement will be facilitated by the fact that in western Washington the improvement values of farms are very large relatively to the monopoly value of their sites; and by the additional fact that the labor unions there are already favorable to the single tax idea.

+ +

The "Gentleman" Farmer.

In the industrial society of the United States to-day there are two kinds of farmers. There are the farmers who farm farms, and the farmers who farm gentlemen. A good representative of the latter class is the Country Gentleman of Albany, New York. This paper stands for the interest in farming which goes not to the men who sweat in the fields but to those who sit in the shade and collect the rent or the interest on purchase money mortgages. Naturally enough it is opposed not only to laws that may increase earned wages at the expense of unearned advantages in connection with farming, but also to laws that would enable the earners to dictate laws to the mere appropriators. The referendum, for instance, is particularly objectionable to this journal which represents the farmers who farm farms. There lies before us

a copy of a letter from its editor written to a Granger who had advocated the referendum. It opposes the referendum as applied to anything involving either directly or indirectly the expenditure of public money, because this would play into the hands of the "non-tax paying element" (as if there were any such element except the class that pays taxes with money it doesn't earn), and into the hands of the labor element, "whose purposes are always directly opposed to the interests of the farmers" (as if the interests of any kind of labor could be opposed to the interests of any kind of farmers, except those that farm farms and whom the Country Gentleman represents). In this connection the editor of the Country Gentleman is especially hostile to eight hour laws because they make "everything dearer that the farmer has to buy, while not enhancing by a single mill the price of anything the farmer has to sell." A singular appeal this, to a class which has given in its adhesion to a protective tariff in a country whose farming products get their prices fixed abroad, tariff or no tariff. But that aside, the editor of the Country Gentleman has slippery notions of the relation of prices to earnings. High wages don't mean low farming profits—not low profits for farmers who farm farms; for the profits of working farmers and the wages of all other workmen are of one kind. Both of them rise as monopoly profits fall, and fall as monopoly profits rise. It is not the farmer who farms farms that loses by high wages, but the farmer who farms gentlemen. Naturally, therefore, no "country gentleman" is favorable to the referendum, for on referendum the workers would largely outvote the workers' parasites.

+ +

The American Press Censorship.

As the American press censorship under the new law grows more drastic, let it not be forgotten that when this law went through the Senate last winter, Senator Hale gave warning. "I hope," said he, "that the Senators here fully understand that the effect will be to suppress freedom of the press."

+ +

The Voice of Grover Cleveland.

It is not easy to see why Republican partisans should make so much of the late ex-President Cleveland's posthumous paper in behalf of Mr. Taft. Democrats who followed Mr. Cleveland's leadership blindly are already lined up behind Mr. Taft, along with the plutocratic Republicans who have somehow satisfied themselves that Taft will not be a Roosevelt. The Cleveland document can

bring no votes from that source, for they are already "brought"; but its publication in Republican papers may easily drive away from Mr. Taft a good many democratic Republicans. Among the latter a recommendation from Mr. Cleveland is not likely to be a very valuable one for Mr. Taft to campaign with.

+ +

A Laborious Task.

In campaigning for Mr. Taft as the representative of the people as against the privileged classes, the Springfield Republican (p. 459) begins to show signs of physical exhaustion.

+ + +

THE LESSON OF SPRINGFIELD.

Among the numerous comments on the horrors recently enacted at Springfield, Ill., every moral is drawn except the one most obvious and most important of all.

The Southern papers find their grief considerably mitigated, owing to the fact that this outrage took place in a Northern State.

The Northern papers talk wisely about the rigid and impartial enforcement of law, and then fold their hands with an attitude of duty fully performed.

Not one of them dares to tell the plain truth, which is that the present villainy, like so many in the past and so many more yet to come, is the strictly logical sequence of national indulgence in the perilous luxury of race prejudice, and the constant fomentation of evil passions in the ever receptive mob.

It is high time to put the guilt where it belongs.

Men who are continually fanning the flames of racial antipathy are undoubtedly sincere in their abhorrence of such crimes as that of Springfield; yet it is certain that without the race hatred inspired by their teachings, these things would speedily cease to be.

Whatever the immediate cause or provocation of such outbreaks, it is noted that the inflamed mob quickly extends its cowardly attack to such members of the hated race as can readily be reached.

+

The cure for these evils can easily be named, inasmuch as it is identical with the cure for most other national sins.

In brief, it may be designated as fundamental right thinking.

When the principle of equal human rights, regardless of race or color, shall leaven all society,

from the highest to the lowest, we shall not be obliged to apologize for such outrages as that of Springfield. It is only in the United States, Russia, and a few odd corners of Europe, where a bitter race or religious animosity prevails, that lynchings and mob massacres are possible in the twentieth century.

Kill race prejudice, and we shall have no cause for humiliation over the existence of such fiendish barbarism in our country as cannot be even comprehended in England, France or Germany. Let this vicious principle live and spread, and we shall still be compelled to see the United States justly ranked as low in the scale of civilization by the nations of the Old World.

There is no other remedy, and no excuse for not adopting this one.

+

Race prejudice is a Moloch, which ever demands to be fed with blood.

It is antithetic to all the higher ideals of our civilization, and in strict opposition to every fundamental principle of democracy. All real progress tends at least in the direction of human brotherhood; race prejudice aims to annihilate the spirit of fraternity in mankind. Civilization breeds gentleness and courtesy; race prejudice stimulates roughness and violence. Democracy opens wide the door of opportunity to all men; race prejudice slams the door in the face of those who are victims of a mere accident of birth.

It is despicably mean in its repudiation of the common decency of fair play.

It is a liar from the beginning, falsifying the plainest facts of science, repudiating the most obvious lessons of history, hypocritically trampling on the clearest teachings of the religion its apologists falsely pretend to accept and obey.

It is uniformly a persecutor. Knowing its own inherent vileness, it lives in perpetual dread of exposure, and uses the approved weapons of villainy in all ages to stifle the voice of truth. In the centers of race prejudice, free speech is a thing unknown. Tar and feathers, the scourge and the arms of the midnight assassin, are its appropriate means of enforcing its decrees. Being an evil tree, it inevitably brings forth evil fruit.

There can be no compromise with such a pest. For our foolishness in truckling to its insolence, we have already paid dearly. The time has come for a radical change of attitude.

+

The dinner of the Cosmopolitan Society, which brought together in fraternal fellowship a number

of members of the white and colored races for the earnest consideration of great national issues which concern both races (p. 153) may now be seen to have been no false move. The malignant comments aroused in the organs of race prejudice in the South and the still meaner trucklers to a false sentiment in the North, proved this.

To draw the fire of the enemy and learn his actual location, is often of vital importance in military strategy. We now know, beyond a peradventure, that race prejudice is shamelessly and brutally invasive; that its essence is virulent hate; that it demands absolute and humiliating surrender of principle from all who cherish a nobler human ideal; that its loud-mouthed pretence of seeking to safeguard racial purity is merely a mask to hide the hideous visage of oligarchic despotism.



The enemies of mankind have always found their account in setting human beings against one another by means of race and caste divisions. It is a very old game, and one that has often been successful.

As long as it prevails, a fearful stumbling-block lies in the path of all social and economic progress. We must fight our reform battle consciously for *all*, of every race, color, creed and social station, before we may hope to win it for any. To begin a campaign for human rights and handicap ourselves at the outset by narrowing our interest to the welfare of one race alone, is to invite and deserve defeat.



It is not sufficient, however, to support legislation which shall open equal opportunities to all races. Such legislation already prevails in Illinois, and yet the Springfield outrages took place. The seat of race prejudice is in our own minds; until it is thoroughly rooted out there will be no lack of Springfields.

True democracy demands that we rate every individual in strict accordance with personal merit, entirely ignoring all accidents of birth and color. As long as we lump together as necessarily inferior, socially or in any other respect, all the members of any given race, regardless of individual development, we have not grasped the rudiments of democratic ideals. This ought to be a platitude so obvious as to render its repetition unnecessary; but unfortunately it is recognized only by the tiny handful who have evolved to the point of doing their own thinking.

The cultured snobbery, which merely puts on airs of conscious superiority, and coldly disparages the efforts of members of the Pariah race

to aspire to honorable recognition, is the same spirit which, slavishly copied by less cultured classes, filters down from stratum to stratum, until in the coarser-veined mob it eventuates in violent outbreaks at the slightest pretext.

To cure this evil we must begin at the top. This is the one remedy which has never been tried, and which alone is fundamental.

It lies within ourselves to begin.

The enemies of race prejudice must take the aggressive, and fight the monster wherever it rears its ugly head. Let us quit truckling and apologizing, and stand for human brotherhood in the full sense, whether it gives offense or not. The spirit of Garrison and Phillips is needed today, to complete the work left half done when their mighty spirits passed on.

Remember Springfield!

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE BRITISH "SUFFRAGETTES."

London, August 10.—Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, was speaking. It was at a banquet given by the Cobden Club in honor of the delegates to the International Free Trade Congress. The place was the large banqueting hall of the Hotel Cecil, which the Cobden Club had engaged for its members and guests for the occasion, and the floor was full of banqueters from many countries. In the gallery were lady guests, who, according to one of the barbaric conventionalities of our time, had been invited to overlook their lords and masters at their "feed," and listen to their post-provender speeches. Mr. Asquith, who was on the program to propose the toast to free trade, had made an admirable opening, in which he led up to a rhetorical question intended to introduce the reply from himself which he afterwards made with impressive effect. "And now," he asked, in this introductory manner, "what is to be done?" The last word had hardly escaped his lips when a thin but penetrating voice from the ladies' gallery carried to every ear in the hall the disturbing response, "Give votes to women!"

An exploding bomb could have been but little more disconcerting. The Prime Minister paused in his speech, and from the floor of the hall there came some hisses and some cries of "shame;" but there was no "guying," no laughter, none of the ridicule with which such an interruption from such a source in such circumstances would have been received in the United States.

Looking in the direction from which the voice had come, I saw a small woman, elegantly gowned, standing rigid as a marble statue conspicuously against the gallery rail. There was little chance of mistaking her. Simply from her manner she was evidently the interrupter; and she quickly left no room for doubt, for once more vibrating through the hall came the words, "Votes for women!" this time obviously from her lips.

A hotel servant had meanwhile found his way to the gallery. Advancing toward the gentle disturber he spoke, apparently asking her to retire, but she made no move. Then he took her by the arm. She resisted—more firmly, however, than vigorously—and in a moment he had led her away. When that was done Mr. Asquith resumed his speech.

This was my first personal experience with the tactics of the "suffragette" movement. I had missed a more emphatic demonstration by coming a few minutes late to the opening session of the Free Trade Congress. Winston Churchill, one of Mr. Asquith's cabinet ministers, was there persistently interrupted by five women who were consequently removed from the hall. A few days earlier, at the Peace Congress, Mr. Lloyd George, also of the Asquith cabinet, had been so persistently interrupted by women "heckling" him with demands for woman suffrage in the midst of his speech that the meeting was brought to a standstill—practically broken up—until sixteen of the invading women had been forcibly ejected from the hall. This last instance was all the more remarkable from the fact that Lloyd George is a pronounced advocate of extending full voting rights to women.

With the public demonstrations of the "suffragettes" I was already fairly familiar from newspaper reports. Their movement upon the House of Commons and their street parades had very largely, if not altogether, enlisted my sympathy. But I was utterly unable to understand the policy of breaking in this way into private assemblages. So I made inquiries. The explanations I got were various and conflicting, but they all pointed to conclusions which I shall try to summarize.

It must be understood to begin with that several factions are concerned in the general movement for woman suffrage in England. Among the rest there are the "suffragettes," the "suffragists," and the Social Democratic Federation. The latter is the English organization of Marxian socialists. It is not a strong body, nor is it influential. The strong socialist movement of Great Britain is less definite in its socialism and more closely in alliance with non-socialist organizations, of which the Independent Labor Party is the most powerful. With reference to the extension of voting rights to women, however, the Social Democratic Federation probably expresses the general socialistic idea, namely that there should be adult suffrage regardless of sex and property.

The "suffragists," more than any of the others, are like our own advocates of woman suffrage. They are out of sympathy with the "suffragette" tactics of disturbance, and on the whole look with confidence to the adoption by the Liberal majority in Parliament of woman suffrage as part of the Liberal program of electoral reform to be announced toward the end of the present Parliament and made the basis for an appeal to the country at the general elections. This organization is the lineal descendant of the movement begun by John Stuart Mill.

The "suffragettes," in contradistinction to the "suffragists," are of two households—the Women's Social and Political Union, under the leadership of Mrs. Pankhurst, and the Women's Freedom League, under the leadership of Mrs. Despard. The latter organization is a recent offshoot from the former. Both

are militant in their methods, and if there is any difference between them on suffrage questions it is difficult to find. Probably there is none unless it may be that which distinguishes the socialistic suffragettes from the others—the Freedom League standing for the most part for unlimited adult suffrage, and the Social and Political Union standing for suffrage for women only on the same conditions that there is suffrage for men. The League broke away from the Union nearly a year ago. The immediate cause of the break seems to have been the urgency of a faction to bring the Union into co-operation with the Independent Labor Party, of which Keir Hardie appears to be most distinctively the leader. Failing in this effort, that faction organized the Women's Freedom League and the other continued with the Women's Social and Political Union.

The militant or "suffragette" movement began very soon after the coming of the Liberals into power. This fact and some others lend color to the suspicion of the Liberals that it is part of the campaign tactics of the Tories for embarrassing the Liberals. They argue that there was no lawless invasion of the Commons when the Tories were in power, that none of the properties of agitation were disregarded then, and that ministers were not interrupted in their speeches at public meetings; but that as soon as the Liberals came into power—though committed to economic reforms and to electoral reforms, including votes for women—these embarrassing tactics were resorted to by the "suffragettes." They assert also that the leaders in the movement are either Tory women or socialists of the type that are more hostile to the Liberals than to the Tories, and that there is abundant reason to believe that the agitation could not be carried on without Tory money. In addition they direct attention to the friendly relations which they observe to exist between the "suffragettes" and the Tories; and they predict that if the Tories should be returned to power at the next elections, the militant suffrage movement would subside and the reforms which the Liberals are now trying to establish, economic and electoral, would "go by the board." On the other hand, it is argued that only by this prodding can the Liberal ministers be made to redeem their pre-election promises.

Were I to venture a judgment in the matter, I should say that a little prodding could do the ministers no harm, and might make them more sensitive to party obligations; but that the circumstances do very strongly corroborate the Liberal suspicions that this movement in its disturbing aspects is of Tory origin and in the Tory interest. Not consciously so, perhaps, for its outbreak almost simultaneously with the coming of the Liberals into power may have been only a coincidence, and its Tory leadership may just as well imply an awakening among Tory women, as something less commendable; but the effect of the movement whatever its intent, must be to aid the Tories at the expense not only of the Liberals and of economic reforms, but also of the cause in whose name the movement advances. To this probability the Tories seem quite alive and are no doubt grateful for it.

To recur, however, to the justification for such conduct in private assemblages as that which I mentioned at the beginning of this letter, the "suf-

fragettes" argue that these assemblages are public and not private; but with my American notions of such things I found great difficulty in apprehending the subtle English distinction of "public" and "private" in politics. Among us, a political party hires a hall for a meeting or a banquet, and for the time being that hall is theirs—their very own. Though they invite the general public to attend, and though one of those who participates as a speaker be a public servant, even a cabinet officer, the invited public are simply guests whom the host may expel if they don't behave. They have no right to interrupt or disturb. Consequently no well-disposed person in the United States would do at a peace congress, or an economic congress, or a club banquet, or a public meeting under any auspices whatever—even though the President were a speaker—what those ladies in London did when ministers, and in one case the Prime Minister, were speakers. But the friends of those ladies defend their conduct on the ground that a meeting at which a public servant speaks, is a public meeting in the sense of being a meeting at which he may properly be interrupted with "heckling" questions from anybody in the audience.

This notion seems to rest upon the fact that English political meetings are public meetings in a very different sense from ours. The public attend them not as guests of their promoters, but as a right. And any meeting, whether political or not, which is attended by a cabinet minister who is to be reported by the newspapers is a public meeting in this amazingly comprehensive sense. Not only may hostile auditors "heckle" speakers at such a meeting, but they may insist upon admission—even though the meeting be held at a private residence, as "suffragettes" contend—and being admitted may amend or vote down resolutions in behalf of which the meeting has been called, as well as interrupt the speakers with irrelevant questions to the point of breaking up the meeting.

To appreciate the situation in this respect an American must have recourse to his imagination. Suppose a Republican meeting, advertised to the public and thrown open to the public, to which reporters are invited, which is held in a hall paid for by the Republican Committee, is presided over by a Republican, and is addressed by President Roosevelt as the leader of his party, holding similar responsibilities as a public servant in our country to those that Mr. Asquith holds in England. What should we think if Democrats, or Socialists, or Prohibitionists, or even voteless women, went to that meeting in such numbers and acted in such a manner as to silence Mr. Roosevelt, defeat the Republican resolutions, and substitute Democratic, Prohibition or Socialist resolutions as the sense of the meeting? We should probably make short work of them. The police would hustle them out if they were men, and the audience would "guy" them out if they were women. Yet precisely this sort of interruption is claimed as a right of the citizen in Great Britain.

It would be the same if the meeting were a party convention, or a peace meeting, or a protection meeting, or a banquet of a protection club, to be addressed by the President. The only condition is that the meeting is public, not private; and the only necessary test of its public character is the presence

of a public servant who is to make a speech to be reported by the newspapers.

It is upon this understanding of the rights of public meeting that the "suffragettes" defend their interruptions at the International Peace Congress, the International Free Trade Congress and the Cobden banquet. They say that men have the right by English custom to do this, and that they intend thereby to assert equal rights with men.

Breaches of the law they admit, but they argue that men have in that manner secured all the reforms in their favor that they have secured at all, and if women would win they must do likewise. They make no protest against arrest. On the contrary, they court arrest. They say that while the voting right is denied them they are outlaws, and they are acting out the character of outlaws. Their object, summed up in a word, is to make the men "sit up and take notice." These elegant English women don't express it in that phrase, but they mean what that phrase means to us.

This is all quite incomprehensible to Americans; but it is another instance of what I have called a "difference," as distinguished from a superiority or an inferiority. While I can recognize the difference simply as a difference, and silence all my rising sentiments of disapproval with the plea that this is the English way, which may or may not be better than ours though different, yet I find it quite impossible to sympathize with these feminine disturbers of other people's rights of assemblage when they say that American women suffragists would adopt the same tactics if they were not spineless creatures.

It is interesting, not to say instructive, to notice that if the "suffragettes" were successful, very few women outside the propertied classes would derive any electoral benefit. What they are in effect demanding is not votes for women, but votes for women of property. Specifically, it is true, their demand is for votes for women on the same terms that men have votes. But the votes of men are determined by property qualifications. Some of these qualifications are very slight, to be sure, nothing more being required than that the voter shall pay a moderate rental for lodgings. But this voter's wife would have no vote if the suffragette movement were successful, for she would not be a rent payer. Even the wives of the well-to-do middle classes would have no votes unless they owned property in their own right. They would not be rent payers, and their rent-paying husbands would vote for them. Widows, and unmarried women who should pay the small rent now requisite for manhood suffrage, would have the vote if the "suffragettes" triumphed; but apart from these, the vote would go only to women of independent landed property. The great mass of British women would still be without the vote. The husbands and fathers among the working classes would continue, as they do now, to "vote for the family."

"Suffragettes" reply to this objection, that the admission of propertied women to the voting franchise would be an entering wedge, and that all other women would then be enfranchised in due time. But to me it seems that this movement, however democratic its purpose and professions, is likely to be at best, in its effect, a movement merely for the establishment of woman suffrage upon a property

qualification which would be, for all but widows and unmarried women renting homes or lodgings in their own names, a property qualification of widely prohibitive dimensions. It would add largely to the class of voters who oppose the extension of voting rights to the working masses, and thereby make harder than ever the extension of suffrage to all women.

The probable electoral program of the Liberal party is more likely, in my judgment, to secure voting rights for all women, than are the tactics of the "suffragettes."

L. F. P.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, September 1, 1908.

Bryan's Speech on Trusts.

Having discussed the tariff in his Des Moines speech (p. 516), Mr. Bryan discussed trusts in his Indianapolis speech of the 25th on the occasion of the notification to Mr. Kern. In the course of this speech he said:

I have, in discussing the tariff question, presented one of our remedies, namely, the removal of the tariff from imports which compete with trust-made goods. This, we believe, would greatly lessen the extortion practiced by the trusts and bring about the dissolution of many monopolistic combines. But we are not satisfied merely with the lessening of extortion, or with the dissolution of some of the trusts. Because the private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, the Democratic party favors its extermination. It pledges itself to the vigorous enforcement of the criminal law against trust magnates and officials. It is impossible for the Republican party to enforce the present criminal law against trust officials; these officials are intimately connected with the Republican party in the present campaign.

The speech then proceeds to explain that the Democratic platform does not stop with the enforcement of the law, but demands such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States; and that it proposes, first, a law preventing a duplication of directors among competing corporations, and, second, a license system regulating corporations doing an interstate business. On the second proposition Mr. Bryan dwelt at length. Both speeches are published in full in the Commoner,—the tariff speech in the

issue of August 21, and the trust speech in the issue of August 28.

* *

Mr. Kern's Notification.

In the presence of 15,000 persons at Indianapolis on the 25th, Mr. John W. Kern was formally notified of his nomination (p. 467) for Vice President by the Democratic convention. Mr. Bryan was present, and after Mr. Kern's speech of acceptance, he addressed the assemblage.

* *

Independence Party Notification.

The nominees of the Independence party—Higgen and Graves (p. 417)—were formally notified at New York City on the 31st.

* *

Negro Opposition to Taft.

The Negro National Anti-Taft League (pp. 362, 519) has established headquarters at 3160 State street, Chicago. The battle ground States, in the view of this organization, are West Virginia, Delaware, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, and reports show that Mr. Taft's cause in these States can be made hopeless by the opposition of the Negro vote. According to a League report of the 29th—

A card canvass was put in operation two days after the Denver convention, and 81 per cent of the colored voters polled in the battleground States declared themselves as unconditionally opposed to the election of Mr. Taft. Volunteer workers, both male and female, are generously aiding the propaganda. Our organizers and promoters are invariably citizens with property and other interests at stake. It has been plain to us that outside interference, no matter how well meaning in purpose, can only result in confusion. Among our workers may be noted 350 clergymen, several Negro bishops, 200 school teachers, 100 lawyers, and nearly 300 physicians. Every profession and industry in which our class is represented is enrolled upon our books. As fast as is practicable, these voters are welded into ward and county organizations, with the voting precinct as the base, thus economizing labor and expense and avoiding useless friction.

Commenting upon the subject, one of the executive committee, Mr. Thomas Wallace Swann, writes:

The Democrats have a splendid fighting chance this year to win the Negro to their cause. The mass of Negroes distrust the Democratic organization, though they manifest the highest confidence in Mr. Bryan personally. Campaign committees are at best like the man from Missouri—you must "show" them! It is, however, a fact of vital importance that all funds used by this anti-Taft bureau, for the period which this report covers, came out of the pockets of Negro men and women. Nearly two thousand dollars was raised by contributions and temporary loans. Not a single Caucasian penny is

represented. This is the crowning glory of this movement, demonstrating as it does its sincerity and the willingness of the Negro to spend and be spent for the general welfare. Finally, it is the judgment of many of the directors that we should urge directly the election of Mr. Bryan. A great number of those who have identified themselves with us declare their purpose to oppose Mr. Taft to the end, but to vote for some independent candidate. Very many express themselves as unwilling to vote for any candidate for President. Some state that they will not vote at all, but will stay away from the polls. All of these methods are wise, they serve the principle for which we are working—the defeat of Mr. Taft, and a change in the 61st Congress.

* *

National Politics in Kansas.

Both parties of Kansas—Democratic and Republican—met in State conventions on the 25th. Nominations having already been made at direct primaries, the conventions merely organized their committees and adopted platforms. In both platforms the Bryan plan of insuring bank deposits was adopted.

* *

State Election in Vermont.

The election in Vermont, which has been looked forward to as indicative of results at the national election in November (p. 517), was held on the 1st. Republicans and Democrats were agreed upon 25,000 Republican majority as the zero point, any greater majority being regarded as indicative of a Republican tendency at the national elections, and any lower one as indicative of a Democratic tendency. The result is not yet fully reported, but returns so far received point to a Republican majority of about 28,000.

* *

New York Traction Failures.

Two weeks ago the fact developed in the Federal Court at New York that the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, in the hands of receivers, had been operated from September 25, 1907, to June 30, 1908, at a loss averaging \$8,140,000 a year. This bad exhibit was emphasized by New York dispatches of the 30th, showing that in the year 1907 dividends on the stocks of eight of the most prominent traction companies whose securities are traded in on the New York Stock Exchange were passed and had not been resumed. The total amount then in default, figuring on the former rates of dividend, not all of which are cumulative, was \$11,051,363. Of this amount, \$3,582,372 would have gone to holding companies.

* *

Tolstoy's Birthday.

In commemoration of Tolstoy's eightieth birthday (p. 506) the following cable message was sent him from American admirers, whose sig-

natures were secured and their message sent by Daniel Kiefer of Cincinnati, on the 27th:

Leo Tolstoy, Yasnaya Polyana, Russia: Greetings from American friends to humanity's greatest teacher, defender of universal brotherhood, foe of all tyranny, whose advocacy of the principles of Henry George is laying the foundations of economic freedom and hastening the day of justice and peace.

The message was signed from the different cities as follows:

Cincinnati.—Frank Gorman, Alfred Henderson, Fenton Lawson, Gotthard Deutsch, Herbert S. Bigelow, J. M. Eilers, Boris Bogen, Thomas Hunt, C. S. Walker, O. C. Rasch, Stanley Bowdler, A. A. Landesco, Edward Stang, Glenn Adams, P. V. N. Meyers, Charles F. McLean, Ralph Reed, Louis Hoeck, Charles G. Merrell, Daniel Kiefer and George W. Harris.

Cleveland.—Tom L. Johnson, Peter Witt and Thomas Schmidt.

Chicago.—Louis F. Post, Alice Thacher Post, Joseph Danziger, Angeline Loesch and Edward F. Dunne.

St. Louis.—Frank Williams.

New York.—Robert Baker, George L. Rusby and Henry George, jr.

Philadelphia.—Samuel Danziger, Frank Stephens and C. F. Shandrew.

Elkhart, Ind.—G. A. Briggs.

Hymer, Kans.—George Hughes.

Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman.

Louisville, Ky.—Susan Look Avery.

Toronto, Canada.—C. A. Lingham.

Boston, Mass.—Louis Prang.

Johnstown, Pa.—Warren Worth Bailey.

Washington, D. C.—Jennie L. Munroe.

Beaver, Pa.—Charles Eckert.

La Porte, Ind.—Edward Rumely.

Troy, Ohic.—A. F. Broomhall.

* *

Tolstoy has been the recipient also of the following birthday address from the United Single Tax Leagues of Australia:

Revered Master:—On behalf of the disciples and followers of Henry George throughout the Commonwealth of Australia (known under the name of Single Taxers), we desire to join in the world-wide tribute of love and reverence which will be laid at your feet on the day on which you will attain the venerable age of eighty years.

History reveals but few men to whom God has granted such genius as distinguishes you; still fewer men who have devoted that genius to such noble ends. As the great moral force of the historical period through which we are passing, you tower over kings and potentates, and will continue to shape the fate of the nations when they and their work will be forgotten. Your love of your fellow men, your championship of all who are oppressed, has kindled an answering love in millions of hearts whose lives have gained color and whose aspirations have become higher through your example and teaching.

When we learned that you also had embraced the economic teaching of our dear, departed master,

Henry George, our hearts gained new courage in the advocacy of the ideals for which we strive; new confidence in the coming of the Kingdom of Righteousness in which justice will be the regulator of the communal relations of men, as love will be the regulator of their private relations.

Not only to us, but to all those who earnestly strive in their several ways to make the world better for those who come after them, your life and your teaching has been a source of inspiration, and such it will remain for all time to come. When in due season you are gathered to your fathers that inspiration and the memory of you will continue priceless possessions of mankind. That this day may yet be distant, that more years of joyful devotion to the highest interests of your fellow men may be granted to you, is the heartfelt desire of all Australian Single Taxers, as of all your world-wide admirers.

* *

Advance Toward Constitutional Government in China.

It will be remembered that two years ago rumors of approaching constitutionalism came from China (vol. ix, p. 511), followed by announcement of an Imperial edict looking to the establishment of a constitutional form of government (vol. ix, p. 537). This was followed by successive preparatory steps (vol. ix, pp. 777, 1066; vol. x, p. 948). Now an edict has been issued, on the 30th, according to a dispatch from Peking, which sets forth in detail the stages that will be reached each year in the conversion of the form of government in China to the foreign system; and which assures the people, in the name of the Emperor, that a constitution will be granted nine years hence. This announcement has undoubtedly been hastened by a formidable movement in the provinces looking to the securing of a constitution, as further reported by the dispatch. Provincial delegations have come up to Peking to inquire into the matter, with arguments drawn from the recent constitutional revolutions in Persia and Turkey (pp. 471, 495), and declaring that China must not be behind the other nations.

* *

The Burden of India.

A state of wide and deep unrest has been reported from India for two years or more. Convictions for sedition have reached to well-known and popular men, like Lala Lajpat Rai (vol. x, p. 948), and during the last weeks the English and Indian papers have reported the trial and conviction on very slender charges of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, of whom it has been said that he is "beyond question the most powerful and astute of living Indians." It may be remembered that after the meeting of the National Congress of India last Christmas, the Extremists organized under Mr. Tilak and Ajit Singh (vol. x, p. 1019). Mr. Tilak has now suffered sentence of deportation to the Andaman Islands for six years. In-

dian sympathizers regard the sentence as monstrous. In writing to the London Times of July 27, in regard to it, Mr. Hyndman said:

I am quite sure that any unprejudiced Englishman, reading the evidence which you have adduced from the journals edited by Mr. Tilak, will come to the conclusion that if articles of that character are to earn the writer six years' transportation to the Andaman Islands then we may just as well at once state plainly that no free criticism of our rule is to be permitted in India at all. I defy any one to point to a sentence in Mr. Tilak's articles which incites to bomb throwing or violence; and I can not understand how Englishmen, who have always supported peoples struggling for freedom in other countries and are doing so today in regard to Russians and Turks, can resort to such measures of repression as those which Lord Morley and Lord Minto, both nominally Liberals, are applying in India.

Of the danger of the whole situation Mr. Hyndman said further:

Even from the point of view of policy, is it wise for our government to take the course which it is taking? By suppressing free speech and free criticism in the newspapers, we are inevitably encouraging and fostering secret conspiracy. It is foolish to imagine that 200,000 Europeans and Eurasians can permanently control the 300,000,000 of India, should even 10 per cent of that vast population be seriously disaffected to our rule. It is childish also to suppose that we can keep track of such conspiracy when it is clear that these recent outbursts all over Hindustan have taken our government completely by surprise.

*

A strong side light from the native Indian's point of view in regard to his lack of freedom of speech (vol. x, p. 757) and his pressing personal danger if he be suspected of even free thought, is thrown by the following extract from a private letter written in the month of July by a gentleman of India to a friend in the United States:

I am sorry I have not been able to keep you posted of the affairs in India for the past months, but it could not be helped. Although I don't write for the press here, still the government have got scent of my doings, and consequently I am very minutely watched. It will surprise you to learn that detectives follow me day and night.

What to write and what not to write, I don't know. Matters have been going on from bad to worse day after day, and the country in spite of all its appeals is being grossly misruled. Yes, "grossly" is the word. The "sedition" scare has imbedded itself in the brain of every Britisher. Not only that, such great fuss is made over minute matters that it savours more of a typical farce than any system of administration. Mountains are made of mole hills, and thus the administrative council for India is trying to show to the world at large how effectively they are keeping down a rebellious nation. The crisis has not been yet reached. A few Bengalee fanatics have taken recourse to bombs and gunpowder, and this

has driven the brains of the poor, just Englishmen down to their heels. Personal safety is the first question, and in defence Indians are prosecuted wholesale. What of editors and proprietors of papers, what of barristers and pleaders, what of prominent leaders, graduates and M. A.'s of Oxford and Cambridge, what of college professors and learned pundits, what of school boys and college students—what of all these? I say. All, all fall under the pale of the law. New laws have been drawn up and new enactments passed; printing establishments and printing houses confiscated; papers, periodicals and weeklies stopped; prominent people shipped off to the Andamans and transported for life for penal servitude. Some are sentenced to years of hard labor; others hanged for murder—or so-called murder. All this has become too common to comment upon—and for what? For speaking the truth, and asking for justice. But to ask for justice, to ask for our rights, to ask for our share, to speak the truth, is sedition. Even to talk and think of these matters is sedition. Justice, justice!—the heart of every true Indian is crying for justice today.

Sedition is in the air. Detectives and police officers in "mufti," that is, in plain clothes, move about in electric tram cars and railway trains. They attend every meeting, public or private; go to the bazaars and markets; frequent the stock exchange and theater houses; even enter temples and places of worship. Business houses generally find them hanging about in the way of "tardy" customers. They generally converse with you on general topics, which gradually lead on to political affairs. They talk on religion and philosophy. They endorse your opinions and ideas. The day following the police are at your door—"just come to make enquiries." They search, and go through everything in your house; carry away papers, documents, letters, personal and private, for inspection, leaving everything topsy turvy. The following morning finds you in the magistrate's court, with some charge of sedition, exciting hatred, creating ill feeling—or for the matter of fact, anything hanging over your head. You must make the best defence you can. Pleaders, solicitors and advocates refuse to attend to your case. The conventionalities are gone through, the farce is over, and you find yourself in some lockup by the afternoon. Three years, five years, ten years, fifteen years are common terms—away from home and family, away from friends, away from the world, rotting in some jail, serving your sentence, bearing insults and injury from morning to night. God forbid!

What else may I write? I can not write more. As sure as there is a God; as sure as there are love, sympathy, fellow feeling, I own, I believe, I know that this shall not continue long. The Britisher is digging his own grave. He has cut the branch on which he was seated. He has bit the hand that fed him. The result—his days are numbered; the firm foundation on which he stood is tottering, crumbling fast away. The world shall very soon hear of his sudden downfall. And what a downfall! One unequalled in the annals of history. Let him allow the Indian to live peaceably, and I am quiet. Revenge—I seek none. Let him bear the fruits of his deeds. Let him reap what he has sown. Let him see his own folly—it is enough.

NEWS NOTES

—More than thirty miners were suffocated in a coal mine at Haileyville, Oklahoma, on the 26th.

—The Atlantic-Pacific fleet reached Melbourne, Victoria, from Sydney, N. S. W., on the 29th (p. 519).

—The report of the Municipal traction service of Cleveland for July (p. 418) shows a profit of \$19,000 for that month.

—Abd-el-Aziz, the Sultan of Morocco, reported defeated hopelessly last week (p. 518), is now reported as regaining power.

—The Congo treaty passed by the Belgian house of deputies on the 20th (p. 518), was taken up by the Belgian senate on the 27th.

—Tony Pastor, the father of the variety theater in the United States, died at his summer home on Long Island on the 27th, at the age of about seventy-one.

—Prussia has granted to women and girls educational opportunities in pursuing the professions and the higher branches of learning, equal to those open to men.

—George Hughes, a son of Thomas Hughes of "Tom Brown of Rugby" fame, is a Democratic candidate for the legislature in Kansas. Mr. Hughes is a democratic Democrat.

—The International Exposition announced last Spring (vol. x, p. 1233) for Tokio, in 1912, may be postponed, partly on account of the industrial depression (p. 159), until 1917.

—The presidential and congressional elections in Cuba are to be held on November 14, and the inauguration of the newly elected president will take place on January 28 (p. 444).

—Freeport celebrated on the 27th the second of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of fifty years ago (p. 519). About fifty grizzled men who had heard the first debate, were seated on the platform.

—A special campaign train (p. 494) carrying Eugene V. Debs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Party (p. 178), left Chicago for the Pacific coast on the 31st. Speeches are to be made at stops along the route.

—William F. Vilas, postmaster-general and secretary of the interior during President Cleveland's first term, and United States Senator from 1891 to 1897, died at his home in Madison, Wis., on the 27th, aged sixty-eight.

—A third series of Saturday afternoon walking trips in the forests, fields, hills and valleys about Chicago, has been arranged by a committee of the Playground Association, to come off on September 7 and 26 and October 3.

—Cholera is reported to be making marked headway in the Philippines (p. 489). In forty-eight hours 201 cases and 134 deaths were reported from Iloilo on the 17th. The total in all provinces since January is 11,914 cases and 7,568 deaths.

—Richard L. Hand, to whom Gov. Hughes of New York referred charges of malfeasance against District Attorney Jerome for opinion and advice (vol.

ix, p. 252; vol. xi, p. 217), reported on the 23d in complete exoneration of Mr. Jerome.

—At Minnehaha Falls, Minn., on the 6th the Men's club of the Unitarian society of Minneapolis is to celebrate the birthdays of Henry M. Simmons (August 20th), Leo Tolstoy (August 28th), and Henry George (September 2d). Judge L. R. Larson is to speak for Simmons, J. W. Bennett for Tolstoy and Rev. L. C. Talmage for George.

—The Prohibition National Committee has now ready for delivery to all Prohibition workers, editors and students a Campaign Text Book for 1908, vest pocket size, containing contributions by leading Prohibition thinkers and orators of the day. Price, 5 cents each, postpaid. Prohibition National Headquarters, 92 La Salle street, Chicago.

—Augusta, Ga., was put under from three to eight feet of water on the 26th, by floods in the Savannah river. Fire added to the water losses. The city was temporarily deprived of street car and telephone service, electric light, power, gas and piped water. Fifteen persons lost their lives, and the property loss is put at \$1,000,000.

—The Venezuelan Board of First Instance on the 24th handed down a judgment declaring the French Cable Company (p. 326) guilty of complicity in the Matos revolution against President Castro, and condemning it to pay damages to the amount of nearly \$5,000,000. In addition the company must pay a further amount, to be assessed later by experts. The decision is practically a duplication of the decision handed down against the New York and Bermudez Asphalt Company (p. 325). The Cable company may appeal from the decision.

—The town of Folsom, near Raton, New Mexico, was flood-swept by the Cimmaron river, swollen by a cloudburst, on the 27th. Twenty-five lives were lost. Among the dead is a brave telephone operator, Mrs. S. J. Rooke, who instead of saving herself when she received news of the coming flood over the wires, held her post, and telephoned to one family after another on her circuit: "Pack up and leave at once. A flood coming down the valley." She was still at work upon the list of subscribers when the great wave which came down the bed of the Cimmaron river and overspread its banks, struck the telephone building, crushing in the walls like egg shells. Her body was found the next morning twelve miles down the canyon, with the headpiece worn by telephone operators still gripped to her ears and the broken ends of the telephone cord dangling from it.

—The status of the Oklahoma banks in regard to the State guaranty law (p. 471) was thus stated by T. P. Kane, deputy comptroller of the currency, at Washington on the 21st: "There are about 310 national banks in the State of Oklahoma, only fifty-seven of which entered into the guaranty scheme. On Aug. 8 these fifty-seven banks were notified that they must withdraw from the agreement. So far replies have been received from thirty-three of them. Twenty-seven have informed the comptroller that they have notified the State banking board of their desire to withdraw from the guaranty agreement, and seven have indicated their intention to surrender their national charters and reorganize as State banks. Only two have thus far actually gone into voluntary

liquidation for that purpose." According to Associated Press reports, the two banks that have surrendered their charters are the City National Bank of Cordell and the First National Bank of Cordell.

PRESS OPINIONS

Bryan's Campaigning.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), Aug. 27.—Mr. Bryan, in debate, is easily the superior of Mr. Taft and handles himself with an ease and sureness that are most attractive. As a campaigning propagandist, he is at the acme of his power and charm. He is steadier, serener, better grounded in his dialectic. He goes deeper into things and he moves to better ground for his fight. His tariff speech demolishes the Republican position and in deft fashion exposes the weakness of the President's solicitude for the farmer that extends only to the appointment of a commission to examine and report upon the farmer's condition. * * * On this broad issue of the tariff he has Mr. Taft straddling most ridiculously in an endeavor to be at once with the people and with those who fatten upon them, in favor of a revision up and down at the same time. Mr. Taft cannot maintain this attitude. He must be either with the general interest or for the special interests, and the special interests have their home in the party of which he is the nominee. Pinned to the issue of tariff reform, Mr. Taft must make an increasingly sorrier figure as one who poses in favor of all the people. Opposing tariff revision, Mr. Taft is the champion of the oligarchy of wealth that lives off the labor of others, while Mr. Bryan is the mouthpiece of those distraised of their rights in the product of their own efforts.

+ +

Labor and Capital Should Have Equality of Rights.

International Molders' Journal, August.—"No one is born with a saddle on his back, and no one booted and spurred to ride him," said that sturdy old English patriot, Rumbold, as he stood on the scaffold. His insight was clear and his words rang true, for no man is born a slave and another to be his master. It is the greed and the inhumanity of man that create these conditions afterwards. No one is entitled to special privileges; every man is entitled to equal justice before the law. When the time arrives, as it has to-day, that our courts declare that an employer has every right to discharge his union employes, but that the union men cannot strike against the introduction of non-union conditions; that the employer has the legal right to advertise the fact that he will not employ union men, while the trade unionists are forbidden to tell their friends that they do not patronize the product of a certain firm, the time has arrived to do serious thinking, and to take definite action.

+ +

A Thinking Age.

The (Philadelphia) Vehicle Dealer, July, 1908.—We say we live in a "thinking" age. That is what the people of all ages said about themselves. No wonder the gods nudge one another and laugh as

we pat ourselves on the back and congratulate ourselves that we are not like the uncivilized people of the early ages. . . . Imagine the people of a few centuries hence reading how we overworked our publicity department telling folks how highly civilized we were, meanwhile spending one penny for public education against 25 for perfecting machinery to kill each other with. Or, fancy the hearty "ha-ha" that will some day greet the account of the Southern cotton planters of 1908, who were forced to cheat nature and turn under a portion of her bountiful cotton crop in order to keep up the price of cotton; or the fruit jobbers of California, for instance, who dumped a shipload of bananas into the sea to maintain market prices, while ragged men sneaked along the gutters picking up banana peelings and eating them with relish. Verily, our vaunted civilization needs a brisk currying, for it "sho' is" shaggy in spots.

+ +

The Land Value Question in Great Britain.

Manchester Guardian (Lib.), Aug. 19.—What are the things to be attained by land valuation and rating reform? They are four: (1) The price at which a public body can purchase a site must bear a fixed relation to the value at which it is assessed for rating; (2) in valuing land for rating purposes its value as a site must be estimated separately from the value of buildings and other improvements upon it; (3) the site value (thus arrived at) of all land, whether occupied or not, should be rated (excepting any desirable exceptions such as parks; (4) the value of buildings and other improvements on land should as far as possible be exempted from rating. These are the four essential points, the second, which looks abstract and uninviting in itself, being the indispensable key to the three others, whose urgency forces itself on our attention from every side. * *

* The Government deserve credit for their Scottish land values bill, but it is difficult to see any reason, except the sheer pressure of other eagerly desired measures, why an English bill has not yet been introduced to keep it company. The House of Lords finds it much easier to slaughter such bills singly, and provokes a far less powerful agitation by doing so. The question of land valuation touches them very intimately, and may well provide, as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman seems to have thought, the best ground to fight them upon; but if so, the fight must be early and seriously taken in hand. There is a close parallelism between the two questions, for while the House of Lords may be the greatest obstacle to immediate legislative reform, the greatest obstacles to administrative reform—to the bringing of legislative benefits home to the people—are the land monopoly and the rating injustice.

+ +

The "Iowa Idea."

The (Johnstown, Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), August 7.—What is this "Iowa idea" that is now sweeping the country and seems certain to hold it in its grasp until Nov. 3 next? Is it an "Iowa idea" which has for its ultimate aim the accomplishment of something for Iowa alone? That is very far from the truth. . . . The "Iowa idea" is not exclusively an

"Iowa idea." The idea is the conviction of great masses of voters in every State of the union that the Republican policy of tariff protection is maintained exclusively for the benefit of special privilege; that it is maintained for the purpose of affording monopoly the power to rob the farmer, the laboring man and the consumer generally; that it is maintained for the benefit of the vicious trusts; that it is maintained for the purpose of stifling competition, forcing the farmer to sell in an open market at the market prices of the world and compelling him to buy in a closed market at abnormally high prices; that it is maintained for the purpose of forcing labor to compete for employment in a market which invites the cheapest labor of Europe and compels it to buy the necessities of life at prices which reduce it to want. The "Iowa idea" is that the tariff is a conscienceless humbug, that it is destructive of the national welfare, that it is the means by which a few are amassing tremendous fortunes at the expense of the rest of the 80,000,000 people, and that it is a vicious form of special privilege which affords the hateful trusts the power to control the law-making bodies of the country and subvert the will of the people. The history of 1892, it signs may be accepted as indicating anything, is going to be repeated in 1908. It was the manufacturing and agricultural States that registered their will against the tariff in 1892. It is inevitable that the manufacturing and agricultural States will join hands again this year. Their interests are identical. The tariff is as much of a blight to labor in the cities as it is to industry on the farms. Its victims are in every precinct of the Union. It sits in a high place with poisoned tentacles that reach out in every conceivable direction and viciously assault humanity, beginning at the cradle of the infant and not stopping until the clods have sealed the coffin in the earth. The "Iowa idea" is that this unspeakable crime shall cease. The "Iowa idea," which is an idea not confined to Iowa, is that this shall be a government of the people, by the people, for the people—"special privileges to none, equal rights to all."

+ +

The Minor Parties.

The (New York) Nation (ind.), August 20.—Hearst, Debs (whose followers see visions of a million votes), Watson, and the Prohibitionists will probably poll between a million and a million and a half of votes. What effect will that number of neutralized ballots have on the fortunes of Mr. Bryan? We say Mr. Bryan, because we assume that the minor parties, embodying as they do various degrees and shades of radicalism, have been mainly recruited from Mr. Bryan's radical Democracy; and that any large gains of Debs or Watson will be made at the expense of the Democratic party. Mr. Hearst, indeed, is in the campaign with the unconcealed purpose of hurting Mr. Bryan. . . . Were the campaign at the outset not restricted to a comparatively narrow fighting ground, the Hearst influence might count for more. But in spite of iridescent visions of Democratic victory on the Pacific coast, it is obvious that Bryan's hopes abide chiefly in the Mississippi valley. California is practically conceded to the Republicans; New York is likely to go Republican unless the local leaders are

silly enough not to renominate Governor Hughes; in Illinois Democrats have a slight chance, because of Republican strife; Massachusetts is, of course, Massachusetts. Yet these four States contain almost all of Mr. Hearst's strength. Say that he vindicates his boast of carrying Massachusetts. He will only earn Mr. Bryan's gratitude for reducing the Republican electoral vote. Even if Mr. Hearst flourishes a very heavy knife, he cannot get at Mr. Bryan's vitals. But Hearst journalism and Hearst money are mobile and resourceful. Will they not invade those central States in which Bryan contemplates a serious campaign? Cannot the National Independence party make just enough headway in Ohio, Indiana, Kansas, and Nebraska to blast whatever hopes the Democracy may cherish? The outlook for a Hearst boom there at Bryan's expense, or, for that matter, at any one's expense, is not bright. With at least three different brands of radicalism to choose from—the Taft-Roosevelt, the Bryan, and the Debs kind—the voter should scarcely be in a mood for a fourth variety, and especially one that has just been placed on the market. We can imagine, on the other hand, an old-fashioned conservative finding it impossible to vote either for Taft or for Bryan; for Bryan because he is Bryan; and for Taft because he is Roosevelt. That the conservative who cannot stand Bryan will accept Hearst is manifestly absurd. Such a vote will go to the Prohibitionists, or to no one at all. To imagine Hearst winning new ground with his radical platform more or less eclipsed by other radical platforms is very hard. We doubt, indeed, whether he can keep his strength even in his own citadels. In this State signs of dissolution in his following are abundant. A drift back to Bryan is perceptible, notably in New York city.

+ +

Difficult Division of Labor.

Puck (New York), May 6.—Hamilton Mable, he of the rhythmically-ticking mind, believes that it is all right for a man to make all the money he can, "so long as he doesn't allow the thought of it to possess his soul." Which is another case of hanging your clothes on a hickory limb and keeping away from the water.

+ + +

What, then, has forestry done in Germany? Starting with forests which were in as bad shape as many of our own which have been recklessly cut over, it raised the average yield of wood per acre from 20 cubic feet in 1830 to 65 cubic feet in 1904. During the same period of time it trebled the proportion of saw timber got from the average cut, which means, in other words, that through the practice of forestry the timberlands of Germany are of three times better quality to-day than when no system was used. And in fifty-four years it increased the money returns from an average acre of forest sevenfold. Yet to-day the forests are in better condition than ever before, and under the present system of management it is possible for the German foresters to say with absolute certainty that the high yield and large returns which the forests now give will be continued indefinitely into the future.—United States Dept. of Agriculture.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

LINES.

For The Public.

Not now is honor given
As in the times gone by,
When glory, but a bloody thing,
Was gaudy to the eye.

But now is honor given
To him whose way of gain
Can take the lives of others,
Yet leave the dead unslain;

Who by the rite of custom,
And through the law of need
Can arm his hand with progress
To force the Jungle Creed,

And in the mill and market,
And by the road and mine
Press from the brow of manhood
The tithes of corn and wine.

The tides of social marches
Bear up to crown and throne
The changed that still unchanging
Can wield the words, "I own."

W. S. ROGERS.

+ + +

CIVIL FREEDOM A UNIVERSAL RIGHT.

Professor George Bush in "Priesthood and Clergy,"
Published in 1857.

Is not every man at liberty to utter his sentiments on any subject that he deems of moment to his fellow-men, and even if those sentiments should be intrinsically erroneous or mischievous, are not the evils incident to a restraining power greater than any that could flow from the most unlimited freedom of speech? So we sometimes hear men talk about certain portions of the human race not being fit for civil freedom. But when arose the right of one portion of mankind to judge for another on that score? Does not God create all men free? How has it happened that one class of men deems itself entitled to sit in judgment on the capacity of another to enjoy the birthright with which their Creator endowed them? And how can they restrict this right without injustice and oppression? We do not of course say that all men *are* equally prepared to use civil freedom without abusing it, but we do say that this fact does not annul the original right, and that the evils of usurped coercion are greater in the final issue than those of self-asserted liberty.

DEMOCRATIC HOUSEKEEPING.

From *Common Sense*, of Cleveland.

The large house has ceased to be an investment owing to the scarcity of domestic servants.

The servant problem has ceased to be a problem for the simple reason that there are no servants.

A woman up in Chicago fought off flat or hotel living by building a servantless house.

Nearly all the first floor is one large room in which the family actually live. There is also an entry hall with a small ante-room to one side for formal callers; a kitchen in the rear that is as well lighted and decorated as any room in the house and as compact as that of a kitchen in a dining-car, with every inch of space carefully thought out. There are paneled lockers and its utensils selected to serve a decorative purpose; that is, the pans and kettles are of harmonious shapes in copper. The cooking heat is supplied by electricity and an electric motor and compressor supply compressed air for cleaning purposes.

There is no dining-room, mind you!

The family eat before the fire in winter, and out on a wire and vine-screened porch in summer.

The food is brought in to wherever the table may be, on a little two-story rubber-tired wagon that is equipped with a warming lamp. The different courses are taken off by the mistress without rising from her place. When the meal is finished the "dead" are cleared away into the lower story of the wagon and the whole drawn to the kitchen.

+ + +

LAND TENURE IN GERMANY'S ONE SUCCESSFUL COLONY.

From *The Westminster Review*, as Reprinted in the *New York Sun* of July 20, 1908.

The system of land tenure adopted in Kiao-chau is largely responsible for this phenomenal rise of a previously unknown place. On taking over the land at the price ruling before the seizure by the German government, the order of September 2, 1898, stipulated that the buyer of land shall pay a tax of 33 per cent on the increased value and that if a plot of land is not sold for twenty-five years the owners shall pay tax of 33 per cent on the increased value found by assessment to have taken place. The owner of land has to give notice of any intended sale, and (in order to prevent under-assessment) the government has the first option to buy at the owner's figure. In addition every land owner has to pay each year a tax of 6 per cent of the capital value of his land. The owner's valuation is taken, but again (in order to avoid under-assessment) the government has the right to buy at the owner's figure. This tax effectually stops all speculation in land and prevents the holding

of land idle. The withholding of land from use is further checked by the regulation that if land is not being built upon at a certain date, in accordance with the stipulated plan of building, the owner forfeits his right of property and the government takes it back, paying only half the assessed value. Instead of forfeiting the right of property the order of December 31, 1903, imposes a progressive land value tax, which effects the same purpose of forcing the land into use.

+ + +

THE BRAIN-FAG OF THE REPUBLICAN EDITORS.

Lona Ingham Robinson in the *Des Moines Daily Tribune* of August 21.

Every day it is becoming more obvious how hard pressed Republican papers are for persuasive editorials in the coming Presidential campaign. If the truth should be told, the daily editors must tear their hair and gnash their teeth as they actually come up against the problem of a daily grist of Republican campaign stuff, with all argument, recent history and circumstances on the other side of the fence. They begin to realize that they are trying to win a game against an antagonist holding the right bower, ace, king and queen, while they have only the left bower, some small trumps and the joker; and they don't want to say anything about the joker. . . .

So the distracted editor gives another frenzied wrench at his thinning hair and emits such gleams as: The undefinable quality of political capital by which a public man holds the public interest is seldom found in a man who has been twice defeated as candidate for the Presidency. Seldom by a man whose middle name begins with J., but it is usually possessed in a notable degree by a man who has always held appointive offices and whose middle name begins with H. And although we said last June that Mr. Taft was sent out to the Iowa University as a feeler, to test the strength of the public interest, and did not raise a ripple of interest, why of course it was speaking relatively, having in mind at the time Mr. Bryan, of whom the people are so tired that they have no interest in him at all, or at least if the opposite sometimes seems to be the case—here the editor holds his head under the faucet till he revives. Then he turns on the cartoon orator to fill in the space on the front page, and goes on writing on Fleas, or Huckleberries, or Elbow-sleeves. Someway a picture-lie does not seem so bad as a printed one; the expressions are funny and a laugh is a laugh after all.

But the cartoonist, secretly admiring Bryan all the time, has rheumatism of the brain and paralysis of the heart; he is harried all his days and slumberless at night. Then, although he knows that the ax ought to be laid at the root of the tree

of protective tariffs, he pictures Taft neat and dapper, daintily sawing off a few dead branches from a tree whose fruits are supposed to be United States industries; as one would say the fruits of the weevil is wheat, the fruits of the potato bug are potatoes, the fruits of the cabbage worm is cabbage. Then of course there was angry Bryan, with an ax in hand cutting down at the root of the tree when all those nice "U. S. industries" would fall to the ground. . . .

Never did subsidized charcoal have a harder time of it. At the last gasp, begging a reprieve, he is told to rehabilitate one of the old cartoons of 1900 or 1896. There we have Uncle Sam behind a general merchandise counter, saying to the commercial traveler just arrived, grip in hand, "Yep, trade's pretty fair, but we ain't buying much till after election. If Taft is elected come around and I'll stock up; if it's Bryan—well, I don't know what." The difference between this and the original cartoons of the two previous Bryan campaigns, is this: The general merchandise store would very likely have been a big factory; instead of Uncle Sam there would have been the boss; instead of the drummer there would have been the gaunt factory hand; instead of Taft, McKinley; instead of "Well, I don't know what," would have been, "We shut down for good," or "Don't come near us," or "You may go to h—l."

This note of doubt just marks the difference between the former campaigns and the one now on. But it shows to what straits the "Jo-Uncle Cannon" party is put, that it must revive their old scare, that of shutting down work if Bryan were elected. The threat was intended principally for timid, ignorant or foreign voters, and deceived no one of judgment, for it was evident that the same old dollar-trapping would go on the day after election as before, no matter who was President. And nothing but a trust makes money by closing down. So it is the trusts, not Uncle Sam, that makes the threat. And that is where the partisan Republican of to-day finds himself: bound to defend the trusts. He did it eight and twelve years ago, because he thought they were good things and made supplies cheap; if he was in a small business he thought their success was his success. Now he knows better, and still must defend them though he knows they are eating him up.

But Mr. Cartoonist, you are too late to fool your traveling man. Too many business concerns have been swallowing up smaller ones and throwing out traveling men, they have got wise. So have the independent small capitalists. They know they have much to fear, from what the Standard Oil Party has already done; and all they can see to fear from Bryan is solely on the authority of that same party, and they have

passed the "don't know what" stage. They are at the "I'm going to try him" stage.

But meanwhile what a pity it is that so many of our brightest editors and cartoon artists will have to take hospital treatment for nervous prostration, brain fag, etc., for this tremendous strain devolving upon them the next two months. We can withhold our pity for the spell-binders, they merely go out and amuse the crowd as an excuse to deal the joker.

* * *

THE DOMESTIC INFELICITIES OF THE HORNBILL.

(With No Apologies to Professor Herrick.)

For The Public.

The female [Indian Hornbill] having entered her breeding place in one of the natural cavities of the mopane tree, the male plasters up the entrance, leaving only a narrow slit by which to feed his mate, and which exactly suits the form of his bill. The female makes a nest of her own feathers, lays her eggs and hatches them, and remains with the young until they are fully fledged. During all this time, which is some two or three months, the male continues to feed her and the young family. The prisoner generally becomes very fat, and is esteemed a very dainty morsel by the natives; while the poor slave of a husband gets so lean and weak that on the sudden lowering of the temperature, which sometimes happens after a fall of rain, he is benumbed, falls down and dies.

—Hartwig, "Winged Life in the Tropics."

Continuing the above interesting bit of natural history, it may be narrated that at last it happened that the female Hornbills, having grown accustomed to the domestic atmosphere, remained contentedly, and for the greater part contentedly incarcerated during the entire season. One of these secluded birds, in talking over the situation, was heard to argue in this wise:

"Look at that shameless Mrs. Robin, flying about out there and helping to get worms for the young family, exactly as though her sphere were not the nest. Horrid thing! the violent, unladylike way she can go after supplies for their larder is nothing short of disgusting, I really have to say. Mrs. Ostrich, too, my dear, has no sense of propriety. I assure you I am most credibly informed she is in the habit of going to the club at night, leaving the future hope of their family to be destroyed by any passing enemy, if Mr. O. did not take upon himself the duties neglected by his undomestic wife. As for Mrs. Hawk up yonder, she positively is larger than her mate, and they do say that that poor male also assists in hatching out the eggs. Never heard anything so scandalous in my life. Look at her swooping about in the air up there. I honestly believe her wings are as long and strong as those of any male. How do you suppose she happened to be so de-

sexed? Must be very unpleasant to be called 'strong-winged,' don't you think? Thank goodness, my wings have always been kept properly folded; one does not need them in a nest."

Howbeit, not all the Mesdames Hornbill, so it seems, were equally satisfied with their lot in life; and some of them, having discovered that the purpose of their imprisonment was to secure proper care of the Hornbill juniors, announced that they would rear no families at all. Certain of these females accordingly made their way out into the wide world and began scratching for their own provender—to the great disgust of a number of the males, who set up a loud clamor to the effect that if each bird foraged for itself, instead of the male securing enough for two, there would not be sufficient edibles to go around. Therefore they all closed in about the choicest worms, leaving the energetic females the poorest specimens as a reward for really energetic work. "Sorry, my dears, but it would de-sex you to get fat worms for yourselves, and if you know when you are well off, you'll go back home and take such sustenance as we may choose to bring to you!"

Observing that the industrious lady Hornbills worked hard for small returns, a number of the broodless feminines continued to report at their nests at feeding time, and the Hornbill husbands brought home provisions for these mates who did no work at all. Whereupon a pessimistic male took a great book and wrote down, not without exhibiting symptoms of hysteria, his opinion of the case. "Shameless female creatures, extraordinarily free and hopelessly enslaved," said he, "how does it happen that you have no families and yet do not go after your own food?"

A plump, astute appearing Madam Hornbill looked at him in some surprise. "Do you not know," quoth she, "that not all female Hornbills like to remain forever in the nest; but that under the present arrangement of our domestic affairs, they are compelled to do so if they once have broods? As for scratching for one's self, why should I work as hard as any male, and get worms that are not worthy the consideration of the discriminating bird? Pray hold your tongue; do you see those fat masculine Hornbills over there, who live in clubs, are awarded the very best of the feeding ground, and never dream of scratching for any others than themselves? What would you think of me if I were rude enough to say that because they had no families, they had degenerated to the level of *mere male creatures*? An abusive tongue comes as naturally to a male Hornbill as the very feathers on his back."

LOUISA DANA HARDING.

✦ ✦ ✦

There is no nature which is inferior to art, for the arts imitate the natures of things.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

BOOKS

RED RUSSIA.

Red Russia. By John Foster Fraser. New York: John Lane Co. Price, \$1.75. Postage, 15c.

With the first tragic chapter of "Red Russia" the reader who has no appetite for bloody horrors may feel inclined to pause. But surviving the shocking barbarities visited on Anna Smirnoff and Marie Spiridonoff, one finds the vivid graphic picturing of scenes with which Mr. Fraser has made himself familiar, an exceedingly interesting study.

Of course in striving to get at the "true inwardness" of the Russian situation the author sees things more or less from the English standpoint, though, as he says, "the Russians are not Britons." One must, in a way, enter into the life and habits of a nation to find any effectual method of helping it out of its difficulties.

It is possible to discover points of resemblance—such as an American, even, might recognize,—say like this:

Nine out of ten Russians are fiery with wrath at the corruption of their land. But I have noticed that however much a Russian may denounce corruption, most Russians are anxious to get into public service, and when they succeed and opportunity comes their way, they are just as willing to take bribes and squeeze blackmail as any of the others.

It is not certain that we can cast stones here.

"Red Russia" abounds in quotable passages vividly illustrative of the truth which Mr. Fraser is seeking to give the public, but space can be granted for only a few.

There are nearly 40,000,000 peasants in Russia insufficiently provided with land. . . . Some 180,000,000 would be required to satisfy the need. . . . How is that land to be obtained? Such is the mighty problem which faces all statesmen in Russia. . . . If all the available State lands not under timber were to be secured there would be only one-fourteenth of the amount needed. The solution of the problem arrived at by the majority of the late Duma [the first] came to this: There must be the expropriation of private ownership of land. The Government absolutely refused to recognize such a principle on the ground that it was confiscatory. . . . That is the situation to-day.

If there had been only the Russian people to deal with the Government might have succeeded in crushing them. But there were and are alien races in the empire, the people of the Baltic Provinces, Germans speaking the German language, the Poles a cultured people, and the Jews certainly intellectual, and all superior to the Russian in mental capacity. These are antagonistic to the Government and have been zealous in the advocacy of liberal principles.

These are only haphazard quotations that in-

sufficiently represent the power and purpose of the author of "Red Russia" which no one interested in the problem of Russian politics should fail to read.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Real Farmer. By John M. Stahl. Published by the Illinois Farmer Co. Press, Quincy, Ill. 1908.

—Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 75, March, 1908. Published at the Government Printing Office, Washington, 1908.

—Home Problems from a New Standpoint. By Caroline L. Hunt. Published by Whitcomb & Barrows, Boston. 1908. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Dont's for Bachelors and Old Maids. By Minna Thomas Antrim. Published by the Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 1908. Price, 50 cents.

—Christmas vs. Fourth of July. By Asenath Carver Coolidge. Published by Asenath Carver Coolidge, Watertown, N. Y. 1908. Price, 25 cents.

PERIODICALS

"A Reading Journey Through Switzerland," by Oscar Kuhns, fills the August Chautauquan. The many photographs are very beautiful and the reading matter would make an interesting little guide book to the scenic beauty and historic greatness of little Switzerland.

A. L.

Because "it reveals about a man the precise points which are unimportant," Chesterton somewhere objects to realistic biography. And "Mr. Dooley" would agree with him. "General Grant and the Facts of History" in The American Magazine for August is one more proof that F. P. Dunne will some day himself be the victim of "that there Muse iv Hilsthry." "Fame," says Mr. Dooley, "is always playin' April fool thricks with th' great. It pins a goold medal

on th' chest iv th' hero, an' as he sthruts down th' sthreet he little knows that it has hung a sign on his coat tails, sayin': 'Plaze kick me.'"

A. L.

"What is the Matter with our Land Laws?" asks Seth K. Humphrey in the July Atlantic. His answer is a vigorous and constructive criticism, directed chiefly against the "lottery system" and fixed charge per acre in the government's disposal of agricultural lands; and unreservedly favoring government ownership and supervision of all timber tracts. "Encouraged and abetted by the land laws, the gambling mania for public land has passed all bounds. Every land opening is a wild crgy; the fierce rush at the crack of a gun was nothing to the now fiercer hope at the turn of an envelope. A frenzied, deluded mob wastes its energy and money at every lottery-drawing in wild reaches for the government's bait, always followed about by a horde of land speculators, ready to pick off the winners—a set of men in make-up and motive as utterly unlike the men who made the original homestead law a blessing to their country, as black is unlike white." The remedy? "Make the main charge for the land in terms which are no burden whatever to the bona fide farmer, . . . but which are wholly unattractive to the passing throng that merely seeks something for nothing." "The fixed charge should be abolished. . . . In all cases of special openings of lands to public entry, . . . nothing but competitive sale, subject always to full restrictions, will secure a sane, equitable distribution of the land to actual farmers." "Of even more importance than the disposal of agricultural land is the conserving of our remaining timber." "Our forest-reserve system is the most vitally important public enterprise of the day, but if we are really going to save our timber we must save the vastly greater area which lies in scattered tracts outside any prospective reserve." "Sell the first cutting [with strict regulations as to method and quantity] to the lumberman, but hold the title forever in the government, and terminate

ECONOMIC AND REFORM BOOKS
a Specialty. New Bargain Catalog, Just Ready, FREE.
H. H. TIMBY, Conneaut, Ohio

The New Theology Magazine
is an exponent of the New Theology Movement.
Introductory price, 10 cents for three months.
21 Madison Street, Room 10 :: BOSTON, MASS

REAL ESTATE FOR SALE AND EXCHANGE
EDWARD POLAK
4030 Third Avenue - - NEW YORK CITY

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Telephone Harrison 1027
CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.
OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN
Office: 45 Auditorium Building
HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS **CHICAGO**

Garrison, the Non-Resistant, with its record of a little known phase of William Lloyd Garrison's life, and its remarkable non-resistant analysis of the Civil War situation, is already known to you. We carry that in the original blue cloth edition, with portrait, at fifty cents, as formerly. ¶ And we have recently added to our stock a twenty-five cent edition, lacking the portrait, bound in a heavy, durable drab paper. There is no charge for postage on either edition.

Address THE PUBLIC, BOOK DEPT.
Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

the lumberman's interest upon the removal of his timber." And how obtain these remedies? "There has never been a sustained public interest in the public domain. Its relation to Congress is that of a special interest—and now, with many other special interests, it is receiving at the hands of a vigorous administration external treatment for organic troubles. The difficulty lies in the laws. We suffer in this as in other respects from hang-over laws which, having outlived their usefulness, are kept alive by special interests to serve their special de-

sires. . . . There is only one way to rid the public domain of the special interests that have usurped it; let public sentiment so overwhelm Congress that it will recognize the public domain as belonging to the whole nation, take it off the legislative barter list, and give us laws for its administration founded on sane business principles."

A. L.

+ + +

The elderly matron with the bundles, who was journeying to a point in Wisconsin and occupied a

READ OUR CAMPAIGN OFFER

THE great Campaign of 1908 is under way, and **THE PUBLIC** will give special attention to it to the end. It will print all the really historical **NEWS** of the campaign—fact and not gossip—impartially; and it will comment in **EDITORIALS** with fairness and vigor from the point of view of fundamental democracy as distinguished from party Democracy. **CAMPAIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS** are invited now. ¶ We will send **THE PUBLIC** to any address in the United States from and including the issue of August 7, with the issue of **JULY 3** (with Bryan portrait supplement) thrown in, to and including the issue of **NOVEMBER 13** (with full election news and editorial comment)—fifteen issues in all—for **TWENTY CENTS**, cash in advance. ¶ **CLUBS OF TEN** will be served for the same period for **\$1.50**, cash in advance.

Address: **THE PUBLIC**, Ellsworth Building, Chicago.

Fellowship Songs.

A collection of Hymns and Songs voicing personal aspiration, civic and religious purpose, social conscience and democratic faith; compiled by Ralph Albertson from such writers as Lowell, Whittier, Kingsley, Tennyson, Mackay, Carpenter, Markham, Massey, Crosby, Mrs. Gilman and W. C. Gannett.

Ernest Crosby's last written words for **THE PUBLIC** were about these Fellowship Songs. The review appeared in **THE PUBLIC** of January 5, 1907, which went to press on the morning of the 3rd, the morning on which he died. Of the Songs he wrote, among other things:

Ralph Albertson's "Fellowship Songs" is an admirable collection of the best liberal hymns and poems, set to the best music. . . . Every progressive group of thinkers—liberal church, woman's club or what not—would do well to lay in a supply of "Fellowship Songs" and practice its melodies.

Handsome stiff cover with cloth back, 25 cts., postpaid.

THE PUBLIC, BOOK DEPT
Ellsworth Bldg. CHICAGO.

6% BONDS

We are offering at 95 (par value 100) the unsold balance of a \$130,000 issue of 6% Bonds of the

EASTLAND STEAMSHIP COMPANY

the line to Cedar Point, the Atlantic City of the Middle West. These bonds will net considerably more than 6% and are fully secured by first mortgage on Str. Eastland valued at \$300,000 and insured for full value.

For sale in amounts of \$500 or more.
Send for Booklet G-1 giving full details.

Have you investigated our new Money Order Plan where your money is always on deposit at 4% and yet cashable anywhere at any time? Write for Booklet G-2.

THE DEPOSITORS SAVINGS & TRUST CO.

Tom L. Johnson, President.
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

seat near the middle of the car, had fallen asleep. On the seat in front of her sat a little boy. The brakeman opened the door of the car and called out the name of the station the train was approaching. The elderly woman roused herself with a jerk.

"Where are we, Bobby?" she asked.

"I don't know, grandma," answered the little boy.

"Didn't the brakeman say something just now?"

"No. He just stuck his head inside the door and sneezed."

"Help me with these things, Bobby!" she exclaimed, hurriedly. "This is Oshkosh. It's where we get off."—Youth's Companion.

* * *

"If you would live properly and obey the rules of health," said Wijjit, "you would live to be one hundred."

"I don't want to live that long," declared Fijjit. "I haven't time."—Life.

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, and, though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of fundamental democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Bldg., 357 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

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

Terms of Subscription

Yearly	\$1.00
Half yearly50
Quarterly25
Single copies05
Trial subscription—4 weeks10

Extra copies in quantity, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$3.50 per 100.

Free of postage in United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts, postoffice money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders or Chicago, or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due, or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired.

Advertising Rates

One page, each insertion	\$20.00
Half-page, each insertion	10.00
Quarter-page, each insertion	5.00
One inch, each insertion	1.20
Half-inch, each insertion50

Two columns to the page; length of column, 8½ inches; width of column, 8 inches.

Advertising forms close on the Monday preceding the Friday of publication.

OUR LAST OFFER

We have left in our possession only a limited number of the sets of the standard Library Edition of the Complete Works of Henry George, including the Life of Henry George by Henry George, Jr. This set consists of ten 12mo volumes, all uniformly and artistically bound, in a box.

We must dispose of these sets at once, in order to get enough money to meet the few remaining obligations of this Company. So we will let them go at cost.

The regular price of this set is \$15.00 cash with order, or \$17.50 if paid in installments. In fact, this price is too low, as the publishers realized after placing the edition on the market. It was printed from the same plates and with the same illustrations as the Memorial Edition, which sold for \$25.00 the set, but is now out of print.

But we (until our obligations are met) will sell the complete set for \$7.50 cash with order. The cost of transportation is extra. For \$1.00 additional, or \$8.50 in all, we will send the set, carefully packed, by express, prepaid to any address in the United States or Canada. Cash must be sent with the order.

The volumes are as follows:

Volume I. Progress and Poverty.

" II. Social Problems.

" III. The Land Question.

Contains "The Land Question," "Property in Land," and the "Condition of Labor" (open letter to Pope Leo XIII).

" IV. Protection or Free Trade.

" V. A Perplexed Philosopher.

Volumes VI. and VII. The Science of Political Economy.

Volume I. Our Land and Land Policy.

Contains the miscellaneous writings, speeches and lectures.

Volumes IX. and X. The Life of Henry George.

The Public Publishing Co.

Room 205, 357 Dearborn St., Chicago



When the security, the rate of interest and free stock exchange are considered, no investment has ever been offered to the public that is so safe and profitable to the small investor as this.

TOM L. JOHNSON

“TAINTED NEWS.”

If the power of the subsidized press of the country was sufficient to make Three Cent Fare in Cleveland an absolute and abject failure, the Municipal Traction Company would long since have lost control of the street railway system of the City and we would now be announcing our dissolution.

Press dispatches have been sent broadcast, luridly detailing the great dissatisfaction of the people with the new management, the losses suffered by the Company, the complaints regarding the routing and service, the cupidity of the people, and the treachery of Tom Johnson—misrepresentation and exaggeration at a premium in our newspaper offices.

Neither the truth nor any report favorable to Three Cent Fare has been allowed to go out to the people of the country.

The steady stream of subscriptions for stock that has come to us from all parts of the country, proves that the people understand the reason for the opposition of the press: **The success of the three cent fare railways under the Municipal Company means the destruction of privilege and the triumph of the people.**

The monopolists know that if the movement is a success in Cleveland, it will be taken up in all the cities of the United States. Why should not the monopoly-controlled press misrepresent and distort the truth?

Fairness, honesty and open dealing have characterized the fight of Mayor Johnson and his associates from the very beginning of the Three Cent Fare movement.

The same policy guides us in the sale of the stock.

Every statement made can be absolutely relied upon—for to win at the sacrifice of principle is to lose.

When we say we will pay you six per cent interest on your investment, and that we will redeem your stock at any time at par and interest,—you know that we mean what we say and that we are in a position to make good our promises.

THE OFFER:

First, we will sell Cleveland Railway Company Stock at par (\$100.00) and 6 per cent interest. That is, \$101.00 a share until Sept. 1st.

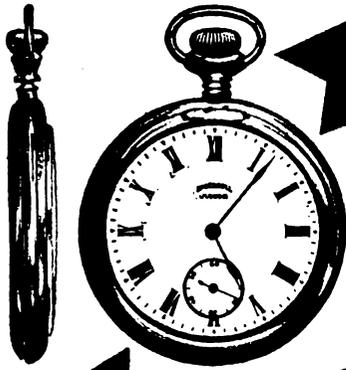
Second, we will at any time redeem in cash, at \$100.00 a share, plus interest at 6 per cent from the payment of the last dividend on it, any stock that has been sold through our free-stock exchange.

Thus it pays 50 per cent higher rate of interest than the savings banks, and the money is ready for you when you want it, with no loss of interest and no 60-day clause. We want Cleveland Railway stock to be a people's savings bank paying 6 per cent interest, instead of 4 per cent. As Mayor Johnson says, this stock is equal in security to a GOVERNMENT BOND.

Address all communications to the Municipal Traction Co., Stock Exchange Department, 650 Electric Bldg.
Make all checks payable to the Municipal Traction Co.

The Municipal Traction Company

A. B. DU PONT, President.



A New, Thin-Model Ingersoll Watch

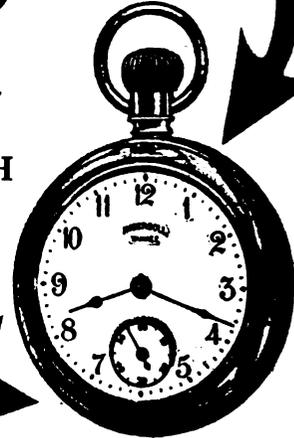
Here is a new, small size, thin-model, gentleman's watch—an exact duplicate in size and appearance of any of the high-priced, fashionable, thin-model watches made for men. The new Ingersoll "Junior" is the only low-priced, thin-model watch in the world—a *guaranteed* time-keeper, and the latest achievement of the wonderful Ingersoll factories.

Ingersoll
DOLLAR WATCH

The famous "Dollar Watch" is still the most popular watch, and the most practical and inexpensive time-keeper made. Besides the "Dollar Watch" there are other Men's Ingersolls up to \$1.75, and "Midget" models for Ladies, Girls and Boys, from \$2 to \$5.

Look for the name **INGERSOLL** on the dial. Sixty thousand dealers sell Ingersolls—or we will send direct on receipt of price (if by registered mail, send 8c additional). Write today for free, illustrated booklet.

ROBT. H. INGERSOLL & BRO.
7 Frankel Building, New York



\$
2

\$
1

The Mayor of Cleveland TOM L. JOHNSON

President of this bank, made it possible for us to offer to the public the newest, safest, and most convenient method of handling savings deposits ever devised.

Our Bank Money Order Plan Of Banking By Mail

safeguards the depositor under every condition, eliminates the clumsy, out of date, unsafe pass-book method and gives you instead, a Certificate of Deposit—a Certified Check, bearing

4% INTEREST—Cashable Anywhere—At Any Time

By our method your money is always on deposit, working for you day and night, yet always in your possession ready for instant use when needed.

Can you imagine a more ideal plan for the placing of your savings? We want you to know more about it, and if you contemplate opening a savings account with any bank, you owe it to yourself to investigate our plan.

WRITE NOW—TODAY, FOR BOOKLET "G."

THE DEPOSITORS SAVINGS & TRUST CO., TOM L. JOHNSON, **Cleveland, Ohio**
PRESIDENT