

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Charles G. Dawes for Bank Deposit Insurance.

There is a distinguished Republican financier whose voice we should like to hear in this campaign on the subject of Bryan's plan for guaranteeing bank deposits. We allude to Charles G. Dawes, Comptroller of the Currency under President McKinley, and president of the Central Trust Company at Chicago since 1902. Unless his published opinions have changed, Mr. Dawes is not in agreement with Mr. Taft on this subject, and he is in agreement with Mr. Bryan. At any rate, he favored insurance of bank deposits when Rand-McNally of Chicago published his little volume entitled "The Banking System of the United States," which was about three years before he became President McKinley's Comptroller of the Currency.

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In describing in that book the "present need of our national banking system," Mr. Dawes distinctly argues for the insurance idea that Bryan advocated in Congress and upon which his campaign is now advancing in the West. Referring to a proposed law, advocated by Bryan in Congress, which would have levied a tax upon national banks for the purpose of creating a fund for the insurance of deposits, Mr. Dawes wrote:

National banking statistics show that a fund of the necessary amount would soon be created by a comparatively small tax upon each National Bank. . . . It must certainly be admitted that the estab-

ishment of such a fund would have a tendency to prevent the mad rushes of small and large depositors during times of panic, for money which they hoard away in safety-deposit boxes or other hiding places. . . . If the effect of such a law would be to render bank deposits more stable under all conditions, as in our judgment would be the case, no law could be of more value and importance to the debtor, or to the creditor, or to the community at large. . . . Besides the great importance of the law, as related to the general prosperity of the country, it is meritorious as preventing the keen suffering in those localities where bank failures occur, and where the hard-earned savings of the community, under our present laws, are often swept entirely away. By such a law, losses are distributed as by insurance, the beneficial effects of which need no argument. To the passage of such a law in proper form, we trust the efforts of Congress will be directed.

If this does not express Mr. Dawes' present view, so distinguished a man as he in the financial world ought to announce his change of opinion and frankly give the reasons for it.

* *

Labor Day and Bryan.

This year's Labor Day demonstration in Chicago was the most significant in character of any distinctively labor demonstration ever made in the West. It was especially significant because Mr. Bryan was the only official reviewer of the parade and the only speaker at the meeting. From this platform and under these auspices he addressed the whole country on the subject of labor legislation and the adjudication of labor cases, making with characteristic clearness and power the point that in the issue of jury trials in labor injunction cases, our whole institution of trial by jury is involved. The day closed with a supper tendered to Mr. Gompers and Mr. Bryan by the labor committee, at which Mr. Gompers declared his personal support of Mr. Bryan's candidacy, on the ground that it is the only Presidential candidacy which represents the cause of labor in the practical politics of the day. The occasion was most encouraging to those of us who are working and hoping for a permanent and clearly marked alignment of the dominant political parties on the issue of equal rights and no privileges—of fundamental democracy against organized plutocracy.

* *

Labor Day and Mr. Hearst.

Mr. Hearst devoted a Labor Day speech to an attack upon Mr. Bryan, in which he charged Mr. Bryan with having said that certain workingmen of Pittsburg were "public beggars." Asked if he would reply, Mr. Bryan has said that he will if Mr. Hearst and Mr. Taft will publicly agree that

this attack is part of the Taft campaign. The condition is a proper one. As this campaign is between Mr. Bryan and Mr. Taft, no one else having the slightest chance of being elected, it is with Mr. Taft and not with Mr. Hearst that Mr. Bryan should engage his energies between now and election. But if Mr. Hearst's comical side-party really were a factor in the campaign, wouldn't his attack upon Bryan in 1908, for something the latter said in 1894, be a belated attack for Mr. Hearst to make? What Mr. Hearst asserts that Mr. Bryan said in 1894 appears to have been said publicly; and if it is wicked to think of now, it must have been wicked in 1894, in 1896 and in 1900. Yet Mr. Hearst found no sin in it when it was uttered, and he has supported Mr. Bryan twice since then. He might have been supporting him yet had Mr. Bryan done the utterly impossible thing which Mr. Hearst demanded of him four years ago. It is really to be hoped that Mr. Taft will adopt Mr. Hearst's attack upon Mr. Bryan. While a reply to Mr. Hearst would at this time and under present circumstances be beneath the dignity of a responsible candidate for the Presidency, we can imagine that a reply by Mr. Bryan would make good reading if Mr. Taft, his only responsible adversary, were to challenge one as an incident of his own campaign.

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As the gravamen of Mr. Hearst's charge against Mr. Bryan is that he denounced a plutocratic business committee from Pittsburg which sought special privileges from Congress, as a band of "robbers," and the labor committee which tagged on at their heels as a lot of "public beggars," we rather hope that Mr. Hearst may prove his case. It would add to Mr. Bryan's reputation for honesty and courage. When he was elected to Congress he told the sugar-beet robbers and beggars of his own district that precisely as he would not vote to put their money into other people's pockets he would not vote to put other people's money into their pockets. We hope he said the same thing in substance to that protection combine from Pittsburg.

* *

Hearst's Self-Exposure.

It is pitiful. William Randolph Hearst once commanded no little confidence as a popular leader; but now he is making a farcical Presidential campaign which is farcically reported in his own papers, and everybody knows that there is nothing back of it all but his own personal hatred of Bryan. Mr. Hearst has allowed himself to get

found out—not alone in San Francisco, where the discovery began several years ago, but all over the country.

* *

Mr. Taft and Jury Trials in Labor Cases.

In one of his recent Ohio speeches, Mr. Taft showed that he fails to grasp the essentials of the labor injunction question. He objected to jury trials for alleged violations of labor injunctions (pp. 458, 468, 483) because jury trials have never been and cannot wisely be used under English and American law in connection with the enforcement of court orders. But that is not the question. The question is whether courts should be allowed any longer to refuse jury trials for the purposes for which they always have been wisely used under English and American law.

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Jury trials for crime are an institution under American law; but the courts, largely under Mr. Taft's judicial leadership, have been busily at work abrogating that institution in labor cases. They have been doing it by means of a transparent subterfuge. Having issued orders forbidding criminal acts by workmen in connection with strikes, they convict and punish strikers without trial by jury, on pretense that the conviction and punishment are for violation of the court's order and not for crime. To do this is evidently to abolish the right of trial by jury in labor cases; and this is what Judge Taft did, and Candidate Taft defends.

* *

Mr. Taft's "Demagogy."

When in 1896 Mr. Bryan spoke to the people of the whole country, going to them in true Democratic fashion, Mr. Taft's party called it "demagogic" and raised large sums of money from corrupt corporations to ship coerced workmen to Mr. McKinley's front porch. But now, corporation contributions to Republican campaign funds being for prudential reasons too small to pay the expense of sending armies of voters to the candidate's home, Mr. Taft has decided to adopt still another of Mr. Bryan's "demagogic" methods.

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Mr. Bryan seems well justified in these observations which he made to a reporter this week upon leaving Lincoln for a speaking trip:

I am getting a great deal of consolation out of what the President and Mr. Taft have been doing. I used to be called hard names because I advocated an income tax, and now the income tax has been

indorsed by the President and Mr. Taft. I used to be bitterly denounced because I favored railroad regulation. Now the President and Mr. Taft have brought that reform into popularity and I am no longer considered dangerous. I used to get a good deal of criticism because I favored tariff reform, but now tariff reform has become so urgent that Mr. Taft is willing to have a special session called immediately after inauguration to act on the subject. When I made phonograph records in order that I might discuss political questions before more people, the Republican papers ridiculed me and called it undignified, but Mr. Taft has lifted the phonograph to an eminence by talking into it himself. And now my greatest sin is to be made a virtue by imitation. Surely, "Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery." When I went out campaigning in 1896 and 1900 they said it was demagogic to run around over the country hunting for votes. Now it is eminently proper since Mr. Taft is going to do it, and I hope the Republican papers will make due apologies. It is hard for us to keep our patents from being infringed on this year. I am afraid they will try to raise a campaign fund by popular contributions next.

* *

Mr. Taft's Peculiar Experience.

One of the recommendations of Mr. Taft which his co-partisans make for him as a Presidential candidate, is his experience as an administrator in the Philippines, a kind of experience which they say Mr. Bryan lacks. To this campaign argument Mr. Bryan makes the apt reply that while it is true that he was never Governor of the Philippines, as Mr. Taft was, he thinks that if he had been he could have introduced more American ideas in the Philippines than Mr. Taft did. Considering that the governorship of the Philippines under Mr. Taft was a dictatorship, it should appear to men of American thought that the more experience Mr. Taft had in that office the less qualified he would be to occupy the Presidential chair. Exceptional qualifications as a dictator are not the best recommendation for the American chief magistracy.

* *

Coercion of Workmen in Ohio.

It is true as well as interesting that the meeting at Youngstown, Ohio, which was addressed by Gov. Hughes and other supporters of Mr. Taft, was a coerced meeting. Workingmen in the big establishments are virtually under orders to support Mr. Taft in behalf of the Interests. The arrangements for this species of coercion have been in the hands of J. A. Campbell, president of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, Thomas McDonald, general manager of the Carnegie interests in the Mahoning Valley, and Bert Deetrick, manager of the Republic Iron and Steel Corporation. These men, as a committee of em-

ployers, notified the various big concerns of Youngstown to prepare for opening the Taft campaign by organizing companies of workmen in each establishment to be distinctively uniformed. This is one of many signs that the Interests, although they were opposed to Mr. Taft's nomination because he was President Roosevelt's candidate, are quite reconciled. In some way they have been assured that Mr. Taft is "safe and sane."

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Funds for the Campaign.

Many Democratic papers are collecting funds through their columns for transmission to the national committee. We should be glad to join in this work for the present campaign, were it not for the fact, for one thing, that *The Public* is not a party organ, and for another that it never makes collections for any fund. But we should consider ourselves remiss if we neglected to urge that contributions be made by every reader of *The Public* who agrees with it that in the present Presidential campaign the Democratic party represents fundamental democracy more closely on the whole than any other political party that is really in the fight. Perhaps it represents fundamental democracy as closely as any political party could represent it effectively in practical politics at the stage to which the progressive masses of the people of this country have as yet advanced. What is now needed for holding the party in that position and leading it further forward in the same direction is voluntary contributions from its progressive sympathizers. These contributions need not be large. A dollar from those who can afford no more; ten dollars from those who can afford that much; a hundred dollars from the well-to-do; a thousand from the rich—these are the kind of contributions that are needed and ought to be given. If an average of only a dollar a head were given for all that great mass of voters who for unselfish reasons wish Bryan elected, the fund would be ample. We trust that such of these as are readers of *The Public* will do their part. The contributions should be made directly to Moses C. Wetmore, Chairman Finance Committee, Auditorium Annex, Chicago, Illinois.

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Put the Right Men on Guard.

From Ohio come predictions through Republican channels that Mr. Harmon, the Democrat, will carry Ohio against the Republican candidate for governor, although Mr. Taft, instead of Mr. Bryan, will get the electoral vote of that State. There are similar indications in Illinois of the de-

feat in this State of Deneen, the Republican, for governor, and of Bryan, the Democrat, for President. Such an outcome in either State is of course an honest possibility; but no pains should be spared to eliminate all dishonest factors.

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Death of Alexander Troup.

In the sudden death of Alexander Troup of Connecticut (vol. x, p. 1155), Mr. Bryan loses one of his most intimate personal friends and loyal political supporters. Mr. Troup lived and worked politically in a veritable enemies' country, where the policies for which Mr. Bryan stood were scouted and Mr. Bryan himself was ignorantly condemned. In that desert of plutocracy and provincialism Col. Troup and his paper, the *New Haven Union*, were almost alone in their struggle for democracy until the present year. That he should have died at so critical a time is to be profoundly regretted, but with grateful remembrances of a long and faithful service which ended only with the last hour of his life.

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Deceptive News Reports.

Mr. Wu Tingfang, the Chinese minister at Washington, has had exasperating experiences with irresponsible American journalism. "I refused to state an opinion," he says regarding reports of a Chinese-American alliance, "so the reporters stated one for me." His is a common experience, but why put the blame upon reporters? Responsibility for deceptive news reporting lies higher up.

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The Police "Sweat Box."

Not the least satisfactory work of the Springfield grand jury with reference to the recent deplorable outbreak against the Negroes of that city (pp. 517, 534) is its denunciation of the police "sweat box." For many years *The Public* has demanded the suppression of this species of official crime (vol. x, pp. 242, 642; vol. xi, p. 55), and it is with gratification and hopeful expectation that we begin to see evidence of a popular disposition to put it down. Confessions of crime are at the best dubious evidence of guilt. When elicited by hints of favors or extorted by fear, and especially when, as in the police "sweat box," they are drawn from unprotected prisoners by trick or brutality, confessions are valueless. They may indeed be worse than valueless. The time honored law which has in recent years been defied by our police and often ignored even by our courts—the law that a

prisoner shall not be interrogated as to his alleged crime except in open court and of his own free will, rests upon sound principles, not only of humanity but of evidence. The "sweat box" breeds false testimony.

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The Conspiracy Against Municipal Operation in Cleveland.

Although Mayor Johnson has almost completed his triumph over the monopolistic enemies of municipal traction in Cleveland, the obstructive fight still goes on. In the city of Cleveland itself, there is no longer any real opposition. Public sentiment is clearly with the municipal movement, and its success is apparent. But monopolistic interests both in Cleveland and outside are combined to spread abroad an impression that the Cleveland enterprise is a failure. This is done by means of "fake" newspaper correspondence based upon trifling facts which are themselves made to order. One of these facts is the referendum on the franchise. There is no reason whatever to doubt that the franchise will be sustained at the special election now set for the 22d of October; but the fact that such a referendum is pending is published broadcast in distorted form, partly to discourage investment in the Cleveland enterprise and partly to discourage tendencies elsewhere to look approvingly upon the Cleveland method of municipalization. This species of obstructive campaign is further promoted by bankers who, though they have no scruple against advising their clients to invest in Wall street "cats and dogs," such as pulled many an honest penny out of many an honest hand a year ago, are even officious in advising them against investing in the Cleveland enterprise. Another of the trifling facts upon which these inspired newspaper reports are based, is a "taxpayers'" suit which the Interests have set on foot in Cleveland for "news" purposes and nothing else. Even if this suit were successful, and even if in addition the referendum went against the municipal franchise at the special election, the only effect would be to postpone the inevitable municipalization. New franchises would be immediately passed, and no financial supporter of this municipalizing process would lose a dollar, nor any street car passenger know the difference except as he read it in the newspapers. The street car system in Cleveland is already virtually municipalized and in successful and satisfactory operation. Its enemies as well as its friends know it, and if nothing but Cleveland traction interests were at stake there would be none of this captious opposition. But if other municipalities knew the

facts about Cleveland as well as they are locally known, every public service monopoly in the country would be in danger. Hence the obstruction. All we say in this paragraph is completely confirmed by the Cleveland Plain Dealer, from which we quote in our department of Press Opinions.

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NATURAL INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

I. Capitalization.

At our last conversation (p. 460) I was saying, Doctor, that it is monopoly of the natural instruments of production to which the monopoly of artificial instruments is traceable. In reality, therefore, it is that monopoly, and not monopoly of the artificial ones, which coerces the working interests of the social service market and despoils them. Our socialist friend down the street contends that it is monopoly of both, and I am admitting that in a superficial way he is right. Both are in fact monopolized; and the ill effect of this double monopolization is most keenly felt by hired workingmen, especially at their point of contact with the artificial instruments. But my contention is that under conditions otherwise free, there could be no monopoly of artificial instruments without monopoly of the natural ones. By "otherwise free" I mean in the absence of slavery, patent monopoly laws, or other direct coercion of the person.

Isn't it clear to you?—it seems clear enough to me, at all events,—that with the natural instruments of production and delivery unmonopolized, and with men unenslaved personally, artificial instruments unpatented could not be monopolized. Wouldn't it be altogether impossible? On the other hand, isn't it equally clear that even though men were personally free, and there were no patents forbidding production, yet if the natural instruments of production were monopolized, monopoly of artificial instruments would inevitably result?

What's the use, then, of insisting that economic coercion of labor interests is due to monopoly of both kinds of instruments? And what's the use of proposing schemes for subjecting both to regulation, or governmentalization, or socialization, or communalization, or whatever else you choose to call it? Why not hit the efficient cause plumb in its solar plexus and knock it out? Why not establish equity with reference to artificial instruments indirectly, by establishing it directly with reference to natural instruments? Why not establish it with reference to the former as the consequence,

by establishing it with reference to the latter as the cause?

But our socialistic friend is no fool, Doctor, as you very well know; and if we try to get his point of view, instead of insisting upon putting everything he says to the test of our own point of view alone, I think we shall find a valid reason for what we regard as his misapprehension. I may be mistaken, of course, but I am under the impression that I know his reason, and that on the face of it it is a good one. Some of these days I shall venture to elaborate it a little, but not now. I allude, however, to the fact, upon which he lays great stress, and rightly so, that we are living in a capitalistic age.

Everything that will yield an income is capitalized. It has a selling value, a capitalization, based upon expectations of its power to save the cost of labor. A certain machine, let us say, is capable of producing as much wealth with the labor of one man as ten men could produce without it. It will, therefore, yield to the owner, if he allows it to be used, a certain annual net income over its cost and the wages for operating it; and the expectation of this net return will give to the machine a selling or capitalized market value in proportion to the rate of commercial interest. If interest is 5 per cent a year, a machine with a potential net yield of \$100 a year will capitalize on the basis of what is called "a 20-year purchase." Don't you see it? Listen. If you had an assured income of a hundred a year, wouldn't you sell out if anybody would buy for a satisfactory price? Well, you wouldn't sell out for one year's purchase, would you? You would want more than a hundred dollars, I guess, for turning over to somebody else your right to a hundred a year. Yes, indeed. All right, but how would you figure out how many years' purchase you ought to get? How would you decide upon what capital sum you ought to have? Of course, of course; that's it. You'd say this is a question of interest on capital, and as interest is 5 per cent, our old rule-of-three will tell me what I ought to have. And so you would figure: As 5 per cent is to 100 per cent, so is \$100 to the capitalized value of my 100-dollar annuity; and by our old rule-of-three that would be \$2,000.

Oh, no doubt, no doubt; other factors would enter into the bargain, and these would make the capitalization somewhat higher or somewhat lower. But approximately, \$2,000 would be the capitalization of your \$100 annuity under a commercial regime of 5 per cent interest; and for similar reasons this would be the capital value of the

machine if its working life were approximately twenty years. If the machine were reproducible for less than \$2,000, then to be sure it would sell for less; but in that case, other things being the same, it would yield less than \$100 a year on a 5-per cent interest market. By no possibility would a machine reproducible for a thousand dollars yield as much annually, measured by value, as one reproducible for not less than two thousand dollars, no matter what the rate of interest might be. The point is, you see, not that the exact relation of 100 to 2,000 exists under all circumstances; but that there does exist, with approximate constancy, a proportion between income and capitalization, the determining factor of which is the rate of interest. Given rate of interest and capital value, and you figure out approximate annual income; given annual income and rate of interest, and you figure out approximate capital value. That's all there is to it—allowing, of course, for risk and renewal.

Now, in a commercial regime it is precisely the same with natural instruments—with places or sites, that is, and the resources of this old planet of ours. Here is a piece of land, let us say—a space on the planet, which is the natural roof of a mine, the natural site of a building, or the natural location of a farm. If this bit of land is so situated with reference to inferior ones that it will yield to the owner a certain annual net income over and above the cost of artificial instruments and the wages of labor, won't the expectation of that income give to the land a selling or capitalized value? And won't that capitalized value be determined in the case of the land, precisely as in the case of the machine, by the rate of commercial interest? Surely. If interest is 5 per cent, a piece of land with an expectant net yield of a hundred a year will capitalize on the basis of a 20-years' purchase.

So it makes no difference to the capitalist, don't you observe?—and please do observe it, for here we are at a vital point in the difference between our socialistic friend's industrial philosophy and mine—it makes no difference to the capitalist, I say, whether he owns this land or that machine. His property of both kinds will be approximately identical in capitalized value. If the earning power differed, the capitalized values would be approximately equal as proportions.

And it would be the same with a slave, if slavery were still a business institution, as it was in the commercial centers of the South in our school days. Under a 5-per cent interest regime, a slave with an expectation of 20 years of full productive life averaging \$100 a year over and above the ex-

pectation of his "keep," would capitalize on the basis of 20 years; which would be \$2,000, precisely as in the case of machines or land.

Don't you see, then, that in a capitalistic era, it makes no difference to the capitalist—accidental differences apart,—whether he owns a \$2,000 machine, which is an artificial instrument of production, or a \$2,000 piece of land, which is a natural instrument of production, or a \$2,000 laborer? Interchangeable on an equality, because they are capable of yielding about the same net income, the essential differences of those essentially different things are obscured by their value identity. We are apt to lose sight of their importance as "use values," to adopt our socialist friend's term, by confining our attention to what he calls their "exchange value." Business men habitually think of them as altogether identical in character because they are interchangeable as commodities; and our socialistic friend stumbles at the same capitalistic hurdle that trips up the business man.

The lesson to be learned from this is that natural instruments are natural instruments whether capitalized or not, that artificial instruments are artificial instruments whether capitalized or not, and that laborers are men whether capitalized or not. Capitalizing them does not change their character, nor their nature; it does not obliterate their essential differences; it does not obviate the necessity of distinguishing between them. We must reason about the planet as man's natural standing place and natural storehouse, about man as the monarch of the planet, and about the artificial products he draws forth from the bosom of the planet,—we must reason, I say, about these three fundamentally different things with the same recognition of their fundamental differences, when they are capitalized and their essential characteristics obscured by commercial valuation, as if they were owned by three distinct classes of persons and under three distinct kinds of title.

Oh, yes; I have heard all that talk about value being homogeneous, about its being one in volume and indivisible in character. But so is water in a tank one in volume, and homogeneous, and indivisible in character; and yet we analyze it into its chemical substances. Why, then, may we not analyze values into their economic substances? Not only can we do this, but we must do it if we are to reason about value.

Just go back to your "Uncle Tom's Cabin" days, Doctor, and think a moment of an old-time plantation down South. There was a capitalistic investment there of something like \$100,000, let us say. As a volume of value it was as homoge-

neous as any volume of water you ever saw. But analyze it, and what do you find? Part of it was the value of cotton gins, buildings, growing cotton, and so on—the value, that is, of artificial instruments, of capital. Another part was the value of slaves—the value of men, of capitalized labor. And the rest was the value of the site of the plantation, of its place on the planet—the value, that is, of natural instruments, of land. All this value was homogeneous in the market, all one volume as a body of water is, all indivisible in character. It was all "capital," if you want to speak loosely and after the manner of men of business. But there were three kinds of capital, each absolutely different from either of the others.

Make a test. How could you destroy the values of those three kinds of capital? The value of the artificial instruments, of the capital in the strict sense, could not be destroyed without destroying the instruments themselves. No mere legislation, at any rate, could wipe out their value, so long as they were useful in social service. But legislation could wipe out the value of either of the two other kinds of "capital," and without impairing its usefulness in the slightest. An emancipation law would destroy the value of the labor "capital;" yet all the labor power of the emancipated men, theretofore having a capitalized value, would remain. So a suitable agrarian law would wipe out the value of the land "capital;" yet the land with all its productive potentialities, theretofore having a capitalized value, would remain.

The common sense truth is, don't you see? that value is not an economic substance at all. As I have frequently pointed out to you in different connections, it is a mere mode of market measurement, similar in essential character to other modes of measurement. The owner of 1,000 feet of lumber doesn't own feet; he owns lumber. If he trades it for so many cubic yards of stone, the substance he gets is not cubic yards, but stone. If he trades that for so many pounds of salt, the substance he gets is not pounds, but salt. And so with value. The owner of \$1,000 worth of lumber owns lumber, not dollars. If he trades it for \$1,000 worth of stone or salt, the substance he gets is stone or salt, and not dollars.

What if he has a note or a bond? Why, the substance he owns in that case is not the value of the note or bond. He simply has a legal right to exact that value measurement of lumber, or stone, or salt, or other commodity, from somebody. If he owns 100 shares of the stock of a corporation, it is not value he owns—not as a substance; what he owns is a certain proportion of the commodi-

ties which that corporation has the power to distribute. His proportion will be assigned to him periodically in terms of money; but that will be simply an order on the social service market for the commodities, up to the money measurement, that he desires. Inasmuch as this assignment is periodical, the shares will have a capitalized value, according to the capitalistic rule of three I have already referred to to-day.

And so it goes, Doctor. The substantial thing, the essential thing, in the social service market, is not values; it is not money terms; it is not dollar marks or other financial symbols—no matter whether they make a homogeneous and indivisible volume of value or not. These things are only devices for measurements in trade. The substantial and essential things are the commodities they measure the value of.

And when we consider what commodities are, we find, as I have explained before and doubtless shall again, that under capitalism they may fall into three classes—capitalized labor, capitalized land, and capitalized capital. But don't allow the fact of capitalism, nor any variety of terminology, to confuse you, Doctor, as to the essential differences of these three things. Capitalized labor drops out with the abolition of slavery, but labor itself does not. Capitalized land would drop out if differential advantages of location were equalized and monopoly of land prevented, but land itself would not. As to capitalized capital, you may refresh yourself with that diagram you made the other day at my suggestion. In the last analysis, capital—the volume of artificial instruments of production—is merely a product of labor, whether free labor or slave, applied to land, whether monopolized land or not. But this is a subject about which I wish to speak more specifically when we have the time.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

NEW ZEALAND RAILWAYS, AND AUSTRALIAN POLITICS.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, July 31st, 1908.—On May 1st you published an article by Mr. Max Hirsch on Government railways in Australia (p. 103). The following dispatch from Wellington to the Sydney Daily Telegraph of July 15, 1908, gives further light on the subject by publishing the revenue and expenditure of the state owned railways of New Zealand for the year ended June 30, 1908:

The total earnings on the New Zealand railways for the 12 months amounted to £2,761,938, and the total expenditure to £1,949,759.

The net revenue is equal to a return of 3.33 per cent. on the capital invested in open lines, and 3.04 per cent on

the total capital invested in open and unopened lines. The expenditure shows an increased ratio to earnings of 1.53 per cent.

The revenue for the coming year is estimated at £2,835,000, and the expenditure at £2,020,000.

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Early in July, the Federal labor conference was held in Brisbane, Queensland. It decided that the Labor party in the Commonwealth parliament should not enter into an alliance with any other party. It is probable that but for this decision the Labor members would have joined with the Socialistic section of the Protectionist party and formed a ministry to replace that of Mr. Deakin. The following platform for the Federal Labor party was adopted:

Fighting Platform.

1. Maintenance of white Australia.
2. New protection.
3. Nationalism of monopolies.
4. Graduated tax on unimproved land values.
5. Citizen defense force.
6. Commonwealth bank.
7. Restriction of public borrowing.
8. Navigation laws.
9. Arbitration Act amendment.

General Platform.

1. Maintenance of white Australia.
2. New protection.
3. Amendment of constitution to ensure effective Federal legislation for new protection and arbitration.
4. Graduated land tax, graduated tax on all estates over £5,000 in value, on unimproved value.
5. Citizen defense force, with compulsory military training, and Australian-owned and controlled navy.
6. Commonwealth bank of issue, exchange, and reservation, with non-political management.
7. Restriction of public borrowing.
8. Navigation laws to provide for (a) the protection of Australian shipping against unfair competition; (b) registration of all vessels engaged in coastal trade; (c) efficient manning of vessels; (d) proper supply of life-saving and other equipment; (e) regulation of hours of work; (f) proper accommodation for passengers and seamen; (g) proper loading gear and inspection of the same; (h) compulsory insurance of crews by ship-owners against accident or death.
9. Arbitration Act amendment to provide for preference for unionists, and the exclusion of the legal profession, with provision for the inclusion of state government employes.
10. Old-age and invalid pensions.
11. General insurance department, with non-political management.
12. Civil equality of men and women.
13. Naval and military expenditure to be allotted from the proceeds of direct taxation.
14. Initiative and referendum.

The last plank appears for the first time. It deserves a higher place on the list, and should have the support of all Liberals.

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The State Government of Victoria proposes to bring in a land valuation bill to provide for the valuation of the improved and unimproved value of all land in the State. Municipalities are then to be given the option of imposing taxes on either the improved or unimproved value. This bill will have powerful press opposition and will probably be rejected by the Legislative Council (upper house) which is a very conservative body.

Women may vote at Federal elections throughout the Commonwealth; in the State of Victoria alone

they are not State electors also. This is due to the Council, which has repeatedly rejected woman suffrage bills which had been passed by the assembly.

ERNEST BRAY.

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BRITISH POLITICS.

London, Aug. 10.—Three weeks in Great Britain is hardly long enough to qualify a stranger to write very intelligently of British politics in detail. But the broader outlines are so much like those of our own politics that one quickly apprehends their general bearing.

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Between the Liberal party of Great Britain and the Democratic party of the United States there is a singular similarity. There are plutocratic Liberals, democratic Liberals, Liberals by tradition, and Liberal traffickers in politics, precisely as there are plutocratic Democrats, democratic Democrats, traditional Democrats, etc. And just as with us the trend of the Democratic party is toward democracy, notwithstanding all the back eddies, so in Great Britain the trend of the Liberal party is democratic despite every drawback.

There is another similarity. Most reformers of the democratic type in Great Britain affiliate with the Liberal party, as men of like mind in the United States affiliate with the Democratic party, not from any special love for the organization or hero worship of its leaders, but because they recognize in its general following the massing of the public sentiment which springs from a democratic impulse—that massing of sentiment upon which all democratic reforms must depend for political success.

Still another point of similarity is the tendency of certain types of impractical reformers to organize futile side parties, and in doing so to care less for their cause than for their organization, and to prefer Tory success to Liberal success when they can not win themselves. That is to say, these third parties which profess a democratic purpose and cannot win at the polls, nevertheless go to the polls with their own candidates in hopeless constituencies, instead of using their influence within the Liberal party, and in so far as they have any effect at all, promote the election of Tory over Liberal candidates by dividing the Liberal vote. In our country, these tactics result, when they result in anything, in victories for the Republican party, as in Great Britain they result, when they result in anything, in victories for the Tories. For just as the Democratic party with us is like the Liberal party here, so the Republican party with us is like the Tory party here. Transplant a Republican to Great Britain and he becomes a Tory as naturally as a duck's egg hatches a duck. Even tourists from the United States will be found to be instinctively in sympathy with the Tory party if they are Republicans at home.

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One of the British side parties is a natural group—the Irish party. This represents a geographical section which is denied self-government, and it will doubtless hold together as long as full autonomy is withheld from Ireland.

An analogous claim is made for the Independent Labor party, which, under the leadership of Keir Hardy, has become a power in British politics. As the Irish party stands for the liberties of Ireland, so it is argued does the Independent Labor party stand for the liberties of workingmen, being to a social class what the Irish party is to a geographical section. Strong as this party is, however, it is a party of recent growth—of mushroom growth, as some are saying,—and it has yet to prove its title to permanency. Another election may strengthen it or annihilate it, and no one can foretell which. Whoever attempts a prophecy may be fairly regarded as expressing his desires rather than his judgment.

The Independent Labor party may be described not as a socialist but as a socialistic party. It turns a cold shoulder to the simon-pure socialist organization—called the Social Democratic Federation,—yet it adopts the fundamental ideas of that body: labor class politics, and hostility to industrial competition. Its principal leaders are socialists in greater or less degree, but it is overwhelmingly a trade union as distinguished from a socialist body. Among its influential though not principal leaders are trade union men who are what are known in the United States as "pure and simplers." There is also in the party an influential element of what we know as "single taxers." In Great Britain the single tax idea is better understood as "land values taxation"; and under this name it has permeated the Independent Labor party to such an extent that the party may be said to be completely committed to that reform.

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The land values taxation movement distinctively, which was begun in Scotland a quarter of a century ago by Henry George, and now colors all British parties except the Tory, and has evoked from that party its best tribute—outspoken and vigorous opposition,—is fostered by non-partisan leagues of George's followers. These leagues are localized, but for greater effectiveness they have formed a United Committee, with headquarters in London. Although non-partisan, they have found after years of experience that their work tells best in radicalizing rather than antagonizing the Liberal party, and in antagonizing the Tory party, which cannot be radicalized. Following this policy, they have brought about a condition in which the Liberal party is officially committed to land values taxation, and will doubtless make it one of the issues upon which its "appeal to the country" will be made at the next general elections. Some legislation along these lines has already been proposed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords. That which is to come is expected to be more radical. It would certainly have been so had Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman lived, for he was a thorough convert. Mr. Asquith is not a convert, but the political situation is such with reference to land values taxation that it seems hardly probable that the ministry will be so imprudent as to "go to the country" without making this policy a conspicuous issue.

The "tariff reform" issue may figure in the next elections, but whether vitally or not will probably depend upon the boldness and vigor with which the Liberals throw more important issues, such as land values taxation, into the political arena. "Tariff reform" is the British euphemism for tariff protection.

It was started by Joseph Chamberlain, and derives such popular strength as it has, not from its merits nor even from any popular belief in its merits, but from the failure of custom house free trade to secure industrial prosperity and fairness of economic distribution. The masses of Great Britain are disappointed with free trade, just as the masses of the United States are disappointed with protection. In both countries, therefore, there is a revolt; in the one against protection but not for free trade, and in the other against free trade but not for protection. There is simply a feeling in each country that something is wrong with industrial adjustments, but there is only a faint apprehension of what it may be.

In this blind revolt against free trade in Great Britain, the special interests that are seeking protection think they see a prospect for what they call "tariff reform," but what in fact is custom house protection such as we have in the United States. Whether these expectations of theirs are to be disappointed or not will depend, I think, upon the attitude of the Liberal party when it "goes to the country." Should the Liberal party take no advanced ground, or, taking advanced ground, should it do so timidly, I shall look for its overwhelming defeat on the tariff issue and the speedy adoption of a protective policy by a Tory House of Commons and the Tory House of Lords. But if it takes advanced ground strongly, if it makes the truth clear that the failure of free trade is not because it is wrong and protection right, but because it is right only in part, and if in making that truth clear it proposes to perfect free trade as Cobden would have done, then I shall look for a Liberal triumph at the elections.

Protection can win in Great Britain only as a blind protest against mere middle-class free trade. It cannot win against the free trade that would conserve the industrial rights not only of the middle class, but also of the labor class. For this true free trade Great Britain can cite the authority of Richard Cobden. Cobden stood not for any particular method of taxation merely as a method. He stood for equal industrial rights for all. When protection seemed to be the obstacle, he opposed protection and fought for custom house free trade. When that failed in part to realize his hopes—as it did and as he knew it did,—he stood for direct as opposed to indirect taxation; and in addition to this, for freedom in respect of land. The present movement for land values taxation is directly in line with the free trade policy of Richard Cobden; and unless I am misinformed, the Liberal ministry are preparing a program which will bring this question into the very center of the heated controversies of the next general elections.

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Thus far the Liberal government have been baffled at almost every turn by the House of Lords. In only one instance have they won a signal victory by forcing the Lords to back down. This is the instance of old age pensions, now established, and which may play an important part in forcing the adoption of land values taxation. If the obstructive tactics of the Lords continue, it is not improbable that the House will enact a radical program such as the people demand, and upon its rejection by the Lords resign and appeal to the country for re-election. In that event the principal issues are likely to be the abolition of

plural voting, the establishment of second elections, the extension of voting rights to women, and some advanced step in the direction of land values taxation.

Plural voting is an old evil. To illustrate it I may mention the instance of one London gentleman of my acquaintance who has five votes in his own right, four of which he is democratic enough to despise. He votes as a householder in the place where he lives; he may vote again if he wishes to because he rents offices somewhere else, and again because he rents a second suite of offices in another place, once more because he is a graduate of the University of London, and a fifth time for some other equally good reason. The propriety of abolishing these plural rights is obvious, but the Tories don't want them abolished and will oppose its being done. To do it might cut down their representation heavily, for the Tory party of Great Britain, like our own Republican party, thrives upon special privileges.

The policy of establishing second elections has recently risen to a place of importance in British politics. It is due to the fact that in consequence of third party voting, several members have been elected by a minority vote. In Liberal constituencies, for instance, Labor or Socialist candidates, with no hope of election themselves, have divided the Liberal vote and thereby elected a Tory. To meet this situation recourse is proposed to the Continental method of requiring a majority vote to elect, and providing that in cases of no majority at the regular election there shall be a second election in those constituencies to decide between the two highest at the first.

The question of votes for women I have considered in a previous letter (p. 535), and that of land values taxation in the earlier part of this one.

With these subjects definitely presented—abolition of plural voting, establishment of second elections, votes for women, and land values taxation,—together with some others of vital popular interest at this time, it is more than likely that Mr. Chamberlain's "tariff reform" will be submerged. The Tories would not even have the advantage of Labor candidates in Liberal constituencies to divide the Liberal vote and secure the return of Tory candidates. On the contrary, the Tory constituencies would probably be contested by Labor candidates supported by Liberals, and by Liberal candidates supported by workingmen. For if the Liberal party takes the steps indicated above, as some of its well-informed members believe it will, co-operation between the democratic Liberals, the land value taxationists, the Labor party, and all other rational radicals, is by no means improbable.

L. F. P.

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If thou didst ever see a hand cut off, or a foot, or a head, lying anywhere apart from the rest of the body, such does a man make himself, as far as he can, who is not content with what happens, and separates himself from others, or does anything un-social. Suppose that thou hast detached thyself from the natural unity—for thou wast made by nature a part, but now thou hast cut thyself off—yet here there is this beautiful provision, that it is in thy power again to unite thyself. God has allowed this to no other part, after it has been separated and cut asunder, to come together again. But consider the benevolence with which he has distinguished man,

for he has put in it his power not to be separated at all from the universal; and when he has been separated, he has allowed him to return and to be united and to resume his place as a part.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

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 8, 1908.

A National Celebration.

The celebration of Labor day at Chicago this week (p. 492), was an event of national importance. It was undertaken pursuant to the call of the American Federation of Labor to its membership to support Bryan and Kern as the representatives in this Presidential campaign of the contentions of organized labor, a call to which the Chicago Federation of Labor has responded affirmatively with a vote that is almost unanimous. Upon invitation of the Federation, Mr. Bryan reviewed the parade from the balcony of the Auditorium Hotel. It was marshaled by John Fitzpatrick, who is president of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Estimates of the number of men and women in the procession vary from 6,000 to 25,000, according to the partisanship of the persons making the report. The Tribune (Republican) puts it at 6,239 by "actual count"; the Record-Herald (Republican) estimates it at 12,000; officials of the Federation estimate it at 25,000. It was over two hours in passing the reviewing stand.

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After the parade the Labor committee escorted Mr. Bryan to the Great Northern Hotel where the Iroquois Club gave him a luncheon at which Samuel Alschuler presided. In the course of his speech there, Mr. Bryan said of the Republican tariff plank:

You ought to read it. It declares the "unequivocal" intention to call a special session of Congress for the purpose of revising the tariff. Let us analyze that word "unequivocal." It has been inserted in the platform to distinguish this new promise from old promises that never were fulfilled. The word is a confession of guilt. A confession that heretofore the Republicans have not lived up to their promises.

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From the luncheon the Labor committee took Mr. Bryan to Forest Park, where he delivered the address of the day before an audience estimated

by opposition newspapers at from ten to fifteen thousand. His theme was the relation of labor interests to the present campaign, and on the subject of jury trials in injunction cases he said:

It must be remembered that in cases of indirect contempt the charge is a criminal one and that the punishment is by fine or imprisonment. All the reasons that apply to criminal cases apply to these cases of indirect contempt, and the abuses to be removed by the proposed law are those that have grown up because of the increased tendency of the great corporations to use the writ of injunction to avoid the jury trial. The Democratic platform proposes no interference with the right of the judge to decide the cases of direct contempt—contempt committed in the presence of the court; neither is it proposed to interfere with the right of the judge to determine the punishment for indirect contempt. All that is sought is the substitution of trial by jury for trial by judge when the violation of the court's decree must be established by evidence. Not only is the prosecution for contempt a criminal prosecution, but there is even more reason for a jury than in the ordinary criminal case. In the Criminal Court the judge acts in a judicial capacity only. He is not responsible for the law which is being enforced in his court, and therefore he has no personal grievance against the defendant, and not being the prosecutor in the case he does not feel a personal interest in the result of the trial; but in a contempt proceeding the judge is the lawmaker and public prosecutor as well as the judge. It is the judge's order which the accused is charged with violating, and it is the judge who appears to prosecute the case upon which he is to render a decision.

In our Federal and State constitutions we have carefully separated the three departments of government, and each department is jealous of any encroachment upon its sphere of activity. The judge resents any attempt of the legislator or of the executive to usurp the functions of the court; the executive resents any attempt of the court or of the lawmaker to enter his domain, and the lawmaker is equally insistent upon the preservation of his independence. If there is any time or place where a jury is needed, it is in a case of indirect contempt. It is not strange that abuses have crept in, for a man would have to be more than human to unite in himself the deliberation of the legislator, the zeal of the public prosecutor and the impartiality of the judge.

While the organized laboring men have been the first to complain of this denial of the right of trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt, it ought not to be considered a labor question. The jury system is so essential to the administration of justice that the subject ought to appeal to all who make a study of the science of government. If citizens would only be on their guard against the beginnings of evils it would be very easy to apply necessary remedies, but in the struggle for existence the voters are often indifferent to the application of an erroneous principle until repeated applications establish a custom, and in time a custom crystallizes into law. It behooves us, as lovers of our country and as the friends of liberty, to insist upon the independence of the different departments of our gov-

ernment and upon the maintenance of the rights which have been shown by experience to be essential to freedom and self-government. The jury system must be preserved, and we cannot hope to preserve it if, for any reason or under any pretext, we permit any citizen to be denied the protection which it furnishes.

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From Forest Park Mr. Bryan was taken by the Labor committee to the home of Frank Buchanan, formerly president of the structural iron workers and now a Democratic candidate for Congress, supported by the Labor organizations. The last public speech of the day was made at Brand's Park, and later in the evening Mr. Bryan and Mr. Gompers spoke at King's restaurant to the members of the Labor committee at a supper meeting at which John C. Harding presided.

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Labor and Farming Organizations in Politics.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, reports the adoption of the following resolution by the National Farmers' Union at their convention at Fort Worth, Texas, last week, as the result of his solicitation:

Resolved, That a national legislative committee be created to further legislation that will protect and promote the rights and interests of the farmers and to prevent the enactment of legislation inimical to our interests;

Resolved, That this convention does hereby instruct its officers and its legislative committee to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor toward securing economic legislation and along other lines of mutual benefit and advantage.

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Cleveland Traction Questions.

The traction referendum in Cleveland (pp. 392, 418, 493, 531, 541) has been set for a vote at a special election on the 22d. This referendum was secured by means of a petition circulated by employees of the old traction company during the strike which some of them instigated (p. 324) at the accession of the municipal "holding" company. Slightly more than the necessary number of valid signatures were obtained, and upon officially ascertaining this fact Mayor Johnson asked the City Council to fix an early day for a special election. An early day was asked for in order to withdraw the referendum question as soon as possible from use by the enemies of traction reform as a weapon for newspaper obstruction, and a special election was sought in order to keep the question out of politics. The City Council complied with Mayor Johnson's request, on the 5th, by ordering the special election for October 22d, as noted above.

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Another attack by the enemies of traction reform in Cleveland has been made through a tax-

payers' suit. The corporate interests behind this suit are represented by James K. Farnsey as a taxpayer. He asks an injunction against the operation of the present traction system on the ground that the franchise obtained upon the joint recommendation of Mayor Johnson and Mr. Goff (pp. 97, 105) after weeks of open session in the Council—is fraudulent. The suit, if successful, would merely place the traction situation back where it was a year ago, restoring the old company to possession; but it is not regarded in Cleveland as of any other importance than as an excuse for misleading newspaper publications throughout the country.

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Beginning with the 1st the fare arrangements have been as follows: Single cash fares, 3 cents if paid in pennies; 5 cents if passenger does not provide himself with exact change or a ticket; tickets from conductors in quantities of 5 or more, 3 cents each; single tickets from starters at either end of a line, 3 cents each. The object of charging 5 cents to passengers who do not procure tickets or exact change is to save the time of conductors in making change and thereby failing to collect fares closely. Of the introduction of "pay enter" cars with automatic fare boxes, President du Pont, of the Municipal company, said on the 2d that they are netting 10 per cent more receipts than the old style cars, an increase, as he explained in the Cleveland Press, which will total \$500,000 a year. He continued:

The surplus thus accumulated will be used first to better the service, and then to buy the property for the people if that is generally preferred to further decrease of fares. Indications from the result of the operation of the prepay cars in use lead me to believe the net increase in the number of fares collected will exceed 10 per cent. We expect to do big things with this money. And it costs the honest passenger nothing. He simply ceases to carry the burden for the fellow who beats his fare. The big difference between the "Threefer" and other street car companies is that it doesn't have to get higher dividends each year for constantly increasing water in stock. The "Concon" averaged a gain of 1 cent a car mile in receipts each year, but it had to have this increase to keep up with the watered stock. We don't. We're operating nicely now on what's coming in—22 cents a car mile. We hope within six months to have all our cars converted to prepays. After we have made the service so good as to satisfy all sensible demands, there will be two courses open: To reduce fares even further or to buy the property for the city. By that time municipal ownership of street railways likely will be provided for in the laws, and the city would have only to officially assume direct control. If the people prefer owning the lines outright before having fares reduced below 3 cents, we will proceed to buy the Cleveland Railway Co. property, which we now rent. I don't know how long that would take, because it would depend so much on the growth of the city. We'd

have to pay \$9,000,000 if we bought at the valuation on which we now pay rental interest. It probably would take from 15 to 20 years, but it all depends on how fast the city grows.

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The Russian Church and Tolstoy.

Tolstoy's birthday (p. 539) which is being celebrated in Russia this week, on the 9th (on the 28th of August according to the Russian Calendar) has been put under the ban by the Holy Synod of Russia, which has issued a circular appealing to all believers not to participate in the celebrations announced, on the ground that thus to praise this opponent of the church would be a stumbling block to persons of weak faith. In line with this attitude the governors of the provinces of Moscow, Warsaw, Saratov, Simbirsk, as well as others, have resorted to the provisions of martial law to veto the celebrations arranged by the municipalities; and the censorship of St. Petersburg has prohibited the memorial performance arranged at a local theater. The Countess Tolstoy has requested that all newspapers publishing commemorative articles in regard to the Count, should forward copies to the Rumiantsoff Historical Museum at Moscow, for preservation in the Tolstoy room. The aged Tolstoy is reported in the days just in advance of his eightieth birthday, to be weak and ill, and to look emaciated, though still keeping at work.

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A "Sedition" Trial in India.

The recent trial at Bombay of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak on charges of sedition, and his deportation to the Andaman Islands for six years, was reported last week (p. 540). Mr. Tilak's prominence as a leader, and his character and ability, have given his trial a typical value, as if all India were being tried for sedition. The Indian point of view on the trial is given vividly in these extracts from a private letter written from Bombay on July 25:

This fortnight has seen Bombay rising up and down in excitement over the prosecution, defense and conviction of Mr. Tilak. News of this case must have reached you ere this. The verdict was given on Wednesday night [July 22].

Mr. Tilak has been a journalist for the last twenty-seven years, and a prominent legal man in the Deccan for over twenty-five years. He is one of those Indians who live for speaking the truth, and speak the truth at any cost, come what may. Ten years ago he was convicted for publishing a "seditious" article, in his vernacular paper "The Kesari." The "sedition" consisted in his fighting for and advising the Hindu poor, who were being oppressed and harassed by the Government officials and demiofficials, the police and their underlings, under the plea of fighting the plague. It was no secret that the most was made of the plague opportunity—I will call it, and during the years 1896-98, the poor

were without a home, or even for the matter of that even without a roof to cover them. Everything used to be coolly burnt down—houses, cottages, thatched blocks, clothing, head and foot wear, to save the poor Indians from the plague microbe. For this defense of the poor he was sentenced to eighteen months' hard labor. Mr. Tilak went through it quietly, and came out all the stronger to carry on the campaign against bureaucratic rule in India.

But to the present. In two of his issues for April and May, Mr. Tilak published editorials headed, "India's Misfortune," "These Remedies Are Not Lasting" and "The Bcmb in India." The articles were written in Marathi, the language of the Deccan. They were subsequently translated into English at the Oriental Translator's office, Bombay. It goes without saying that the translations were not accurate, and words to suit the objects of the Government were put in, instead of the literal meanings, throughout. On this, four separate charges were framed, and Mr. Tilak was arrested for preaching sedition. The Magistrate's Court saw him first, but there he refused to say anything in his defense. The case was, according to his own wish, transferred to the Criminal Sessions, and was conducted before a special jury of Europeans and two Indians, the Indians being represented by two Parsee gentlemen. No Hindus, no Mahrattas, no Bengalees, no Punjabees, were allowed a seat in the jury. The proceedings lasted from Monday, the 12th, to Wednesday, 11 p. m., the 22nd inst., except the intervening Saturday and Sunday. Of the nine days Mr. Tilak defended himself for eight days, his defense speech having taken all that time. It simply thrilled India through and through, and opened the eyes of the entire public. Mr. Tilak spoke for twenty-one hours and ten minutes. The case has been a record one, and many legal men came to minutely watch its proceedings. It was known that the defense would cause a sensation, and the Government brought in troops and men from distant places. Soldiers and cavalry men have been patrolling the city day and night for the past week and a half, harassing the poor and the passersby. Martial law has been proclaimed; meetings of all kinds stopped and forbidden; preachers, religious and otherwise, prosecuted; and public men who have shown some sympathy with Mr. Tilak or his cause, grossly insulted.

Mr. Tilak's speech was delivered in English. The case as put by the prosecution was a regular farce. But Mr. Tilak made splendid use of the opportunity. He took the entire Court by storm. The legal men who had assembled were struck dumb. The authorities regret having allowed him to speak. But he has said his say. After the conclusion of his speech matters were hurried through. The court sat until 11 p. m., for the first time in the annals of Bombay.

Very great pressure was brought on the two Parsee jurors to side with the Government and pass the unanimous verdict of "Guilty." But I am very proud to say that they have kept up the tradition of the Parsee by saying just what they thought the truth. One of them has been fined Rs.* 50 for saying, after the sentence had been passed, that "Gross

*A rupee is at present equivalent to about 32 cents.
Editors of The Public.

injustice is being one." The whole Court was in tears when the words slowly fell from the lips of the Judge. This man is also a Parsee, but he has been the recognized mouthpiece of the Government. The words were put into his mouth and he acted as the phonograph. The sentence was transportation for six years, and a fine of Rs. 1,000. He is fifty-six years of age. One point I cannot help remarking on. Mr. Tilak was not allowed to meet his wife and child after the passing of the sentence, though they both were in Court. I have never known a Christian Government to be so cruel.

A special train had been kept ready, and it was all pre-arranged to carry him away. The public, however, came to know of the arrangements in time, and millions of Hindus, Mahrattas and Parsees collected round the High Court building and on the roads. It actually represented a surging sea of moving heads, nothing less.

The bazaars are all closed out of respect for him. Every Indian knows that injustice has been done, and every shop, big and small, every bazaar, every market, every Hindu meeting house, in fact every thing that the Hindu has had a finger in, has been closed for the last three days. It has been arranged to do so for one full week. The mill hands have struck work. The docks are closed owing to the men not turning out to work, and the streets and bazaars offer a dismal sight.* Every true Indian heart feels the sentence. Over five million men bid au revoir to Mr. Tilak, with tears in their eyes, as he passed through the crowd well guarded. All India will welcome him back with open arms, but it is feared that he may not stand the strain. The sentence broke him down. He so ably defended himself that all India today says that his is "not guilty." Every one but the bureaucratic Englishman, the Government official, has found him not guilty.

The result—the ultimate penalty: every skein, every thread, every cord that had woven itself between the rulers and the ruled, every tie that kept the two together, is severed; every thread is cut. The destinies of both the Indian and the Englishman are drifting farther and farther away. The ocean of misunderstanding flows between, and never shall India again respect the present rulers of this land. The Indian may through compulsion work under his European master, but never, never shall he look upon him as his benefactor.

*Work was resumed in the mills and the markets were reopened on the 29th.—Editors of The Public.

NEWS NOTES

—The National Irrigation Congress (vol. x, p. 540) is to meet at Albuquerque, New Mexico, from September 29 to October 23.

—General José Miguel Gomez was nominated for President of Cuba (p. 541) by both factions of the Liberal party, on the 1st.

—A trades union congress representing nearly 2,000,000 union working men is in session at Nottingham, England, this week.

—The grand jury handling the race riots at Spring-

field, Ill. (pp. 517, 534), has returned 117 indictments, including four against policemen for alleged failure to suppress mob violence.

—Rioting by the unemployed and socialists, including an effort to mob Prince Arthur of Connaught, present in the city for a review, was reported from Glasgow, Scotland, on the 5th.

—"Henry George, Ernest Crosby, and William Jennings Bryan," are "the only foreign faces seen hanging prominently before" Tolstoy in his study, according to a recent visitor who reports to the Chicago Inter Ocean.

—Abd-el-Aziz, the old sultan of Morocco, is reported to have at last given up the fight with his brother, Mulai Hafid, who will be recognized by Europe as soon as he consents to ratify the agreements of his brother (p. 541).

—The official canvass of the returns of last week's State primary in Nebraska was finished in most counties on the 4th, showing that A. C. Shallenberger had been nominated for Governor by the Democrats over Mayor Dahlman of Omaha.

—The Manhattan Single Tax Club of New York city will commemorate the sixty-ninth birthday of Henry George on the 12th by an outing and dinner to be held at the Hotel Riccadonna, Surf avenue and Ocean parkway, Brighton Beach.

—The reports at the meeting of the Grand Army of the Republic at Toledo last week showed a net decrease of members of 4,775 on December 31, 1907. The membership at that time was 225,157. Col. Henry M. Nevius, of Red Bank, N. J., was elected Commander in Chief.

—Forest fires in northeastern Minnesota on the 5th and 6th destroyed several towns, including the city of Chisholm, and laid waste thousands of acres of farm lands. In an appeal for aid issued by Governor Johnson on the 6th, it was stated that 12,000 persons were homeless.

—A farewell dinner at King's restaurant was given by the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago on the 3d, to Miss Josephine Casey, organizer of the Chicago Elevated Railroad Employees, who has been appointed secretary of the Women's Trade Union League of Boston.

—For the first time since its inception in 1881 the International Eucharistic congress of the Roman Catholic church is to be held in England, from the 9th to the 13th. A feature of the occasion is the presence in England of a papal legate—the first papal legate to England since the days of Cardinal Reginald Pole, legate in the reign of Queen Mary in the sixteenth century.

—A celebration of the establishment of constitutional government in Turkey, at Carnegie hall, New York City, originally announced for August 23 (p. 495), came off on the evening of Sunday, the 6th. Twelve nationalities which acknowledge Ottoman sovereignty were represented, and the speeches were in several different languages. A congratulatory letter from President Roosevelt was read.

—Frank P. Sargent, commissioner general of immigration, department of Commerce and Labor, died on the 4th at the age of 54 years. From 1885 to 1902 he was chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive

Firemen. In 1898 President McKinley appointed him as a member of the Industrial Commission, and when he resigned from that body he declined the position as chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Mr. Sargent had been Commission of Immigration since 1902.

—Holding that the rates proposed by the Arkansas Railway Commission were unreasonable, non-compensatory, and unlawful, Judge Vandeventer in the United States Circuit Court at St. Paul on the 3d granted a temporary injunction to the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern and three other railroads operating in Arkansas against their enforcement. The injunction restrains the Commission from enforcing the new 2-cent fare law and from interfering with the railroads in raising their freight rates.

—The report of the Chicago traction companies (p. 63) shows the following net income:

Chicago Railways Co. (Feb. 1 to June 30).....	\$ 610,083
Chicago City Railway Co. (Feb. 1 to July 31) ..	406,484

Total net income	\$1,106,567
Share of the city, 55 per cent.....	\$ 608,612
Share of the companies over and above all other profits	497,955

The president explains that there has been an increase in gross earnings of but 2.58 per cent as compared with last year, due to the fact that many former patrons are without employment in consequence of the general business depression.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Cleveland Traction Referendum.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind. Dem.) Sept. 7.—When the Schmidt bill was enacted through the insistence of legislators friendly to the plans and policies of Mayor Johnson, it was not surmised that its first application would be to a franchise granted to a company under Mr. Johnson's influence. The law is a sensible one, and one which tends to safeguard the interests of the people of the cities of Ohio. Mayor Johnson should be the last to oppose a referendum election under the terms of the law, and he probably would have raised no objection at the outset had it not been for the fact that the vote was demanded as a war measure, as a means to hamper the operation of the Cleveland street railways by the new management. A combination was effected between the bitter political and personal enemies of Mr. Johnson and the street railway strikers who desired the referendum merely as a measure to help their cause or to obtain revenge for their defeat. The animus was plain, the motives wholly unfair. The time has now come when, from a business standpoint, the referendum is necessary. A public service corporation, in order to attract investors, in order to secure adequate financing, must possess a franchise that is stable beyond the shadow of a doubt. With the possibility of an adverse referendum decision at some time in the future it has been found that financiers are none too eager to come forward with their cash. So it is now decided to hold the election which would have undoubtedly been ordered earlier had it not been for disingenuous motives of those who were seeking to embarrass the

men who have been striving to give Cleveland street railway service at the lowest possible rate of fare. The Plain Dealer believes that the grant should be sustained by the people of Cleveland, and has confidence that, with a clear understanding of the issues involved, the voters will decline to throw the street railway situation into the chaos that would follow an adverse decision. By this time it has become apparent to all who are not blinded by partisan prejudice that the Mayor and his associates have been striving to the best of their ability to provide the best possible service for Cleveland street railway patrons. The new management has scarcely yet passed the stage when it must experiment more or less to determine what is best. Changed financial conditions have made a scheme that would have been eminently practical seven years ago a matter of great difficulty at this time. At the worst it is inconceivable that conditions under the present management can ever be as bad as they were under the old regime; the railway issue always in politics, the rate of fare as high as possible except when it was desired to coax the people into the granting of a new franchise. It would be folly at this time for Cleveland to reopen the contest by annulling the grant and making some new arrangement necessary. Another war in City Council, at the polls, on the street corners, in the business world would be the inevitable result of an adverse vote. Citizens and newspapers, that from motives of hostility to Mayor Johnson have done all in their power to make the street railway undertaking a failure, should awaken now to the fact that they have done all the damage possible; that any further humoring of their animosity would be detrimental to their own interests, as detrimental as to the interest of the city as a whole. The activity of these opponents of the Mayor has created a certain feeling of dissatisfaction among some elements. The feeling is vague, and cannot be made specific even on insistent demand. A reaction, however, has set in, and many of those who a month or two ago were condemning the railway management in most indefinite terms, have come to realize that their discontent was largely artificial; that the administration deserves aid rather than obstruction and factious criticism. The work of Mr. Johnson has been disinterested and arduous. He has confronted a situation that would have dismayed a less persevering man. He and his advisors have made mistakes, but their course on the whole has been in the public interest and of increasing efficiency. The Plain Dealer hopes that the majority of the citizens of Cleveland will appreciate this, and will decline to be made catspaws for those whose sole ambition is to discredit and injure the Mayor, and who to attain this end would willingly bring serious injury to the city of Cleveland.

✦ ✦

Sanctity of Wig and Gown.

Coast Seamen's Journal (Labor), July 8.—Opposition to the anti-injunction proposals of the labor movement, so far as it is explained upon grounds other than those of opposition to the labor movement itself, is based upon the assumption that such proposals involve an "attack upon the integrity of the judiciary." . . . The question as to the right

of the people, or any section thereof, to criticise the judiciary or other institution of the government is important as involving the larger question as to the relations that properly exist between the government and the people. Obviously, if the government be the creation of the people it is not only the right but the duty of the latter to criticise or commend the officials of the government, as circumstances may require. If that right and that duty can be successfully denied, such denial carries with it a proof that the government is no longer the servant of the people and has become its master.

. . . The only difference between the pros and the antis on the injunction question, in the matter of "maintaining the integrity of the courts," is one of method. The pro-injunctionists would accomplish that object by encouraging the courts to exceed their authority, thus inviting a conflict with the people. The anti-injunctionists, on the other hand, propose to maintain the integrity of the courts by maintaining the Constitutional limitations placed upon these bodies, which limitations must be respected if the equilibrium of our government system is to be maintained.

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The Sham of Journalism.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), June 18.—Let any man mix up to any extent with the men who write the newspapers in any great city, and he will come away from such association with a rather sickening sense of the great sham of journalism. He will find from "the boys who write the news" just how the news is perverted, and just what influences control and direct the perversion in the case of any individual newspaper. There has recently been printed a book by a man named William Salisbury, called "My Career as a Journalist." It is a book badly written, or, as the New York Evening Post said, "a vulgar book, vulgarly written." But for all that, it is to the press of the United States very much what Upton Sinclair's book, "The Jungle," was to the meat packers. It exposes thoroughly the sham, falsity, fakery and corruption of the great newspapers. One of the chapters most illuminating is that in which the author tells of his experience as a reporter on the Chronicle, of Chicago, run by the late famous John R. Walsh. He describes how that paper was established by Walsh, simply to serve as an engine for the promotion of Walsh's own schemes in speculation and plundering. He points out the fact that there existed in the office a list of the men and institutions which were not, under any circumstances, to be criticised or opposed in any of their projects, simply because they were in more or less close alliance with Walsh. Mr. Walsh, through the possession of this newspaper, through the terror he was able to inspire with such a weapon, through the power he had to favor or subvert the schemes of other men like himself, became almost the dominant financial figure in Chicago. His paper made a great pretense of conservatism. It had much to say against the agitator whose political influence threatened the investments of "the widow and the orphans." He was ready with the epithet anarchist, socialist, and whatnot, against any man with an idea at variance with the accepted doctrines of those who adhere to the good old adage,

"they shall take who have the power, and he may keep who can." But not even the possession of a newspaper, standing for "the best interests," could save him from the results of his own devotion to the advanced business methods of these best interests. He used the money of the people, placed with him for safe keeping in his banks, floated flimsy enterprises in railroad and mining, and other things, and finally his sins found him out, and this great conservative journalist and friend of business is today under a sentence of five years in the penitentiary for violation of the bank laws, in the nature of larceny.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

LEO TOLSTOY.

What life hath crowded into eighty years
Such deeds as his, O Prophet of our time—
Scourging with bitter whips the priests of crime?
Two things have made those eighty years sublime—
A Tyrant's curses, and a Peasant's tears.

Two calls he heard—many, their souls enticed,
Have answered one—their numbers legion be:
"Whose servant thou? Lo, here are crowns for thee,
And wide dominions stretched from sea to sea.
Art Christ's, or Czar's?" He answered: "I am
Christ's."

Then from that mighty voice and mightier pen
Far o'er Siberian wastes his message rolled.
Then how they shook—those tyrannies grown old;
Then how they woke—passions of men long cold,
In every land, who love their fellow men!

And now he stands and calmly waits his rest,
Loving and loved and fearless, where alone,
Friendless and fearing though he fills a throne,
Another crouches behind walls of stone.

Tolstoy's or Romanoff's—which way is best?

JOSEPH DANA MILLER

+ + +

CREATING POVERTY.

For The Public.

Poverty is the curse of civilization. Until mothers and children are well fed, well clothed and well housed, we need not expect the human race to advance as it should, mentally or physically. This is true even of agricultural live stock, to say nothing of men and women. Every farmer who raises horses, cattle, sheep and hogs knows that much of the natural laws of animal life. The farmers know, too, that if their horses, cattle, sheep and hogs were compelled to release each day to one of their number who does no work at all, two thirds of their grass, even horses, cattle, sheep and hogs would feel the "sting of poverty" and retrograde, till one would not know to what breed they belonged. The few, using the sur-

plus without any exertion at all, would be called "thoroughbreds," but the herd would deteriorate.

Is it not plain that a civilization which forces the men who feed, clothe and house us to give up two-thirds of the wealth they produce, for the right to use the earth, will cause involuntary poverty?

A little over a year ago a man and wife with seven children went onto 240 acres of land in Jackson township, Lyon county, Kansas, and agreed to give \$12,000 for the tract of land, including about \$2,000 worth of improvements. And what improvements! You would rather have \$2,000 than those improvements. This man and his wife paid down in cash, from long years of savings, \$1,000 and gave a mortgage for \$11,000 at 6 per cent for deferred payment of rent. You will see that this man really bought \$2,000 of invested capital, which was a just transaction, and \$10,000 worth of land value, or deferred payment of rent, which, measured by the natural law or law of justice, is a most vicious and poverty producing transaction. A few days ago, the interest on this \$11,000 became due, and the man—your brother and mine—spent several days trying to borrow the money to pay the annual rent by mortgaging his wheat crop and all his personal property.

Look what a burden our civilization has placed on this bread winner and his family. What real capital he has borrowed does not amount to much. But we force him to pay \$600.00 each year for the right to feed his family. He is compelled to pay his share of township, school, county and State taxes. And the harder he works, and works his family, the less he eats; the more he saves and improves his land the higher will we tax him.

Then he is forced to pay his share of \$600,000.-000 governmental tax. Besides that, in buying lumber, hardware, farming implements and clothing he must pay \$125.00 more per annum for trust made goods, than they sell for 10,000 miles from home. Last but not least, he must pay off the \$10,000 deferred payment of rent. Now, under this barbarous contract how long will this hard working family feel the sting of involuntary poverty?

The man is 57 years old. During the next 10 years, with fair crops and no sickness or death, he may reduce the debt \$2,000 or \$3,000. He will have done well, if he does that. But the time will come, when from failure to meet a deferred payment of rent, the man and his family will be turned out of house and home.

The land will not produce a bushel of wheat or corn more to the acre, than it would 25 years ago, when the writer grazed sheep over it and it would not sell for \$2.00 per acre.

Don't tell me that the above story is an exception. I can write 200,000 of like kind in Kan-

sas. Some worse, some not so bad, but yet all bad.

This story is a plain fact very plainly stated. The truth is, regardless of our boasted prosperity, that in Kansas we have five dollars of mortgage for every one we had twenty years ago. And eighty per cent of them is for purchase money of land, deferred payment of rent—the same as the Irish tenant pays the English landlord.

R. T. SNEDIKER.

+ + +

HOW NEW YORK TAXES ITSELF.

From an Interview With Lawson Purdy, President of the Department of Taxes and Assessments of the City of New York, Published in the London Daily News of Aug. 11.

"In 1903," said Mr. Purdy, "we secured an amendment of our New York law which requires a separate statement of the value of the land. The law became effective in the assessment of 1904. It entailed a considerable amount of work upon the employes of the Tax Department in making the assessment in this manner for the first time. But there was no difficulty or friction about it. The work was done, when the law required that it should be done, just as usual."

"And the effect?" I queried.

"The effect," said Mr. Purdy, "appeared in the very first assessment, in the higher assessment of vacant or poorly improved land. And I believe that annually since then the fairness of the assessment has improved. There is no wilful or intentional discrimination between classes of property today. The assessment of the land is a comparatively simple matter. The work is done generally by the establishment of unit values per lot, the unit lot being 25 feet by 100 feet, or per front foot of a hundred feet in depth.

"When the unit value is established the determination of the value of a lot of greater or less depth than 100 feet is little more than a mathematical computation based upon a scale in common use by real estate appraisers in the city of New York."

"Upon whom does the tax actually fall?"

"It is clear, doubtless, that where the land is unimproved and unused, the entire tax must fall upon the owner. Where land is improved it is, doubtless, true that the tax, so far as it is imposed upon the land itself, is borne entirely by the owner of the land. So far as the tax falls upon the building it tends to increase the rental which may be obtained for the building, because a tax on buildings may be shifted by a decrease in the erection of buildings. New buildings will not be erected unless the owner can secure a sufficient rental to yield the usual return upon capital so invested.

"We have periods of over-production of buildings. These are of very brief duration; but at

such times rentals must inevitably fall. New buildings are not erected in such numbers during such a period. As soon as the population is sufficient to absorb the supply and rentals again advance, there is an inducement again to erect buildings, and the equilibrium is preserved. However, a tax on the buildings always tends to be shifted to the tenant; but a tax on land is not only never shifted to the tenant, but the pressure upon landowners to utilize their land tends to keep down the rental value of land by enlarging the market supply."

"What," I asked, "is the effect of your method of taxation upon the development of suburbs? Also does the development of suburbs reduce the city values?"

"The development of new means of transportation," said Mr. Purdy, "undoubtedly checks the increment in the value of residence land in the heart of the city. Our population, however, increases so rapidly that I don't think the land has actually decreased in value because of suburban competition at any time.

"We are at present witnessing a tremendous increase in the value of suburban land on account of new means of transportation between the borough of Manhattan and the borough of Queen's. These two boroughs are separated by the East River. One tunnel has been completed, and is in operation. Three other tunnels will soon be in operation. A number of new bridges are nearing completion. Land has risen from a few hundred dollars an acre to as many thousands in the last five years."

* * *

BACK TO THE PEOPLE.

Editorial in the Cincinnati Post.

We have seen the hand of Harriman seize the highways of the nation. Over the wine cups at Washington we have heard him nominate the Governors of his provinces. We have recalled the metaphor of President Garfield picturing the States as "discrowned sovereigns following in chains the triumphal chariot of their conquerors," the railways. We have witnessed this centralization of wealth and political power until many have begun to despair of popular government:

But, behold, the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light. Out of Oregon came a sign. A mighty hope has been born. A new and magic watchword has been sounded. "Back to the people"—that is the blazing banner round which gathers to-day a victorious host.

The demand for the initiative and referendum is, in the opinion of many, the most portentous movement in American politics.

The bosses have seemed hardly to notice it, and the corporations have only recently taken alarm. But it is too late. As stealthily as the tide, this

great undercurrent of democracy has surrounded them, has cut them off.

Like a thief in the night a revolutionary principle has stolen into the Constitutions of five of our States. It is knocking now at the doors of twenty State legislatures. It is in full operation in half a hundred cities. The Supreme Courts of five of the States have bowed to it. And while the corporations are now asking the Supreme Court of the United States to outlaw it, their case seems hopeless.

The movement is irresistible. Government by private monopolies has run its course. The hour has struck. The people are rising.

Consider the history we have been making.

South Dakota, through the initiative and referendum, established popular sovereignty in 1898. This Fall the people take a direct vote on their divorce laws.

The right to make or unmake laws by a direct vote at the polls was won by the people of Oregon in 1902. Since then they have voted on 32 measures. Seventy-four per cent of the electors, on the average, have participated in these 32 votes.

After an inexpensive educational campaign of a few months the people have passed, by overwhelming majorities, laws that it would have taken twenty years to get through their lobby-ridden legislatures.

The people of Nevada acquired the right of referendum voting in 1905. This year the legislature passed a bill to create an army of mercenaries for the benefit of the mine owners. But ten per cent of the mineworkers can hold it up. Between them and the legislature the people will decide.

The right of direct legislation was incorporated in the Constitution of Montana in 1906. This year the people are going after three laws, a direct primary for United States Senators, an anti-injunction law and an employers' liability act.

Oklahoma started out with the initiative and referendum last year. This Fall a referendum vote is to be taken on the question as to whether the three million acres of school lands shall be seized by the speculators or be saved for the children of the commonwealth.

This is the roll call of the free States. And the number is steadily growing. Republican Maine and Democratic Missouri pass upon an initiative and referendum amendment this Fall. North Dakota is in the heat of a referendum campaign. Organized labor in Ohio will demand a referendum pledge of every candidate for the State Legislature.

This is the line of march in America. The people everywhere are going to make and unmake their own laws when they are not satisfied with the work of their representatives.

The amazing advance of this idea in a single decade, recalls the words of Mazzini's prophecy:

And there is that on earth which no tyranny can long suppress—the people—the power and future of the people. Their destiny will be accomplished, and the day will surely come when the people—Samson of humanity—will raise their eyes to heaven, and with one blow of the arm by which thrones are shattered, burst every bond, break every chain, overthrow every barrier, and arise in freedom, masters of themselves.

* * *

THE SELF-GOVERNMENT DESIRED BY THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

From The Indian Appeal for February, 1908.*

Our readers abroad may naturally desire to know the true meaning of the word "Swaraj," which has created great consternation among people who intend permanent British rule in India administered by officials almost all of whom are arbitrary and alien. "Swa" means self or own, "Raj" means rule or kingdom. So Swaraj means a kingdom governed by the people themselves, such as United States of America, France and Liberia. It also means self-government prevailing in the British colonies such as Canada and Australia. There are countries which, like Russia, are governed by autocrats; like Germany, are governed by absolute monarchs, partially controlled by Parliament; like Italy, which are governed by sovereigns who rule the country by the help of Parliament; like England, which are governed by the higher classes of its people, elected by the people themselves, with a kind of nominal powers. There cannot be the least doubt that the representative governments like that of the United States are the best governments that a nation may desire to have, and it is admitted by all that the present enviable position of the United States is entirely due to the formation of its government. Naturally the Indians may desire that some sort of self-government should be introduced in India, in lieu of a government conducted by officials composed mainly of the Indian Civil servants who are alien and have no sympathy for its people. It is true that we had absolute monarchs like that of Russians, but our kings lived in the country and spent the money here which they collected from the people. Englishmen look upon India as a field of money, and after harvesting for some years they go back to their own country, and they spend the same to their own country so taken away from the famine stricken people of India in the plea of administering justice and of subsiding chaos and confusion amongst them. But the most

beautiful part of their conduct is that men like Mr. John Morley, liberal of Liberals, say that the English people are here, not for their own benefit and gain but for the benefit and good of the people of India. India is the poorest country in the world. The average income of each person is not even two-pence per day, yet it pays its Anglo-Indian servants on a far more liberal scale than what is paid by the richest countries in the world. Viceroy gets Rs. 250,000 a year exclusive of other allowances; Lieutenant Governor, Rs. 100,000, and about Rs. 25,000 allowances. Chief Justice, Rs. 72,000, and other Judges of High Court about Rs. 50,000 a year. Each member of the Board of Revenue gets Rs. 4,000 a month; a District Magistrate and a District Judge gets 2,000 to 2,500 each per month. This money comes from the people who do not even get sometimes one meal a day. While the hungry children snatch away their mother's share of food under the pinch of hunger and leave her starved to die, our kind-hearted Anglo-Indian governors enjoy in the southern quarter of the town almost deaf to the piteous cries of the famine stricken people. Can any person with a grain of common sense and conscience in him say that any other nation than the Indians can tolerate such conduct on the part of their rulers? Mr. Morley says that he cannot climb up to the clouds and bring down rains, and we do not desire that he should in a fit of generosity take such a desperate attempt in his old age to save the hungry millions under his charge. But thousands of other means are open to him; did he try to avail himself of any of these? Could he not ask the Lord Mayor to invite charity at the Mansion house? Could he not ask the State Servants in India to give their three months' pay to these starving people? It is very difficult for an Indian gentleman who has a feeling for his countrymen to pass a single day in a village. The spectacles are horrible. Never in the annals of the world was such a spectacle even seen. India is subject to England, and a most expensive army is maintained at her cost to perpetuate this subjection. England, Christian as she is, starves India's capable children, of whom it has plenty, and imports men from distant countries ignorant of everything relating to India to take charge of most lucrative public offices. In short, English people are our shoemakers, our weavers, our ironmongers, our engineers, our builders, our railway engine drivers and guards, our doctors, our magistrates and judges, our soldiers, our governors, every occupation of gain is taken up by them, nay, by the Grace of God, one of them is our graceful King-Emperor. Under such circumstances can we not advocate a sort of self-government which we in our own language called "Swaraj"?

* * *

Don't offer charity to those to whom you refuse justice.—The Silent Partner, of Cleveland.

*The Indian Appeal is edited by Hira Lal Kumar, barrister-at-law; and is published from 8 Old Post Office street, Calcutta. We give this editorial article on "The Self-Government," exactly as printed in The Indian Appeal, believing that the somewhat quaint form only adds strength to the pathetic cry of a dominated people pressing forward in the world-wide movement toward popular self-government.—Editors of The Public.

BOOKS

MORRIS'S SOCIALISM.

The Socialism of William Morris. By John Spargo. Ariel Press: Westwood, Mass. Cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents.

Mr. Spargo vehemently repudiates the frequent assertion that Morris was more of an anarchist than a Marxian socialist. But by his own showing Morris held no clear view of Marxian economics, though he believed in their tendencies. And Mr. Spargo's own failure to grasp the principles of philosophic anarchism is betrayed by his argument for the impossibility of Morris's being an anarchist—that he was constructive, not destructive. It is not unlikely that Morris will still be classed as a communist-anarchist in spirit, whatever may have been his own classification of himself, or Mr. Spargo's classification of him. But this brief history of his economic progression is a necessary appendix to the biographies of the author and artist from pens unsympathetic with the social movement of which in his later years Morris was so great a leader, and for which he was the greatest of the prophets.

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HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS

CHICAGO

Incidentally we discover from this uncompromising note on page 20 of Mr. Spargo's book, how *some* history is written:

It is perhaps worth while calling attention here to an article by Elbert Hubbard, in the *Phillistine*, December, 1903, more especially since Mr. Hubbard is by many uncritical persons regarded as a sort of American William Morris, and an unimpeachable authority upon all that pertains to the English poet-artist. In the article in question, Mr. Hubbard devotes many pages to a circumstantial account of the relations which existed between William Morris and Karl Marx, their intimate friendship, rivaling that of Damon and Pythias, ended by a bitter quarrel. Every word of that account is untrue. The two men never met and Morris never saw Marx in his life! When Morris joined the Socialist movement, early in 1883, he had never even heard of Marx. And the latter was a dying man then, the end coming on the fourteenth of March, 1883. In all literature I know of nothing more scandalous than Hubbard's article.

ALICE THACHER POST.

* * *

FOR THE SMALL GIRL.

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told in good sized print, and in words that need not scare a small reader. And then the nice easy little patterns, and pictures of the fascinating finished clothes. Could anything be more charming?

Alice Thacher Post.

+ + +

"Did I understand you to say that the people who choose the narrow path only are the most narrow minded?"

"Not exactly; I say the people who think they,

only, choose the narrow path are the most narrow minded."—Philadelphia Press.

+ + +

"I have an English friend who attended the funeral of one of your hardest workers, a multimillionaire, said an English woman.

"My friend's wife said rather bitterly to him at the funeral:

"How you have missed your opportunities, my love. Place yourself beside Mr. Ritch there. You

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.

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+ + +

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THE REFERENDUM IN CLEVELAND

The City Council of Cleveland has, at the request of Mayor Johnson, ordered an election to be held on the 22nd of October to secure a popular approval of the street railway ordinances under which 3-cent fare was inaugurated. This is to be held under the terms of the franchise referendum law of Ohio, which requires, if petitioned for, popular approval of all street railway franchises.

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