

# The Public

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

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

## ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

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

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

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

Vol. XII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1909.

No. 601

Published by Louis F. Post  
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago

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

## EDITORIAL

### CONTENTS.

#### EDITORIAL:

The New York Mayoralty.....	961
The Ingenuous Advocate of Public Plunder.....	962
Where Tariff Protection Goes.....	963
The Citizen in Army Uniform.....	963
An Editorial Scream.....	963
Philadelphia's Public Speech Censor.....	963
Hospitality to Parasites.....	964

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Municipal Politics in New York (John J. Murphy).....	965
--	-----

#### NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Cleveland Traction Question.....	966
Municipal Politics in New York.....	967
Free Speech in Philadelphia.....	967
The Hudson-Fulton Celebration.....	968
President Taft's Journey.....	969
The Pinchot-Ballinger Case.....	969
The Anti-Imperialists Honor Garrison.....	970
Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League.....	970
British Politics.....	971
More Public Ownership in Great Britain.....	972
The Spanish Capitalistic War in Morocco.....	972
News Notes.....	972
Press Opinions.....	974

#### RELATED THINGS:

The Divine Earth (John Herzberg).....	976
It Worked While He Slept (A. H. Folwell).....	976
The Paralysis of Mining Districts (E. B. Kirby).....	976

#### BOOKS:

Economics of Modern Business.....	980
Pamphlets.....	981
Periodicals.....	982

### The New York Mayoralty.

Senator Root's work for fusion in New York has a significance which should not escape the attention of democratic Democrats, either there or elsewhere. When the fusion movement for the coming municipal election was on the verge of collapse, Senator Root revived it, so at least the dispatches report. "Senator Elihu Root today exercised his authority as Republican State leader"—runs the dispatch of the 29th, which we take from the Record-Herald of the 30th—"to save the cause of fusion, and his intervention brought about order in the uncertain ranks of the anti-Tammany forces." How? By his making "clear the interest," as the same report explains, "of national party leaders in the outcome of the New York election"!

+

That is the true significance of the present "fusion" in New York. It is not a fusion for good city government. It is not a fusion for non-partisan city government. It is a fusion for the benefit of Republican machine politics. Confessedly so in this instance, such fusions are actually so in nearly all instances. The Republican machine resorts to "goo-goo" fusions in Democratic cities, in order to put itself into power there. It has done it more than once in New York. It has done it in Chicago. And in both cities the best difference in result has been like the difference between an open cesspool so public in its offensive-

ness that it cannot long remain, and whited sepulchers full of all manner of uncleanness and emitting all kinds of odorless poisons. The fusion in New York this year is so plainly an enterprise of the Republican machine and its Big Business backers, that any democratic Democrats whom it may gather in are in need of guardians.

+

Oh, but Tammany Hall! Well, what about Tammany Hall? It has such an unsavory record, don't you know? But hasn't the Republican machine an unsavory record? and is the savor of the assistant Republicans now co-operating with it altogether sweet? We are not speaking of Republicans with reference to their party doctrines. We allude to the Republican machine, with its Big Business ramifications. Neither do we sing any praises for Tammany Hall. But whom does the "fusion" against Tammany Hall, and in the interest of national Republican leaders as Senator Root has "made clear"—whom does this "fusion" put at the head of its ticket? Isn't its candidate a representative of the Interests? And whom does Tammany Hall put at the head of its ticket? Never mind about the necessity that forced it to. That is not the question, except as it hints at a better way than linking arms with the Republican machine of making Tammany Hall keep step to the drumbeats of democratic Democracy. Why it is that Tammany has nominated the right kind of man makes no difference. The point that concerns democratic Democrats is that he is the right kind of man.

+

How can there be an instant's hesitation between those two candidates? As to a third candidate under existing circumstances, why not join the "fusion" and done with it? The contest is between Judge Gaynor and his Republican-machine adversary; between a representative of democratic Democracy whom Tammany has had to nominate or lose, and a representative of Big Business whom the Republican machine is steering into a place where he can serve the Interests. What objection is there to Judge Gaynor? None. Were he running on a hopeless third party venture, he would be ideal, if the dispatches are to be believed. Were he the candidate of the Republican-machine "fusionists," he would be acceptable. Had he declined Tammany Hall's nomination in endorsement of the nomination by the Municipal Democracy, he could have commanded all the enthusiasm of leadership in a forlorn hope. Does he rule himself out because he accepts Tammany's

nomination, though he hasn't yielded an iota of what he stands for? The only thing that makes him ineligible, then, is his acceptance of a nomination which insures his election! The objection would be absurd in almost any circumstances. Under the circumstances this year in New York it is worse than absurd. A candidate who declares in the convincing tone in which Judge Gaynor declares it and with the background of such a record as his, that with his accession to the New York mayoralty, government by the caprice of men shall give way to government by law, is the man for Mayor of New York, no matter whose nomination he refuses to spurn.

+

The great indictment that democratic Democrats have made against Tammany Hall is that it has refused to nominate such men as Gaynor for offices of power. Shall they stultify that indictment now by refusing to support a Tammany candidate whom they acknowledge as one of their own leaders, merely because he does not spurn Tammany's nomination and throw the election over to the Republican machine? Judge Gaynor will doubtless be elected. But that is not enough. He ought to be made to feel when he comes into office that he has behind him, as against the Tammany machine as well as the Republican machine, the united and enthusiastic support of every genuine democrat in New York, whether of Republican or Democratic affiliations.

+ +

#### **An Ingenuous Advocate of Public Plunder.**

There is a certain delicious ingenuousness about some of Mr. Taft's speeches on his "swing about the circle." Take his Seattle speech, for instance, the part of it in which he argued for ship subsidies against the objection that, to quote his own words, they would be "a contribution to private companies out of the treasury of the United States." A less ingenuous man would have dodged that objection. Or else he would have argued that subsidies are private gifts of public funds only in form and not in fact. But Mr. Taft was candid, as we may see from his reply as reported by the regular news dispatches: "We are contributing in various ways on similar principles in effect, both by our protective tariff laws, by our river and harbor bills, and by our reclamation service." All of which is perfectly true, and Mr. Taft's statement of it a charming admission that in these ways private interests are fostered at public expense. The reclamation service spends public funds to in-

crease the value of benefited lands individually owned; industrial earnings are not increased by it at all. The same is true of river and harbor improvements. The protective tariff also benefits plutocratic and not industrial interests; and so will the ship subsidy if Mr. Taft gets it through. It is good to know that Mr. Taft really regards them all as "contributing in various ways on similar principles in effect" to private interests out of the public treasury; it is delightful to contemplate his childish obtuseness to the bearing of ethical principles upon the subject.

\* \*

#### Where Tariff Protection Goes.

A joke on the lemon raisers of California was reported by the Los Angeles Express of the 15th. The lemon raisers had come in—as they supposed—for some of the tariff swag (p. 557), the protective tariff on imported lemons having been raised by the Aldrich bill so as to give the California producers a monopoly of the American market. It was a slick way of picking the pockets of American lemon consumers. But the swag is not to go to the lemon producers. It is to go to the railroads, for they have agreed to raise freight rates just about enough to skim the cream off the American lemon market—if lemon markets may be said to have cream. At any rate, lemon consumers will have to pay more for lemons just the same, but the railroads and not the lemon raisers will get the difference. So is it always with protection.

\* \*

#### The Citizen in Army Uniform.

Gen. Grant has come under a good deal of censure from anti-prohibitionists for having led the recent temperance parade in Chicago in the uniform of an army officer. For leading that parade he really deserves honorable recognition. It is the most notable instance of public spirit, of a social conscience and the moral courage of it, that he has ever shown. But the propriety of his doing it in uniform is not so clear. In reply to criticisms he claims the right to wear his uniform whenever and wherever he wishes to. This right the War Department seems to concede to every officer and private soldier, which makes further explanation from Gen. Grant quite unnecessary. But he goes further, protesting that the occasion was a parade for "good government" and thereby implying that if it had been a parade for "bad government" his uniform would have been out of place. Does this mean that Gen. Grant's subordinates are indirectly admonished re-

garding the kind of public demonstrations in which they may participate in army uniform? Who, then, is to determine what are "good government" and what "bad government" demonstrations, and how? If Gen. Grant, who believes that a strong army makes for peace, were to participate in uniform in a public demonstration for promoting peace in that way, would he be within his rights? If so, how would it be with a subordinate officer or private, who should participate in uniform in a public demonstration for promoting peace by abolishing the army?

\* \*

#### An Editorial Scream.

Whoever read the Chicago Tribune's editorial on Chicago last Sunday must have rubbed his eyes to be sure he was awake; and when he saw the same wild scream, identically the same, in Monday's Tribune, he must have wondered if it wasn't Sunday yet. Teachers of rhetoric might characterize the editorial as loose writing; probably, however, it was tight writing.

\* \*

#### Philadelphia's Public Speech Censor.

A new departure has been made by a "Director of Public Safety" in the way of regulating one of the constitutionally guaranteed rights of American life—the right to freely speak and write on any subject and in any way, with responsibility therefor only after utterance and to a jury. In this way alone can liberty be preserved. If any speech whatever may be suppressed or censored in advance, by any authority whatever, the right of lawful speaking is in jeopardy. Even the lawless speaker must be permitted to speak freely, subject to trial by jury, in order that the lawful speaker may be unmolested by officious or arbitrary authority. Yet the Director of Public Safety of Philadelphia orders a lecturer to submit his lecture to him officially, or to refrain from delivering it. That is precisely the method they use in Russia, where they make no pretense of freedom as we do here. That the name of the suppressed lecturer happens to be Emma Goldman makes no difference. It is gratifying to know that her lecture is in fact a lawful and enlightening discussion of a public question; but that makes no difference, either—not so far as the criminal action of the Director of Public Safety of Philadelphia is concerned. Impulsively one inclines to laugh with the newspaper writers who make sport of this Director of Public Safety as an ass, for ass he seems to be: but we have traditions of hard-won liberties in

this country, too serious to be trifled with even by an ass.

\* \* \*

### HOSPITALITY TO PARASITES.

After being delivered of his daily quota of yaps, Toby has come in and captured a comfortable place by the radiator and is rewarding himself with sleep.

His master, Litljon, has looked to it that Toby's education is higher than that of other doggies of the neighborhood; it is higher than his pedigree, one would say, but of this no more can be told than can be told of his looks; most of the grown-ups assert that it is higher than his manners, of which they complain not a little, chiefly by reason of Toby's zeal as an entomologist and his insistence on taking his collection everywhere with him. It is a safe bet that his sleep will be broken by intervals devoted to the chase.

But the Perplex Philosopher questions whether Toby's happiness or misery, or both, is increased by his parasites. Were Litljon to keep him well rid of them, would Toby suffer the decay that is supposed to go with "slothful ease"? At times Litljon treats him to a bath with purpose to rid him of his tormentors, a process always resented by Toby, who is straitway at much pains to restock as soon as may be, and as we are told that this is a perversity not original with him, the question forces itself, Does Toby possess some instinct that teaches him that this hospitality is to his advantage?

\* \*

Truly the parasite has ever been in favor with Toby's betters. Is there an ancient or modern history that does not disclose him?

At least one old story of evolution or creation—they were much the same in the story—tells how the receding waters left the mountains and hills bare, and as the unwashed body breeds parasites, so forms of life in due time appeared on the land. These multiplied and divided until such time as man learned to build a fire, when he shortly became master of all the others.

Whether or no such theories or beliefs made easier the peopling of bodies politic with parasites, certain it is that no man can point to a society of any account existing without them; albeit they are somewhat disguised in our day, a day that has developed great skill in hybridization as well as multiplication.

The Hosts always had 'em, sometimes of a size and appetite beyond belief, shaming Toby's collection, often leaving the body politic greatly improv-

crised by its hospitality. Nor do they themselves escape.

All fleas have little fleas  
Upon their backs to bite 'em,  
And these in turn have lesser fleas,  
And so ad infinitum.

All of which, willy nilly, brings the Perplex One to the thought of our own affairs. We plume ourselves on having rid ourselves of Royalty, of the Courtier, the Tax-farmer, and what not; but how about the Empire-builder, the Publicity-agent, the Customs-collector, et al.?

\* \*

While we are building an empire, how many a King's Ransom do we pay the Empire-builder? We must have a highway of commerce, so we proceed by giving a Franchise to a lot of fellows who we all know will manage to make transportation over it cost us twice as much as if we did the business ourselves. They in turn, if it be a railroad, *have to* turn the sleeping car service over to a Pullman, the express service over to a Platt, and so on, ad infinitum, or Wall Street will replace the management in a trice.

Or suppose a railroad manager, under one of these franchise arrangements, finding his road in need of a large quantity of rails, should set out to buy steel of *quality*, no matter whether the Aldrich element of the cost went into the treasury of our Uncle Sam or into that of the Steel Trust. How long would *he* last?

It is still worse for the Perplex One when he recalls the world-round search of the scientists for the proper parasites to chase the moths and scales, the bugs and slugs off our trees, and tries to find a parallel in the affairs of the body politic; for do not Dreadnaughts multiply along with Sub-marines and Air-ships, and is not the appetite of the Franchise Baron whetted by his hospitality to his parasites?

\* \*

In a Smart Western Town lives an auditor who tells what he believes to be the capitalization and various debts of the Public Service Corporations to which the Smart Town is host. He then shows what he believes to be a fair cost for replacing their visible property with as good or better, and how much the Smart Town would have to pay in interest on such a sum, secured on the properties, if it owned them, and for operating, maintenance, etc. (His estimate is for a single 'Phone system—the Smart Town entertains two.) To these charges he adds the taxes now received from the corporations, and deducts the total from the sum

of their dividends, interest payments, surplus, etc. The difference is not greatly less than the Townsfolk now pay in real and personal taxes.

Thus this auditor tries to make one see that this hospitality to these corporations costs the Smart Town, over and above the cost of their work properly done by and for the public, as much as would run the schools, parks, streets, and what not, of the Town.

+

While invention has brought us a world of things hardly dreamed of a generation ago, Advertising in its many forms is year by year taking a bigger toll. Seeing at a retailer's place a picture of a goodly group of fellows outside a big building, the Perplext One asked to be informed. "Salesmen for ——— & ———, makers of paints, 250 of 'em," replied the Retailer. Thus the Perplext One, by adding a modest sum for the Printer and his Ink to the cost of the 250, was able to see that it takes a million a year to *push this staple up to the retailer*—a million that takes no part in the making, the packing or the shipping.

Where is the man of us who, wanting Life Insurance, goes forth, to "buy it over the counter" instead of waiting for the Agent to "talk an arm off" him, a service which he well knows will add a huge commission to the cost?

And the Custom House, priceless Incubator of Infants, so managed that while it collects a dollar for the General Coiffers, it turns ten over to Carnegie and his Confederates! How blind were the Fathers when they failed to provide for the picketing of State Lines with Collectors as well! Then might he who would accomplish his own support escape the thought or even the dream of sloth.

+

If Toby's insistent hospitality is a mistake, surely he will learn no better from his Betters.

THE PERPLEXT ONE.

---

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

---

### MUNICIPAL POLITICS IN NEW YORK.

New York. Oct. 1.

Judge Gaynor, long noted for his outspokenness, loomed up early in the year as the most available candidate for mayor.

In March, the Municipal Democracy, consisting of Democrats who tried last year to infuse a little sincerity into the perfunctory campaign which the regular Democracy waged in New York State, practically nominated Gaynor at a meeting of its city committee

held in the Hotel Knickerbocker. Tammany Hall, the dominant factor of the Democratic party in New York city, was in a demoralized condition due to causes that it would be unnecessary to enumerate; its leaders felt that in order to win, it was necessary to nominate a man who could command the support of that independent sentiment which grows yearly stronger. No party hack would do; and disagreeable as it was to contemplate turning over the power and patronage of the mayor to a man whom they could not control, they determined to take the step, in order to assure success. It now seems likely that the intimation that he would be called on to run was conveyed to Judge Gaynor early in the summer.

Hearst, too, offered Gaynor his support unconditionally, even after the Judge's return from Europe, but for some reason, not now clear, he went into the fusion conferences and opposed him.

The fusion conferences which were attended by representatives of the Republican party, the committee of One Hundred, the Independence League (Hearst) and several smaller bodies disintegrated apparently over a sordid scramble for office. This was after the leaders had individually tendered Judge Gaynor the nomination provided he would decline the Democratic nomination—an extraordinary demand to proceed from a supposedly non-partisan body.

The long roll of Tammany misdeeds has created a jaundiced condition of mind in many citizens, who would rather defeat Tammany Hall than work affirmatively for real reform. Indeed to many, who do not look deeply into the economic causes of poverty and crime, Tammany seems the fountain head of all the evils that afflict humanity—in New York. Hence, to them, the defeat of Tammany is the one thing needful to usher in the millennium.

The present alignment of forces in New York, may be described as follows. On the one side, we have the Republican party dominated by Root, who has prevented the nomination by fusion of any candidate not known to be friendly to the Belmont-Ryan interests which are seeking further franchise extensions. With it will probably line up the Committee of One Hundred or such remnants as may remain after Gaynor's friends have seceded. On the other side is Tammany, for once supporting a candidate for mayor in whom the people have confidence. The Municipal Democracy, now called for the purpose of avoiding certain possible difficulties in the election law the Municipal Party, nominated Gaynor, but its attitude to the rest of the ticket on which he will run is problematical, depending finally upon its estimate of the relative desirability of the candidates nominated by all parties, from which it may make up a ticket of its own, if such action shall seem desirable.

Of the outcome there can be little doubt. All observers are agreed that there is small prospect of Gaynor's defeat by any combination that can be made against him. He has said little as yet as to his policies, but no one who knows him doubts that he will be sufficiently explicit when the proper time comes. It is the consensus of unbiased opinion that his personality and fighting qualities will dominate his administration. He probably knows the intricacies of municipal politics better than any man who

has yet filled the mayor's chair. He has been an outspoken advocate of municipal ownership, and his record is the best guarantee of his fidelity to his belief. He is a democratic Democrat, who has supported Bryan and who presided at a meeting held in honor of Gov. Altgeld, when such action required a high measure of political courage on the part of a Justice of the Supreme Court.

One probable result of the political situation is likely to be the final removal from public life of New York's most discredited charlatan—Jerome. His present political plight would be pitiable, were it not an example of tardy retributive justice. He made to himself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness with a faculty little short of insanity. His contempt for the public which he had twice deluded was so great, that he believed he could get away with the trick a third time; but even public gullibility has its limits, and he passes into unhonored retirement, amid the execration of his dupes. He administered a staggering blow to independence in politics, by showing that a man may advertise himself as the foe of political bosses and yet be susceptible to the same abhorrent influences which form the corner stone of their power.

JOHN J. MURPHY.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, October 5, 1909.

### The Cleveland Traction Question.

Last week's local papers of Cleveland indicate that the traction question there (p. 926) is virtually settled, with a substantial victory for Mayor Johnson. This extract from the leading editorial of the Plain Dealer for the 1st says of the pending settlement that while it "will not be wholly in accordance with Mr. Johnson's personal preferences, will not embody all he has contended for," yet that—

in yielding some points to the popular demand, in accepting terms that the majority of Clevelanders deem just and reasonable, the Mayor is none the less the victor in the long struggle. Patient in the face of the most tedious and discouraging difficulties and delays, persevering through innumerable setbacks and temporary defeats, Mayor Johnson has brought the city a sane and sensible street railway arrangement that will long be considered the best attainable. Neither his most ardent supporters nor his bitterest enemies can with justice deny him the honor of accomplishment and victory.

+

The circumstances of the pending settlement

differ but slightly from the last reported offer by Mayor Johnson to the traction company (p. 897), when the only remaining question in dispute was the maximum rate of fare to be allowed. On the 13th the company had replied to the Council's letter of the 8th (p. 898), but owing to Mayor Johnson's absence their letter was not officially received until the 27th. It offered to submit to Judge Tayler for final decision and together, the two questions (1) of valuation of the traction property and (2) of the maximum rate of fare to be allowed. At a caucus in the Mayor's office on the 29th, the supporters of the city administration decided by a divided vote to recommend acceptance of the company's proposal, the proposed franchise to go to referendum when adopted by the Council. A meeting of the committee of the whole was thereupon held and the acceptance agreed to with but one dissenting vote. The letter of the committee of the whole to the traction company, dated the 30th, accepted the company's proposal with the understanding that Judge Tayler's valuation shall be by items to the extent that the City Council or the company shall request. To this letter the company replied on the 1st, insisting that the questions of valuation and maximum rate of fare shall be arbitrated by Judge Tayler without restriction or limitation in ascertaining the value of their property, and saying that as there are some other provisions of the proposed ordinance upon which they were not agreed, they suggest that these also be submitted to Judge Tayler for arbitration. On the 2d the Council adopted its reply as follows to the foregoing letter of the company:

Replying to your letter of Oct. 1, we understand that you do not object to the itemization of the values of the property. We believe that it would be impossible for the people to vote intelligently at a referendum election upon a valuation not itemized. We have, therefore, modified the form of letter submitted to include the idea of itemization. In your letter you refer to other questions undisposed of. There are two, dealing with language only, the result to be achieved in both cases having been agreed to. One of these is language making the public safeguards as good as the grant. This is referred to Judge Tayler, Judge Lawrence, Mr. Tolles and the City Solicitor. The other is language to give the company a preference without destroying competition under the licensee provision. We suggest that this language be drafted by the same gentlemen. The Administration and the Council share the hope of the company that the completed ordinance will settle the controversy between the company and the city, and the Council and Administration have agreed to pass and present to the people at a referendum election the ordinance when completed. This is the second time that the Council has removed all obstacles to an immediate submission of a settlement by accepting conditions imposed by the company. We remain ready to proceed and trust that the company will not again delay progress by introducing new

questions. The enclosed letter has been signed by us, and when signed by you can be forwarded to Judge Tayler.

The enclosure in this letter, proposed by the Council for submission to Judge Tayler, was as follows:

The City Administration, the City Council and the Cleveland Railway Co. unite in inviting you to value the property of the Cleveland Railway Co. as of Jan. 1, 1908, except that portion acquired from the Forest City Railway Co., which is to be valued as of March 25, 1908; and also, after you have reached a conclusion as to the value of the property, to fix the maximum rate of fare to be incorporated into the ordinance.

The ordinance into which the valuation and maximum rate of fare fixed by you are to be written, is to be passed by the Council and submitted to referendum vote. To the end that an intelligent judgment may be exercised, and full information given to those entrusted by law with the final ratification of the settlement, we concur in requesting that the valuation reached by you shall be by items to the extent that either the company or the representatives of the city shall request. Representatives of the company and the city will meet your convenience as to hearings upon the valuation and rate of fare, and will present as promptly as possible all data and information in their possession.

No response from the company is reported in the latest Cleveland papers at hand; but on the 4th Judge Tayler made a voluntary statement in which he imposed as conditions of accepting the arbitration that—

there must not be anything left to debate about or agree upon. Before I am called upon to leave, for an indefinite and considerable time, my public duties as judge, the ordinance ought to be completed in every line except the questions of valuation and maximum fare. As to itemizing the valuation of the property, I cannot consent to be required to itemize upon any and every part of the property values which either of the parties may request, but I am not unwilling to value the physical property in one item, franchise value in another item, and, if an allowance is made at all for good will or going value, to separately itemize that.

Judge Tayler adds:

As to the maximum rate of fare my position is well known and the parties to these negotiations ought to understand now that my conviction is that the maximum rate of fare ought to be seven tickets for 25 cents and 1 cent for a transfer. I see no objection to making the single rate of fare 4 cents.

Under this settlement the Council would grant a franchise for twenty-five years, with such maximum rate of fare as Judge Tayler fixes (probably 4 cents cash with free transfers, and 7 tickets for a quarter with one cent for transfers); the initial rate of fare would be 3 cents, with 1 cent for transfers, subject to reduction or increase according to earnings, the maximum earnings to be 6 per cent

net on actual investment; and the valuation fixed by Judge Tayler to be accounted as part of such investment; the city would have complete supervisory control of operation, and the right to name a purchaser after eight years.

Regarding the proposed settlement Mayor Johnson was quoted in the Cleveland Press of the 30th as reserving the right to oppose certain features in the proposed ordinance if he thinks they are not for the best interests of the city, and as saying:

We have tried for weeks to settle with the traction company in our way, but we have failed. Now we have decided to give the people a chance to vote on the Tayler plan. We propose to give the people a hand in the settlement, instead of trying to fight it out in our own way. When the questions of valuation come up before Judge Tayler, I expect to go before him as an advocate, and try to make him see some things as I do. If I am overruled, the Judge's idea will prevail in the ordinance, and the people will act as the jury. It is too early to say whether or not I shall take a stand for or against the ordinance during a referendum campaign. I hope to be able to support it. If there are some things in it that I don't think are right, I shall probably point them out.

The value of the company's stock had risen on September 30, in anticipation of the settlement, to 80. It fell to offers of 79 on the 1st, but with no takers.

#### Municipal Politics in New York.

As generally expected (p. 948), Judge Gaynor of Brooklyn was nominated on the 30th by Tammany Hall (the regular Democracy) for Mayor of New York to succeed Mayor McClellan. Edward M. Shepard made the nominating speech. The platform declares for a tariff for revenue only, supports the income tax amendment, demands adequate school accommodation, and commits the candidates to municipal ownership and control of public utilities. The other candidates are Robert R. Moore for controller and John F. Galvin for president of the Board of Aldermen. Both are of Manhattan.

#### Free Speech in Philadelphia.

Supported by the Free Speech Committee, which does not commit itself to any particular set of opinions, but demands and undertakes to enforce the American right of free speech, Emma Goldman (p. 899) has thrown down the gauntlet to the police of Philadelphia, and they have taken it up. Her agent, Dr. Reitman, applied to Mr. Clay, the Director of Public Safety, on the 24th, to know if there would be any interference with her meeting. The Police Director decided that

he would not permit Emma Goldman to speak. She went to Philadelphia, however, on the 28th to keep an advertised appointment to speak on "Anarchism: What it Really Means," at Odd Fellows' Building. On the same day Dr. Reitman addressed this letter to Director Clay:

I am the representative of the Free Speech Committee and the agent for Miss Emma Goldman, of New York City, and have engaged Odd Fellows' Hall for an address by her on Tuesday evening, Sept. 28th. I have been informed that you will not permit her to speak. This is to give notice to you and to your officers that the Constitution of Pennsylvania provides (Article 1, Section 7) that "Every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty." You ought to know this fact, but either you do not know it or else you are contemptuous of it. Take notice, therefore, that Miss Goldman will disregard your lawless threats, and will attempt to speak according to announcement. If your officers shall prevent her from speaking I shall hold you civilly responsible for financial damages, and any of your subordinates who shall unlawfully bar access to the hall, or who shall in any unlawful way disturb the proposed meeting, will be held responsible both criminally and civilly. This letter is given to the press in order that the humblest policeman may not be able to plead ignorance of the law. Enclosed find Freeman's pamphlet "Law Breaking," William Marion Reedy's "The Daughter of the Dream" and Miss Emma Goldman's "What I Believe."

Respectfully,

BEN L. REITMAN, M. D.

P. S.—Within the last year Miss Goldman has lectured in New York, Brooklyn, Jersey City, Newark, New Haven, Providence, Boston, Montpelier, Vt., Cleveland, O., Pittsburg, Pa., St. Louis, Mo., St. Paul, Minn., Fargo, N. D., Des Moines, Iowa, Butte, Mont., Seattle, Wash., San Francisco, Cal., Houston, Texas, and about fifty other towns.

Following was Director Clay's reply:

It has been and is the policy of the Department of Public Safety not to interfere with any person or persons making addresses on subjects not tending to bring about an unlawful condition of affairs. Emma Goldman is well known to the public, and on several occasions delivered addresses which have either incited to riot or tended to disturb the peace and which have been denunciatory of government and which appeal to the evil and criminal instincts of her hearers. It appears that on October 16, 1893, she was convicted in New York for inciting to riot, and served one year in prison and since has been arrested several times for the same offense in other cities. In 1901 in this city she was prevented from delivering a public address and has been prevented from so doing in other cities. If it is the purpose of Emma Goldman to deliver in this city an address which would tend to incite to riot or a disturbance in any way or that will be denunciatory of government, this department will interfere. In order to determine, be so kind as to send me not later than 2 p. m. a copy of the speech or speeches she proposes to make. I will then conclude what

will be the duties of the Department of Public Safety in reference thereto.

Through the Philadelphia attorney of the Free Speech Committee, Miss Goldman conveyed an expression of her willingness to show Director Clay, as an individual, a copy of her speech, but not as a police official, as she did not intend to submit to unlawful censorship. To this letter the attorney appears to have got no reply. When Miss Goldman appeared at the hall she had hired, there were about 200 policemen at the door who prevented her entering. Dr. Reitman addressed the audience assembled in the hall, however, and Voltairine Le Cleyre, according to the local papers, made the speech that Miss Goldman was to have made. The latter established headquarters the following day at 1502 Arch street with a view to remaining in Philadelphia until, through legal proceedings, the Free Speech Committee shall have established her right to speak. According to the Public Ledger of the 30th she has received, it is estimated, "at least \$1,500 in voluntary contributions" and "500 letters offering aid of all kinds." "She steadfastly refuses," the Ledger adds, "to tell the names of the newest members of her cult and will not tell who her financial helpers in this city are."

\* \*

#### The Hudson-Fulton Celebration.

The greatest crowd ever gathered in New York, estimated at from 1,200,000 to 2,000,000, watched a brilliant panorama parade, participated in by 20,000 persons, with fifty-four floats, on the afternoon of the 28th, as a part of the Hudson-Fulton celebration (p. 947). The parade passed from 110th street to 59th street, and then down Fifth avenue to Washington Square. The procession presented the epoch-making events of three centuries of American history. Mayor George B. McClellan, and Herman Ridder, vice-president of the Hudson-Fulton Commission, headed the line, and covered the whole distance on foot.

\* \*

The official Hudson-Fulton banquet on the evening of the 29th entertained 2,000 guests at the Hotel Astor, some of them from the far corners of the earth.

\* \*

A martial parade, consisting of midshipmen and sailors from seven visiting nations, and American troops—25,000 in all—carried the celebrations in New York City to their climax, on the 30th, to be closed with a carnival parade on the evening of the 2d, with thousands of marching men in costume, and fifty floats, recalling myths, legends, allegories and historical scenes.



In the meantime, on the 1st a naval procession, including the Half Moon and the Clermont, and Commander Peary's Arctic ship, the Roosevelt, with the Commander and his friends on board, went up the Hudson in a sixty-mile parade to Newburgh, for celebrations there, to be followed by similar visits on the part of the Half Moon and Clermont and an accompanying flotilla to Kingston, Catskill, Hudson, Albany and Troy—cities of the upper river. On Saturday night, the 9th, a chain of signal fires on mountain tops and other eligible points, from Staten Island to the head of navigation, will mark the end of the second week's events, and with the visit of the flotilla to Cohoes on the following Monday the Hudson-Fulton celebration will close.

+ +

#### President Taft's Journey.

In his speech at Spokane on the conservation of natural resources (p. 947) wherein he advocated the renting by the Republic of its coal and water-power lands under leases so framed as to prevent monopoly and extortionate profits and ultimately to yield a large revenue to the national treasury, an arrangement, he said, "toward which the tenure of all public utilities is tending." He also advocated the forfeiture of franchises for the development of water power if the holders charge rates "beyond what is a reasonable profit on the capital invested." Going directly from Spokane to Seattle, Mr. Taft made the features of his speech at the latter place on the 30th his views on a territorial government for Alaska and a ship subsidy. To ship subsidies he definitely committed his administration. Replying to those who oppose this measure he said:

Of course, we are familiar with the argument that this would be a contribution to private companies out of the treasury of the United States, but we are contributing in various ways on similar principles in effect, both by our protective tariff laws, by our river and harbor bills, and by our reclamation service. We are putting money into the pockets of ship-owners, but we are giving them money with which they can compete, for reasonable profit only, with the merchant marine of the world.

Mr. Taft was at Tacoma at a banquet on the evening of the 1st, and arrived in Portland on the 2nd. Making a few brief speeches in Portland, he left for Sacramento on the 3rd, arriving there in the early evening of the 4th, and speaking in favor of legislation for the conservation of natural resources. He arrived in San Francisco at midnight of the 5th.

+ +

#### The Pinchot-Ballinger Case.

The merits of the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy (pp. 920, 921) have been revived through an interview given out by Mr. Pinchot on the 1st upon his return from a two months' tour in the

West. He declares that a monopoly is being formed to secure possession of the water power sites of the United States, and urges prompt action by Congress as the only method of preservation. He also refers to the importance of prompt action by Congress for the preservation of the vast areas of Western coal lands, especially in Alaska. It is a necessary inference from this interview that unless Congress does act, Mr. Pinchot believes that Secretary Ballinger will officially further the objects of the water-power and coal-land monopoly. The principals in this monopoly are not confined to the West, but are found in New York, Chicago and Seattle, and among the names reported are those of Daniel Guggenheim, Thomas F. Ryan and Senator Newlands.

+

Replying to President Taft's critical allusions to ex-Gov. Pardee of California (p. 921) the latter gave out a statement on the 21st. It did not appear in the news dispatches and we quote from it as published in the San Francisco Star:

Having read with great interest and care the President's vindication of Secretary Ballinger, the first thought that suggests itself to me is that about the only persons who will rejoice over it are those few who desire to monopolize, to the detriment of the many, power sites, coal lands and the like. I noticed particularly the President's declaration that, in his judgment, "the best friend of the policy of conservation of natural resources is he who insists that every step should be taken within the law and buttressed by legal authority." I take it that this is not intended as a reflection on the official acts of former President Roosevelt and former Secretary Garfield, who withdrew from entry public lands which Secretary Ballinger afterward restored to entry, on the ground, I am informed, that there was no specific law for Garfield's action. According to common report President Taft himself directed Secretary Ballinger to rewithdraw from entry certain lands which, originally withdrawn by Garfield, Ballinger had restored to entry. Any intimation, therefore, that Garfield was not acting within the law and was not "buttressed by legal authority" when, to save power sites he withdrew the lands which Ballinger afterward restored, is, of course, a reflection on the President. . . I have seen documentary evidence that the reclamation service argued several times with Secretary Ballinger against the restoration order of which the President speaks and that it reluctantly made the recommendation referred to by the President only after having been repeatedly and presumptuously ordered by Secretary Ballinger to do so. The recommendation of the reclamation service referred to by the President as a justification for Secretary Ballinger in reversing Secretary Garfield was therefore not the recommendation of the reclamation service, but was the act of Secretary Ballinger himself, and was taken in the face and eyes of the adverse advice of the reclamation service, which would have made no such recommendation had it not been presumptuously ordered to do so by Secretary Ballinger.

**The Anti-Imperialists Honor Garrison.**

The Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League has passed the following resolution in memory of William Lloyd Garrison (p. 950):

At its first meeting since the death of William Lloyd Garrison, the Executive committee of the Anti-Imperialist League records its loss with the greatest sorrow. The ethical quality of the cause which the League represents enlisted from the first Mr. Garrison's sympathy, and, in addition to doing faithful and zealous service on the committee, he never lost an opportunity to plead that cause by tongue and pen elsewhere. A long and intimate association permitted the committee to appreciate his extraordinary breadth of character and literary endowment. These enabled Mr. Garrison, by the employment of a classic and elegant style to deal trenchant blows at evil and evil-doers, and for such to feel an intense indignation, while he entertained an almost childlike trust and affection for mankind at large and for friends and associates. He was a prophet like those "of whom the world was not worthy" in their own times, but whose words and deeds were to make the world worthier in the better day to come.

ALBERT S. PARSONS,  
Chairman.  
ERVING WINSLOW,  
Secretary.

+ +

**Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League.**

The sessions of the second biennial convention of the National Women's Trade Union League (p. 949), which opened in Chicago on the 27th, were brought to a close on the 1st. In speaking to the question of suffrage on the 29th, Miss Mary MacArthur, secretary of the British Women's Trade Union League, asserted that the suffrage movement in England is of the middle class; and she pointed out that, according to the provisions of the bill which the suffrage leaders now have before Parliament, only 5 per cent of the organized working women would be enfranchised. "Another difficulty with the middle class women," she said, "is that they will stand for and allow unlimited and unregulated freedom of women to work all day and all night at as low wages as they choose to accept. We are fighting this idea with all our might, and, of course, we cannot work in sympathy with suffrage leaders who cry for the suffrage without realizing the need of industrial reform." The convention adopted the report of its suffrage committee, recommending that the National Woman Suffrage Association be urged to co-operate with the Women's Trade Union League in furthering organization of women's trade unions, and in forwarding legislation for the protection of the health and safety of women workers. The National Secretary was instructed to organize and maintain a bureau of information and advice for the union women of the United States in regard to the industrial decisions rendered by the Federal and State Courts; and it was resolved "that up-

on instructions from the National Executive Committee a campaign of publicity shall be begun and carried on whenever and wherever the welfare of working women may demand," and that "a bulletin be prepared and such a publicity campaign be begun as soon as maybe, upon the decision of Judge Richard Tuthill of the Circuit Court of Cook County, declaring unconstitutional the Illinois Ten Hour Law, and that the co-operation of all the women of this country be sought, to the end that the principle of protective legislation for the working motherhood of Illinois be maintained by the Supreme Court of that State." On the 1st resolutions were passed urging upon the American Federation of Labor to "take action toward the formation of a labor party, which party shall be pledged to the single purpose of forwarding the higher interests of the toiling millions as against the selfish interests of a privileged minority, and which shall welcome to its membership all persons of whatever other affiliations who shall subscribe to the above line of action." Resolutions calling for the exclusion of Japanese and Korean emigrants, brought in by the San Francisco delegate, Miss Louise La Rue, and supported by members of the Waitresses' Union, were voted down after a vigorous debate, in which delegates from the Eastern and Central States took the ground that economic wrongs could not be righted by such superficial measures as exclusion, and that human brotherhood may not be denied. The convention adopted the report of its committee on legislation, which included the following legislative program, urged "for the protection of wage-earning women, because the mass of them are young—between sixteen and twenty-one years—inexperienced, unskilled, without the vote, or the power to bargain on equal terms with their employers":

- An eight-hour workday.
- Elimination of night work for women.
- Protected machinery.
- Sanitary workshops.
- Separate toilet-rooms for women.
- Seats for women with permission to use them when the nature of the work permits.
- Prohibition of employment of women two months before and two months after confinement.
- Pensions for mothers during lying-in periods.
- An increase in the number of women factory inspectors, based on the number of women workers employed in the state.
- Women physicians as health inspectors to visit all shops and factories where women are employed.
- A minimum wage for women in sweated industries.

The following officers were elected, to serve for the next two years, or until their successors are chosen: President, Mrs. Raymond Robins of Chicago; First Vice-President, Mrs. Mary K. O'Sullivan of Boston; Second Vice-President, Miss Melinda Scott of New York; Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. D. W. Kneffler of St. Louis.

**British Politics.**

Cable dispatches regarding British politics (p. 934) disclose the confusion into which the Conservative party has been thrown by the land clauses of the Budget. T. P. O'Connor cables to the Tribune of the 3rd that—

the future of the Budget is in as complete doubt as ever. The action of the House of Lords changes every hour. The moderate organs like the Spectator counsel caution, but the Times astounds everybody by its leading article on Friday, declaring after long hesitation and other advice for the rejection of the Budget. At the same time there appeared a manifesto giving the same advice signed by Rothschild and other city magnates, who were supposed to be hostile to the rejection of the Budget because of the financial derangement which would follow.

Mr. O'Connor adds that the liquor interests and the protectionists demand rejection, and that the Irish, though for other reasons, hope for it, believing that this would destroy the Lords and give home rule to Ireland. Our own private advices are to the effect that the radicals of Great Britain also hope for rejection, believing that the people are now so aroused that a more radical measure would result. William T. Stead cables to the Chicago Examiner of the 3rd that the rejection talk is all bluff. He says:

Talk in town still runs on dissolution, the general election and revolution. It is positively declared that the Budget will be thrown out by the Peers. Lord Rosebery, it is said, will move the rejection of the bill, which will be thrown out, suspended or otherwise put out of existence by the Lords. Everybody says this course has been decided upon. It is said to be as fixed as fate. I do not believe a word of it. All this talk about dying in the last ditch is "bluff." At the last moment Rosebery will run away and the Peers will not come out of the woods. The Budget will get through and dissolution of Parliament will take place next year. Why dissolution, if the Budget is not thrown out? Because, if the Lords are brought to swallow the Budget they will knife every other Liberal measure and it will be necessary to appeal to the country for a mandate to extinguish their veto. It would suit the Liberals better to appeal on the Budget. This is so obvious that I do not believe the stupidest of Peers will play into their hands. But, whether the Budget passes or does not pass, the country will have pronounced its decisive opinion before many months. Whether the voters wish to be governed by the Peers or the Commons the opposition does not venture to prophesy. All it hopes to do is to reduce the Liberal majority. If it does this drastically the only result will be to make John Redmond and his home rulers masters of the situation. If the majority is not reduced drastically it will be a far more potent weapon for radicalism than the present majority, for not a member will be returned who will not be pledged to make short work of the veto by the Lords.

+

By mail we learn of a great demonstration in

Glasgow on the 18th, far surpassing that of London in July (pp. 610, 727, 824, 883), the difference in the size of the two cities considered. According to the Glasgow Herald of the 20th, 150 organizations took part, the procession numbered 40,000, there were 100,000 on the speaking ground and 10 speakers' platforms. The character of the organizations represented is significant. There were Liberals of course, and land-value taxationists, socialists, Irish home rulers, Scotch home rulers, co-operators, temperance reformers, etc. "Though sharply divided on many points," says the Glasgow Herald, "the various sections fraternized" at this demonstration in support of the Budget land clauses. Among the banners was one which read: "Pass the Budget. End the House of Lords. Home Rule all round." Another feature of the procession was a coffin with a coronet on top and on the side the word "Landlordism." On the speaking grounds the coffin was committed to the flames. Ex-Baillie Peter Burt, J. P., a land value taxationist since the historic Scottish tour of Henry George in the '80's, was the chief marshal. He also presided at platform No. 1, where J. Dundas White, M. P., moved the resolution. At platform No. 2, John Burgess, president of the Glasgow Trades Council, presided and Charles Fenwick, M. P., presented the resolution. The Socialists had stand No. 3. Councillor Alston presided, and G. N. Barnes, M. P., moved the resolution. Among the single taxers prominent at this meeting, besides those already named, were Graham Cassels, David Cassels, Dr. Clark, W. R. Lester and Edward McHugh. Mrs. Barton presided at the ladies' platform. Lloyd George had sent the following telegram, which was read at all the platforms: "Success to your meeting. The Government mean to fight for the Budget right through to the end. We expect Glasgow, as one of the most progressive cities of the Empire, to help us to win." At bugle call, 6:15 p. m., the following resolution was adopted simultaneously by the crowds at all the platforms:

That this meeting heartily welcomes the important provisions contained in the Budget for taxing monopolies and socially created wealth, and particularly for securing a complete valuation of all land in the United Kingdom, holding this to be essential to any policy of land and social reform. It further hopes that the Government will firmly resist any mutilation of their proposals dictated by selfish interests, and will seek an early opportunity for so extending them as to secure the best use of the land, which must result in increased employment, better housing for the people, and greater prosperity for our national industries.

+

In the course of a reply to Lord Rosebery (p. 943) the day before the Glasgow demonstration and in the same hall in Glasgow in which Lord Rosebery had spoken, Alexander Ure, M. P., a

member of the British ministry as Lord Advocate for Scotland, as reported in the Glasgow Herald of the 20th—

enumerated six reasons for giving exceptional treatment to land. First, land owed its existence to the hand of the Creator; second, land was strictly limited in quantity; third, land was essential to man's existence; fourth, land owed its value to nothing which its owner does nor spends; fifth, land owed its value exclusively to the presence, energy and expenditure of the community; sixth, dearest of all to the heart of the tax collector, you cannot carry land away and you cannot conceal it. (Cheers.) Lord Rosebery admitted that all but the fourth and fifth were strictly accurate. He denied the truth of the fourth and fifth, but Mr. Ure confessed himself puzzled. Lord Rosebery must be thinking of one thing while the bill spoke of another. The contagion, as Lord Rosebery called it, would never spread to the owners of consols and railway shares as they did not possess one of his six characteristic features of land. . . Lord Rosebery's theory of politics belongs neither to the old Liberalism, which he betrayed over Armenia, nor to the new, which he deserts today. It is the mere impulsive reflection of the unthinking timidities of wealth.

+

The speech at Birmingham on the 22d by Mr. Balfour, Tory leader and former Premier (p. 943), is published in full in the British papers which are now at hand. In this speech, he said, after explaining that the old industrial system of England has broken down:

We have to choose now not between the old and the new, not between the traditional policy and the novel policy, not between a new scheme of tariff reform and an old scheme which calls itself free trade. We have to choose between two schemes both new, both embodying principles different from those which have been accepted for the last forty years in this country. It is between these two new proposals, not between the old proposals and the new proposals, that you and the country will have ultimately to decide. That is why I said earlier in my speech that I believe we have now reached a moment in which a more important decision has to be taken by the people of this country than they have had to take for many a long year past; but remember, please, that this is no fortuitous accident, it has been obviously inevitable for some years. All the tendencies of modern commerce, all the tendencies of domestic politics have gradually been working up to this particular crisis, this particular moment at which even those who have been most reluctant to say "aye" or "no" will have to say "aye" or "no" (applause), will have to commit themselves on one side or the other. Are you going to begin what at all events I think is the upward, the hopeful, and the forward movement of tariff reform [protection]? Or are you going to take the first, but yet not short step on that downward track which leads you to the bottomless confusion of socialistic legislation ("No")?

#### More Public Ownership in Great Britain.

By Associated Press of the 30th from London, it is reported that after prolonged negotiations the British government has completed arrangements to take over (vol. xi, pp. 258, 379, 403, 580, 589; vol. xii, pp. 5, 148) all the coast stations of the Marconi wireless system, excepting the long distance stations at Poldhu and Clifton, which the company retains for its projected trans-Atlantic service. The Government pays \$75,000 for the stations taken and gets also the right to use all existing patents and all improvements made during the next fourteen years. Under the control of the British postoffice the Marconi stations will be opened for communication equally with all ships, irrespective of their wireless system. The postoffice is taking over also all the Lloyds' wireless stations. "The Admiralty," continues this report, "has long urged the vital importance of vesting the control of wireless telegraphy in the Post Office and there is a widespread sentiment against allowing the establishment of a private monopoly in wireless telegraphy."

+ +

#### The Spanish Capitalistic War in Morocco.

The occupation by the Spanish of Mount Guruga in the Riff country of Morocco, after much hard fighting, led to the belief in Spain that the little Spanish mining war (p. 946) was coming to an end, and Madrid celebrated the event with illuminations on the 29th. But on the 1st news of an ambush of Spanish troops, with heavy fighting in which General Diez Vicario lost his life, together with the retirement of the Spaniards from Mount Guruga, became known to the rest of the world, though partly withheld by censorship from the people of Spain. It was announced on the 2d in Madrid that 15,000 men were to be sent as reinforcements to General Marina, the Spanish commander in Morocco. It is reported at Madrid that the Sultan Mulai Hafid (p. 711) is secretly encouraging a holy war, urging the tribesmen about Fez to join the Riffians, and expel the Christians from Morocco. Some fear is felt in Europe lest success on the part of Spain should lead to her territorial establishment in Africa, to the exclusion of other great Powers.

---

## NEWS NOTES

---

—A "play festival" is to be held at Garfield park in Chicago, on the 9th, by the Playground Association.

—At the national Unitarian conference in Chicago on the 30th Horace Davis of California was elected president.

—The tribesmen on the northwest of India (vol. xi, pp. 134, 159), presumably incited by the Afghans,

are again making trouble for the English government in India.

—Senator Bailey of Texas replied in a speech at Fort Worth on the 1st to William J. Bryan's free raw materials speech (p. 924).

—A memorial meeting in honor of the late William Lloyd Garrison (p. 950) will be held at 2:30 p. m. on the 16th, in Park Street church, Boston.

—Edwin Ginn, the Boston publisher, has arranged to contribute \$50,000 a year, and at his death a liberal endowment, for the establishment of an international school of peace.

—Edmond Kelly, for many years connected with Coudert Brothers, the New York lawyers, as their Paris representative, and of late years an active Fabian socialist, died on the 4th in New York.

—The conviction of John R. Walsh of violation, as president of a Chicago national bank, of the national banking law in one of its criminal clauses (vol. x, p. 1213), was affirmed on the 5th by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals.

—Augusta E. Stetson, a leading Christian Scientist of New York City, has had her license as a practitioner revoked by the directors of the Mother Church of Boston. It appears from the dispatches that this action was taken for insubordination. She remains a member, but is stripped of authority.

—Dr. James B. Angell, for 38 years president of the University of Michigan, in accordance with his resignation of last February (p. 209), on the 1st turned over the duties of the office to Professor Harry E. Hutchins, dean of the law department, who has been appointed temporary acting president.

—Wilbur Wright flew his biplane, on the 4th, during the Hudson-Fulton festivities in New York, from Governor's Island in the harbor, up the Hudson as far as Grant's tomb, over the masses of warships at anchor, and then back to Governor's Island, a distance of twenty miles, remaining in the air for thirty-three minutes.

—William R. Morrison died at Waterloo, Ill., on the 29th at the age of 85. He was in Congress 16 years, gaining there a national reputation as a free trader. From his "horizontal" compromise measure, designed by him as a step in the direction of free trade, he was jocosely called "Horizontal Bill" Morrison. Mr. Morrison was one of the great men of Illinois.

—The members of the editorial staff and the mechanical force of the Government opposition newspaper, in Mexico City, called *Ante re Eleccionista*, were on the 28th put in prison and the plant confiscated. They were charged with inciting sedition. The action of the Government in this case is cited as giving color to the accusations now finding expression that the Diaz government is unrepresentative and autocratic (p. 844).

—On the eve of his lecture trip for the next eight months, John Z. White was given a complimentary dinner (p. 950) on the 2nd at Kimball's Cafe in Chicago, at which nearly 200 guests were present. Hiram B. Loomis, principal of the Hyde Park High School, presided; and the speakers were Louis F. Post, S. Y. Gillan (of Milwaukee), ex-Judge Edward Osgood Brown, Emil Schmied, Dr. Leonora Beck and

Mr. White. On the 2nd the latter opposed A. M. Lewis, the Socialist lecturer, in a debate on Socialism at the Garrick Theater, Chicago.

—The American Mining Congress, which has been holding its twelfth annual session at Goldfield, Nevada (p. 976), closed its meetings on the 2nd, after adopting a resolution calling upon the national government to pass laws against granting perpetual franchises for water power or water rights in Western States and urging that similar State legislation be passed without waiting for congressional action.

—The great Kiel canal, constructed between the years 1887 and 1895, at a cost of \$39,000,000, to connect the Baltic and the North Sea, for Imperial defense and commercial purposes, is too shallow and narrow for the new type of naval monsters, and it is to be enlarged at a cost of about \$55,000,000—the cost to be charged up to the home department rather than to naval appropriations, on the ground of its commercial function.

—Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Bryan celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of their wedding on the 1st at their home, "Fairview," which is near Lincoln, Neb. Three receptions were held, beginning at 3 o'clock and ending at midnight. The first was to the people who live in the vicinity of "Fairview." The second, from 7 to 7:30 in the evening, was for the employes of the Commoner. The third and most extensive was during the evening to the people of Lincoln and guests from other cities.

—The incorporation of St. Louis as a village in 1809, is being celebrated in the city of St. Louis this week (p. 950), with pageants by land and water, and by aeroplane and balloon flights and athletic contests. In the efforts of a crowd of 15,000 persons to inspect four little torpedo boats of the U. S. Navy, on the afternoon of the 3rd, 153 persons were pushed into the Mississippi, to be rescued by the police, sailors and others. The crowds got beyond police control and were handled roughly.

—Appointments based upon civil service examinations have not often reached as high up as to direct the selection of the librarian of a metropolitan library. This has now happened in Chicago. Henry E. Legler, of Madison, Wis., was placed at the head of a list of eligibles by a board of experts selected by the Chicago civil service commission, for the position of Librarian of the Chicago Public Library. Mr. Legler has since been appointed to the place by the board of directors, with a salary of \$6,000 a year.

—The landing of Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, Pa., in 1683, was celebrated in Chicago on the 3rd with a great parade and meeting of German-Americans. Allusion to the temperance parade of the week before (p. 950) was made by Harry Rubens, the orator of the day, when he said: "The German element is ready to yield up its separate existence to the American people of the future, but under no circumstances to surrender its legitimate views and cherished customs, and particularly its sunny cheerfulness to the gloomy, ascetic views of the puritan New Englander."

—James H. Vahey was nominated for Governor of Massachusetts by the Democratic convention at Boston on the 30th. The nominee for Attorney General is Harvey N. Shepard. The platform declares

for an immediate reduction of the tariff on necessities, the adoption of the income tax amendment, the election of Senators by popular vote, and direct nominations. The Republicans on the 2nd nominated Eben S. Draper for Governor and Dana Malone for Attorney General. The income tax amendment is declared by the platform to be "one that should be decided by the legislature, not as a political issue, but as a practical question."

—The second test and first great test of the Oklahoma bank deposit guaranty law (vol. xi, pp. 542, 588) occurred on the 29th, when the Columbia Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City failed. It was declared insolvent by the State banking board at midnight of the 28th and the doors were opened for business at 9 o'clock a. m. of the 29th under charge of the State bank commissioner. There was no "run." Less than 100 persons were at the doors when they opened on the 29th and business was done throughout the day without excitement. An injunction from the Federal Court was reported on the 2nd, the nature of which, however, is not clear from the dispatches.

—The disendowment of the Catholic church in France by the Republic (vol. xi, p. 470) still echoes. Dispatches of the 28th state that the French episcopate has issued a pastoral letter warning Catholic parents in France that the teachings in the public school jeopardize the faith of their children. The letter condemns especially co-education, saying that the "mixture of the two sexes is contrary to morality and unworthy a civilized people." The use of a score of public school text-books, principally histories, is specifically forbidden. The letter announces that the sacraments of the church will be refused parents who allow their children to attend the interdicted schools. "God rather than man must be obeyed," the communication declares. The Temps expresses the opinion that this letter is a declaration of war against the principle of neutral instruction.

---

## PRESS OPINIONS

---

### Conservation of Alaska Coal.

Portland (Ore.) Labor Press (Lab.), Sept. 23.—Talk about saving the Alaska coal fields? Why, my innocent friend, the Alaska coal fields were turned over to the Standard Oil crowd long ago, and all this talk about conservation of them is to prevent any popular cry being raised for the restoration of the stolen goods.

+ +

### New York Mayoralty.

Coler's (Brooklyn) Bulletin (ind. Dem.), Sept. 11.—The nomination of Justice William J. Gaynor for Mayor by the real and not the humbug politically independent citizens of New York, and his nomination likewise by the Democratic City Convention seem to be assured.

Consequently there is hope that in New York City we shall have a government presided over by a man commensurate in moral stature with the great, clean, splendid city itself. . . . The people know what this candidacy means. They know that behind

this figure carved from the rugged rock of honesty, pillaring now a temple of justice and destined to be a tower of strength for common decency and common honesty in the City of New York, there is no sinister power, there is no traction ring. It is noteworthy that newspapers serving the great corruption traction interest of New York who believed until recently that the leader of Tammany Hall would not consent to the nomination of Judge Gaynor, and that without his consent such nomination was impossible, and so believing urged that nomination in the hope of embarrassing and discrediting that leader and that organization, have now been shocked into the consciousness that to neither the leader nor the organization is such a nomination objectionable, and that, from whatever motive, they will place Judge Gaynor's name at the head of the Democratic city ticket. They have begun their attack already, disregarding all consideration of decent consistency. They are snarling like a lot of mongrel puppies at the heels of this man who gives as little consideration to their hostile yelps as he did to their friendly whine. New York City is on the eve of big things in municipal government and we congratulate New York City.

+ +

### A Platform for "Getting In" On.

South Bend (Ind.) New Era (dem. Dem.), Oct. 2.—The platform of the Republican party in the New York city campaign has a plank which declares that, "in this free country government is an institution to live under and not on." This sounds pretty good, but that party will have to go back beyond the Civil War to find a practical application of this doctrine on their side of the house.

+ +

### Amenities of Free Speech.

The Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Sept. 30.—Emma Goldman's chief reason for existence nowadays seems to be to cause big cities to make fools of themselves. San Francisco, Indianapolis, and Chicago and New York, among many others, have put the dunce cap on their heads when she has appeared. New York, however, has recently become wiser. Instead of sending a squad of police to raid the meetings at which she has been announced to speak, New York has begun to let her vocal chords operate in comparative peace. But now comes Philadelphia with an earnest Simple Simon desire to fish up a whale out of a water pail. Just two hundred Philadelphia policemen were deemed necessary the other night to keep Emma from doing 25 cents' worth of "orating" on a platform. Emma adjourned promptly to the nearest Rathskeller, but the "Bens" and the "Boltairnes" and the rest of her following remained to say all she had intended to say and some more, too. So Emma becomes a martyr again and has a real grievance, the suppression of her right to talk, to add to the many fanciful and distorted grievances she is wont to shriek about. Our dunce cities ought to be stood on stools with dunce caps on head until they have learned the first principle of anarchy, which is: Give an able-voiced anarchist a chance and he will talk himself tiresome quicker than a

fake bomb can scrape the paint off a gambling house doer. Or, otherwise put: The only good anarchist's the one that can talk. We hope that the next time Emma honors our humble city with her presence she will receive an official invitation to keep her mouth open all the time.

+

(Philadelphia) Public Ledger (ind.) Sept. 30.—Director Clay will find it hard to defend his action in forbidding Emma Goldman to speak at a meeting in Odd Fellows' Hall. His position is in no way strengthened by his proposal that the speech should be submitted to him in advance. The idea that the right of speaking in public should be subject to the censorship of the police is one that no American community can accept. It is not a mere platitude, but an elementary principle, that is expressed in the Constitution of Pennsylvania: "Every citizen may freely speak, write or print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty." . . . We wish very much that the whole tribe of anarchistic orators could be silenced; but that can be only by the sober common sense of the community, and never by forcible suppression. . . . If it could be considered only as a matter of prudent policy, Mr. Clay's action must be condemned as a mistake. It is worse than that, because it is based upon a theory of the police power which it is impossible to admit, an abuse of arbitrary authority that impairs respect for law.

+

The (Toronto) Globe (Lib.), Oct. 1.—It puzzles observers on this side of the line to understand the attitude of American public opinion towards Emma Goldman. It would not surprise us too much if it were shown that no other human being on the American continent holds just the same opinions that Miss Goldman does. But that would not justify the police in preventing her from expressing them. . . . The late Laureate recounted it as the greatest glory of Britain that there a man may speak the thing he will. The great majority of the people of the United States are doubtless under the pleasing thought that the same right prevails throughout the wide borders of the Republic. The Goldman incidents show that it is a delusion. In John Stuart Mill's classic "On Liberty" the proper principle is laid down in these words:—"If all mankind, minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. . . . Then there is the foolishness of it. If there is nothing but wild whirling words in Miss Goldman's oratory, the police only give her and her ideas importance by making a martyr of her and advertising her. If her ideas are nonsensical they need no contradiction. If they are specious, they should be heard and refuted if thought necessary. If they are true, it is a crime to suppress their utterance.

+ +

#### Ducal Billingsgate.

The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury (Lib.), Sept. 20.—Dukes are becoming very vocal under the stimulus of what they are pleased to regard as a

socialistic finance bill. If the Duke of Rutland be an approved expounder of their views, they must be becoming very angry. They have been rather roughly handled of late, and, perhaps not unnaturally, are beginning to resent it. But even an angry duke should not lose his dignity, and it is not dignified to call Mr. Winston Churchill a "wild and brutal socialist," or to talk of the "pirate crew of tattereddemalions," who are now entrusted with the administration of affairs of state. His Grace of Rutland is old enough to know better than to talk political billingsgate, though his lapse into this style of oratory may draw upon him more popular attention than anything he has previously said or done during the twenty years or more that he has been in one or the other House of Parliament.

+ +

#### The Issue in England.

The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury (Lib.), Sept. 23.—Whatever else may be thought of Mr. Balfour's speech, it lifts him not only head and shoulders above all other oratorical opponents of the Budget, but places him bodily far over their heads. His survey of the whole position is philosophic and statesmanlike. Putting aside details of the Budget and sectional interests of the community, he discusses the issue that the Budget has raised as, in his opinion, it touches the whole financial and economic future of the country, and, indeed, of the Empire. But when all is said, the question he leaves the country to determine is whether the new taxes that must be imposed shall be placed upon land or upon food and raw material. He has definitely plunged for tariff reform [protection] and puts it in competition, not with free trade as heretofore, but with the new taxes on capital that are now proposed.

+

The (Toronto) Globe (Lib.), Oct. 1.—The historic struggle between privilege and equality is growing more intense in Britain every day, and the parties are being weeded and sifted so that confusing side issues will be eliminated. Some in the Liberal ranks will be lined up with the Unionists, and some now with the Unionists will find themselves supporting the Budget. . . . The class privilege long enjoyed by British landowners will be defended in a political struggle that promises to be one of the fiercest in the nation's history.

+ +

#### Land Monopoly in Oregon.

The (Portland) Labor Press (Labor).—Homesteaders are rushing into the wheat sections of Central and Southern Oregon and filing on homesteads. Autos are used in some instances. There will soon be no more land open to homestead that has any prospect of enabling a family to make a living from it. Will the people of Oregon then submit to the exactions of the holders of vacant land as they do in Europe? Not one-tenth of the land in Oregon is used.

+ +

The earth is the common ground of all its inhabitants.—Captain A. T. Mahan.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### THE DIVINE EARTH.

For The Public.

This clod that crumbles in the tender grasp  
With juices of the soil is dank and cold;  
Maggots have crawled and celled in this bleak  
mould,

It has been harbor for the worm and asp.  
Yet thrice has clod so clung to brother clod—  
Oh, miracle of sentient flesh and spine!—  
With love for spirit and with pain for sign.  
That men have cried, "The crumbling earth is God!"

The patient form that trudged by Galilee,  
Brown Francis, beggar of a moistened crust,  
Gaunt Lincoln, tear-stained in his room alone,—  
In these Time ravels into blood and bone  
His mystic doctrine of fraternity:  
All dust is kindred to their splendid dust!

JOHN HERZBERG.

+ + +

#### IT WORKED WHILE HE SLEPT.

A. H. Folwell in Puck of May 12, 1909.

Rip Van Winkle, just awake, staggered down to the village outskirts. He hardly knew the place. What had been a swamp before he fell asleep now bore a sign with huge letters, "Terrace View Park; Villa Plots for Sale." A steam roller was at work leveling crushed stone on a street Rip had never seen before, and didn't know the name of. It was "Tulip Boulevard"—a queer name, Rip thought, as he read the placard at the corner.

Getting more and more dazed, Rip tottered nearer town, crossing the River Street bridge, and going up South Street to Main. Here his jaw fell three inches and his lowermost whiskers tickled his knees, for—Great Washington Irving!—what was that? There was Rip's house, sure enough, a tumble-down, weather-swept ruin, but still recognizable. Rip's fence was all gone, but one rotten gate-post was still standing. Bricks were missing from the chimney—but it wasn't these things that dumfounded honest Van Winkle. It was the fine "brick block" of stores on one side of his property, and the new four-story "Eagle Hotel" on the other—both erected since he ducked out into the storm, twenty years before, to escape the wrath of Mrs. Rip. All Main Street was changed, in fact; changed and new. There were rows of fine buildings everywhere. Rip felt his poverty keenly.

+

The little real estate agent was talking briskly, and Rip was his sole auditor. Several hours had elapsed since the latter's return; he had made

himself known after some vigorous effort, got a shave and a shine, and was now learning something to his advantage.

"Yes, my dear Mr. Van Winkle," the real estate agent was saying, "your return was a most timely one for *you*. Your land some time ago was selected as the site for the new bank building, but until it could be learned whether you were alive or dead, no clear title could be obtained to it. Now that you have turned up safe and sound. I am empowered to offer you the sum of twenty thousand dollars for your property."

"Twenty thousand dol— Why, the house ain't fit for kindlings, scarcely!" gasped the dazzled Rip.

"The house will be torn down and sold to a second-hand building contractor for about fifty cents, probably," said the real estate man. "We want *the land*. Property on Main Street has grown tremendously in value in the last few years, and your lots are among the most desirable. Well, what do you say? Twenty thousand dollars?"

Rip rubbed his eyes, and when he replied it seemed as though he were talking to himself.

"A rich man," he mused. "Yes, rich! And all I did to make me so was to sleep. Oh, *why* didn't I sleep fifty years instead of twenty? *Then* the old place might have netted me half a million!"

+ + +

#### THE PARALYSIS OF MINING DISTRICTS

Address Delivered by Edmund B. Kirby, of St. Louis,  
Before the American Mining Congress, in  
Session at Goldfield, Nevada,  
Sept. 27-Oct. 2, 1909.

The Mining Boom.

The young man who for the first time follows a mining rush to the point of some new discovery sees an interesting and, to him, a strange phenomenon. Men by dozens, then hundreds, then thousands, are hurrying to the spot, followed by supplies of every kind. Ore is accumulating on dumps, or moving out on road or trail. Around the lucky discovery, as a center, is a busy scene, the ever widening area of active claims, the driving of shafts and tunnels into the ground, the searching for ore. Beyond them are the miles of claims staked by later comers. As each new point of discovery is announced, an outlying camp springs into existence. Buildings and towns appear, as if by magic. At the focal point men swarm, and money pours in from every part of the country. Trading progresses night and day; the buying and selling of claims; the capitalization of hopes and chances into stock issues and the sale of these to an excited country which uses them as chips in the great game of the stock exchanges. Fortunes are made on



every hand; a few out of ore, but the majority out of other people. The game is wild, boldly played, and with big stakes.

He comes a few years later, and the scene has changed to an industrial one. The few fortunate mines are digging, shipping, milling, smelting. Their employes and the merchants who supply their wants are prosperous, but with pay-roll prosperity. All others have disappeared. The day of fortunes has gone. Around the industrial center is a scene of desolation and waste. Digging there has ceased and the surrounding hills have become a cemetery. In every direction appear decaying head frames and mine buildings and the scars of innumerable excavations, each one marking the grave of some buried hope. The swarming town has shrunk to a factory village. In the outlying camps is the silence of industrial death. Then the years roll on and as the discovered ore becomes exhausted, one by one the great mines stop, and the desert calmly waiting, resumes its ancient sway.

#### Land Withdrawn from Use.

Investigate the paralyzed area and on nearly every claim we find that the owner, whether an individual or a corporation, has practically finished all the digging he is ever going to do there. His money has run out, or the chances on that claim are too poor, in his judgment, to warrant the risk of more; or, he has never intended to do any more than the ten-foot discovery hole and the pretense of annual assessment work necessary to hold the claim—awaiting the developments of the country, improvement of transportation, methods of treatment, etc. The vast majority throughout the West and Alaska are of the latter class. Not one per cent of idle claim owners seriously intend to dig and are making active efforts to raise money for that purpose. All are waiting. Much of the dead area is owned by defunct mining companies. Their stocks are scattered over the country; their officers have vanished; and any attempt to do business with one of these concerns is a task the difficulties of which can be appreciated only by those who have tried it.

Examine the work done on each claim and we find that in the great majority referred to, the trifling discovery and assessment work has been merely perfunctory, and has furnished little or no evidence as to the mineral chances of the ground. These are still unknown; as good or as bad as they were before. In the cases where some real digging has been done, it is often found misplaced, or so unwisely executed that it has not settled the question at issue. Hence, most of the area tied up is still untested; still capable of discoveries, great and small. It still needs the work of the prospector and the miner, but has been permanently locked up out of their reach.

#### Extent of the Paralysis.

Analyze all the varied plans and motives of these

idle claim owners, and we find that most of them are waiting either in the hope of profiting in some way by the work of other men, or, with the expectation that in the distant future, investors will pay prices which they now decline. The dead-lock thus produced, is the deadly paralysis which curses the mining industry today. There is nothing to break it; nothing to force action. There are no expenses. The assessment work of one hundred dollars annually for unpatented claims, is usually faked, and the taxes are nothing, or so trifling as to be merely nominal. Owners can wait forever, and they do so, generation after generation, hoping that some time, in some way, the worn title deeds, or faded stock certificates, will enable them to extract a fortune from other men. And so, a great industry languishes, while paralysis, partial or complete, blights every district from the Mexican line to the frontiers of Alaska. And prospectors have nowhere to go, and miners lack work, while investors and the representatives of mining capital are searching this and other countries for opportunities to mine.

That the mining industry can move at all under this handicap, is proof of its wonderful vitality. This is always struggling, ever breaking through the spell into new life here and there. Nature is prodigal, and the desire to mine is strong. Men still pay the price and take a chance. Some camps are so rich that development discoveries have slowly grown and extended for many years, bringing to life again, for greater or less periods, large portions of the dead margin. In others, the great mines have lasted for generations. Sometimes new discoveries, or improvements in methods of mining and reduction, have brought dead tracts to life again. But over the greater part of the vast mineral area, paralysis reigns supreme. The industrial life appearing and re-appearing here and there is, at best, only a mere indication of its latent possibilities; of what the mining industry might be if the disease which now represses it was eradicated. Dug out! Why, mining in this country has only just begun!

#### Difficulty of Compelling Operation.

Now, idle claim owners, whether large or small, are doing only what any other men would do in their places. They are operating within the rules of the game. So are the bacilli of tuberculosis or of typhoid. But, the disease which such ownership produces in the industrial system has always been more or less evident to the perceptions of all men. The common sense of miners has always declared that rights to mineral, like rights to water, should exist only with use. To hold them otherwise, is an injury to all. In the freest and finest expression of that common sense, the old District Mining Laws of the West, made and enforced by the working miners direct, two intentions always appear. First—To prevent monopoly and give everyone a chance. Second—To force every claim owner to dig

or to get off so that others may dig. The principle of the latter requirement still appears in the present United States law in its provisions for annual development work, the continuous operation of tunnels, etc.

The history of mining law shows that men have always maintained a difference between the right to mineral and that to other forms of land. It was clearly seen that mineral is valuable only when discovered and mined, and that it is injurious to the state to permit such private ownership as will hold it out of use.

For centuries past mining laws have been saying that no man has the right to hold mineral land idle; that he must dig, or allow others to dig. The application of this principle was effective in small frontier camps where the miners who made the law stood on the ground to enforce it, but as it passed into general law covering vast areas and became dependent upon the cumbersome machinery of government for enforcement, it was found impossible to compel the continuous operation desired. Some codes were more effective than others, but even the old Mexican law, the finest product of accumulated experience, was only partially successful in this matter. The reason for this strange fact is a simple one. It seems easy to frame a law which will order a man, under penalty, to dig continuously, but as a matter of fact this is so difficult that it never has and never can be accomplished. How much digging, how shall it be measured and by whom? In what place and at what rate? How about delays from misfortune, delays to supplies? What single rule will fit the poor prospector and also the rich corporation? Who is to stand over half a million claims and see that the work is done? At whose say shall a man lose his property? By the time all these points have been provided for, they have so weakened the law as to make it ineffective, and all that it is capable of doing is to retard, more or less, the progress of paralysis.

As another remedy, a penalty tax upon idle claims has often been proposed, but when the attempt is made to define the difference between idle and working claims, all the difficulties aforesaid at once appear, and it is evident that this plan has no possibility of success.

#### The New Remedy.

But, the world is progressing not only in electricity and aeronautics, but also in other branches of knowledge, and a new light has been thrown upon the problem which has so baffled past generations. It has been discovered that the way to force the use of any natural resource is to tax it, not lightly in the ordinary way, but heavily enough to make it uncomfortably expensive to hold without using. The holder is then impelled either to let go, or to utilize it in some way. Here, at last, is a new way to solve this old problem. A way to accomplish perfectly what the mining world has

always been wanting and trying to do. It is the way to end promptly and forever the paralysis of mining districts. The old method was to give men orders which could not be enforced. The new method gives no orders. It lets every man do as he wills, but it applies to each man a new and subtle force, continuous, persistent, unevadable—the force of his own pocket, making him now want to dig, or get off the claim.

But the question may be raised, How can it help an industry to tax it? The answer is that the industry, the digging out of the mineral, is not taxed. Every man is made to pay for occupancy; for holding a reservation of mineral ground away from other people who want it. Such a payment, when made just large enough to be uncomfortable, or painful, on an idle claim, would be only a small item in the expense list of an operating claim, for it takes money to mine. Such an item would never stop, or discourage digging. In producing mines, it would be far less than the royalties now paid everywhere by miners to idle claim owners. When a man has to pay for the privilege, he will not hold more ground than he intends to work. When the privilege of holding is free, he will naturally grab everything in sight and wait in order to hold up some one else who may want to use it. Let the dog in the manger pay for his manger.

Strange as it may seem at first sight, the way to boom an industry is to tax the natural resources it uses. The way to discourage it, is to tax anything else it uses, or to tax its products. This scientific principle of modern taxation is now as firmly established as any law of chemistry or physics, and is slowly but steadily, forcing its way into the tax systems of civilized countries. If you want to encourage the utilization of water power, tax water falls so heavily that no one can hold one idle, or away from would-be users, and only actual users can pay the tax. To discourage use, tax the buildings, machinery, supplies, or income. The best and the scientific method of applying the tax to claims would be by assessment according to their actual values. But any method will work, so long as it is carried far enough to produce the effect. It will, of course, be necessary to prevent tax dodging. Any State, or any county, may apply the remedy at will, for even if there are limits to the tax levy it may impose, there are none to its powers of assessment. It can apply the pressure and steadily increase it, watching the effect, until this has reached the point desired.

As a starter, which will serve to give partial relief promptly and generally, a certain improvement may be made in the United States assessment law. This is to change the present requirement of one hundred dollars' worth of assessment work yearly on unpatented claims, into a cash payment of one hundred dollars. The object of

this change would be to make a weak law more effective by converting it into a taxation scheme. At present, it is better than nothing, but still a failure, for the simple reason that there is no way to stand over hundreds of thousands of claim owners and see that each one does his work, and that it is really worth one hundred dollars, and so this provision is evaded in various ways. The payment of one hundred dollars in cash, however, would be clear and definite, and much harder to evade. Dodging may be prevented entirely by suitable provision in the law. This amount, acting as a tax, and made non-evadable, would set free for the prospector at least one-third of the claims now held in the United States and Alaska. The remaining work would have to be done by State and county taxation, and by Congress for Alaska. The present assessment law is all that is left of past efforts to make men dig or get off the claim, and it should not be altered, except for the deliberate purpose as aforesaid of converting it into a more effective instrument. It may be added that an incidental advantage of the improvement suggested is that the record of payments made will do away with many of the present title uncertainties now due to pretended assessment work.

#### Relief to Prospectors.

Let us look squarely at the facts. A very small percentage of the idle mineral claims are owned by prospectors. The overwhelming bulk is held by mining companies, or by individual investors, who have shut off the prospector and destroyed his business. In most cases, the few claims he is supposed to own, are, in reality, only partly his. The investors who furnish his grub, own from half to three-quarter interests and the tax money would, like other expenses, come from them. The prospector is virtually only their watchman or care-taker. The fact is that the prospector himself is not a success at the game of idle claims, and rarely makes it pay. His real business is not claim staking, or watching stakes, but the discovery of ore deposits. Give him back his regular business, and his chances of making a fortune will be multiplied a hundred fold. The prospector does not have to be mollycoddled. He can stand any laws which are necessary for his own and the general good and can raise tax money, when wanted, in the same way that he now raises his expense money. Mining investors are always eager for opportunities and every prospector who makes a real discovery, worth holding, is promptly beset by men who crowd their money upon him. If the claim is not valuable enough to interest others, he will not hold it, and so will pay no tax. If it is desired to force large companies with areas of two, four, ten square miles of valuable mineral land to dig or get off the claim, the prospector must do likewise. A far

more profitable business awaits him and with the flood of prosperity which will follow more digging and free mineral land, he will never want a job or a grub stake, or financial backers and purchasers for his discoveries. Abolish the claim staker and give the real prospector a chance once more, and you will hear of new discoveries from every quarter. Dig or get off the claim!

The question may present itself whether a tax of one hundred dollars per claim, while applying the necessary pressure to ordinary claim holders, will not be too small to be felt by mining companies. This would be true in many cases, but this tax is only suggested as a convenient and universal starter. The further pressure needed in such cases must be applied by State and county taxation. As a matter of fact, however, nothing is more sensitive than the pocket of a corporation, particularly if that corporation is idle, or the pocket empty. Even the tax of \$100 will have a wonderful effect in causing mining companies to trim their edges, and further pressure may be made to squeeze their holdings down to actual working needs.

#### Investors Attracted.

Another question which will be raised is whether the taxation of mining claims would not interfere with property rights; destroy the value of investments; scare away investors, etc. What rights? The right to hold a claim without using it? Don't you want to discourage that? Has not the mining world for centuries forbidden it and tried in every way it knew to prevent it? Investments in what? In idleness? In a hold-up of industry? Don't you want to destroy the value of such investments? Scare what investors? Those who want to dig, to do real mining, to build mills, smelters, railways, towns? On the contrary you will draw them in swarms, because when holders have to dig or get off the claim all who have claims worth mining will make their offers for working capital attractive enough to get it.

What first excites and draws investors into mining ventures is the chance to find ore by actual digging. This is what they ask for. It is the chance of discovery, and not the acreage of a property which brings their money. At first they are not, as a rule, interested in the other game of waiting to hold up some future producer and, in fact, do not even think of this, unless fortune turns against them and work comes to a standstill. Then they naturally want all the chances for salvage that the rules permit, and paralysis ensues. Is it not right to say to these men, You have had a miner's chance. Sorry your money is lost, but it is gone and there is no reason why you should take it out of some other man's pocket: these claims are worthless until ore is discovered and mined. The State wants this done, and will not let you paralyze its mining industry. If you

are through digging, get off, so that some one else may dig. That is what the common sense of miners has always said. It is what the mining laws of the world have always said, but with a feeble voice. Is it not time to say it now with a loud voice and make it go? Dig, or get off the claim!

#### Advantages to Claim Holders.

Even idle holders themselves see that they have brought on a dead-lock which is not to their own advantage. Very few really make any money at it. Men grow old and sink into the grave, still dreaming of the purchaser who never comes. In the great majority of cases, all that holders will really lose by the proposed change in the rules, are their visions, their hallucinations. In exchange for these, there will be the countless opportunities of a rejuvenated industry.

Is it not clear as day that by the pressure of increasing taxation, every claim may be forced into use, or release? When from Mexico to Alaska every claim is either working, or open to prospectors, does it take a prophet to see the result? Does not every prospector know of areas he would like to explore? Does not every miner, every operator know of places where he would like to dig? After the real mining industry begins, cannot every one foresee in its general, steady and permanent prosperity, a better living and more chances for a fortune than are possible under the present paralysis?

Men of the mining world, the new era awaits your call. You have but to say the magic words, "Dig, or get off the claim!"

---

## BOOKS

---

### ECONOMICS OF MODERN BUSINESS.

**Economics.** By Scott Nearing and Frank D. Watson, Instructors in Political Economy in the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania. Published by the Macmillan Company. New York. Price \$1.90 net.

A text book of economics which opens with a chapter on the comparative prosperity of China and the United States, would be entitled to consideration for its novelty if for nothing else. In this instance, however, it is justified by the fact that the book revolves around the central theory of "deficit" and "surplus," which is especially associated with the name of Professor Simon N. Patten (vol. x, p. 929) of the University of Pennsylvania, to whom the book is dedicated. Nor would this chapter be by any means a bad introduction for any work on economics. On the contrary it starts the reader off with such a glance at actual conditions on a large scale as to make him feel that economics and human life have at least

something in common—a sensation which few books on economics are likely to produce.

Strictly considered, the book is misnamed. While an excellent report upon modern business processes, it is too loose in too many of its economic analyses for an economic text book. An example of this looseness is the enumeration of four factors of production—natural resources, labor, capital, and business organization. The fourth factor is in truth only an element of the second, just as skill is, and if distinguished should be distinguished as one of the qualities of that factor instead of being treated as a factor coequal with the factor of which it is manifestly only one of the parts.

Another instance is the attribution of "profits" to business organization as its share of product in distribution, even as land has its "rent," labor its "wages" and capital its "interest." The word "profits" is used in a restricted technical sense, namely, as partaking of the character of both wages and rent—of wages because "it is a return for a form of human effort known as organizing ability," and of rent because "it is a differential depending on a degree of superiority." Evidently the varied returns for any kind of differential skill in labor would, under that definition, come within the category of "profits." All that the authors really intend to include in this category, is indicated at page 357, where they say that "profits" differ from contract "wages" because they are not fixed in advance and there is no guarantee that they will be paid, and the man who works for "profits" must assume all risks. A little reflection upon this explanation should show that the whole complex question of business organization, business organizers, profits, etc.,—except as it is a question of labor and wages, capital and interest, land and rent,—is merely the simple one of speculation in rent, interest and wages. Speculation in these does not alter or add to economic categories. It only transfers shares in them from one person to another contractually in advance of production. That is to say, the business organizer buys out the "wages" and "rent" to be produced, by contracting in advance to pay stipulated wages, interest and rent. Thereby he may get more of one or two or all three than he pays for them, but he does not get more of either than it turns out to be. He may indeed increase the aggregate of production by his superior organizing skill; but in that case he has increased wages. The result, whatever it may prove to be, is divisible into rent and wages (or rent, wages and interest, if you choose); and this is what the organizer gets and all he gets in the final round up. His relation to economics is like that of the purchaser of a crop after it is planted. He may serve a useful purpose. Doubtless he does upon the whole. But the "profits" he gets, are merely the "rent," "wages" and "interest" the planter would

have got if he hadn't preferred a certainty to an uncertainty, and therefore sold out his prospective income in advance. The organizer does not represent a fourth factor in production, and his gains do not represent a fourth element in distribution. They are subdivisions as truly as skill and the wages of skill are subdivisions.

In distinguishing "capital" from "capital goods," the authors make another of these analytical "breaks." It is quite obvious that the distinction intended is between "capitalization" and "capital;" but the orthodox terms are used instead. Yet there is danger of confusion when one finds "capital" used in some places to distinguish the intangible capitalization of a business, as at page 165, and in others such tangible and ephemeral articles as are mentioned at page 170.

One may reasonably be surprised, moreover, at missing city sites in a minute enumeration of the ways in which land aids man in satisfying his wants. These might indeed be included in the item "inland commerce," but they distinctly are not. And yet city sites are the centers where all the land forces which the authors do include in the item of "inland commerce" concentrate and cooperate. The city site is one of the most useful and valuable of all the land-aids to man.

As an offset to criticism, it is but fair to say, that in a much higher degree than is usual with analytical text books of political economy, the great primary facts are recognized by these authors in a common sense way. So true is this, that one almost instinctively attributes the shortcomings of their book to overtraining.

Land and labor are specified, for example, as the primary essentials to production. Capital is thoughtfully given secondary place. And while capital is described as a "product of past industry" without the explanation that as a rule it is not a product of the distant past but is in constant course of production, reproduction and maintenance as part of the current process of satisfying final consumers, this may be inferred.

The elementary principles of distribution are much more lucidly and on the whole commonsensibly presented in this book than is usual with economic text books.

We repeat, however, that it is as a report upon modern business rather than as a philosophical text book that the book shines. In its generalizations of business methods, it is all that could be desired, whether in respect of clearness of statement, of fullness of presentation, of interesting style, or of the direction of its sympathies.

\* \* \*

The real melancholy days are those on which it is just a little too warm to have a fire and a little too cool to get along without artificial heat.—Chicago Record-Herald.

## PAMPHLETS

### Handbook of the Women's Trade Union League.

A tale of the hard and curious labors of women, their narrow wages, and what unionism has done for the trades which have been organized, is told in the handbook of the Women's Trade Union League, prepared for the National Convention held in Chicago last week (Women's Trade Union League, 275 La Salle St., price ten cents). The handbook is a handsome, large pamphlet of beautiful typography, containing the program of the meetings, a word for unionism by Agnes Nestor, and a word for the League—its purposes and function—by Mrs. Raymond Robins, its President. Then follow the little vivid stories of conditions in thirty-two of the women's trades, with William Morris's "March of the Workers," and a bibliography of current labor literature. In connection with the trade stories, where possible, union labels are given. And these trade stories—don't you want to know how many stitches a minute the girl watches who makes tucks in a shirt waist? and under what conditions "switches" and "rats" are made? Do you know that three-fourths of the workers in a horse-shoe nail factory are women? Do you know that during the busiest hour of the day the young woman at the ticket window on the "loop" does business with 1,400 persons? and in the whole day of twelve hours, with 4,000 persons? This handbook will tell you these and ever so many more things about the

## The Handbook of The Women's Trade Union League

will tell you about

**What Unionism is Doing for Working Women.**

—*Agnes Nestor,*

and

**What the Women's Trade Union League is Doing for Working Women.**

—*Mrs. Raymond Robins,*

and it will tell you

**Curious and Suggestive Things about what these Women Workers are Doing for You, and at what Wages:**

Textile Workers  
The Sewing Trades  
Dressmakers  
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers  
Straw and Felt Hat Making  
Sheepskin Workers  
Fur Weighers and Feeders  
Hat Trimmers  
Necktie Workers  
Suspender Makers  
Glove Workers  
Boot and Shoe Workers  
Laundry Workers  
Badge, Banner and Regalia Workers  
Human Hair Workers  
Beer Bottlers

Cigar Makers  
Tobacco Strippers  
Horse Nail Workers  
Electrical Workers  
Printers  
Bindery Women  
Stenographers and Typists  
Commercial Telegraphers  
Post Office Clerks  
Teachers  
Retail Clerks  
Musicians  
Associated Vaudeville Artists  
Waitresses in Hotels and Restaurants  
Elevated Railway Clerks  
Park Attendants and Janitors

For Sale by

**The Women's Trade Union League**

275 La Salle Street, CHICAGO

Price, 10 Cents postpaid.

service you are constantly receiving from the women who toil. The book is thus dedicated: "To you, our Brethren out in the world—your world and our world—for whom we labor: We have carefully gathered the facts for this little book, and have tried to set them down simply and truly, that you may better understand how hard, and often full of suffering, is the labor that clothes and feeds and serves you—to the end that you as well as we may more strongly desire to work for the establishment of such just conditions that there shall by and by come a time when mutual service, measured by just wage, shall bring, without strain or pain, warmth and food and happy life for all. Then shall our mouths be filled with laughter, and our tongues with singing."

A. T. P.

---

## PERIODICALS

---

Results of the trip of Henry George, Jr., around the world are now appearing in Collier's. The first installment, in Collier's for October 2, describing "The Ferment of Asia," tells of "the tension in Manchuria, where Japan and Russia are maneuvering for control."

+

The American Magazine (New York) begins to make good its promise of an exposure of "Barbarous Mexico" (p. 844). In the October issue, with an article on "The Slaves of Yucatan," it opens a series

---

## Announcement

**A** SYSTEMATIC campaign of circulation-building for The Public has been undertaken by Mr. Emil Schmied. Mr. Schmied will visit personally as many cities as he can, and with the aid of local friends of The Public will call on and solicit subscriptions from persons who are or may become interested in fundamental democracy. ¶ In this work we need and want your help. That help for the present will consist of two things: First, to say that you will, when called on to do so, make out a list of the people in your town who might become interested in a paper like The Public. Second, that when Mr. Schmied comes to your place you will devote as much time as you can to going with him to see these people, or in some other way help him to secure their subscriptions. ¶ If you are interested, will you please write and say that you will do this. Do it now. Mr. Schmied may not be able to reach your town or State for several months, but the answers to this request will help him to make out an itinerary and plan his work for the winter in the most profitable way.

Address: EMIL SCHMIED, Manager.

Care of THE PUBLIC,

Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago.

## YOU CANNOT RIDE ON A STREET CAR

without being interested in the Eight Years' War. Read Newton D. Baker's account of the Three Cent Fare Movement in Cleveland in the October number of **The Twentieth Century Magazine**. An authoritative account of the greatest fight for democracy in the decade. 25c on the news-stand or send us a quarter and receive at the same time our special subscription offer.

**THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CO., 5 Park Square, Room 48, Boston, Mass.**

In answering these Advertisements please mention THE PUBLIC.

by John Kenneth Turner on the despotism and slavery of the Diaz regime,—a horrible state of affairs known to a few (pp. 122, 411, 819) but unexposed until now by any of the great publications of the world. The Yucatan slavery rests nominally upon debt, but it is as truly slavery as was ours of the Southern States before the Civil War, and infinitely more sordid and cruel. It is not chattel slavery alone, however, that the Turner articles are revealing in Mexico through the American Magazine, but also the republican pretense and sham of the Diaz autocracy, which is in fact "a government of the few for the few, with a big standing army to back them."

\* \* \*

The traveling salesman had looked at Mrs. Dolan's third-floor-back, and found it neat and attractive. "I'll take it for two months," he said, "and I always pay as I go. I suppose that will suit you?" "It will not," said Mrs. Dolan, firmly. "There's times I'm not in the house when folks goes; they're

The fundamental truths in **THE SOUL OF THE WORLD** made plainer to me than before.—*A. D. Cridge.*  
By **ESTELLA BACHMAN**  
428 pages. Cloth, \$1.00  
Order of **EQUITIST PUBLISHING HOUSE, Station A, Pasadena, Cal.**

**Real Estate For Sale and Exchange**  
**EDWARD POLAK**  
4030 Third Ave. New York City

## What They Say.

THE PUBLIC has not been in the habit of "tooting its own horn," but I want to take advantage of a "Publisher's Column" to say some things I think ought to be said. For one thing, we get numerous expressions of appreciation that will no doubt interest other friends of THE PUBLIC and may point out virtues and values to new readers that will be helpful and suggestive.

For instance :

"No family if they really knew it, would do without THE PUBLIC. From a religious point it is better than any religious paper to be had."  
Fayette City, Pa. [Signed] CALVIN B. POWER.  
Oct. 3, 1909.

"Herewith hand you \$1.00 for which please place my name on your mailing list as of yore, for I have been without your valuable paper for several months and have found that it is of no use to try to do without it."  
Pittsburg, Pa. [Signed] GUY D. LEOPOLD.

And there are many others that will be published from week to week. Show these to your friends, and if THE PUBLIC fills a special niche in your own life let us know about it. It helps us.  
**EMIL SCHMIED,**  
Manager

Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to Advertisers.

nable to be called off sudden when I'm out of the way. My boarders pays when they come—or else they don't come."—*Youth's Companion.*

\* \* \*

Jack: "Hallo, Tom, old man, got your new flat fitted up yet?"

Tom: "Not quite. Say, do you know where I can buy a folding toothbrush?"—*Boston Transcript.*

\* \* \*

At the recent convention of advertising men in Louisville, one of the delegates who lives in the

## The Public

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Terms of Subscription

Yearly .....\$1.00  
Half yearly..... .50  
Quarterly..... .25  
Single copies..... .05  
Trial subscription—4 weeks..... .10

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

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

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

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

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

### Advertising Rates

One page, each insertion.....\$20.00  
Half-page, each insertion..... 10.00  
Quarter-page, each insertion..... 5.00  
One inch, each insertion..... 1.20  
Half-inch, each insertion..... .60

Two columns to the page; length of column, 8 1/4 inches; width of column, 3 inches.

Advertising forms close on the Monday preceding the Friday of publication

West told a story of having met a man from New York.

"Where are you from?" inquired the New Yorker. "Los Angeles," said the man from California.

"Oh, I see," exclaimed the Empire State inhabitant. "So you're from the West. Well, I've been West some myself. Now last year I was out as far as Cleveland and stopped a while at Pittsburg. I was all around the West."

"Is that so?" said the man from Los Angeles with

a great show of interest. "Well, I was up East myself not so very long ago. I was in Denver and Salt Lake City and all around. It's strange we didn't meet."—St. Louis Times.

+ + +

Customer—"Give me a bottle of Dopem's Stomach Bitters."

Druggist—"We haven't any in stock, madam, but here's something just as bad."—Cleveland Leader.

## Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

PUBLIC MEETING

Sunday, October 10, 3 P. M.

Federation Hall, 275 La Salle St.

Miss Mary Macarthur,

Secretary of the British Women's Trade Union League,  
on

**The Minimum Wage in the Sweated Trades.**

Reports of Delegates to the National Convention.

Refreshments. All welcome.

MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS,      EMMA STEGHAGEN,  
President.                              Secretary.

## Don't Throw Away

THE PUBLIC as you do the ordinary daily or weekly paper. Keep THE PUBLIC on file—you will often have occasion to refer to some important fact or incident which you can find easily in THE PUBLIC by means of the reference numbers and index.

The news of THE PUBLIC is the serious and important news of the week, carefully sifted from the chaff of gossip and sensation, and each year's volume is an important record of history in the making.

Patent Binders, in which 52 numbers of THE PUBLIC may easily be filed from week to week, will be sent to any subscriber, postpaid, for 75 cents.

ADDRESS

**THE PUBLIC,**      Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

## Speaking of Reforms

Have you ever considered how great to women was "The Fels-Naptha Way?"

Besides emancipating women from ancient boiling and scalding, drudging and slaving methods, Fels-Naptha soap has played a really wonderful part in housework-progress.

The red and green wrapper plainly shows how to accomplish this in your home.