

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

The Hearst Exposures.

Although Mr. Hearst's speeches on Senator Foraker and Governor Haskell have created a momentary sensation, they have in fact made no exposure of either man. This will be quite obvious to any reader who skips sensational headlines and reads for substance.

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Let the Foraker case be considered first, and what exposure has Mr. Hearst really made? He has produced letters from an agent of a corrupt and corrupting corporation having legislative interests to serve, which indicate that Mr. Foraker, while a Senator of the United States, was in receipt of money from that corporation in apparent connection with requests for Congressional action or non-action. But hasn't it been known for years that Senator Foraker as a lawyer has received money from corrupt corporations seeking legislative favors, and as a politician has served their interests regardless of the public interests? What about his notorious part in the 50-year street car franchise law of the Ohio legislature? Why, his very employment by the Standard Oil company as a lawyer while a Senator (a perfectly well known and unconcealed relationship) was a more damning fact than is Hearst's exposure of what at the worst was an incident of that employment. The case against Senator Foraker has been made more sensational than before, and therefore more em-

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barrassing to himself, and to his political associates who had arranged a political understanding between himself and Mr. Taft; but it has not been strengthened to the degree of greater exposure. Mr. Taft's supporters who welcomed him before, exhibit political prudence rather than civic virtue by giving him an ostentatious cold shoulder now.

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And if we turn to the Haskell case, what do we find? Possibly Governor Haskell is guilty of Hearst's accusation; but he denies his guilt, and thus far there is not a scintilla of proof against him. The gravamen of the charge is that in 1899 he was one of a coterie of persons interested in the Standard Oil company who tried to bribe Attorney General Monett of Ohio. But this charge is not yet supported by a particle of proof. The court documents that Mr. Hearst displays furnish no proof of the charge; Attorney General Monett never made the charge as of his own knowledge; and none of the affidavits directly allege it, or furnish even circumstantial evidence in support of it. The utmost that yet appears is this, that a lawyer of the Standard Oil company who tried to bribe Attorney General Monett—a lawyer of the name of Squires,—told Mr. Monett in personal conversation that C. N. Haskell (which is Governor Haskell's name) was a party to the corrupt offer. To an accusation resting upon no better authority than that, and so utterly devoid of corroboration, either direct or circumstantial, a flat denial, such as Governor Haskell has given, is conclusive until better proof appears. It is to be observed, too, that this denial is not made in the present emergency alone. Governor Haskell appears to have maintained his denial from the moment he heard of the accusation, ten years ago, and to have offered to substantiate it in the only way open to him. For Mr. Monett now comes forward with the statement that Governor Haskell denied the charge when it was originally made; that he not only denied the charge, but denied all knowledge of any of the parties involved; and not only this, but that he demanded a hearing, and offered and always stood ready, to submit to cross-examination under oath. In the face of these circumstances, no fair man will be influenced by Hearst's "exposure" of Haskell without better proof than has yet appeared.

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Roosevelt and Hearst.

With characteristic recklessness, President Roosevelt rushes into print to make a partisan point at the expense of Governor Haskell's per-

sonal reputation. He does this in a Presidential campaign document which appeared in the newspapers of the 22nd. Incidentally in that document he observes that Senator Foraker's "attitude has been that of certain other public men, notably (*as shown in this same correspondence published by Mr. Hearst*) Governor Haskell." Mr. Roosevelt ought to have read far enough below the headlines to have known that Hearst's imputations against Haskell were in no wise connected with the correspondence in which Foraker was involved. This "same correspondence published by Mr. Hearst," as Mr. Roosevelt describes it, concerned Foraker alone and Haskell not at all. Of course, Mr. Roosevelt's misrepresentation in this particular might make little difference if Haskell were guilty. Nobody would care much whether the imputations were proved by one set of documents or by an entirely unrelated set, by a set that involved both Haskell and Foraker or by one that involved Haskell alone, provided they were proved at all. But when, as the fact is, there is not yet disclosed a particle of proof against Haskell, Mr. Roosevelt's false allusion to the source of Hearst's imputations is highly significant. Has he "taken Hearst's word for it"? From that attitude of mind to the one in which Hearst was pilloried as the unpardonable "assassin of McKinley," is a long reach to have been so quickly spanned.

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John W. Kern.

In his speech at the Jefferson club banquet at Chicago last week, the Democratic candidate for Vice President struck the true Democratic note. Prior to the Civil War the commercial interests stood for human slavery in chattel form; since the Civil War they have stood for slavery in different forms of privilege. Now as then, they hold the nation by the throat, now as then they control the party in power, and now as then the question of liberty in this country is at issue.

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Farm Values.

It is interesting to note the effect upon the Indianapolis Star of its apprehension of the inevitable growth in the value of farm lands. "Relieved of the pressure of vacant lands, there can be no doubt," it declares, "that the value of farms will continue to rise." This is a true conclusion. Vacant land does prevent farm values from rising, and as they are relieved of its competition farm values will indeed rise enormously. They may increase, with advancing population, up to the ex-

peptations of the Indianapolis Star when it says: "The ever increasing population will shortly bring American farm lands to a level with those of western Europe, where tillable land brings from \$500 to \$600 per acre." When that time comes, the Indianapolis Star expects intensive farming. But isn't it as likely that when American farms bring as much as farms in Europe, American farmers will be without farms as European farmers are now? With farm lands worth \$500 an acre, it is not the farmer who farms farms that will be prosperous, but the farmer who farms farmers.

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A Land Reform Reference Book.

A reference book of land-reform movements is in course of preparation by Joseph Edwards (21 Palace Sq., Norwood, London, S. E., England), originator of the "Labour Annual," which is now in other hands. Mr. Edwards has demonstrated his ability to do this sort of work, and certainly a reference book of that kind is a needed publication. • His is not to be confined to any special phase of the movement, but is to cover the whole field, including its personal and its historical aspects. The co-operation of persons interested, all over the world, is very desirable in such an undertaking; and accordingly Mr. Edwards solicits aid in the way of contributions of names, addresses, and photographs of land reformers for an international directory department; of lists of societies with their reports, publications, officials, etc., which are or have been concerned radically with land questions; of the names of periodicals devoted to the subject, with sample copies; and of the names of books and official reports relating to it. The more information of this kind Mr. Edwards receives, the more complete and useful will he be prepared to make his proposed reference book, and the greater the probability of his being able at an early day to turn it into an annual.

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The Privilege of Tariff Protection.

Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale is another of the academic economists of the new school who are adding theirs to the voice of the old school in condemning protective tariffs. Nor is his condemnation of them the most gratifying thing. It is the reason he gives. "The worst feature of the situation," he says, "is not that the tariff is a tax on the American consumer, nor that it fails to keep up American wages, but that it is a glaring example of special privilege." This statement might lend itself to hypercriticism, since it is a characteristic of special privileges that they do tax con-

sumers and do keep down wages; but that would not detract from its value as an indictment. It is the essential evil of protective tariffs that they are special privileges; and no matter what they may seem to do or fail to do, for that reason alone they stand condemned.

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PERSONNEL OF THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

So much effective work of real value is being done in behalf of the single tax movement in Great Britain that it may be quite impossible to describe its personnel without invidious distinctions. But this risk must be taken if the followers of Henry George in the United States are to know anything of the men who are leaders in the British movement, and to profit somewhat by their example and methods.

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In several respects British single taxers encounter the same disadvantages that are encountered here.

One of these is the difficulty of getting impatient masses of disinherited men and women to appreciate the radical and far reaching character of so simple and apparently superficial a reform as the shifting of taxation from business to land. In that respect the opportunist socialists have at present in many places a very great agitational advantage. No matter what may be the evil against which the working masses at any time or in any place or group complain, British socialists of the opportunist type have obvious legislative specifics ready at hand; whereas the single tax agitator must make his hearers appreciate a normal relationship—what may be to them an unfamiliar and obscure relationship—of cause and effect.

Nevertheless, in Great Britain as in the United States, there is a growing apprehension in the public mind that land monopoly, whether the mother of all other monopolies or not, is at any rate their residuary legatee.

If, however, the British single tax movement encounters, in common with the American movement, the agitational difficulty noted above, it has some advantages over the kindred movement in the United States. One such advantage comes from the fact that in most parts of Great Britain landlordism is undisguised. In such places the arguments of single tax agitators have an obvious application, which gives them an agitational advantage akin to that possessed by socialist agitators in places where landlordism is masked in capitalism.

The rise and vigorous growth of the British single tax movement, especially in Scotland, may probably be attributed to the more obvious relationship there of land monopoly to industrial opportunity. At all events it was in Glasgow that the Henry George movement took firmest root and spread with most vitality.

The Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, with headquarters at 13 Dundas street, Glasgow, organized by Henry George himself in 1882, under the name of the Scottish Land Restoration League, is the most vigorous body of social reformers in Scotland. It was under the leadership of this league, inspired by John Ferguson (now deceased), Peter Burt, John Paul, and such men, that the Glasgow City Council, of which Ferguson and Burt were members, came to have a single tax majority and to petition Parliament for municipal authority to raise local revenues from land values exclusively—the same system that has now gone into operation in New South Wales, and the same that has been petitioned for by more than 250 other municipalities of Great Britain.

Although there is no longer a distinct single tax majority in the Glasgow Council, the single tax sentiment of the city is still alive; and so powerful is its influence that the capitalized value of Glasgow "feus"—annual ground rents "as long as grass grows and water runs," reserved by landlords on building sites—have fallen from a 32-years' purchase to a 22-years' purchase.

The secretary of the Scottish League is James Busby, he having taken the place long and efficiently held by John Paul, upon the latter's going to London for special work. James Fairlie, a manufacturer of Falkirk, is the president, and David Cassels (one of many of this name and family in the League) is the treasurer. A prominent member is Edwin Adam, of Edinburgh, a lawyer of distinction now holding an important judicial office.

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Throughout England there are local branches of the English League, which is modeled after the Glasgow organization. The method of work through branches is similar to that of the political parties of Great Britain, which establish permanent headquarters and engage regular agents for particular constituencies.

One of these branches is in Yorkshire, with headquarters at Keighley. It is under the chairmanship of F. H. Bentham, with Charles H. Smithson, a business man of Halifax, and T. B. Lund, as honorary secretaries, and Fred Skirrow

of Keighley as agent in charge of the headquarters and the organizing work of the district.

Among the other prominent members are H. H. Spencer, J. A. Guy, and Arthur Withy; also C. W. Sorenson of York and C. J. Cawood of Duggleby, both of them prosperous tenant farmers.

Another of the branch organizations is at Manchester, where L. W. Zimmerman, a justice of the peace and reputed to be one of the best Liberal organizers in England, is the chairman. Dr. McDougall is one of the leading spirits and tireless workers. John Bagot, who writes as "John Middleton" and is the editor of a suburban paper, is also a member of this branch.

In the Liverpool region the movement is promoted by the Financial Reform Association, an autonomous body which claims all England for its jurisdiction, and dates back to the days of the Cobden corn law fight. J. W. S. Callie is secretary and J. K. Musprat, a justice of the peace, is president. It should be explained that justice of the peace in an English city is a magisterial office of responsibility and honor and without emolument, which is usually conferred by the Ministry upon men of high character and local distinction.

The English League for the Taxation of Land Values, which is to England what the Glasgow body is to Scotland, has headquarters in London at 376 Strand. Lewis H. Berens, one of the authors of "My Dictatorship," and well known in the United States and Australia as well as in England and Scotland, and Frederick Verinder, who has been in this service for more than twenty-five years, are the active men at the London office. This is a center for the publication of literature and the general promotion of the movement. Mr. Verinder is general secretary and Mr. Berens the general business manager.

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All the leagues of England, Scotland, and Ireland have centralized for Parliamentary work in the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, which has headquarters at 20 Tothill street, Westminster, London. Crompton Llevellyn Davies, a prominent young lawyer of London, is chairman, and John Orr is secretary. It was to take the secretaryship of this Parliamentary committee that John Paul came down from Glasgow, but excessive work during the session just closed and the one preceding it, brought him to the verge of nervous prostration. He is therefore in the Scottish Highlands recuperating, while Mr. Orr has added the labor of secretary to that which

he had already been doing as literary representative of the Committee.

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In addition to the movement expressly for the taxation of land values, is the land nationalization movement, which has long been identified with the name of the great scientist, Alfred Russel Wallace, and of which Joseph Hyder is the working secretary and organizer. The treasurer is G. A. Hardy, a member of Parliament. Its office is 432 Strand, London, where it publishes "Land and Labour" as its organ.

Although this movement stands primarily for the nationalization of land, it incidentally advocates land value taxation, as indeed do all the social reform movements of Great Britain in some degree, including the Independent Labor Party and such socialists as Victor Grayson (the only Socialist member of Parliament elected as such) and Keir Hardie. The one important difference between any of these movements in this respect is in the emphasis.

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The land values movement publishes from London and Glasgow as its organ, "Land Values," originally called "The Single Tax." The latter name was changed to "Land Values" to identify it verbally with the movement it represents. John Paul is the editor and John Orr is his associate.

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In the House of Commons are several single tax members, including the president of the English League, Josiah C. Wedgwood, of the famous Wedgwood potteries and a grandson of their founder. Another is John H. Whitley, a Liberal "whip" in the House, member of Parliament for Halifax, and one of the active spirits in the Yorkshire league or branch.

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Two men who are distinguished for service in promoting land reform in Great Britain are Thomas F. Walker, a business man of large interests and one of the justices of the peace in Birmingham, and Joseph Fels, the manufacturer of Fels-Naptha, who lives part of the year in Philadelphia and the other part in London. By their joint liberality these two men have contributed notably not only to the growth in England and Scotland of the idea that the land is the heritage of all the people, but also to the progress of practical reforms in the direction of that ideal. They are in accord in the desire to secure on the part of all the movements favoring land value taxation,

co-operative political action in that respect, to the end that the next Parliament, however its membership may differ on other points, may have an overwhelming majority on this question.

The feasibility of such an effort has been demonstrated by the success of Richard McGhee, formerly an Irish member of Parliament, in co-operation with J. W. S. Callie and Edward McHugh of Liverpool, and Arthur J. Moxham, a British subject but a resident of the United States, in saturating the Liberal party with the spirit of this reform and bringing about its adoption as part of the program of the party. Thanks to that initial work of nearly ten years ago, for the possibility of which Mr. McGhee gives Mr. Moxham the credit, and to the concurrent and supplementary work of the Leagues for the Taxation of Land Values, of the Land Nationalization League, of a large section of the membership of the Independent Labor party, and of Liberal leaders who see farther into the future than prudence in politics makes it wise to announce—thanks to all these, the establishment of land values taxation is apparently not far off in British legislation.

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No report upon the personnel of the single tax movement in Great Britain would even approach completeness if it omitted the names of C. H. Chomley and R. L. Outhwaite, who are Australians temporarily at "home" in England, and whose signatures were attached (see Public of August 28, page 516) to the public explanation made by some of the delegates to the International Free Trade Congress. The document itself was written by Mr. Outhwaite. His familiarity with economic conditions in South Africa as well as in Australia, together with his force and facility of literary expression, enhances the value of the work which he and Mr. Chomley together are just now contributing.

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The working method of the Leagues for Land Value Taxation is simple. Annual meetings are held at which any member is welcome to participate (no financial conditions of membership being imposed), and at which the managing committee is chosen. One function of the managing committee is to raise funds for work, another is to decide upon the work to be done, and another is to maintain a headquarters and efficient agents. Funds are obtained by general subscription and by special subscriptions—general subscription for current expenses and special subscriptions for special work. There are no hard and fast rules, no dead

committees, and no unwieldy body. Efficiency is secured through the small managing committee, which has a free hand; responsibility and democracy come through the power of the whole membership to reconstruct the committee; and funds are obtained through the subscription plan, which appeals to men in proportion to their interest and ability, with reference first to general and second to special work, and without the limitations of a fixed and uniform fee.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

FROM LONDON TO GLASGOW AND HOME.

Anchor Line S. S. "Columbia," Atlantic Ocean, August 19.—On my way home from London northward, I had again to look after my baggage myself at York, or hire some one to do it, and even then to be present in person to identify it. It was very interesting, not to say a little bit exasperating, to observe how slowly the "luggage van" was emptied and the baggage assorted. Two or three men in the States would almost have done it at the rate of a minute a man; but here there were nine men getting skillfully into each other's way, and it was half an hour before I had got my baggage where I could hope to find it again. The delay nearly lost me a delightful afternoon in that city of the Roman wall and the ancient Minster, for a friend who had met the train to offer me the hospitalities of York was about driving away disappointed as I emerged from the enclosed scene of my baggage bafflements. Later in the day, I experienced further difficulties. Obligated to change cars at Leeds in order to reach Bradford on my way from York, I found it necessary to "tip" one porter to find my baggage at Leeds and carry it across the platform, and another to put it on the right train for Bradford, my own time being occupied in the interval between trains in guarding the baggage so that it might not get lost.

In so brief a stay at York, I could only be driven through its quaint streets, have a glimpse of the Ouse that runs through it, and here and there at the old wall on the site of the Roman, make a call upon B. Seebohm Rowntree, and have afternoon tea with my friend. In many respects like Chester, York seems more real; for no attempt is made as in Chester to keep up an appearance of antiquity by constructing new buildings in imitation of old ones. The famous Minster, a noble structure looking as old as it is, impresses the imagination no more by its architectural grandeur and beauty than by its historic associations. Consecrated in its present form before the discovery of America, its site as a place of Christian worship dates back almost a thousand years earlier; and it stands conspicuous in the city where Constantine the Great was proclaimed emperor of Rome, and whence formal Christianity spread through northern England.

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At Bradford, one of the great manufacturing towns,

single tax friends of the region tendered me a complimentary dinner at the Liberal Club, similar to that which at the Trocadero the single taxers of London had hospitably tendered upon my arrival there; and on the following day some of them took me out among the Yorkshire moors in the neighborhood of Keighley (which calls itself "Keethley" in spite of the spelling), and to the Bolton Abbey ruin not far away.

Among those moors, purple with blooming heather, naked of timber, wealthy in building stone, suggestive of bleakness in winter, drenched in summer with rain in one hour and bathed in sunshine the next, renowned for the hospitality of their meager population—those moors where Charlotte Brontë lived and wrote,—we came upon one of the most interesting men I have met in England, a Yorkshire school master who "knows his trade" and works at it in all seasons and at all hours. For seven years he has taught these "nippers" of the moors—these "kids" as we of the "wild and woolly West" would call them—after the manner of a true disciple of the late Colonel Parker of Chicago. But he is not a disciple of Colonel Parker; he is a Colonel Parker himself. Entirely original in his educational ideas, he has instituted in his school at Stanbury the "leadership" as opposed to the "drivership" method of education. He is the chum of his "nippers" in school; and it is no uncommon thing to see him and them studying together geography in the concrete at a brookside, or astronomy in the school yard with a sun dial of their own making for a primer, or geology out on the moors. With him, objects come first, and books about them second; not because books are unimportant, but because they are more intelligently and industriously studied after than before the concrete. To say that he is not the inventor of this system is almost to offend his neighbors; and doubtless he is the inventor. It is another instance of plural perception. Whenever a new truth comes into the world—a new messiah whether of spirit or matter—all who are looking toward it see it with more or less distinctness, and each naturally thinks himself its original discoverer. A new ship shows above the horizon. Who discovers it first? He who is looking in that direction; and it may be that more than one is looking. So is Jonas Bradley of Stanbury one of the discoverers of the newer and better education. His path has not been without the thorns that might have discouraged a less sanguine and virile discoverer; for they have "business" school boards in Yorkshire as well as in Chicago. But in seven years of experiment he has been able to prove his case, and now he is almost monarch of all the educational field he surveys.

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The trip from Bradford by way of Skipton to Edinburgh, offers a succession of picturesque scenes so rapid in their changes and so unique to American eyes that one cannot take the time even to glance at a guide book to see where he is, as in the Edinburgh express he rushes over the 200 miles of track at the average rate of 47 miles an hour. Nor are the scenes picturesque alone. Every mile is rich in historic and romantic associations. A few hours in Edinburgh left time only for a hurried visit with

a friend to the ancient fortress on Castle Rock where James I of England was born, and to Holyrood Palace, the home of Mary Queen of Scots. These are the two chief show places of the city. But Edinburgh is altogether a show place to those who have never seen it before. With all their quaintnesses the other old cities of Great Britain are suggestive of industry or worship; but Edinburgh, strangely enough, is most suggestive of war. As you look upon it for the first time you feel as nowhere else that you are behind the defenses of a beleaguered place.

My friend lives in Falkirk, twenty-five miles west of Edinburgh, and I spent the night of the 12th at his home on the site of the old Roman dry-wall, its moat still evident, with Sir Walter Scott's Ochil hills in the distant foreground to the north and the Gramplans just visible beyond. This visit was preparatory to a whole day's trip through the Trossachs of Scott's "Lady of the Lake," with Glasgow for the goal that might have been reached directly in half an hour. From Falkirk, by train, past Stirling castle, to Callander; from Callander by coach along Loch Vennachar, Loch Achray, and through the Trossachs to Loch Katrine whence Glasgow gets her fine water supply; over Loch Katrine by boat to the glen that offers passage to Loch Lomond; through this glen, by coach along Loch Arklet and Arklet Water to Loch Lomond at Inversnaid, just below Rob Roy's cave and at the Fall of which Wordsworth wrote; down Loch Lomond by boat past Ben Lomond to Balloch, and from Balloch by train to Glasgow—this is a journey well worth the taking at any cost, even if it be a well beaten tourist-path. To appreciate its beauties, its poetry and its associations, one needs no guide books other than Scott's "Rob Roy" and "Lady of the Lake"; and if he be rusty in those he may get along very well by revelling ignorantly, as I did, in the beauties of the route as he goes along, and reading Scott afterwards.

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At Glasgow I seemed at home. It is the only American city I have seen since leaving Toronto. Indeed it reminds one very much of Toronto. Here a complimentary Tea prepared by the single taxers of Glasgow gave me a better opportunity than before of meeting Keir Hardie, leader of the Labor Party, at close range. He made a speech on this occasion in which he naturally and very frankly as well as appropriately, stated his own position in its relation to that of the single taxers.

As reported by the Glasgow Herald of the 15th—most excellently reported, for the better newspapers on the British side seem more solicitous about the accuracy of reports than their sensationalism,—he made this point:

Mr. Post in his speech had said the whole question resolved itself into the relations of human beings to the land and of the land to human beings. He (Mr. Hardie) did not admit this. There was the third question, of the relations of human beings to each other. That was an important question and that was the question that socialism solved and that the single tax left unsolved.

This is the best expression I have heard or seen in print of the objection by socialists of Mr. Hardie's type to what they regard as the inadequacy of the single tax. To persons familiar with the single tax philosophy it will readily appear, however, that Mr.

Hardie and those whose views he stated so succinctly and exactly in his speech, are in error in supposing that the single tax ignores the relation of human beings to each other.

He would have been precisely right had he said instead that the single tax offers one solution, and socialism another, for the present maladjustment of human relationships. Which is the better or truer solution I shall not now attempt to discuss. But no one will dispute, I take it, that the single tax contemplates fair and square adjustments by means of voluntary intercourse and co-operation between individuals, as the natural result of freedom on the one hand from taxation upon their laboring power, and on the other from obstructions to access to land, the sine qua non of all industry; whereas socialism assumes that even with free land and full free trade it would still be necessary to establish governmental systems of production and distribution.

Without venturing to assert that the single tax solution is right and the socialistic one wrong—since no one can prophesy results inerrantly,—I should suppose that the safer solution to adopt would be, not the one that assumes the inadequacy of the first step and fundamental condition, as Mr. Hardie's socialism does, but the one that would make the second step easier and surer, should experience show the second step to be necessary.

Relieved temporarily from his duties as a member of Parliament, Mr. Hardie sailed from Glasgow for Canada on the same day, the 15th, that I sailed from there for New York, but of course on a different ship. He is to be in Canada and the East this time for a few weeks only, but will probably visit Chicago in January.

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It was with no little reluctance that I parted with my new made friends in Great Britain, many of whom, however, I have known across seas for many years. The reluctance was only modified and not removed by an intense desire for home. But the end of my visit with them came on the morning of the 15th, when I took train from Glasgow through Paisley to Greenock, and boarded the "Columbia" of the Anchor Line while she lay out in the Clyde. I carry with me vivid recollections of warm hearted and unobtrusive hospitality, and augmented confidence in the work that Henry George's converts and their converts are doing in the British isles.

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The sail down the Clyde was like a sail down some great American river—only different, as so many things in England and Scotland are from things in our country. Late in the afternoon we left the Irish coast town of Moville, and by dark had passed the Inishtrahull light and were out upon the open ocean with a seven or eight days' voyage before us.

It was not long before the paternalism of our government began to make itself felt. Papers from the custom house were put into our hands the first day out. One was a blank to fill in, the other a circular of instructions. We were advised in the instructions that we might import \$100 worth of goods provided they were not for sale. This seemed simple enough, and we noted the fact that none of the goods we had purchased abroad were for sale. But that gen-

eralization wouldn't do. We must itemize everything we had got abroad, whether by purchase or as a gift, and name the price or its value if we were ignorant of the price, attaching purchase receipts if possible.

These instructions ought to be given to Americans when they go abroad, so that they may know what to do while there. Had I been accommodated in that way I might have got receipts for my little purchases; and when generous friends gave me remembrances I might have said to my friends respectively, "Won't you oblige me with a receipted bill for this present?" Or "Won't you kindly tell me how much you paid for it?" Or, "If you forget what the present cost, won't you favor me with your estimate of its market value?" Having through ignorance neglected these precautions, I was obliged in making my custom house statement to guess as best I could at the individual values of my importations.

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New York City, August 24.—When the "Columbia" got into port at New York, there was not much to distinguish the conduct of the customs officers in any way from those at Liverpool. Personally they were polite and considerate, and in organizing them for their ungracious duty care had been taken to prevent favoritism. As the whole body of inspectors were lined up as they reported for duty, and in another line were the passengers as they came, no passenger could very well pick his inspector, and no inspector could pick his passenger. In the examination of baggage the fishing about in trunks and grips was done as considerably as work of that kind can be. I saw no indications of anything to justify a complaint against the administration of this rather mean function of searching people for goods that belong to them. The offense is in the law itself. But when one thinks of that, it occurs to him that the statue of Liberty Enlightening the World faces in the wrong direction.

Arriving in the lower bay of New York on the 22d before midnight we were obliged to anchor over night. Early the next morning ex-Congressman Baker met me down the bay with his Austin launch, loaded with other friends, and after a reception dinner at New York on the 24th, at which he presided, I considered my trip at an end. Not the least gratifying feature about it all is the care and ability with which those I left behind me in the office of The Public have done my work, and the generosity as well as ability with which friends outside the office have aided them.

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Chicago postscript, September 12.—My trip did not end after all with the reception dinner at New York. It had its climax to-night in one at Chicago. I wish, therefore, to add to my grateful acknowledgments for all the friendly attentions I received at Montreal, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, London, York, Bradford, Keighley, Falkirk, Glasgow and New York, an expression of cordial appreciation of the kindness of ex-Mayor Dunne who presided and Raymond Robins who made the welcoming speech at the Chicago reception, of Dr. Anna M. Lund, U. A. H. Greene, Nellie Carlin, L. S. Dickey and George A. Schilling,

the committee of arrangements, and of the two hundred other friends who responded to their invitation.

L. F. P.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, September 22, 1908.

Mr. Bryan's Challenge to President Roosevelt.

Upon the basis of accusations made by William Randolph Hearst against Governor Haskell of Oklahoma, the particulars of which are given in this Department under the title of "Hearst's Sensation," President Roosevelt published on the 22nd a statement in which he repeated the charge in substance by saying, in allusion to relations of Senator Foraker with the Standard Oil Trust, that—

his attitude has been that of certain other public men, notably (as shown in this same correspondence published by Mr. Hearst) Gov. Haskell of Oklahoma. There is a striking difference in one respect, however, in the present positions of Gov. Haskell and Senator Foraker. Governor Haskell stands high in the councils of Mr. Bryan and is the treasurer of his national campaign committee. Senator Foraker represents only the forces which in embittered fashion fought the nomination of Mr. Taft and which were definitely deprived of power within the Republican party when Mr. Taft was nominated. The publication of this correspondence not merely justifies in striking fashion the action of the Administration, but also casts a curious side light on the attacks made upon the Administration both in the Denver convention which nominated Mr. Bryan and in the course of Mr. Bryan's campaign.

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Immediately upon reading the foregoing statement, Mr. Bryan addressed to "Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States," a letter in which, after summarizing Mr. Roosevelt's attack upon Governor Haskell as given in full above, he said:

Your charge is so serious that I cannot allow it to go unnoticed. Gov. Haskell has denied he ever was employed by the Standard Oil Company in any capacity or was ever connected in any way whatever with it or with the transaction upon which your charge is based. Gov. Haskell demanded an investigation at the time the charge was first made, offering to appear and testify, and he demands an investigation now. I agree with you that if Gov. Haskell is guilty as charged he is unfit to be connected with the Democratic national committee, and I am sure you will

agree with me that if he is innocent he deserves to be exonerated from so damning an accusation. As the selection of Gov. Haskell as chairman of the committee on resolutions at Denver, and also as treasurer of the Democratic national committee, had my approval and indorsement, I feel it my duty to demand an immediate investigation of a charge against him indorsed by the President of the United States. Your high position as well as your sense of justice would prevent your giving sanction and circulation to such a charge without proof, and I respectfully request therefore that you furnish any proof which you have in your possession; or if you have no proof, I request that you indicate a method by which the truth may be ascertained. Without consulting Mr. Haskell, I will agree that he will appear for investigation before any tribunal, public or private, which you may indicate, and I will further agree that his connection with the national committee and with this campaign shall cease in the event that the decision of such tribunal connects him in any way with this charge, or in case you, after an investigation of the facts, say that you believe him guilty of the charges made. As the candidate of the Democratic party I shall not permit any responsible member of the Republican organization to misrepresent the attitude of the Democratic party in the present campaign. I have assisted you to the extent of my ability in remedial measures which I deemed for the public good which you have undertaken; I have urged Democrats to support such measures and I have advocated more radical measures against private monopolies than either you or your party associates have been willing to undertake. The platform of the Democratic party is clear and specific on this subject, as on other subjects, while the platform of the Republican party is uncertain and evasive. The Democratic candidate for Vice President, Mr. Kern, joined with me in requesting the Democratic national committee to fix a maximum of \$10,000 for individual contributions and to publish before the election all contributions above \$100, and the committee acted favorably upon this request. The Republican candidate and the Republican national committee proposed, not publication before the election, but publication after the election. I submit that our committee has given the better evidence of its freedom from connection with, or obligation to, the predatory interests. Our committee has not knowingly received a dollar from an official of any corporation known as a trust, and it will not receive any money from such. If any money is contributed by such persons without the knowledge of the committee, it will be returned as soon as the fact is discovered. The Democratic party is making an honest and an honorable fight in defense of the principles and policies enunciated in its platform, and it expects and will demand fair, honorable treatment from those who are in charge of the Republican campaign.

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Hearst's Sensation.

The political sensation of the week has been the accusation made by William Randolph Hearst against Senator Foraker (Republican) of Ohio and Governor Haskell (Democrat) of Oklahoma.

The attack was first made by Mr. Hearst in a speech of the Presidential campaign (p. 585) at an Independence party mass meeting on the 17th at Columbus, Ohio.

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Against Senator Foraker Mr. Hearst's accusation was in substance as follows:

According to letters given to Mr. Hearst by "a gentleman who has intimate associations" with the Standard Oil trust, but whose name could not be divulged "lest he be subjected to the persecution of this monopoly," which letters Mr. Hearst read in full, Senator Foraker received from John D. Archbold, of the Standard Oil trust, in March, 1900, the sum of \$15,000, and in April, 1900, the sum of \$14,500, as bribes.

On the 18th Senator Foraker denied bribery, explaining that at the time of the letters he was under employment as counsel for the Standard Oil company in its Ohio litigations, and that this was matter of common knowledge at that time, and universally regarded as honorable employment. An additional sum of \$50,000 from the Standard Oil Company was alleged on the 18th by Mr. Hearst, in a speech at St. Louis, to have been given Senator Foraker as a bribe; in support of which Mr. Hearst read an Archbold letter of January 27, 1902, enclosing the amount, and one of February 25, 1902, asking opposition in Senate committee to Senator Jones' anti-monopoly bill. In consequence of Hearst's accusations, Senator Foraker withdrew formally on the 20th from further participation in the Presidential campaign, but announced the continuance of his candidacy for re-election to the Senate.

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Against Governor Haskell, Mr. Hearst's accusation was in substance this:

In a letter to Mr. Archbold, the date of which Mr. Hearst did not give and of which he read only the conclusion, Congressman Sibley of Pennsylvania said that he had advised President Roosevelt against depending "upon the rabble rather than upon the conservative man of affairs" in order to win, and that Mr. Roosevelt had thanked him "with apparent heartiness." Having read this concluding part of the Sibley letter, Mr. Hearst said that "Mr. Roosevelt did not seem to heed Mr. Sibley's well intentioned advice," but prosecuted the Standard Oil trust; that "the Standard Oil went out of the Republican party and into the Democratic party;" and that "the Democratic party welcomed it." The consideration which Mr. Hearst offered in support of his last statement was to the effect that "after a platform had been drawn up by Mr. Haskell which was satisfactory to the Standard Oil, Mr. Bryan made Mr. Haskell treasurer of his national campaign fund to collect from the Standard Oil substantial evidence of the great monopoly's appreciation;" that \$300,000 was promptly contributed, "probably" through Governor Haskell, "for Mr. Haskell is a man who has handled hundreds of thousands of dollars before for the Standard Oil,"

being "one of the men who was alleged to have attempted to bribe" Attorney General Monett of Ohio. In support of this bribery charge Mr. Hearst quoted from an affidavit made several years ago in the Ohio Supreme Court by Attorney General Monett, in which Mr. Monett averred as to an offer to bribe him with \$400,000 that "the party making the proposition set forth in the complaint was Charles B. Squires, formerly of Cleveland, Ohio, now of New York city, and the stockholder and officer representing the Standard Oil Company that the said Charles B. Squires claimed were the parties and from whom the proposition had come in some way to him were Frank Rockefeller of Cleveland and a stockholder of the company, F. B. Squires, secretary of the Standard Oil Company, and Charles N. Haskell, late of New York city."

On the 18th Mr. Haskell denied the accusation, following his denial on the 20th with the following letter to Mr. Hearst:

Sir: You are stating in speech and press in substance that during the year 1899, when Attorney General Frank S. Monett of Ohio had several cases pending in the Supreme Court of that State against the Standard Oil Company, that I sought to influence him to dismiss those suits. I have said, and now repeat, that your statement is absolutely false, and that I never had any relations of any kind or character with the Standard Oil Company. Our conflicting statements prove nothing. You, as a newspaper man, may and should desire a reputation for truthfulness. I, as a public official, demand that those who accuse me stand forth and make their proof. You know that a suit against you for civil damages or a criminal prosecution for libel means a long delay and affords your character of journalism a chance to cover your expenses before being called upon to settle. I do not want your money. I simply desire to expose you to the public as a false accuser who has distorted public records and manufactured statements for base political purposes. For the purpose of forever settling this infamous slander which you are circulating in your newspaper and on the stump, I now propose that a committee of five, or any three of them, composed of the editors of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, the Chicago Journal, the New York World, the Indianapolis News, and the St. Louis Republic, be selected to hear you and me under oath, and all other evidence they may desire, as to the truth or falsity of your charge at the earliest possible moment and render their decision to the public in writing. Should this committee find your charge sustained, I shall withdraw from all connection with the present presidential campaign. Should the verdict be against you, as I know it will, there need be no other penalty than the public contempt due every assassin of character.

Mr. Hearst notified the Associated Press on the 21st that he would ignore Governor Haskell's proposal.

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The Democratic committee has acted in the matter by getting into communication on the 21st with ex-Attorney General Monett and asking from him a statement of Governor Haskell's connection

with the bribery case in question. Mr. Monett replied as follows:

Fremont, O., Sept. 21, 1908.—The Hon. John E. Lamb, Auditorium Annex, Chicago, Ill.: "The names, Charles N. Haskell, F. B. Squires, and Frank Rockefeller, were the names given me while Attorney General, about Jan. 25, 1899, by Charles B. Squires of Cleveland, now of New York, as the parties with whom he had arranged to have the Standard Oil trust prosecution and contempt proceedings stopped for \$500,000. Charles B. Squires made the statement in my office at Columbus in the presence of the Hon. S. W. Bennett. When I filed the proceedings in the Supreme Court for contempt against the Standard Oil company, charging it with attempted bribery on this statement, Charles N. Haskell at once wrote me and wired me that it was a mistake; that he did not know any of the parties; that it must be another Haskell. He demanded to be heard. I tried to take the depositions of Haskell and about eight witnesses on the Monday following. The Standard Oil attorneys demanded of Judge Shauck that depositions stop, and Chief Justice John A. Shauck ordered me to dismiss the notary and cease taking the depositions. Haskell always stood ready to testify. None of the others made any such offer. Some of them left the State. The statute of limitations does not run against a felony, and the guilty persons can be prosecuted and the innocent vindicated. I suggest that all parties submit this case to the jurisdiction of the Franklin county grand jury, which is the only tribunal now available to consider this case, and I will volunteer to furnish all witnesses having a knowledge of the transaction. I used every means at my command to have the matter fully settled by filing charges in the Supreme Court. The whole matter is now up to the proper criminal authorities.

Mr. Monett had at Governor Haskell's request telegraphed to the latter as soon as Mr. Hearst made his accusation, but this telegram appears to have been very generally suppressed by the newspapers. We take it from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of September 19th, as that paper received it from its Columbus, Ohio, correspondent, Ben F. Allen, on the 18th. It is as follows:

To Hon. Charles N. Haskell, care Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Ill.: Will send copy of my affidavit of your immediate offer to appear in Supreme Court of Ohio to disprove your conviction with bribery charges. You were the only one that made such offer when I demanded a hearing of the court. You gave me the name of W. C. Haskell of Cleveland as a Hanna politician as the person Squires must have referred to, and you at all times stood ready to testify that you were in no way connected with the bribery charge. Judge Shauck refused to let the investigation proceed at request of Standard Oil attorneys.—F. S. Monett.

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Mr. Bryan's Speaking Tour.

From Trenton on the 15th (p. 586) Mr. Bryan went to Rochester, making sixteen speeches on the way, and addressed the Democratic State convention on the 16th. He spoke at Carnegie Hall,

New York city, on the 18th, and after spending the week-end with Judge Parker and ex-Governor Hill, went to Buffalo on the 21st and to Detroit on the 22nd.

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Mr. Taft's Speaking Tour.

Having abandoned the plan of porch meetings in Cincinnati (p. 586), and adopted Bryan's plan of touring the country, Mr. Taft's managers officially announce his itinerary as follows:

Sept. 23—Leave Cincinnati, 8 a. m.; Ade, Ind., 1 p. m.; Chicago, railway men's evening meeting.
 Sept. 24—Milwaukee, evening meeting.
 Sept. 25—Des Moines, Iowa, evening meeting.
 Sept. 26—St. Paul-Minneapolis, evening meeting.
 Sept. 27—Rest at Minneapolis. . .
 Sept. 28—Fargo, evening meeting.
 Sept. 29—Sioux City, Iowa, evening meeting.
 Sept. 30—Lincoln, Neb., evening meeting.
 Oct. 1—Omaha, Neb., evening meeting.
 Oct. 2—Denver, Colo., evening meeting.
 Oct. 3—Topeka, Kan., evening meeting.
 Oct. 4—Rest at Kansas City.
 Oct. 5—Macon, Mo., evening meeting.
 Oct. 6—St. Louis, evening meeting.
 Oct. 7—Chicago, 11:30 a. m., deep water convention; Galesburg, Ill., 4:30 p. m.: Lincoln-Douglas fiftieth anniversary; return to Chicago same night for banquet Chicago Association of Commerce.

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Democratic Nominations in New York.

At the Democratic convention at Rochester on the 16th (p. 587) Lieutenant-Governor Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler was nominated for Governor, and John A. Dix for Lieutenant Governor.

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Referendum in Maine.

One result of the recent Maine election (p. 586) has only begun to find its way into the general press. It is the adoption of the Constitutional amendment establishing the initiative and referendum (p. 570) in that State. This amendment, submitted by the legislature in 1907, is in substance as follows:

No act or joint resolution of the legislature shall take effect until ninety days after the recess of the legislature passing it (except emergency measures), and if within said ninety days not less than 10,000 electors sign a petition, the act or joint resolution shall be voted upon at the next general election. The people may by written petition, addressed to either branch of the legislature, signed by not less than 12,000 electors, propose any bill, resolve or resolution, to be acted on by the legislature, and if the legislature does not enact the same without change, it shall be submitted to the voters at the next State election, with any changes, in such manner that the people may either accept or reject, as they see fit.

The popular vote by which the amendment

was adopted on the 14th has not yet reached us, but we are advised that the affirmative majority was overwhelming—apparently about 2 to 1.

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The Chicago Federation of Labor.

Officers of this body, which represents the centralized labor organizations of Chicago, were chosen on the 20th. The administrative officers were re-elected without opposition: John Fitzpatrick, president; Arthur McCracken, vice-president; Edward N. Nockels, recording and corresponding secretary; J. G. Hopp, financial secretary; John J. Brittain, treasurer; Cornelius O'Neill, recording clerk, and Charles Asmussen, sergeant at arms. For the committee memberships, however, there were contests, one of the extraordinary results of which was the election of four women. The committees elected were as follows:

Finance Committee—Elizabeth Maloney, M. B. Philp, Gertrude Stoetzel.

Legislative Committee—B. C. Dillon, Dennis Enright, Jennie Loughridge, John O'Neill, William Rossell.

Executive Board—G. W. Bailey, M. C. Buckley, J. A. Kain, W. A. Olander, Margaret Dreier Robins.

Delegates to Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention—D. Bosgraaf, J. C. Colgan, F. G. Hopp, Thomas F. Kennedy, Gertrude Stoetzel.

According to the Record Herald's report of this unusual result, in its issue of the 21st,

old-timers remarked on the contrast between the election of yesterday and those of a few years ago when Martin B. ("Skinny") Madden ruled the central body, women's smiles were substituted for black-jacks and they proved quite as effective when the ballots were counted, although the results were obtained in a different way. Mrs. Raymond Robins proved her popularity by being elected a member of the executive board, while a brewer, a baker, a printer and a lather were put out of the running by her. There were nine candidates for the executive board and five to be elected. Mrs. Robins ran second on the list with 195 votes, the only candidate who ran ahead of her being M. C. Buckley of the Street Car Men's Union with 247 votes. Mrs. Jennie Loughridge was a candidate for the legislative board and was elected with plenty to spare. She secured 210 votes to 169 cast for Barney Berlyn, the Socialist leader in the central body. Berlyn has been a candidate for Congress on the Socialist ticket so often that he is supposed to know all about legislation, but Mrs. Loughridge's active work among the delegates seemed to count for more than Berlyn's class conscious preachments. Miss Gertrude Stoetzel was not content to be on the ballot as a member of the finance committee, as she had no opposition for that office, so she ran for a delegate to the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and was elected to both offices. She was fourth on the list of ten candidates, five of whom were to be elected. Miss Elizabeth Maloney was elected on the finance committee without opposition.

The Spread of Cholera.

The epidemic of Asiatic cholera in St. Petersburg, reported last week (p. 589), has reached alarming proportions. The number of deaths daily reported officially as occurring in twenty-four hours, runs up to between four and five hundred. At first confined to the slums, it has now reached the more comfortable classes. Because of the recourse of the panic-stricken to liquor, its sale everywhere in the city was prohibited on the 20th. The municipal schools have been closed, and the schoolhouses are used as hospitals for ordinary patients, freeing the regular hospitals for cholera use, to which have been added temporary hospitals, some of which are already full. The types of the disease have increased in virulence, and on the 19th the percentage of mortality was given as 50 per cent. An outbreak of typhoid fever has added to the horrors of the situation.

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Other Russian cities and provinces report hundreds of cases. Moscow, at present immune, quarantines against the rest of the country. Germany, Austria and Sweden are arranging or have declared quarantines against Russia.

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In Manila, at first exempt when cholera was reported from the Philippines (p. 541), the number of cases reported for each day has risen, and receded, and risen again, up to the report of the 21st, which was fifty-eight new cases and nineteen deaths for the previous twenty-four hours. A special meeting of the Philippine Commission has been called to consider the situation.

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Word reached Lisbon on the 15th from the Azores, which belong to the kingdom of Portugal, that the inability of the local authorities to cope with the plague which is raging there, and the absence of succor provided for on paper by the Portuguese government, but not furnished owing to its insolvency, had brought on serious rioting in the islands, where there is terrible suffering.

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The Land Question in Scotland.

A land question is now in agitation on the islands of Vatersay and Barra, at the southern extremity of the Hebrides. Though primitive in form, it may assume Imperial importance before the end. It was brought to general attention by the imprisonment last summer at Edinburgh of ten inhabitants of Vatersay who were ejected by the agents of the owner of the island, Lady Gordon Cathcart, with the object of depopulating the place. Intense feeling was excited among the people of that little island, and the United Commit-

tees for the Taxation of Land Values in Great Britain, appointed Edward McHugh of Liverpool to take charge of bringing to the attention of Parliament the whole controversy, with all that it implies with reference to the natural right of the inhabitants of the planet to live upon it.

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Mr. McHugh first solicited the support of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, and late in August a meeting was held at the headquarters of this league in Glasgow, at which representatives were present from the crofting districts and from the leading industrial centers in England, Ireland and Scotland. The meeting resolved to inaugurate a speaking campaign, and on the initiative of highland land reformers it was resolved to open the campaign in Vatersay and Barra. Accordingly an open meeting was held in Barra on the 1st, which was presided over by the Very Rev. Monsignor Browne, and J. G. Swift MacNeill, member of Parliament for South Donegal, and Edward McHugh. The meeting, which lasted three hours and received the most radical land reform sentiments with enthusiasm, formed a permanent organization on the basis of resolutions declaring:

The land of Scotland was made by God, the Father of all, who is no respecter of persons, for the equal use and enjoyment of all the people whom He brings into life upon it; that no measure of reform is a settlement of the land question which does not fully restore fair, equitable, and God-given rights in the land; that as the profit of the earth is for all, justice requires that the economic rent or value of land ought to be devoted to purposes of common benefit, and that an end should be put to the legalized immorality and wickedness of compelling laboring men and laboring women and their children to live in hovels and in city slums, and suffer want in the midst of plenty, and frequently untimely death in order that idlers may live in luxury; that it is a grotesque absurdity to allow the House of Lords to obstruct the will of the people, and the government should exercise their constitutional right to make the land valuation (Scotland) bill an integral part of the budget, thus making it impossible for landlords to continue plundering the results of public and private industry.

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In the same connection ex-Bailie Peter Burt and James Busby, of Glasgow, have been to the island of Skye in behalf of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values, for the purpose of organizing support of the Liberal ministry in its land reform policy. As a result of their visit a Scottish conference on the subject is to be held in Inverness.

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Municipal Ownership in Holland.

The tenth anniversary of municipal ownership and operation of the gas service in Amsterdam,

Holland, came on the 10th of August last, and the results of this reform are now reported. As appears from the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, a leading daily paper of Amsterdam, the gas works were bought in 1898 for 17,206,472 dutch florins or gulden, equal to about \$6,882,588 of American money. During the past ten years the interest payments have amounted to \$2,159,536 (f. 5,398,840.29); \$1,946,090 (f. 4,865,226.85) has been applied to reduction of indebtedness, \$2,680,094 (f. 6,697,737.44) to sinking fund, \$140,000 (f. 1,100,000) to an extra reserve fund, and \$3,927,946 (f. 9,819,865.30) to extensions of plant. The price of gas has been reduced from a little less than 4 cents per cubic meter to a little less than 3 cents, and the average of wages has been increased from about \$280 (f. 700) to about \$320 (f. 800). And yet the sum of \$3,324,542 (f. 8,311,355.71), more than half the purchase price of the works ten years ago, has been paid into the city treasury. Besides her municipal gas service the city of Amsterdam also owns and operates the water works, the street car service and the telephone service.

NEWS NOTES

—General elections in Canada have been called by the Liberal ministry for October 26.

—The international Anti-Tuberculosis Congress is to open at Washington, D. C., on the 27th. Delegates are expected in great numbers from all parts of the world.

—At the fourth of the semi-centennial celebrations of the Lincoln-Douglas debates (pp. 519, 541), held on the 18th at Charleston, Ill., more than two hundred persons who had heard the debate at Charleston fifty years ago were present.

—A temporary injunction restraining the Board of Railway and Warehouse commissioners of Arkansas from enforcing the two-cent passenger fare and maximum freight rate laws of that State, was granted on the application of the Kansas City and Southern Railroad Company in the United States Circuit Court at St. Louis on the 18th.

—In the Federal court at Philadelphia on the 11th it was decided that the Act of Congress prohibiting railroads from engaging in the business of producing commodities which they transport, except lumber—an act aimed especially at the ownership of coal mines by coal-carrying roads—is unconstitutional because it discriminates in favor of lumber-carrying roads.

—The hideous custom of leasing convicts practically as slaves, which has long been the penal system of Georgia, has been abolished by the General Assembly (p. 446) which has just adjourned. It is provided in the bill that convicts shall be supplied for State road work, to municipalities for certain considerations; that they shall be used by counties as the counties see fit as to labor; and that they may be used in public institutions. Any convicts not so

used are at the disposal of the State prison commission and the governor.

—Harry A. Garfield, eldest son of President Garfield, is to be inducted into the presidency of Williams college at Williamstown, Mass., on October 7. Mr. Garfield practiced law in Cleveland from 1888 to 1903, in partnership with his brother James R. Garfield, now secretary of the interior, and Frederic C. Howe. Since 1903 he has filled the chair of politics at Princeton.

—A crusade from Rome against Catholic modernism in the United States was reported on the 16th from Washington in a dispatch which stated "that a wholesale condemnation of recent Roman Catholic publications would soon be promulgated from Rome," and that "the first victim of Pope Pius X.'s crusade against modernism is the Catholic Review of New York, the official organ of Dunwoodie Seminary.

—At a dinner to John W. Kern, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, and Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Illinois, tendered them at the Illinois Athletic Club on the 7th by the Jefferson Club of Chicago, ex-Mayor Dunne acted as toastmaster, and besides himself the speakers were Edgar L. Masters, Governor Haskell, Samuel Alschuler, Adlai E. Stevenson and John W. Kern.

—Frederick S. Hastings, executor of the estate of ex-President Cleveland, says of the Cleveland article the genuineness of which has been questioned (p. 589), that "it was written, sold and delivered by Mr. Cleveland prior to his death," and that he, Mr. Hastings, was "called upon by the New York Times a few days before its publication to verify the genuineness of Mr. Cleveland's signature at the foot of the article."

—A general and very marked drought prevails over a large part of the United States, causing great loss of crops, and in some places discontinuance of manufacturing. Especially severe suffering is reported from New England and western Pennsylvania. Forest fires continue to rage through all the northern forest regions, including besides the States already reported (p. 589), Pennsylvania and the Adirondack region of New York.

—The fortieth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the first woman's rights convention ever held, will be in session at Buffalo, N. Y., from October 15th to 21st inclusive. Among the speakers who have accepted are Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Katharine Reed Valentine, Charles Edward Russell, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Rev. Antionette Brown Blackwell, President M. Cary Thomas of Bryn Mawr and Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch.

—Orville Wright, who had been breaking records for aerial navigation in a ship heavier than air, at Fort Myer, Va. (p. 585), in a flight on the 17th, when accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas E. Selfridge of the signal corps, met with a mishap in which a broken propeller played a part. The aeroplane fell a distance of some seventy-five feet. Mr. Wright's thigh and several of his ribs were broken, and Mr. Selfridge received fatal injuries. In the meantime the other of the two Wright brothers, Wilbur Wright, at Le Mans, France, on the 16th broke all European

records for sustained aeroplane flight, and on the 21st broke his brother's best record, soaring for more than an hour and a half, controlling his machine perfectly, and covering a distance of over sixty miles.

PRESS OPINIONS

Foraker and Taft.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind. Dem.), Sept. 21.—Foraker, politically dying, leaves his curse upon the Taft candidacy, and the man who sought Foraker's support and comfort (and that of Cox) is probably sorry that he spoke too soon. All of which is good material for Mr. Bryan. An absolute denial of the Foraker alliance (and the Cox alliance) would have helped Mr. Taft beyond measure, especially in Ohio: He has preferred to play the peacemaker with the undesirables, and he must suffer as a penalty for his presumption. So that Ohio harmony becomes discord, and a Republican candidate finds himself more hardly pressed than ever.

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Mr. Taft's Dilemma.

The (New York) Nation (ind., anti-Roosevelt, anti-Bryan, and pro-Taft), Sept. 10.—Mr. Taft's change of mind in regard to his speaking trip is now attributed indirectly to the recent law forbidding railway passes. Mr. Taft, it appears, had expected to be waited upon by delegation after delegation, to each of which he was to pour out his soul. But the pilgrims have not arrived, because, it is alleged, they could not obtain free transportation, and did not care to expend from \$2 to \$20 each to see the candidate and hear an address. This explanation is unconvincing. The real reason is simply that the West wants to be assured that Mr. Taft is as radical as Roosevelt, and not a "reactionary."

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A Questionable Organization.

Chicago Daily News (Ind. Rep.) Sept. 17.—The American Railroad Employes and Investors' Association is the name of an organization combining in one body both railroad officials and employes. . . . The purpose of the organization is to exercise an influence on legislation affecting railroads. . . . It is, of course, the right of any body of men to get together and organize for any purpose not contrary to law. Nevertheless, the organization in question is rather out of the ordinary. It is not customary for business men to join with their employes in organizations of national scope. The new railroad association reminds one of the way manufacturers and wage workers in certain tariff-protected industries have combined in the past for the purpose of promoting their joint interests in tariff legislation. This resemblance is not reassuring. If the power of the railroads and their employes is to be used in politics for the furthering of railroad interests the public should know it. If political activity be not the purpose of this new association it is pertinent to ask what is its purpose. If the railroads want only that to which they are entitled what is the need of an organization

of this nature? . . . It is difficult to see what good the new organization will accomplish, but its possibilities for making trouble loom large. . . . If the men interested in railroads, both as investors and employes, band together to wield political influence there will be a disposition on the part of the general public to throw its strength on the other side.

* *

The Traction System of Cleveland.

The (Cleveland) Public, Sept. 15.—It is this obligation which the stockholders have assumed, to operate the property at cost, that distinguishes the Municipal Traction Company from any other street railway company in the world. It is this pledge that has excited the hostility of street railway and franchise interests in America. It is the fear of the results of such operation that has led to the false and dishonest statements which have been flashed upon the wires to the newspapers of other cities. It is this same fear that has led certain papers in the city of Cleveland, which are owned by franchise interests, to seek to hamper the Municipal Traction Company in every possible way. This is but natural. Only it is little understood by the public. The public has no means of looking into the counting rooms of newspapers or the boards of directors of banks. It does not appreciate that the same interests which own street railways own newspapers and banks as well.

* *

The Single Tax Situation in Great Britain.

(London and Glasgow) Land Values, Sept.—It is possible to entertain feelings that are too sanguine with reference to the progress of a cause in which we are interested. We are no doubt unconsciously subject to this tendency, but after making due allowance for this, we are convinced that our principle is making extraordinary headway in the political world. Its recognition and adoption by the House of Lords in the case of the Land Values (Scotland) Bill have narrowed the ground of controversy to an enormous extent. Opposing newspapers and politicians urged the impossibility of separate valuation, and the injustice of going beyond the actual rental in fixing the value, because they believed the Lords would resist to the last at both points. All this pasteboard stage ground has been swept from beneath their feet. Attention may now be concentrated on the moral and economic issues. We are prepared for that. The political situation is all on our side. Governments for many years past have showered on the business and industrial world measures that, economically speaking, are one-legged and broken-winged, that will neither fly, nor run, nor walk, measures that double-lock the door which they are framed to open, like the Irish Land Purchase Acts, the Small Holdings Acts, and the Housing Acts. Men are turning from these remedies. The brilliant analysis of the situation in the new pamphlet "Land Valuation: a Plea of Urgency" has impressed the newspapers, if not the politicians. The "Yorkshire Daily Observer" and the "Manchester Guardian" have supported the plea in the most emphatic and unqualified manner. Mr. Ure will address a meeting at Portsmouth on October 26th, and ar-

rangements are being made to hold meetings in the Midlands, in Wales, and in Scotland. Mr. McHugh is in Barra, and will go through the Highlands, still further rousing interest in the land question, and presenting the solution. Mr. Outhwaite supplies the London papers with frequent articles on the progress in the Colonies, and in every center, in every branch league, the supporters of the movement are working with greater enthusiasm than ever before. The movement, if we measure it in units, seems to be reproducing itself in geometrical progression.

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The International Free Trade Congress.

(London) Land Values (economic), September.—The International Free Trade Congress convened by the Cobden Club, and held in London August 4th-7th, marks a new and interesting departure in the activities of the club. To have brought together from different countries a large number of representatives who recognize that in matters of commerce the interests of these countries are common, was a service which is worthy of appreciation. In making arrangements to continue the conference as a sort of permanent institution, the Cobden Club has also performed a good work. Friendly meetings with citizens of other countries to discuss, however academically, their relations with one another must have a good result. The intercourse between men which takes place outside of the official meetings is fruitful in many ways. Besides, for those of us who have hitherto regarded the Cobden Club as a conservative and unprogressive body the occasion furnishes an opportunity for a reconsideration of our judgment. . . . Cobden's achievement holds a high place in our estimation, but we differ widely from those people who take it out of its proper place. It is a thing for the museum, and not for the factory, the market, or the running steam of politics. It is like Watt's engine or Stephenson's locomotive, interesting and inspiring. Neither the engine nor the locomotive is driven in a factory, a ship, or on a railway line; nor for the same reason should Cobden's system be asked to carry all the burden with all the speed that our growing and expanding industry demands. We put Watt's engine in the museum, but we develop his principles and apply them to the new conditions.

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A Filipino View of "Sacred Guardianship."

The (Manila) Renacimiento, June 27.—In this new period of transition it is impossible to avoid anticipations of the uncertain future. Thus to anticipate is to feel some fear, some distrust, something like scepticism of the intentions of the United States Government. This skilled guardianship may be only a means and an ingenious excuse for continuing indefinitely the American sovereignty in the Philippine Islands. Whatever may be said by optimistic adherents of the Government, no occurrence has indicated in a clear manner any serious intention of the American people to allow us to direct our own destiny. It will be alleged that the pains which the American Government is taking to educate our children, and the steadily increasing concession of political liberties, are positive signs that the United States is preparing the way for our freedom at a time when, all

obstacles having been removed, it can be maintained safely; but the question is whether this is more than an illusion. Colonial policy is everywhere changing. Each epoch as it comes on develops new requirements. Liberty is the necessity par excellence of the century. The American people, so eminently practical, should understand the wisdom of adapting itself to the circumstances of the time. In the twentieth century it is impossible to resuscitate the epoch of merciless despotism and colonial tyranny. There can be no retrogression. The right of every human being to liberty and life is universally conceded. It is therefore necessary to change radically the treatment of subject peoples, and for this reason all the colonizing nations see themselves obliged to concede to their colonies constantly new liberties; but this policy does not mean the waiving of the reign nor the abdication of sovereignty. In the same degree as they concede these liberties the colonizing nations often strengthen their reign by other means. In the hypocritical dictionary of Colonial Policy there exists a new phrase which is "sacred guardianship." This "sacred guardianship" may be claimed to be permanent, either because the ward had identified himself so completely with the national life of the guardian as to be perpetually tributary, or because the ward's interests are essentially dependent upon the guardian or because the guardian for humanity's sake feels impelled to undertake the sacrifice of an eternal trusteeship of those who are forever incapable. Now, what are the reasons which might lead us to believe that the American government is drifting toward permanent sovereignty? Every year that passes means a new triumph for American commercialism here, further interests created in our country, reasons the more for justifying the continuance of American sovereignty even if it were only with the object of watching over and protecting the American interests. Thus every year that passes removes further and further our dreamed of independence. Even with the greatest optimism, when we ask what will become of the Philippine Islands, the events which are taking place before our eyes give rise to sad forebodings. For some time past the American press,—which undoubtedly represents the opinion of the American colony here in the Philippine Islands and, still more serious, reflects to some degree the mode of thinking of the persons upon whom our future depends,—has been suggesting the necessity that the American government should change radically the system of colonization which has been adopted here, plainly and without subterfuge indicating the true intention of the American government. Not independence but perpetual guardianship! That the American government should declare itself openly the partisan of the latter solution—if it has not already done so tacitly! The dilemma is most serious. Either a government by force and against the manifest wishes of a nation which believes itself to have the right to govern and to possess sufficient capacity for governing itself, or the concession of independence, which would mean the sacrifice of efforts of vested interests, and the abandonment of a strategical center which may serve as a basis for the realization of American dreams in the extreme Orient. These are the two extremes. In the first case America would have

written on the page of its history an indelible blot of dishonor and infamy, and she would have been guilty of a most cowardly betrayal of the glorious traditions of liberty and democracy. In the second case America would have to sacrifice important interests and its intention of political and commercial expansion in the Orient.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE MARCH OF THE WORKERS.*

Tune: "John Brown's Body."

What is this the sound and rumour? What is this that all men hear?

Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,

Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear? 'Tis the people marching on!

Whither go they, and whence came they? What are these of whom ye tell?

In what country are they dwelling 'twixt the gates of heaven and hell!

Are they mine or thine for money? Will they serve a master well?

Still the rumour's marching on!

Chorus—

Hark! the rolling of the thunder!
Lo! the sun, and lo! thereunder,
Riseth love and hope and wonder,
And the host comes marching on.
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!

Forth they come from grief and torment; on they wend toward health and mirth;

All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of the earth.

Buy them, sell them, for thy service; try the bargain what 'tis worth.

For the days are marching on!

These are they who build thy houses, weave thy raiment, win thy wheat;

Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet;

All for thee this day and ever. What reward for them is meet?

Till the host comes marching on!

Chorus—

Hark! the rolling of the thunder!
Lo! the sun, and lo! thereunder,
Riseth love with hope and wonder,
And the host comes marching on.
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!

Many a hundred years passed over have they labored deaf and blind;

Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find.

Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the cry comes down the wind,

And their feet are marching on.

*To be sung at the meetings of the National Women's Trade Union League, announced in another column.

On we march then, we, the workers; and the rumour that ye hear

Is the blended sound of triumph and deliverance drawing near;

For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear,

And the world is marching on.

Chorus—

Hark! the rolling of the thunder!
Lo! the sun, and lo! thereunder,
Riseth love with hope and wonder,
And the host comes marching on.
Glory, Glory Hallelujah!

—William Morris.

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THE MORAL SIDE OF THE TARIFF.

Portions of a Paper Prepared for the International Free Trade Congress Held at London, August 4th-7th, by President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford University.

Every argument for and against the tariff has been stated a thousand times. There is nothing new to be said. But at the bottom of every argument remains the necessary recognition of its primal iniquity. The fundamental idea in American polity is that of a square deal to all men, each standing on his own feet, with exclusive privileges or governmental aid to no man, and to no class of men. Inequality before the law, entail, primogeniture, church control of state, state control of church, class consciousness and class legislation, were evils which our fathers would not tolerate. They chose the hardships of Plymouth Rock, and later the hazards of war, rather than to put up with any of them. If there is one American idea or ideal to be segregated from the rest, it is this of equality before the law. And it is this ideal which is violated absolutely and continuously in the theory and in the practice of the protective tariff.

The protective tariff is a device for enhancing the home price of the articles it covers, by a tax on commerce, by forcing the body of citizens to pay tribute to producers at home. These producers may be capitalists or directors of industry, or they may be the laborers who contribute effort only without responsibility for the way in which effort may be applied. It matters not whether capitalists or laborers, either or both, actually profit at your expense or mine. The law intends that they should do so. It is a breach of the principle of equality before the law that either should thus profit. As a matter of fact, there is little gain to the laborer because continued immigration brings him new competitors, and because he is in his turn one of the general public who suffer from the commerce-tax. As wages are raised, so is the cost of living. For the director or employer of labor, the case is on the average not

much better because the cost of his product is enhanced by the tariff taxes on everything which enters into his process of manufacture. In so far as a tariff is successful, it is virtually prohibitory. That the evils of prohibitory tariffs are so little felt, is due to the fact that our country is a world in itself, with untaxed trade throughout a district comprising nearly half the specialized production area of the globe. Yet within this favored area it is possible sometimes to corner a product or to monopolize production. To this end the tariff naturally lends itself, though it would be unfair to declare it to be the parent of all trusts. It is enough to recognize that its general purpose is the same—the development through legal means of industrial and economic monopoly, the enrichment of a class or of a group of classes at the expense of the citizens at large. This is theoretically contrary to American polity. If the principles of our republic in regard to exclusive privileges are right, then the theory and the practice of the protective tariff are wrong. That it works through the method of indirect taxation, disguises but does not justify its iniquity.

The tariff is defended on the ground of the value to a growing nation of infant industries, of diversified economics. We may not deny that at times there has been a financial gain to the community through taxing the farmer to build up the manufacturer. It is not politically right or just to do this; but if it were, the policy in practice assumes the form of a vested right which becomes in time a vested wrong. Around these vested rights other conditions grow up, and a change of any sort works havoc with related or associated interests. Justice becomes possible only by the perpetration of varied forms of injustice. To touch the tariff in any way sends a shock through the financial world, throughout the body politic. Tariff revision is, therefore, a kind of effort which can be based on no principles. It is a blind rush among various choices of evils. The only way out is to make taxation blind, like other efforts at justice, its sole function that of raising revenue.

In another way the theory of the infant industry has proved fallacious. There are in America today no infant industries. They have grown faster than the nation has. Our huge industrial combinations overshadow the world. Just as in their alliance they dominate us, in some degree they have the whip hand over other nations. If anything American can take care of itself, it is our infant industries. Yet they demand the tariff as a necessity of existence as insistently as ever they did. The lull in the self-assertion just at present is due to the handwriting on the wall, not to any lessening desire to be fed at the public expense.

The actual injury to American prosperity traceable to the tariff, may not be enormously great. It has doubtless been exaggerated. It

lends itself to exaggeration. It makes us angry when we think of it and wrath means always a magnifying glass. Its greatest evil lies in the perversion of our theories of government, the introduction of the idea of class enrichment through legislation.

Doubtless much of the prosperity of the United States is due to the protective tariff—the prosperity of some of us. But in like degree the non-prosperity of some of us, some of the very same persons for that matter, is due to the same national meddling with individual rights. The apparent prosperity of any community could be greatly enhanced by taking property away from half the people to put it into the hands of the others who know better how to use it. Thus behind all discussion of sources and means of prosperity, the fact remains that democratic justice, that fundamental equity between man and man, can never be realized in America so long as any trace of the protective tariff remains on our statute books. It is another illustration of the truth that “they enslave their children’s children who make compromise with sin.” This law applies to economic lapses, to time-serving legislation, as well as to moral sins.

* * *

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed From the Original MS.

Dear John:—I believe the Republicans are going out. There is sign all along the trail. For one thing, captains of industry are selling off their stuff to get the money out of it before trust prices drop. You can get cut rates “way down” on a lot of things nominally high in the market. Besides the Republican Demies are reconciled to Bryan. He can get the party in; and the Bryan guard who stood with him at two Waterloos are loading as they advance, and have acquired the firm Bryan underjaw.

Only Bryan himself has changed. Darned if he don't begin to look like George Washington; and he won't have to cut no cherry tree before the people catch on.

What do you think? Is there anything in this transmigration of souls? Can a man be so great and fair and unselfish a patriot that he will grow to look like the Father; or rather, has G. Washington returned and stepped into the boots of Billy Bryan? All I can say is, look at his later photographs. There, sure as a gun, is the monumental George, false teeth, or plumpers, and all—younger, sunnier—he has got over lickin' you, and drifted into quieter waters; but still the best representative of the determined G. W. now walking.

Then there is a panic on, only kept from scar-

ing folks into a run by their whistlin' thro the woods.

The life insurance funds can't be looted for election purposes with safety any more, because if the other side get in, a whole lot of looters might go to the penitentiary. And would Bryan pardon 'em out for the venial offense? No, it's dangerous. "Capital is conservative"—about getting into the penitentiary, and the funds won't come. I tell you, it is lookin' a little squally; but my Republican boys are doin' their best.

I see that Beveridge claims that Bryan has never done anything; but I notice Bryan is givin' the Republican lead-horses a tight singletree, right now. You can see 'em sweatin' in the collar as they work. Think of a man like Hughes havin' to stand up before a lot of citizens and tell 'em that their bank deposits should not be secure! Why, the man must sweat blood in his boots. It's a right smart job, I can tell Mr. Beveridge, to birch the Republican party into decency, or excuses for it. Roosevelt couldn't do it. Tally one for Bryan, Mr. B.!

Again, Beveridge says that Bryan "advised no President." Guess he never heard of President Roosevelt. Bryan has been advising Roosevelt for four years to my certain knowledge, and Theodore followed directions, and prescribed the medicine; but the patient wouldn't take it. That wasn't Bryan's fault.

"Who would you rather have to administer your estate, Taft or Bryan?" says the unfortunate Beveridge. Gosh, what a fool question! Neither one, is the answer to that. But if the audience was depressed and just had to answer, I suppose they'd have to say Bryan. Of course the bankers might say Taft would look after the "cent per cent" all right; and that's what Beveridge meant—always money, stocks, bonds. The stupid Republicans talk as if the citizens had these. Why, the fact is that the estates of ten out of eleven are not bonds but children. And to whom would a sane man leave his children—to Bryan to share alike one with another, and go to school; or to Taft, to go to the factory under Republican dispensation, as now? Truly as Beveridge says:

Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on our fate.

And babies yet unborn will be benefitted if the entire plutocratic band and their able, skilled advisers are sidetracked in the next election, and left to a period of meditation and prayer. It seems so to me.

UNCLE SAM.

* * *

The cat had just eaten the canary. "I hated to eat the foolish thing," remarked the cat, "but when a bird breaks out of its cage and flies down your throat, what can you do?"—Philadelphia Ledger.

BOOKS

SIGNIFICANT EXTRACTS FROM BRYAN'S SPEECHES.

The Real Bryan. Being extracts from the speeches and writings of "A Well-Rounded Man." Compiled by Richard L. Metcalfe. Personal Help Publishing Co., Des Moines, Iowa.

Selected by one who has the opportunity to know and the sympathy to understand the kind of man he is, these extracts from William J. Bryan's writings and speeches have a double value. There could be no better explanation of Bryan, nor is there any better selection for explanatory purposes than the quotation credited to him on the title page: "They call a man a statesman whose ear is tuned to catch the slightest pulsation of a pocket book, and denounce as a demagogue any one who dares listen to the heart-beat of humanity." Whoever fails to understand Bryan, has only to realize, what the fact is, that he listens first of all to the heart-beat of humanity. It is his sensitiveness in this respect that makes his oratory tell for popular leadership.

The volume in which these selections appear opens with a fine preface by Mr. Metcalfe, supplemented with an appreciation by John H. Atwood of Kansas. Among the speeches and writings from which selections are made are several on labor questions, dating so far back of the present campaign as to show that Mr. Bryan's attitude toward labor problems is not a novelty with him. If any one doubts the goal toward which his face is turned, let this quotation from page 181 answer them: "He who talks of property rights as if they could exist without a regard for human rights, speaks as foolishly as one who would attempt to build a house without considering the foundation upon which it is to stand."

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DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN BOOK.

The Campaign Text Book of the Democratic Party of the United States. 1908. Issued by Authority of the Democratic National Committee. Price 25 cents. "Text Book" Department, Democratic National Committee, Auditorium Annex, Chicago, Illinois.

The illegible cover of this book is not indicative, fortunately, of the value of its contents. These were gathered and edited by a competent sub-committee consisting of John E. Lamb, Josephus Daniels, and Richard L. Metcalfe. Among the documents of importance to voters which a publication of this kind should, and this one does contain, are the platforms of both parties, with an analysis of each and a comparison of the two. Mr.

Bryan's principal speeches on the Democratic platform, ex-Congressman Baker's conclusive retort to the "full time and keep going" promises of business politicians, and Congressman Rainey's exposure of the watch trust, also appear in these pages, along with a great variety of other campaign material, most of it important and all of it interesting.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Russian Bastille. By Simon O. Pollock. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1908.

—Work and Habits. By Albert J. Beveridge. Published by Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 1908.

—Good Citizenship. By Grover Cleveland. Published by Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 1908.

—The Goal of Civilization. By U. G. Manning. Printed for private distribution, South Bend, Ind.

—Human, All Too Human. By Frederich Nietzsche. Trans. by Alexander Harvey. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1908.

—Donald M'Leod's Gloomy Memories. Published by Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo St., Glasgow. 1892. Price, 1s. net.

—The Hindu-Aryan Theory on Evolution and Invention. By T. C. Rajan Iyengar. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 1908.

—The Mastery of Mind in the Making of a Man. By Henry Frank. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. 17th St., New York. 1908. Price, \$1.00.

—Russia's Message. The True World Import of the Revolution. By William English Walling. Illustrated. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. Price, \$3.00 net.

—The Money Changers. By Upton Sinclair, author of "The Jungle," "The Metropolis," "Manassas," etc. Published by B. W. Dodge & Company, New York. Price, \$1.50.

PAMPHLETS

Cure of Hard Times.

James Pollock Kohler, a New York lawyer (44 Court street, Brooklyn), has published for 10 cents a pamphlet on "Hard Times, Their Cause and Cure," in which he makes "a plea for perpetual prosperity." Not the least valuable part of this pamphlet is its reply to the various explanations of panics that rule-of-thumb business men put forth.

* * *

What Emma Goldman Believes.

So much has been published which isn't true about the teachings and preachings of Emma Goldman that her own authentic statement, "What I Believe," reprinted from the New York World and published for five cents in pamphlet form by the Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 East 13th street, New York, should in common fairness be read by everybody who has an ignorant prejudice against this woman.

PERIODICALS

The July Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor (Washington) deals principally with the wages and hours of labor and the retail prices of food, from 1890 to 1907.

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Lincoln Steffens has the valuable faculty of photographing the character of men's thoughts, and never has he done better work than in his article on Eugene V. Debs in Everybody's (New York) for October, in which Victor Berger, as well as Debs, is in the foreground. Also Steffens himself, who makes suggestive observations, as when he writes, "There is some relation between the unhappy capitalist

THE LAST LAP OF THE CAMPAIGN

THIS is the last lap of the Presidential Campaign, so far as campaign subscriptions to **THE PUBLIC** go. You get the paper now, for the most important weeks of the campaign, for **TEN CENTS**. Everybody interested ought to turn in a bunch of at least ten names on these terms. Fifteen for a dollar. It will give everyone eight issues to read over and think about; and who can tell how many regular subscribers may blossom out of each bunch of campaign gifts. ¶ And don't forget that **THE PUBLIC** is a good advertising medium for the kind of things that serious-minded people want. Read this letter: "Man must not merely learn first and then do, but seek to learn by doing. **THE INTERLAKEN SCHOOL**, La Porte, Indiana. Edward A. Rumely, M. D., President; William N. Hailman, Ph. D., Supt. September 16, 1908. **THE PUBLIC**, Chicago. Gentlemen: Our advertising in your paper proved so effective that we have decided to come in again. We enclose herewith a full page ad. for the next issue of your paper. Very truly yours, Edward A. Rumely."

DANIEL KIEFER.

facing the prison bars and the miserable workman staring into the shop window."

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In the September American (New York) Ray Standard Baker gives his personal conclusions on the Negro question, the most important of which, because so far-reaching and so manifestly true, is his judgment that race questions in this country are essentially labor questions.

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The first issue of The Public, of Cleveland, published by the Municipal Traction Company of Cleveland, Ohio, and which confines its matter to authentic local news, gives in full the official report of the Municipal Traction Company to the City Council for the first three months of its operation. This is a publication which no one sincerely interested in

traction questions can very well afford to do without.

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An interesting field for a comparative study of individual preferences as to leadership in humanitarian movements is afforded by the August Critic and Guide (New York), which prints the ten nineteenth century humanitarians who are favorites of a large number of variously distinguished persons.

+ + +

Uncle Josh: "They say this Maine election ain't got any significance. It was some mix-up on the

Second Interstate Conference of the National Women's Trade Union League

To be held simultaneously in New York, Boston
and Chicago.

CHICAGO PROGRAM

Saturday Evening, September 26 at 8 p. m.

Union Rally at Y. M. C. A. Hall, 153 La Salle St.

SPEAKERS:

Mrs. Raymond Robins, National President;
Miss Mary E. McDowell, First President of the W. T. U.
L. of Illinois;
Mr. John Fitzpatrick, President Chicago Federation of
Labor;
Miss Agnes Nestor, International Secretary Glove Work-
ers' Union;
Music by the Chorus of the Chicago W. T. U. L.

Sunday Afternoon, Sept. 27, at 2 p. m., sharp

Garrick Theatre, 103 East Randolph Street

SPEAKING BY:

Mr. Grant Hamilton of the American Federation of
Labor;
Mrs. George Watkins, President of the Illinois Federa-
tion of Women's Clubs;
Mrs. D. W. Knefer, President of the St. Louis W. T. U. L.
Miss Jane Addams of the Chicago W. T. U. L., and
others.
Poem by Miss Harriet Monroe.
Music by the Chorus of the Chicago W. T. U. L.

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ness center of Pittsburg.

PRIZE LETTER

The Union Labor Advocate offers a first prize of \$3 and a second prize of \$2 for the best letter on "The Servant in the House." The letter must not exceed 600 words nor be less than 200, and must be sent in to the Editor Woman's Department, Union Labor Advocate, 275 LaSalle St., Chicago, not later than October 15.

The prize letters will be published. They should be signed by an assumed name or initials only and accompanied by an envelope containing the assumed name and the writer's real name. The envelopes will not be opened till after the prize has been awarded.

The Advocate is induced to offer this prize owing to the remarkable quality of this labor play and its vital relation to the problems in society and in our own lives that cry out for solution. In Chicago it has drawn crowded houses and the listeners belong to all classes, thus repeating the New York experience.

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HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS

CHICAGO

When writing to Advertisers please mention THE PUBLIC.

liquor question that kept down the Republican vote." Uncle Zach: "Mebbe so, but I wish them fellers up in Maine hadn't got thirsty jest at this particler time."

+ + +

Romulus was founding Rome.

"I just had to do something with the land," he explained. "The taxes on it were eating me up. I'll have some splendid bargains in corner lots to offer by and by."

It was shortly after this that he had a quarrel

XX.

with Remus, and used him for starting a cemetery.—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

"I suppose, Uncle Jim, you remember a good deal about the politics of the early days?"

"Well, I never tuk much int'rest in pollytics, but I kin recollect when John C. Fremont was 'lected President."

"Fremont! Why, Fremont was never elected."

"He wun't? Well, now, thet gits me. I heard a leadin' speaker talk the night 'fore 'lection, an' he

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said if John C. Fremont wun't 'lected the country would fall to ruin an' everybody would have to shut up shop. Course I didn't take the papers; but, noticin' thet things went on 'bout same as before, I calculated John won. So he wun't 'lected? Well, b'jinks! thet gits me!"—Judge.

* * *

"I fine you," said the police justice, "\$30 and costs."

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* * *

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