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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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Volume VIII Number 389

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 16, 1905.

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EDITORIAL

Rockefeller's press agent.

Silent as the deepest depths of silence was John D. Rockefeller when Miss Tarbell told the criminal origin of his fortune, and Lawson exposed its criminal uses. But silence has proved a flimsy shield. Rockefellerism was fast becoming a synonym for all that is heartless and wicked in American plutocracy. That wasn't pleasant, and at last the silence is broken. Not directly; not defensively; but with the skill of a practiced press agent, who has shrewdly advised that the people be allowed to think what they please of the Rockefeller exposures, provided they learn to think well of Rockefeller himself. If this is not the meaning of the recent overwhelming flood of Rockefeller dispatches from Cleveland, then the journalistic signs are out of joint. It appears to be very cleverly done. But alas, is it not too late?

Business success.

Marshall Field celebrates his wedding with a cable interview telling his fellow countrymen how to succeed in business. The principal qualities, he explains, are absolute integrity, good judgment and perseverance. "A combination of these qualities," says Mr. Field, "means success." Why he includes "absolute integrity," is not quite clear. All the ends necessary for business success are quite as well served, some of them better, by not getting found out, as the New York insurance investigation quite amply shows. Absolute integrity ought, indeed, to be the sine qua non of business success; but this is evidently one of the theories that doesn't work in practice—not in these days of genteel graft. Don't we all know men, many men, of absolute integrity, of good judgment and of tireless perseverance who nevertheless struggle for a living and die in poverty? Don't we all know men who are rich and growing richer, and yet who possess none of these three qualities in any considerable degree? This is no reflection on the qualities. By all means let them be honored and cultivated. But what's the use of pretending that they will make men rich, in the environment of existing industrial adjustments? If wealth is what a man wants,—and really that is what is implied by "succeeding in business,"—let him get him a piece of land in a progressive community. Just as the community grows so then will his wealth grow. The people there will make him rich and keep him rich if he has enough integrity to avoid being lynched, enough good judgment to hold on to a tribute-levying license when he has it, and enough perseverance to maintain friendly relations with the tax gatherer.

Mayor Dunne's traction plan.

The judgment of the majority in the executive committee of the Municipal Ownership League of Chicago has prevailed in that committee, with reference to Mayor Dunne's plan for introducing and establishing municipal ownership and operation of the local traction service (p. 359), and there is no good reason for supposing that the committee's decision will not be heartily supported by the League.

—

It would be the height of folly for this organization to make of itself, at the present crisis in the municipal ownership struggle, an instrument for suplying ammunition to the enemy by creating an appearance of dissension among the advocates of municipal ownership. Such a performance would gratify no one so well as the traction ring. It is difficult to conceive of any fair reason why it should gratify anybody else at all. If Mayor Dunne had proved grossly treacherous, the objections to "a row in the family" would be overcome by the necessity for it. But there is no pretense that he has been treacherous. Such an accusation, by professed friends of the movement for municipal ownership, would be so absurd as to arouse suspicion against those who made it. The most that can be or has been said in criticism of the Mayor's traction plan is that he has erred in judgment; but it is clear enough, upon straightforward reflection, that even for this criticism there is no basis.

—

If Mayor Dunne has erred in judgment regarding the legality of his plan, then it is not alone his own qualifications as a jurist that have failed him. He has had the responsible professional advice of at least three well-trained lawyers. One of these is Clarence S. Darrow, a Democrat, who is and long has been identified with the municipal ownership movement in its radical phases; another is

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Edgar B. Tolman, Mayor Harrison's corporation counsel and also a Democrat, who, while favoring municipal ownership, has been identified with the conservative side of the movement; the third is Glenn E. Plumb, a Republican advocate of municipal ownership, who, besides being a lawyer whose specialty is the traction field, is also a practical street car operator. On the business and operating side, Mayor Dunne has acted in harmony with the advice not only of Mr. Plumb, and of Comptroller McGann, who is also a practical traction operator, but in addition with that of A. B. du Pont, one of the most efficient traction operators in the country and probably the only one outside of Chicago, except Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, who is a pronounced believer in municipal ownership and operation. With all the rest, Mayor Dunne's plan has the unqualified approval of Mayor Johnson himself, whose cordial and disinterested cooperation in devising it, Mayor Dunne asked for and received; and Mayor Johnson's advice and approval involve the benefit not only of his knowledge as a traction operator, and of his business sense acquired in traction experiences over a period of more than 30 years, but also of his legal knowledge and, legal sense derived from conferences and conflicts with leading lawyers on all sides of traction questions in their multiform phases. As to Mayor Johnson personally, it may probably be added that the time has come when the man who expresses doubt of Tom L. Johnson's sincerity as an advocate of municipal ownership and operation, shows himself either more worthy to be himself suspected than respected, or else to be ignorant of municipal affairs. Objections to him on this ground come no longer from intelligent citizens, except from such as are interested in traction graft, and these never object to their friends. Their condemnation is a certificate of good character.

—

But it is not so very important to justify Dunne's plan by referring to the persons with whose advice and approval he constructed it, for his plan does not differ a hair's breadth, essentially, from the plan which he and every other advocate of municipal ownership have all along professed to favor. The universally accepted programme has been the acquisition, by reasonable purchase if possible and by condemnation if necessary, of the existing lines, and payment therefor by marketing "Mueller law certificates." Mayor Dunne's plan contemplates this very programme. But because he has perfected the original programme, so as to make it more quickly, easily and effectively operative, he is said to have changed the programme itself. This was to have been expected from the agents of the traction ring; but it is not to be expected of the Municipal Ownership League.

—

Mayor Dunne's plan, which we characterize as having perfected and not altered the original one, consists simply in creating a corporation for the immediate taking over and operating of the traction system, under a contract to deliver it to the city on demand, upon being reimbursed, with five per cent. interest, for actual loss. We say that this is an improvement upon and not an alteration of the original programme, because, while it does not impede nor delay the execution of that programme in any respect, it does give the city instead of the traction ring the advantage at every subsequent stage. At present, delays count for the traction ring; but under the Dunne plan, delays would count against the ring. At present, the city gains none of the benefits or advantages of municipal ownership and operation until every prerequisite of the Mueller law has been performed; but under Dunne's plan the city would gain both benefits and advantages immediately and while the prerequisites of that law were in process of performance, and when the prerequisites had been performed it would take over a fully equipped and going concern, instead of being then obliged to equip a concern and put it in operation. The traction ring fully understand this, and their agents and organs resist the plan with a resisting energy they have never applied to any other proposition. No doubt the Municipal Ownership League will see it all quite as plainly when they come to look at it, as the majority of their executive committee have done; and just as emphatically as did the majority of their executive committee they will doubtlessly range themselves against and not on the same side with the traction ring and its agents and newspapers.

—

Soon after the executive committee of the Municipal Ownership League had declared for Mayor Dunne's plan, the Mayor brought the transportation committee to a vote which placed the aldermanic supporters of the traction ring in that committee on record. Being a majority, they prevented the committee from even considering the Mayor's plan, but cut off all consideration of it by adopting a resolution inviting the traction ring to confer with them—a resort to worn-out tactics for delay. Their animus was cleverly brought to light by one of the minority members, Alderman Dever, who proposed an amendment so limiting the scope and purpose of the proposed conference with the ring that the question of renewing their franchises should not be considered. This amendment was voted down by the same aldermen who subsequently voted for the traction conference. So a majority of the transportation committee are now on record as favoring a reversal of the popular vote on the traction question, by voting away the city streets to the J. Pierpont Morgan traction ring. In bringing these traction-ring aldermen to the record, thereby disclosing "who's who" on the committee, Mayor Dunne has made another gain for municipal ownership and operation. If now, as it is hinted

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he intends doing, he will bring the matter before the City Council itself, in such manner as to force all the members of that body to line up in the open on the traction question, as he has forced the majority of the transportation committee to do, he will have made another important gain no matter how they line up. Should he secure a majority in the Council, he will have won a distinct victory then and there; should the majority prove to be the other way, the record will be in shape for reference to the aldermanic constituencies at the election next Spring. His victory then, no one doubts,—least of all the traction ringsters. They know full well that unless they can win with friendly aldermen before another election, they cannot win at all. And signs are not lacking that they are even now preparing to railroad through the Council, over the Mayor's veto, and by corrupt means, an extension of their expired and expiring franchises.

Lawson and the genteel grafters.

When Lawson began his picturesque exposures (pp. 226, 243), it was regarded as a sufficient reply to call him a liar, and let it go at that. And really what could be said for those exposures, when they were not only lurid in their picturesqueness but included such truly good persons, such eminently sane and superlatively safe persons, as the high-salaried managers of those splendid eleemosynary institutions, the Mutual Life, the Equitable Life, the New York Life and the Rockefeller-Morgan hierarchy? To paint such men in Lawsonian colors as swindlers and pirates, how could it be other than a lie,—a most dangerous lie, because calculated to undermine the confidence of the unsophisticated and shatter the fragile temple of the great joss "Business"? True enough, Lawson retorted that if anything he said wasn't true, the good men he assailed could easily prove it wasn't true. But, they were such very good men. Why put them to the proof? And now, lo and behold! Lawson's character-pictures seem tame and colorless in comparison with the rigid photographic portraits that the Armstrong investigating committee is turning out. And the culprits seem able to say nothing for themselves but "that they all do it."

—

In themselves these exposures are of very little consequence. Whether they result in reorganization or spectacular criminal convictions can make but little difference one way or the other, except to the persons immediately concerned, nor to them for long. But in their effect on the public mind, the exposures are invaluable. The shattering of a fetish is always wholesome; and this is as true of flesh and blood business fetishes as of fetishes of wood and stone. The general realization that great rascals who have been cunningly filling their pockets with loot while the people worshiped them as models of business virtue and leadership, is of incalculable educational benefit. It will not, indeed, prevent similar fetish worship in the future, but it will go far to deprive that sort of thing of its deadening respectability.

—

Lawson's "bear" raid against this same gang of genteel grafters has begun. Whether it will amount to much as a raid is yet to be learned. If it does, let us not be too swift to object that there is no good in it. Don't you remember how, when you were a boy and read your father's copy of the Farmer's Friend, you were interested in its exposures of the different kinds of fakirs who made the farmers their prey? Wasn't it exciting, those solemn descriptions of the "seed oats" swindle, the "lightning rodders," the "gold brick" men, the "green goods" men, and the various devices they used for hoodwinking farmers into signing promissory notes in the guise of receipts? Well, with his brilliantly descriptive exposures and his "bear" raid, Lawson is doing the same thing for the innocent of all classes that the vigilant Farmer's Friend did for your father and his fellow subscribers. The "System" which Lawson assails, although enormous in its magnitude, is the same in kind as the petty systems of the fakirs who preyed on farmers. What is it in the main but a system of devices to fool the great gullible public into taking nothing for something from slick rascals whose ideas of business is to get something for nothing? And what is Lawson doing but so exposing the votaries of this grafty system, which dominates the business of Wall street, as to enable the public to detect the trick when its schemes are unctuously laid before them. His work is more difficult than that of the Farmer's Friend. It is not so simple as explaining that "a man with a mole on his left cheek, of sandy complexion, height about 5 feet 8 inches," etc., "is going about the country trying to get farmers to sign contracts for seed oats for future delivery," which contracts afterwards turn up in the bank, changed in form to promissory notes. But the one is to the other as shark to pickerel—an example in comparative voracity.

—

Do advocates of industrial reform ask how Lawson's plan, as far as disclosed, would, though successful, further industrial reform in any substantial way? This at least may be said in reply: It would help check the concentration of wealth, and would do so whether all victims of the "System" begin a bear raid or not. This first step in Lawson's plan would keep money from flowing into Wall street. It would probably be the beginning of a movement that would make the speculative devices of the stock gamblers impossible on the same scale as hitherto. The whole investing population are seeking the biggest returns, as well as the excitement of gambling, and the big fakirs of the "System" have hitherto managed to get the biggest share of this loose cash and turned it into solid investments in land.

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They have been able to skim the cream, to absorb the choicest areas of natural wealth in the shape of mines, oil wells, railroads, immensely valuable land in cites, etc. Now, if people with money to invest should lose all faith in the big gambling joint in Wall street and buy such land on their own account, wouldn't there be industrial effects? That is an interesting question to consider, at any rate. The "System" does not develop new mines nor build new roads, nor create wealth at all. It only combines its little land monopolies in order to make big ones. The people, including in that term those with only brawn and brain and also those with opportunity, they create the wealth. The "System" absorbs it. If, as an immediate result of Lawson's campaign of education certain investors have been turned away from Wall street, as is apparently already the case, no doubt more money will flow into real estate in cities and into the lands of the Western country, for individual investment. Of course this in itself will not comfort the industrial reformer. He cannot get any great degree of joy out of the mere fact that "lambs" with a few thousands each to invest have had a scare and saved their wool for the present. But would there be no occasion to him for satisfaction with the education along economic as well as ethical lines which a people with the ballot would derive from all this financial shake-up?

THE EARTH AND THE FACTORY.

It has been objected to our recent editorials on the labor question, one on the earth as a "closed shop" (p. 339) and the other on the "jobless man" (p. 355), that workingmen need not only land, as implied by those editorials, but also machinery, which is an essential part of the prevailing factory system.

This is the essence of socialistic criticisms of the single tax. Conceding the primary necessity for land as an implement of production, socialists argue nevertheless that land alone, though it were abundant and free wherever workingmen live and work, would not be enough to make the working class economically independent. The burden of their criticism is that the working class would remain a helpless subject of capitalistic exploitation unless the artificial as well as the natural implements of such production were freely accessible.

In genuine solicitude for the condition of the working class, the socialist does not go beyond the single taxer. It is quite as much the desire of the latter as of the former, or of any other earnest agitator for better adjustments of industry, that the working class shall not be exploited.

But the single taxer believes that the exploitation of labor results from monopoly of land. What he demands, therefore, as the fundamental industrial reform, an industrial reform that would make all other useful reforms easier, and without which other industrial reform is impossible or in the long run ineffective, is the eradication of land monopoly.

That the single tax view in this respect is the correct one, is evident upon reasonable observation and thought.

Why is it that the working classes can be subjected to industrial exploitation? They are not owned bodily, as the slaves were. They bargain in apparent freedom. To what alchemy, then, does the capitalist resort in order to exploit them.

Is it true, as socialists say, that the working classes submit to exploitation because they cannot work without machinery, and, having none of their own, must beg a capitalist on his own terms for permission to use his? Is their will thus overcome by their necessities? This is surely a lame explanation, for it fails to explain why the working classes are without machinery of their own.

Machinery is not an accumulation of the past. It is in the course of constant production, and is produced by the working class itself. Destroy all the machinery in the world to-day, and the working class, if left free to produce and trade, would soon replace it with better machinery. Why is it that the working classes have no machinery of their own when they themselves, considered as a whole, make all the machinery there is? The obvious answer is that the wages of labor are too low to enable workingmen to retain much if any proprietary interest in the machinery they produce. It is their poverty that makes them dependent, and therefore subject to exploitation.

But this obvious answer raises another question. Why are the working classes poor? why are the wages of labor low? Not because the working class is an idle class. The very terms put such a conclusion to the blush. Is it, then, because they do not produce more than their meager wages? But they do produce more; if they did not, there would be nothing for the leisure class. Wages are low and the working class poor because the working class does not get all it produces. Somehow, some way, its earnings are depleted by tribute.

This fact is expressed by socialists in their theory of "surplus value." They believe, that is, that the working class, considered as a whole, produces value in excess of what its members receive in wages.

With the intangible and elusive thing called "value," we need not quarrel. While value is neither food, nor clothing, nor machinery, nor anything else which satisfies human wants, the underlying idea of socialists is that it is a surplus of those things that the labor class as a whole produce—a surplus in the sense, that is to say, not of an excess over what the working class wants, but in the sense of an excess over what it gets.

With this underlying idea of surplus value the single taxers will agree. The labor of the working class as a whole does yield a surplus of consumable and usable things, including machinery; and this surplus is the tribute to which the earnings of the working classes are subjected and by which their wages are depleted.

A question still remains. What is it that diverts this surplus from those who produce it? That question is the crux of the economic controversy between socialists and single taxers.

Socialists attribute the diversion to "capitalism." But "cap-

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italism" is an indefinite term. Since land has value which is capitalized, and machinery has value which is capitalized, it is customary to refer to ownership of either by the one term "capitalism." If there were slaves, they also would have a value for capitalization, and we should refer to their value by the same term. This is well enough for the mere commercial purpose of comparing valuable with nonvaluable things, or the more valuable with the less valuable. But it is viciously misleading when all the economic qualities of each is to be compared with those of the others.

Slaves are men; machinery is an artificial product which exists only as men make it and preserve it; and land is a natural object which exists regardless of men. These three classes of things are so radically different, each from both the others, that it is utterly impossible to reason about their essential characteristics and relations, if all or any two are included in a common term. It is like reasoning about numbers without distinguishing numerals.

To decide, then, that "capitalism" accounts for the surplus product of labor, is to decide nothing whatever as to the relative power over the working classes of land ownership and factory ownership. For land tenure might be the cause of the surplus, and the factory system have nothing to do with it; or the factory system might be the cause, and land tenure have nothing to do with it; or both together might be the cause. The whole controversy is left undecided when "capitalism" is regarded as the cause, if capitalism as to the natural element be not distinguished from capitalism as to the artificial product.

To explain intelligently the cause of the surplus product of labor these three things must be kept distinct: the workman, his natural environment (the earth), and his artificial implements. And when this is done, the truth becomes clear, that the surplus which the labor class produces and the leisure glass gets, is attributable not to capitalism with referenee to artificial implements, but to capitalism with reference to the earth.

Though artificial implements be capitalized, yet if liberty be maintained as to person and land, no divertible surplus would appear and no factory serfdom could result. If, however, it is the earth that is capitalized, a surplus product appears and factory serfdom follows.

The surplus would in that case increase faster than the increase of productive power; and, with increasing progress, poverty would deepen and the factory serf become a pitiable and familiar object.

Why?

The single taxer explains that the germ of the surplus product of labor is the rent or premium for scarce and superior parts of the earth. Capitalize this rent, and you create a disposition in progressive localities to buy land in the expectation that its premium-bearing qualities will increase; that is, that it will become more desirable, or more scarce, or both, and therefore more valuable.

This expectation is often disappointed in individual instances, more often perhaps than it is realized; but the general effect is the same. The forestalling of land makes land scarcer in the market and therefore more valuable. For if progress gives promise of continuing, expectations of the increasing capital value of land overleap the possibilities of actual progress. This simply means, what is patent to common observation, that under the spur of prosperity land values rise faster than progress advances.

Investors in land bring on a conflict of interests between land monopolizing and land using. This conflict, by lessening opportunities for work, checks effective demand for products; which further lessens opportunities for work, and thus puts a further check on effective demand. Meanwhile this process of action and reaction brings forth the "jobless man," and from that moment the surplus product increases. It keeps on increasing, in these circumstances, until nothing is left to workers on the lower levels of labor but a bare living of the poorest kind. The surplus product—not measured by land rent alone, but also and in much greater degree by tribute from the great body of workers whose wages are scaled down and down by the underbidding of the "jobless man,"—steadily increases, and great prosperity and arrogance rise up in the midst of misery, dependence and factory serfdom.

The surplus product tends to absorb the whole product of labor above a bare living for the lower levels of workers. It is composed in part of economic rent of land, and in larger part of the so-called "capitalistic fleecings of labor," those fleecings which are possible when, and only when, the earth is a "closed shop."

The cause of it all is monopoly of land—the making of the earth a "closed shop." When and where land is monopolized, progress increases its value at the expense of the earnings of the working class.

It is not for lack of machinery, which the working class itself produces, that the working class is exploited by the owners of machinery; it is for lack of available free land to compete with valuable land and relieve the congested condition of the labor market.

An exemplification of this idea may be found in the greatest work of the great socialist, Karl Marx. In the 33d chapter of his book, "Capital," Marx refers to an incident narrated in Wakefield's "England and America," and says:

> Mr. Peel, he moans, took with him from England to Swan River, West Australia, means of subsistence and of production to the amount of $250,000. Mr. Peel had the foresight to bring with him, besides, 3,000 persons of the working class, men, women and children. Once arrived at his destination, "Mr. Peel was left without a servant to make his bed or fetch him water from the river." Unhappy Mr. Peel, who provided for everything except the export of English modes of production to Swan River!

But what peculiarity of English modes of production was it that Mr. Peel had not exported to Swan River? He had exported $250,000 worth of capital, and 3,000 people of the English wage-working class. Why, then, did he not use his capital to exploit the labor of those working people as he might have done in England? What was there lacking of English modes of production? Marx says there was lacking "the correlative" to the capitalist—"the

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wage-worker, the other man, who is compelled to sell himself of his own free will." But there were 3,000 wage-workers there; why were they not compelled to sell themselves?

Every intelligent reader must anticipate the answer. There is but one and it is conclusive. It was because those wage-workers were now in the midst of free land. The one feature, the only feature of "English modes of production" which this Mr. Peel had not exported to Swan river, was land monopoly.

To the citation of this and similar instances of single taxers, socialists object that as the conditions were primitive, land was the most important factor, but that in modern industrial conditions labor is so minutely specialized that the mechanism of production has become more important to the working class than land.

This objection that land is of minor importance to the laboring class in industrial conditions of great specialization, was anticipated by Henry George in his elaboration of the single tax philosophy. An extract from the first chapter of his "Progress and Poverty" indicates his point of view:

> The fundamental truth, that in all economic reasoning must be firmly grasped, and never let go, is that society in its most highly developed form is but an elaboration of society in its rudest beginnings, and that principles obvious in the simpler relations of men are merely disguised and not abrogated or reversed by the more intricate relations that result from the division of labor and the use of complex tools and methods. The steam grist mill, with its complicated machinery exhibiting every diversity of motion, is simply what the rude stone mortar dug up from an ancient river bed was in its day—an instrument for grinding corn. And every man engaged in it, whether tossing wood into the furnace, running the engine, dressing stones, printing sacks or keeping books, is really devoting his labor to the same purpose that the prehistoric savage did when he used his mortar—the preparation of grain for human food. And so if we reduce to their lowest terms all the complex operations of modern production, we see that each individual who takes part in this infinitely subdivided and intricate network of production and exchange is really doing what the primeval man did when he climbed the trees for fruit or followed the receding tide for shell-fish---endeavoring to obtain from nature by the exertion of his powers the satisfaction of his desires. If we keep this firmly in mind, if we look upon production as a whole---as the cooperation of all embraced in any of its great groups to satisfy the various desires of each, we plainly see that the reward each obtains for his exertions comes as truly and as directly from nature as the result of that exertion, as did that of the first man.

In that view of the matter, Raymond Robins's story of an actual experience in Nome, becomes most impressive as an exemplification of the power of land capitalism over human laborers, and the effectiveness of free land in producing economic freedom.

As Mr. Robins's story runs—in substance only, and not in its interesting details,—there had been a time in Nome when the lowest wages were eight and nine dollars a day, not at gold mining only but in all employments. But as mining opportunities came to be monopolized and population grew, wages fell until they were down to the minimum of subsistence, which for that place and time was three dollars a day. The "jobless man" had come. And then were seen in little at Nome all the phenomena of wealth and arrogance in the midst of poverty and dependence with which we are so familiar in the bigger world. The wages system in its direful sense was in full swing.

But on one memorable day a disemployed miner who could get no work either at mining or at anything else, for the labor market was glutted, despondently threw his pick into the tide-swept sand at the sea shore; and as he listlessly pulled it out he saw upon it the signs of gold. The sea shore was not far from Nome, and below tide water it was free ground. He worked that day on this rich beach, and of his earnings which were something like $20, he got all. There was no surplus product. His labor was not fleeced.

The next day the word had gone around, and other claims on this sea shore were staked. But, unlike the land back of tide water, this land could not, under the law, be monopolized; every claimant had to use it himself or let some one else use it. And there was plenty of it. As word of the wonderful discovery spread, the glut of the labor market ended and wages at Nome rose to $12 and $15 a day, which was about what a man could make washing the sands at the shore.

Now mark this: Only disemployed miners were obliged to go to the beach in order to get that till then unheard of rate of wages. Miners in other mines stayed where they were and had their wages raised. Clerks in stores and waiters in restaurants stayed where they were and had their wages raised. The free and profitable employment at the near-by sea shore absorbed "the surplus labor," as we call it, and employers, owners of machinery, were obliged to pay at least as much as could be washed from the sand, or lose their help. The economic condition had been reversed. Instead of 10 men and only 9 jobs, as before, there were only 9 men and 10 jobs. The earth at that point had ceased to be a "closed" shop and become an "open" shop, and the "jobless man" had consequently disappeared. The power of what in Nome corresponded to the "factory lord" in our larger society, was gone.

With that simple change of the relations of the working classes to the earth, the power of the "factory lord" would be gone everywhere, and to bring about that change is the object of the single taxer.

In his view, if taxes on industry were abolished and land "capitalism" were taxed by value ratio, not only would industrial exchanges be unimpeded and unclogged by taxes and taxing methods, but, just as with the golden sands of the sea beach at Nome, all unused land, near by as well as far off, would welcome the worker. Not merely the isolated worker would this land welcome, but workingmen as a whole, as an industrial force. In these circumstances, as at Nome, all wages would rise to the full earnings of each worker. The only surplus product then would be the premiums on superior locations, and this would go into the common treasury.

No tree is so dead but the birds will sing in its branches.
—Ernest Crosby.

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NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, Sept. 14.

Bryan and the Presidential nomination.

On the eve of his departure for a year's journey with his family around the world, William J. Bryan was given a complimentary dinner by the Jefferson Club (p. 359) at Chicago on the 12th. About 400 guests were in attendance. William Prentiss presided as toastmaster, and the speakers, besides Mr. Bryan, were Congressman Henry T. Rainey of Illinois, Mayor Dunne of Chicago, Congressman Ollie M. James of Kentucky, Alexander Troup of Connecticut and ex-Judge James R. Tarvin of Kentucky. Letters were read from Gov. Folk of Missouri, Gov. Johnson of Minnesota, ex-Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island, and Norman Mack and Bird S. Coler, of New York.

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Mr. Bryan's toast was "Democracy versus Centralization," and his response was an eloquent analysis and application to present conditions of the only two principles of government—that in which power resides in and is readily executed by the people governed, which is democracy, and that in which the exercise of power is removed as far as possible from the people governed, which is centralization. Mr. Bryan explained that no existing government is either wholly democratic or wholly centralized, and that the practical question with reference to every political movement in any country is whether it is in the direction of less democracy and more centralization, or of less centralization and more democracy. As the dinner in question was widely reported to be intended to launch a Presidential boom for Bryan, and as some of the speakers named him as the Democratic candidate for 1908, his exact words on that matter are of general political interest and importance. He said:

All references to the possibility of my ever being a candidate again are premature, and the kindly expressions of my friends as to such possibility do not make the impression on me that they might a few years ago. I have heard so many prophets declare that some day I should be President of the United States that I was led to look up the facts concerning the prophets of old, and I found that unless they had been anointed they had not the power to foretell the future. I am going to look up the modern prophets and see if they are anointed. I said just after the election in 1900 that I would not be a candidate in 1904, and to the best of my recollection I kept my word. I told a newspaper man that while I said I would not be a candidate in 1904, I would not give bonds that I never would be a candidate again. A few days later I read a squib in a newspaper stating that if I changed my mind and wanted to give a bond I should find plenty of persons willing to go my security. That struck me as one of the wittiest paragraphs I ever came across. I say now that I do not know that I ever shall be a candidate for any office again, and my happiness does not depend on holding any office within the gift of the people. My place in history, I have made up my mind will depend not on what the people may be able to do for me, but upon what I may be able to do for the people. I believe none of us is wise enough to look ahead and say who should be the candidate of the Democratic party three years from now. I should not deserve your good will if I said I was a candidate unless at the time I could best represent the principles to which my life has been consecrated. While I appreciate your kind words and your good will, I shall insist that the Democratic party shall choose its candidate for 1908 when the circumstances of the party at that time have thrown their light on its pathway. You should put above everything the triumph of your principles. I want to be fully understood. I am not only not announcing my candidacy, but I am not permitting it to be announced. I insist that the Democratic party reserve that right for the proper time, and I pray that God will raise up some man who will do the Democratic party more good than I can possibly do.

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The Chicago traction question.

In responding to his toast at the Jefferson Club dinner to Bryan on the 12th, Mayor Dunne concisely described the progress since his election, and the present condition, of the traction question (p. 359) in Chicago. After explaining that he had been hampered by a long and vexatious labor strike, which had just begun as he came into office, and telling of the discovery by his legal representatives of the fact that 270 miles of traction rights, serving a population of 1,100,000, would be at an end in two years and at the disposal of the city, whereas at the time of his election only 30 or 40 miles were supposed to be available, and after reporting that he had submitted to the City Council his plan for immediately utilizing these rights by and for the city, and the action of the Council thereon, Mayor Dunne said:

They ask why, during the months my administration has been in office, more has not been accomplished. I will tell you. The Executive of the city of Chicago is only one arm of the municipal government. The other arm is the City Council. When one arm is reaching out for municipal ownership little can be accomplished if the other arm is lying paralyzed at the body's side, or a traction company has got hold of the other arm and is pulling it back. There will be municipal ownership quick enough when the Mayor and Council together work in harmony with the expressed sentiment of the people. The committee on local transportation has put aside for the present the contract plan suggested as a practical means of arriving at municipal ownership in the shortest order, and asks the traction companies again to come and negotiate with the city. I do not wish to criticise the committee. It is a very important transaction and the very importance of the matter may have occasioned deliberation or caution in their minds. But if it comes to a question of granting any further franchises or giving attention to the so-called tentative ordinance, the people, who already have spoken on the little ballot, may send representatives to the Council who will carry out their will. Let the City Council pass the contract system which the city Administration has offered, and in 30 days there will be no traction problem.

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The action of the local transportation committee referred to in Mayor Dunne's speech, had occurred on the 11th. After several meetings in secret session (p. 359) without considering the Mayor's contract except in a loose and general way, the committee, according to the Tribune of the 12th, "shelved" it, and made overtures to the traction companies whose best franchises have expired and are expiring, to renew them. Aldermen Bennett and Foreman were the leaders in this policy. Alderman Bennett took the first step by offering the following resolution:

Resolved, That the further consideration of this ordinance [the one for the Mayor's contract plan] be deferred until after the existing companies shall be heard and until such proposals as they submit shall be considered fully,

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and that this committee adjourn to Friday at two p. m.

Before this question was put Alderman Dever proposed the following amendment:

It is hereby intended that such companies shall make no propositions other than those looking to an immediate sale of their rights and properties to the city.

The amendment was lost, by the following vote:

Nays—Aldermen Carey and Maypole, [Harrison Democrats] and Bennett, Raymer, McCormick, Hunter and Young [all Republicans].

Ayes—Aldermen Dever, Zimmer, Finn, Bradley [Democrats]. The chairman, Alderman Werno, who did not vote, stands with the minority.

The Bennett resolution was then carried by the same vote:

Ayes—Carey, Maypole, Bennett, Foreman, Raymer, McConnell, Hunter and Young.

Nays—Dever, Zimmer, Finn and Bradley (with Chairman Werno, whose vote, as before, was not recorded).

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Another incident of the Chicago municipal ownership movement took place on the 8th, at a meeting of the executive committee of the Municipal Ownership League. To settle a dispute in the committee as to Mayor Dunne's "contract plan," Mr. John A. Watson, of the committee, offered the following resolution:

Whereas, We believe that Mayor Dunne is earnestly striving to secure for the people of Chicago a complete system of municipally owned and operated street railways; and

Whereas, The traction interests are using every influence at their command, whether it be in the City Council or through the columns of a venal press or the law's delay in our courts, to postpone, hinder and defeat every effort taken by Mayor Dunne to give the people that which they directed him to do by his election; and

Whereas, The Mayor in his contract plan has devised a project which clearly thwarts the plots and plans of the traction schemers, while at the same time providing a street railway system manifestly in the interest of the people only; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the executive committee of the Municipal Ownership League deems it a duty to assist the Mayor in every way in its power to carry forward to a successful conclusion his contract plan, and that the League stands ready to aid him in every step he may take to test the provisions and validity of the Mueller law in his efforts to establish immediate municipal ownership.

On this resolution the committee members in attendance voted as follows, as reported by the local press:

Ayes—Abram E. Adelman, W. H. Gantz, H. H. Hardinge, Thomas Rhodus, William Rossell, John Suess, W. H. Walker, John A. Watson and C. A. Windle.

Nays—Daniel L. Cruice, William Gleeson, Frank Heppelman, Jacob C. LeBosky, T. P. Quinn and Addison Blakely. Mr. Blakely explained that he voted with the opposition, not because he is opposed to the Mayor's policy, but because he thought action should be delayed until the Councilmanic committee on transportation acts.

The Watson resolution having been adopted, it was thereupon voted, on motion of Mr. T. P. Quinn, who had opposed the Watson resolution and who gave notice of reservation of the right to oppose it when reported to the general body, that—

this executive committee recommend approval of the Mayor's policy by the Municipal Ownership League, and that the officers of this body be instructed to call a meeting of the League as promptly as possible for a referendum vote upon the question.

The traction question in Toledo.

A traction complication is reported from Toledo (vol. vii, p. 490) in which just half the City Council and its president, Clarence H. Willard, appear to be related to the Toledo traction question in a manner somewhat similar to the manner in which the majority of the local transportation committee of Chicago seem to be related to the Chicago traction question. The Toledo Railway and Light Company, whose main traction lines do not expire until 1910, own a short line to Ottawa Park, on which the franchise has expired. The people have indicated their willingness that this franchise should be renewed for five years,—that is, until 1910—their evident purpose being to have all the traction franchises expire at the same time. But the company has insisted upon a franchise for 10 years, its evident purpose being to own the unexpired short line franchise when the main system franchises expire, in order that it may claim an extension by implication of all its lines, as a leverage for negotiation for forther extensions in 1910. When the proposed 5-year grant came up in the City Council on the 11th, Councilman Cooper moved to amend by making the term ten years as the company demanded, instead of five. This amendment was adopted, but on the ordinance as so amended the Council were tied, 8 to 8, and the president, Willard, voted for the 10-year ordinance, thereby securing its adoption by 9 to 8. Mayor Finch intimated that he would interpose a veto.

Investigating insurance companies.

An investigation of the New York insurance companies (p.280) by a committee of the legislature began at New York city on the 6th. The chairman of the committee is Senator Armstrong, who, in stating the purposes of the investigation, said:

Our object will not be to punish anybody for wrongdoing in the past, but to get all of the salient features of the modern insurance business, so as to suggest to the next legislature an adequate law that will not only protect the policy-holders in all life insurance companies, but likewise will protect the managements of insurance companies from abuse at the hands of designing persons. As most insurance companies are mutual in theory, we shall endeavor to pass a law that will compel them to be mutual in fact. Then the officers of the company will always be working for the interest of the policy-holders, instead of working for themselves by the formation of subsidiary companies to divide the profits of the main company. A large number of the present insurance laws are good. It will be our aim to make them better.

Charles E. Hughes conducted the examination as chief counsel for the committee. He was assisted by James McKeen, who opened the proceedings by reading a statement of previous legislative examinations of insurance companies—1877, 1882 and 1885. In the course of this statement Mr. McKeen explained with reference to the Equitable, whose former president, the late Henry B. Hyde, had testified in 1877, that it was the purpose of the committee to inquire further into the subject then discussed. Mr. Hyde, he said, had testified positively in 1877 that the great surplus of the Equitable Society was not being accumulated for the benefit of the stockholders, but was for the policy-holders, and that the stock was worth only what was represented by the payment of semi-annual dividends at

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the rate of 3½ per cent. This is the same stock which controls the Society and of which Mr. Ryan recently bought the controlling interest (p. 280) for an enormous sum.

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At the committee meeting on the 6th and following days an astonishing condition of affairs was partly developed. It appears to be the custom of the companies to instruct agents to get the policy holder's proxy whenever they write a risk, and at elections a few of these proxies are utilized by employes of the company to reelect the officials. In the New York Life a son of the president, McCall, just out of college in 1899, entered the service of the company at once at $2,500 and was rapidly promoted until 1904, when he became secretary at $14,000. This office he still holds. The Mutual Life's officers and directors are stockholders in nearly all the trust companies with which the company does business. The shares of all these trust companies have increased largely in value because of the Mutual Life's support, and the Mutual's directors and officers have thus made large profits. The New York Life and the Mutual frequently become parties to syndicates in which their officials are financially interested, for unloading securities upon the public, and the former covers up these transactions with secret assets and false entries. Its finance committee is headed by George W. Perkins, a partner of J. Pierpont Morgan since 1901, through whom some of these secret transactions have been made. For instance, Mr. Perkins's committee would invest in a syndicate to buy bonds to be floated by the Morgan house, and then the same committee would invest in another syndicate organized to buy bonds of the Morgan house. By thus backing Morgan as an exploiter of the bonds and then as a purchaser of them the company helped mislead the public into supposing that there was an active market for the bonds in question, for which there was in fact no market until it had been thus created. Not only did the company furnish funds to help float bonds in this way, but in order to bull the market it bound itself, as the other members of the syndicates did not, to refrain from selling its share of the bonds for a year. Large loans were made by the same company, the New York Life, on collateral, the notes being signed by small salaried clerks of its own for the purpose, no reason for which appears, of concealing the identity of the real borrowers. On the 12th, under pressing cross-examination, the treasurer of the New York Life, Edmund D. Randolph, testified that on December 31, 1903, a sale of $800,000 of the Morgan shipping trust stock was sold to Morgan's house by Mr. Perkins, and that in January 2, 1904, the next business day, it was bought back by Mr. Perkins, the object being to suppress the fact of this ownership by the company, in a report to the superintendent of insurance which it made December 31, 1903. This stock was sold a year later to the Morgan house for $720,000, a loss of $80,000. Mr. Perkins appears to have been financially interested also in a mysterious corporation named "Nylic," a name made up of the initials of the New York Life Insurance Company.

The printers' strike.

Apparently the Chicago printers' strike (p. 358) has grown to national proportions in consequence of the decision of the Typothetae (employers' union) in international convention at Niagara Falls last week. The Typothetae decided positively for refusing the 8-hour day and establishing the "open shop." To this the response of the International Typographical union, pursuant to a contingent programme marked out months ago, is an immediate demand upon employers to be followed by immediate strikes if rejected. Instructions accordingly have been issued by James M. Lynch, president of the international organization, and the Chicago union acted upon them on the 13th. In each establishment the union chapel chairman is to demand the following agreement:

> The undersigned hereby agrees to employ none but members of the Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 in any department of the composing room, or upon any composition, either by hand or machine; or upon any work such as reading proof, making up forms, care of printing material, or upon any other work pertaining to the composing room; and agrees to provide sanitary and healthful workrooms; and further agrees to observe and respect the conditions imposed by the constitution, by-laws, and scale of prices of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 of current date. Beginning January 1, 1906, the eight-hour day shall go into effect. No work shall be done for struck shops having difficulty with Chicago Typographical Union No. 16. Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 agrees to furnish competent union workmen on demand. This agreement to continue for one year and end October 1, 1906.

The officers explain that the international Typothetae had laid plans to whip the typographical union piecemeal," and "in self-defense the union was compelled to make the strike general."

Close of the Russian-Japanese war.

The last battle in the Russian-Japanese war (p. 357) was fought on the 6th at Naibutu, on the west coast of the island of Sakhalin and lasted five hours. On the 9th at Godzyadani, Manchuria, a communication under flag of truce was received by the Russian general, Linevitch, from the Japanese field marshal, Oyama, conveying congratulations on the conclusion of peace and asking for the appointment of plenipotentiaries to arrange an armistice. They have been appointed and are to meet September 13 to establish a line of demarcation between the two armies.

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Great popular anger in Japan over the terms of the peace treaty was reported from Tokio on the 6th, and reports of rioting came on the 7th, whereupon martial law was proclaimed in Tokio. A less violent state of the public mind was reported on the 8th from Tokio, the center of the violent agitation seeming then to have shifted to Kobe. Indignation was reported on the 9th as having been partially allayed by an announcement by the ministry that the report that Cape Soya, on La Perouse Straits, could not be fortified by Japan is unfounded, the only stipulation made with Russia being in regard to the free passage of the straits. The announcement followed an informal meeting between Premier Katsura and members of both houses of the Diet representing their respective parties and associations, at which the Premier made a full statement

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concerning the peace negotiations. At a mass meeting at Osaka on the 11th the following resolution was adopted:

The peace that has just been concluded between Russia and Japan forfeits the fruits of victory and sows seeds of future complications and danger. The Government's high-handed and unconstitutional measure has resulted in unexpected disturbance to the peace of the city in which the Mikado resides. The Empire's honor has been soiled and the spirit of the constitution lost. Never has our country been brought to face greater dangers. Therefore, be it resolved, that we hope that the humiliating peace agreement will be broken and the government will resign.

In response to a request the cabinet ministers were advised by the Mikado on the 11th not to resign.

New Japanese-British treaty.

The substance of a new treaty between Japan and Great Britain (vol. v, p. 267) has been communicated to the other Powers. As described by the Paris correspondent of the Associated Press on the 7th, though unauthoritatively, its principal features are as follows:

1. The provision in the old treaty making the alliance applicable only to the Chinese littoral is changed so that the new provision makes the alliance applicable to all Asia up to the line crossing Persia from north to south indicated by the fifty-first degree of east longitude. The significance of this change is the inclusion of India, and also Indo-China, where France has suspected Japan of having designs. The effect of the change tends to preserve the present status quo in India.

2. The provision in the old treaty making the alliance operative if either ally is attacked by two powers is changed so that the alliance becomes effective when either is attacked by one power.

3. The primary underlying principle of the treaty is defensive and the maintenance of existing conditions.

Reign of terror in southern Russia.

Terrible conditions are reported from Baku, a city of 112,000 inhabitants in the Caucasus, at the point where the Caucasus Mountains terminate on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, and near the northern border of the Turkish province of Armenia. The original cause of this terror is said to be Moslem hatred of the Armenians. The Armenians have been detested as parasites and exploiters of the Mohammedan and other populations in the Caucasus, and for several years the Russian authorities have had much difficulty in restraining the Tartars from cruel and bloody reprisals. According to the dispatches, on the afternoon of the 2d reports began running from mouth to mouth at Baku that the Tartars and Armenians were butchering each other. Immediately there was great alarm, and a panic prevailed. Stores were closed, and windows and doors were barricaded. Twenty minutes later sounds of rifle firing were heard from the various quarters of the city, and everybody wished to flee, but no one could tell whether safety lay within or without the city. Two hours later patrols of Cossacks and other Russian soldiers armed with rifles began to arrive from the barracks, and these troops immediately engaged the rioters. The firing between the warring factions continued all night on the 2d, and on the 3d the situation showed no improvement. Firing was in progress all that day, the streets being deserted except for the combatants. No one dared to leave the house of the Governor General. At 8 o'clock in the evening of the 3d the first reflection on the sky of fire in the "black town" quarter was noticed, and it was learned that the Nobel oil reservoirs were burning. That night was more fearful than the preceding one. Fires broke out in several quarters and shooting by the troops was uninterrupted. Fires also broke out in the suburbs of Balakhan and Sabunto. Telephonic communication between Baku and these points was destroyed, and it was impossible on the morning of the 4th to ascertain what was burning. Many of the inhabitants decided to brave the dangers in an effort to leave the city. They went in cabs, surrounded by Cossacks, to the railroad station, and the flight from the city soon became general. On the 8th there was reported to be little left unburned above the ground in the outlying oil fields of Balakan, Romani, Sabunto and Bibiebat, from which the crude oil supply for the Baku oil industry is drawn. The breaking of the reservoirs unloosed a flood of burning oil, which it was impossible to extinguish. A large portion of the "black town" quarter, in which most of the refineries were located, was also burned. The financial loss will run into the millions and the bloodshed also has been appalling, as the troops in their efforts to restore order had to defend the approaches to the town of Baku, and were forced to fight a regular battle with well-armed natives in which artillery was employed. The Tartars and Armenians in their fury turned their weapons against each other. The dispatches speak of several thousand killed or wounded in the fighting at Balakhan, where the Tartars were intrenched in force and more than held their own for a time against the troops; and the latest reports indicate that conditions are growing worse. The authorities of the Caucasus seem to have been taken completely by surprise by the magnitude of the Tartar rising. There is believed at St. Petersburg to be no doubt that it had long been planned and carefully organized and was connected with a separatist movement. The officials of Tiflis say they have unmistakable proof that the revolt has been fanned by Turkish emissaries and agitators, and that the green standard of the prophet has been raised, while the mullahs at Baku are preaching a holy war.

NEWS NOTES

—The American Civic association is to meet at Cleveland on the 4th of October.

—Baron Fegervary, the Hungarian premier (vol. vii, p. 7371) resigned on the 12th.

—The yellow fever epidemic in New Orleans (p. 359), is reported to be rapidly subsiding.

—James Tanner, of New York, was elected chief commander of the Grand Army of the Republic (p. 358) at Denver on the 8th.

—At Havana on the 9th, President Palma was unanimously nominated by the conservatives for reelection (vol. v, p. 104) as President of Cuba.

—The constitutional convention of the Indian Territory (p. 329) proposing a new State to be called Sequoyah, completed its work at Muskogee on the 8th and adjourned.

—An earthquake in Italy on the 8th convulsed the entire province of Calabria, destroying 25 villages and killing hundreds of persons—probably more than a thousand.

—Philip Cullman, whose name is familiar to readers of Chicago newspapers as a frequent contributor in defense of

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Henry George's ideas, died on the 10th. He was a manufacturer of bicycles, etc., and 32 years of age.

—Admiral Togo's flagship, Makasa, was destroyed by the explosion of one of her magazines at Sasheboon the 12th, and 599 officers and sailors suffered from the disaster—5 killed, 251 missing and 343 wounded. Admiral Togo was not on board.

—A bolt from the national convention of Post Office Clerks (p. 358) took place at Cedar Rapids on the 7th over the election the day before of officers by viva voce vote instead of ballot. The bolting organization elected Martin A. Desmond, of St. Louis, as its president.

—The Church of England in Canada, at a general synod in Quebec on the 9th adopted a canon forbidding the solemnization of marriages to which a divorced person is a party (see vol. vii, p. 475)). The bishops were unanimously in favor of the canon, and only eight of the clergy opposed it, but the lay delegates almost defeated it. The majority for it was only 9.

—Active organization is proceeding in the State of New York to secure a tax exemption of real estate improvement values to the amount of $3.000. The Evening Telegram of New York City is taking a postal card vote on the question, and building and loan associations especially are being solicited to support the measure. Leagues for the Partial Exemption from Taxation of Improvements have been organized and a convention is to be held at an early day. Edward Polak, Dr. Samuel W. Greenbaum, Thomas A. Hand and Dr. J. L. Stern are among the leaders in the movement.

—Before leaving for his trip around the world, William J. Bryan closed his relations with the Bennett estate (vol. vii, p. 794) and published in the Commoner of the 8th a full and detailed statement of the execution of his trust. It appears that he has contributed to the purposes designed by the late Mr. Bennett, all that he received as compensation and all that he received in reimbursement of his expenses. That he did not do more in furtherance of the wishes of his dead friend was because relatives, already well provided for, succeeded in breaking the will on a legal technicality. As it is, Mr. Bryan is out of pocket in the matter over $1,500 in cash besides the time he has devoted to it.

PRESS OPINIONS

CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Sept. 12.—The action of the majority of the committee was understood to contemplate the resumption of efforts, interrupted a year ago, for disposing of the traction question by the tentatve ordinance or by some similar arrangement with the present companies.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Sept. 11.—Under Mayor Dunne's contract plan the service can be improved more quickly than by the private companies. The moment the Council agrees to the Mayor's plan the work of improvement can go right ahead. There will be money and men to do it.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Sept. 12.—Here is one thing the people who voted for municipal ownership know and they are in a majority in Chicago: They are not going to permit any alderman to extend the franchises of the traction companies now in Chicago and they are not going to permit these companies to have any rights of any sort that will add one minute to their corporate life.

MISCELLANY

THE SCHOOL OF RICHES.

I.

Blessed are the poor who know the emptiness of riches.

The poor are no better than the rich.

It is the poor in spirit—those who do not desire riches, (those who have passed beyond riches, not those who are yet below them)—who are better than the rich.

We are all in the same school of the Vanity of Riches, and the rich are in the senior class, the class of experience, and will perhaps be the first to be graduated.

Some day we shall all take the degree of Contempt for Riches.

Blessed are the poor who know without experience the vanity of riches, for they shall take the degree cum maxima laude.

II.

Methought I heard God and Satan talking of me as once they talked of Job.

And Satan said: "I am tired of all these ancient forms of torture. The writhings of the prisoner under the lash weary me. The shrieks of the captive in Central Africa as he feels the slow inevitable fire make me yawn. All these old-fashioned sufferings have become maddening in their monotony. When I was young, how I reveled in these joys, but now, alas, those days have passed away. What new punishment can I invent for this man?"

And God said: "What hath he done to deserve punishment?"

And Satan answered and said: "He prayed continually for riches and pleasures and consideration, and strove for them above all things, and forgot Thee altogether."

And God said, "Give him wealth and its honors and pleasures, and see to it that he find no way to escape from them, and then open his eyes that he behold what manner of things they be."

And Satan went forth from the presence of God exulting as of yore.

—Ernest Crosby.

MITCHELL'S "POLITICAL ECONOMY" STORY.

John Mitchell, the labor leader, was discussing an English financier.

"His ideas of political economy," Mr. Mitchell said, "remind me of those of Marshall Saunders, of Braidwood.

"Braidwood is an Illinois town, and I passed my boyhood there. Marshall Saunders had a fine apiary. He raised good bees and good honey. It was a pleasure to visit his neat, well-painted city of hives.

"Marshall had an inquiring mind, and he would sometimes ask himself strange questions. One of the questions he continually asked himself was this:

"'Have I any right to rob these bees of their honey?'

"And for a long time he could not answer that question to his own satisfaction. Finally, though, he found an answer. I have heard him tell it to his friends with pride.

"'I used to feel mean,' he said, 'about robbing the beehives, but after thinking the matter over I see now I'm in the right. If it wasn't for me taking the honey, all them bees would be out of work the whole of next summer.'"

A MISTAKE IN COUNT TOLSTOY'S LETTER.

For The Public.

In the absence of statistics, and indeed in the impossibility of getting the statistics in such matters, no one can tell the number of single taxers in this or any other country. Tolstoy, therefore, cannot be proved to be wrong, but I am convinced that he is wrong, in saying that there has been a falling off in the number of those who believe in the teachings of Henry George.

Certainly it is not true of England. The words, single tax, and the name of George may not be so much in men's mouths or in the newspapers as was the case 15 or 20 years ago, but the demonstrations of the growth of the idea are unmistakable.

As to this country, while the form of single tax activity has changed, there are good reasons for believing that the change has been inevitable and beneficial, and that the growth of the movement, though not loud, and not so rapid as many of its adherents believed it would be, has been steady. This seems to me to be apparent in occasional conventions, like the recent meeting, for example, of the International Typographical union. But I base my belief mainly upon personal observation in different parts of the country. In every community where the single tax has been made known, there are people, generally quiet and thoughtful, who are as fixed in their judgment of the justice and practicability of the single tax as are the more active workers. I am sure that the number of such as these is much larger than is supposed. It has been too much the custom of more aggressive adherents to take no account of them. But they exist nevertheless. That they do not work directly for the movement is mainly due to disposition.

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They do not hide their belief; they simply are not aggressive in preaching their economic or political beliefs any more than in preaching their religious beliefs.

Again, there are single taxers who are working in indirect ways, as earnestly and persistently as ever the first enthusiasts worked directly. Any one who is maintaining and teaching the essential principles of real democracy, is helping to pave the way. Wherever work is being done for equalization of assessments, for higher assessment of unimproved property, for separate assessment of land and improvements, for local taxation, it is a step in the right direction; and it will generally be found that single taxers are at the bottom of the agitation. The single tax may not be mentioned, but it is no less in the thought of the workers. And there are many engaged in these lines of immediate improvement who have not proclaimed themselves single taxers, and yet are such at heart.

It is not surprising that Tolstoy and others should have fallen into the error of supposing that there has been a lapse in single tax progress. For, in addition to the reasons given above showing, to some extent, why the movement has been less loudly pronounced, there is truth in what Count Tolstoy himself says, that there is an inclination to hush it up. There are certainly some who, as he says in the letter, "use all possible means to conceal from themselves and others the truth which is disclosing itself more and more clearly."

J. H. DILLARD.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

CLEVELAND AS THE "BEST GOVERNED CITY."

"Nothing in a city adds so much to the comfort and health of the inhabitants as clean streets. Johnson certainly has succeeded in cleaning and in keeping things clean and he will find that it is a very great vote-getter. What do the great majority of the people care about fads, isms and such like if they have good government, no boodling and the streets cleaned up." The speaker was a Republican who has never voted for Johnson, but who declared that he is going to do so this year.

He further said: "I keep a horse and have occasion to do a good deal of driving. I remember what sort of streets we used to have and how there was a constant complaint that there was no money available to keep the filth out of the streets. There are no excuses now but the streets are really clean. People do like results a great deal better than excuses. I was driving with a friend the other day who lives in a city a long ways from here. He remarked about the cleanliness of the streets, and said that he supposed this comes from the fact that Cleveland 'has the best mayor in the United States,' and I told him it was undoubtedly from that cause."

It is little realized what a wide reputation that article by "Link Steffens," as the Governor calls him, has had on the country. But the greatest effect is right here in Cleveland. Don't imagine for a minute that the ordinary citizen does not like to live in the "best governed" city. Don't get it into your head that there is not a swelling pride when other people come here and say that Cleveland is "best governed." Does any one imagine that it is not worth thousands of votes for the Mayor, so long as he continues to do well and wants to be Mayor?—Cleveland Recorder of Aug. 30.

THE MAYOR WON'T GIVE GRAFT.

A committee representing an organization which is making arrangements for a picnic called on Mayor Johnson yesterday.

"Of course you know I am a candidate for mayor," said Mr. Johnson.

"Certainly, that is why we called. We are visiting all candidates. Here is the result of our visit." And a book detailing names of subscribers and the amount given was produced.

"Hem," said the Mayor glancing over it. "A great many Republicans and some Democrats, too. That is good for you, but bad for the interests of the people.

"You know I have a rule that when I am a candidate for office I make no contributions of any sort whatever. Neither do I buy any tickets, no matter how worthy the cause. This has been my policy ever since I have been in politics. It is my policy now, and while I would like to take some tickets I cannot do so while I am before the people of this city as a candidate for the highest office in their gift. I am very sorry that any Democratic candidates took any.

"Boys, I will go to your picnic if you desire, but I cannot buy any of your tickets or give you a contribution."

An invitation to attend the picnic was promptly extended and the Mayor said he would go.

"That is a rule that will not be broken," said the Mayor afterwards. "Of course, I may be bothered for a short time, but the people will stop coming to me when they find it to be a waste of time to apply. Some time ago you know the Republican committee proposed formal action to put a stop to the working of the 'graft' against candidates. My advice then was that they would encounter little difficulty if they adopted a rule refusing money to anyone."—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Aug. 31.

THE LONDON TIMES AND TOLSTOY.

An editorial in the London Times of August 1, the issue in which appeared the letter from Leo Tolstoy which was reprinted in full in The Public of August 19.

We print to-day a long and characteristic communication from Count Leo Tolstoy. It is entitled "A Great Iniquity," and deals with what the writer regards as "the chief evil from which the whole of the Russian people are unceasingly and cruelly suffering . . . the fact that the majority of the people are deprived of the indisputable natural right of every man to use a portion of the land on which he was born." We shall not be suspected of a sudden conversion to the doctrine of land nationalization because we have thought it right to accord the hospitality of our columns to a discussion of the great economic problem of Russia by one of the most eminent of living Russians. That the agrarian question lies at the root of nearly all the internal troubles of Russia is not to be disputed, nor can it be doubted that any contribution towards its solution by so eminent and influential a writer as Count Tolstoy may have, for good or for evil, very far-reaching effects in the present critical state of affairs. But the line of argument pursued by Count Tolstoy will carry little conviction to western thinkers, and is even calculated to alienate their sympathies altogether. It is not, in our judgment, by a crude reproduction of the belated and exploded theories of the late Henry George that agrarian salvation can be wrought in Russia or elsewhere, and it is almost enough to make reasonable men despair of the regeneration of the Russian people to find that such a man as Count Tolstoy has no better and no truer gospel to preach to them than this.

A CLAIRVOYANT'S TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING EDITORIAL.

In another column of to-day's issue will be found a long letter by Count Leo Tolstoy. The fact that the writer is a man of world-wide reputation, and especially that he is a member of the Russian aristocracy, accounts for the insertion of the letter, which otherwise would certainly have found its way into our waste-paper basket. For its appearance he owes thanks to the

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Flunky and not to the Editor. We regard the letter itself as of no value. It is a crude reproduction of the belated and exploded theories of Henry George. We say belated, because it is well known that Henry George did not proclaim his gospel of the single tax until the latter part of the nineteenth century—some hundreds of years after the establishment of the social conditions of which he complained. We say exploded, because it is so regarded by all the fellows at the club. The name of George is, indeed, scarcely known in the circles in which we move; or it is mentioned only to be laughed at as that of an American crank who taught the doctrine that no man should be allowed to hold private property. It is true some 500 taxing authorities in Great Britain are at present asking parliament for power to rate unimproved land values, and several British newspapers of considerable influence are agitating for reform in the same direction; but this does not greatly signify. The people behind these movements are of the lower orders, who hold the vulgar notion that work is respectable. It is sad to find a man of Tolstoy's birth and breeding mixed up with such riff-raff. Not many of our subscribers, we trust, will read his long harangue; they can scarcely do so, we venture to say, and maintain the air of unconcern which is the outward sign of superior blood. We have, as a matter of editorial routine, gone through the lucubration, and can assure our friends of the landed gentry that they may well spare themselves the ordeal. The letter is full of wild and revolutionary ravings—but the whole argument may be gathered up in one statement—that the misery of Russia is chiefly due to the fact that the peasants are excluded from the land, or granted access thereto only on starvation terms. It would ill become The Times to condescend to bandy arguments with a man who wears a smock-frock (notwithstanding his family connections), and we will content ourselves by simply denying this proposition. The notion that man is a land-animal (a coarse expression which Tolstoy quotes approvingly from George), and cannot make a living if he is excluded from the raw material of nature, is too ridiculous. Everyone knows that here in London there are thousands of people who have access to no land apart from the public streets and parks, and yet manage to get along by selling shoe-laces, and other articles of commerce. Tolstoy is much given to such cheap clap-trap as that "God made the earth for the children of men;" "land, like air, water and sunshine, is a gift of the Creator, and not an article of merchandise," etc., etc. He even goes so far as to say that the landlord as such is a parasite, and should be prevented, by means of a tax upon land values, from any longer battening upon the toil of his fellowmen. This, of course, is arrant blasphemy; though it is a part of the misguided Count's so-called "religion." What, we ask, would Britain be without the British landlord? Where were the charm of our rural scenes if divested of the picturesque squire, the huntsman, the ladies and gentlemen of quality, in short, the leisured class, the glory and hope of our country? But enough. We will not demean ourselves to argue the question. We could even wish that our inborn snobbery had permitted us to refuse publication to the Count's article. We can only hope, once more, in the interests of peace and comfort, that nobody will read it.

J. W. B.

TOLSTOY AS PREACHER AND PROPHET.

Dr. H. W. Thomas on Tolstoy's letter—"A Great Iniquity," republished from the London Times in The Public of August 19.

The Public has done a noble service in giving to its readers the entire article of Leo Tolstoy on the social conditions and imperative needs of Russia. It was published in full in the London Times of August 1st, and short abstracts cabled to the papers of this country; but The Public is so far the first and only paper to give the article in full. Its length, and the fact that it quotes so largely from the well-known works of Henry George, may explain in part the fact of its limited notices; but its value in dealing with fundamental principles, applicable not alone to Russia, but to Europe and America, is too great to be lost. Let us hope that The Public may give it to the world in some more permanent form.

It is generally understood that Leo Tolstoy looks at all social questions from the moral and religious standpoint. He sees clearly the political and economic problems involved; but to such a deep far-seeing vision, these are more than questions of expediency, of personal pleasure, of loss or gain. At bottom, they are questions of essential right or wrong; and must be so seen and felt and dealt with before the evils that disturb and burden the social order can be corrected. There is no place in this great and good man's philosophy and religion for the convenient expediency and selfish utilitarianism that looks only to the favored few, and not to the rights and welfare of the many. The principles of right, of justice, are eternal, are in the very constitution of things; and hence, are universal. The social order is conditioned in the laws of the moral order; and these, like the laws of the natural order, as gravity, motion, chemical affinities, must be the same for all. There cannot be one kind of justice for the black man, and another for the white; one kind for the Jew, and another for the Christian; one for the rich, and another for the poor.

Tolstoy, like the prophets of old, like John the Baptist, and the Christ, is a preacher of righteousness; and hence to his awakened conscience all forms of social wrong are sins against the moral order of the good; against man and God. And the point that he most distinctly accentuates in this great and timely article is: that it is only as mankind come to the clearer and deeper moral vision and conviction of the sinfulness of social wrongs, will they truly repent—change their minds, their thinking, see things in their true light; and in shame and sorrow turn from the wrong, and with gladness do the right. And in this, the great teacher-preacher touches the profoundest depths and heights of the soul and God. Without a clear and abiding consciousness of the Divine, morality, religion if we call it such, man has only the lower or earth side of sense relations that may be swayed by passion, perverted by prejudice or corrupted by the love of gain and pleasure. With the vision of the Infinite justice of love, the soul is lifted above the lower motivities, and asks the one question: What is right? Not what will bring the greatest earthly gain or pleasure, but what is the will of God?

Speaking as a Russian, and knowing the thought and life of his own people, Tolstoy refers to the unrest of the educated classes, and their desire for social reforms in government, and for larger personal liberty; but says that these do not touch the one vital question; that the countries of Europe have largely secured these reforms, but are still suffering for the one thing of all most needed; and that is, the rights of all to the use of the soil. The truth of such a statement will hardly be questioned; but the rights of the people to some form of constitutional government may be a first step or condition of what he thinks is of all the most important.

Man does not ask to be born into the world; he finds himself here, and under forms of government and religion and the inequalities of social conditions that have come as inheritances from a long past. That past has been largely a selfish struggle of force for power, possession, owner-

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ship of the soil, the minerals, of the one earth upon which all must live; and for places of authority in the state and nation. In this struggle the few have risen to thrones and vast estates and fabulous wealth; there is a large middle class living in comparative plenty; and a still larger number with little or no land or property and living upon the toil of each day. And especially is this the case in the older countries where the struggle has been long and the population crowded.

Russia is a large country with almost unlimited room for farms and homes; but the land is largely owned by the aristocracy, and the poor peasants are doomed to toil and poverty for want of a possible place they can call their own. Undoubtedly the greatest need of the millions of that land is a right and the ability to own and till the soil; and in less degree the same is true of other countries, our own not excepted.

There is not time, nor is it the purpose of this article to discuss the theories of Henry George; but to call attention to the timely and able words of Tolstoy. But this is true: Henry George has, as was never done before, called the attention of our age to the rights of the millions to a place upon the earth, to the soil from which must come the food and raiment and shelter of all. And every year the question becomes more urgent; it is not that of land alone, but in the great shops the working man does not own the tools or machinery with which he works.

The whole great question of the land, of labor and capital, is at bottom a question of justice, of what is fair and right; and the appeal must be not alone to legal forms, but to the great law and life of love, of brotherhood. Tolstoy tells us that it was owing to the deep sense of the wrong and shame of holding their less favored brothers in servitude, that the serfs of Russia were set free; and in his great religious faith in man and God, he believes the owners of the vast land estates will come to see the wrong, the *sin* of denying the rights of the suffering poor to use the earth that is the gift of God to all his children.

This excommunicated, but Divinely ordained teacher of righteousness, may be mystical or extreme in some things; but in his self-forgetting and consecrated life he stands at the eternal centers of the true and the good, of the soul and God, from which alone can come the power to lift our world into the moral grandness of the life of Christ in the life of man.

Chicago. H. W. THOMAS.

Victim (after an hour of it)—You certainly seem to be very fond of Wagner!

Miss Pounder—Well—er—not exactly; but I do love noise!—Life.

BOOKS

BROAD-CAST.

Aided by poet's vision and scholar's pen, Ernest Crosby sows seed for the future with the intensity of a man with a prophet's call. With the thought of his sowing he names his latest book of poems "Broad-Cast" (Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York, 1905), saying:

Others may frame and construct,
Fitting together the stones,
As they think, of the city of God.
Mine be the lowlier task,—
Mine be the dropping of seed
In the long silent furrows of earth,
Where she bringeth forth fruit of herself.

The poem on "Democracy" with which the book opens, seems to us to be the only poem written since Lowell's "Present Crisis" which is in the least comparable to it. In power and incisiveness, in nobility of diction, in courage, in the absoluteness of its humanity, who shall say that it takes second place in such a comparison? The wrong that stirred Lowell to pen his burning words, ripened, and was pulled violently up by the roots. Writing more than half a century later, Crosby urges the natural methods of eradication.

And yet I am no abolitionist.
I would abolish nothing except by disuse.
Slavery is good for those who believe in slavery, for in a world of slaves there must be masters, and men with the hearts of slaves had better be slaves.
Government is good for those who believe in government, and punishment for those who believe in punishment, and war for those who believe in war.
Anything is good enough for the man who believes in it, and the first step upward is not abolition but disbelief.

No truer word for democracy has ever been said than this:

Would you make brothers of the poor by giving to them?
Try it, and learn that in a world of injustice it is the most unbrotherly of acts.
There is no gulf between men so wide as the alms-gift.
There is no wall so impassable as money given and taken.
There is nothing so unfraternal as the dollar,—it is the very symbol of division and discord.
Make brothers of the poor if you will, but do it by ceasing to steal from them;
For charity separates and only justice unites.

And no better lesson in democracy has ever been offered than this:

Despise high breeding? Nay, but we should be fools indeed to throw overboard such a treasure.
Good manners, the nice sense of what is fitting, the refinement which is so difficult to learn in a single lifetime,—far be it from us to risk these hard-earned possessions of the race in any social cataclysm.
But is it not you, rather, who put them in peril—
You who would monopolize these gifts and restrict them to your narrow circle; you, who hoard them like your gold and silver;—who find the chief value of them in the fact that others have them not?
"*Noblesse oblige*," fine thought,—fair flower of feudalism, foretelling a summer of even fairer bloom. But "Manhood obliges," is not that finer still?

Long poems and short, most of them in the unrimed, Whitman measure, follow each other through these attractive pages. "The Cotton Mill" is more grim, and more accusative in its implications than even Mrs. Browning's terrible "Cry of the Children." "The School of Riches" (reproduced in another column of this issue of The Public) should be committed to memory by every man to whom riches are a lure. "My Soul," while not so complete and well rounded as "Democracy," furnishes questions as searching for the individual life as the former furnishes for the communal life. Has anything been written about the human function better than this:

I found my soul lying neglected, and I picked it up and wondered what the strange mechanism was for.
I went to school to learn what use to make of my soul.
They taught me to think with it, but it strained and creaked and nearly gave way under the ordeal.
They showed me how to amuse myself with it, but it speedily got out of order and refused to work.
Then they trained me to hate with my soul, but it broke down utterly and nearly fell to pieces.
I came back from school disgusted with my soul and my teachers.
It was long after (alone, lying on my bed in the night-watches) that it flashed upon me what my soul was for.
Why did none of them tell me that my soul was a loving machine?

With one more quotation which well expresses the intense vitality, not only of this book, but of all Ernest Crosby's relations to life, we close:

Stop rummaging in the past for musty causes, O scientist!
Seek not the living among the dead.
Life *is*, not *was*,—and must ever continue to be.
How can the vanished columns of ages ago sustain our present temples?
Then search, not for dead causes, but for the Living God.

ALICE THACHER POST.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Glasgow Corporation Railways. Abstract Statement of Income and Expenditure for Year from 1st June, 1904, to 31st May, 1905, with capital account and balance sheet as at 31st May, 1905. General Manager, James Dalrymple, 46 Bath St., Glasgow. This detailed account of the operations of the municipally owned and operated street car system of Glasgow is an instructive publication. It accounts for every penny of receipts and expenditures for the year, and shows the net revenue to have been $1,800,000, of which $125,000 was turned over to the general reserve fund after appropriations for interest, sinking fund, taxes, rentals, depreciation, reconstruction, alterations, improvements, etc.

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The passengers carried numbered 195,767,519, of which 16 per cent. paid one cent fare, 65 per cent. paid two cents, ten per cent. paid three cents, four per cent. paid four cents, and one and a half per cent. paid five cents, the others having paid upwards of five cents.

PAMPHLETS

The address of Dr. Charles Chassaignac as president of the Louisiana Medical Society has been reprinted from the New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal and will be found to contain much that is of importance and interest to laymen. His subject was, "The Role of the Mosquito in the Propagation of Disease, especially Malaria." The address was delivered on May 10. In closing Dr. Chassaignac said: "It is the duty of the members of this society to preach the gospel of the mosquito peril and the crusade for his extermination, for few greater benefits can come to mankind than the extinction of the mosquito."—J. H. D.

PERIODICALS

Now and then a newspaper is found brave enough to venture a criticism upon the evils of the press. "The great dailies of the country, says the Spencer (Mass.) Leader, "are having an effect upon the moral tone of the people that is harmful." The writer thinks that the harm comes largely from stressing the wrong things. "The matters," he says, "that are often featured in broadsides of wood-type are the very things that should find the most obscure place in the paper."—J. H. D.

There is a delightful autobiographical article in the Contemporary Review by Edward Grieg, the great musician, entitled "My First Success." One reads the article without finding out what is the first success—until he reaches the closing paragraph. Here we find that it consisted in the power "to throw away all the superfluous rubbish with which I had been encumbered by my poverty-stricken education both at home and abroad—an education lumbering and one-sided, and tending to drive my natural talents into a totally wrong course; that power was my salvation and my good fortune." Yet Grieg had the best "education" that could be found.—J. H. D.

"We are inclined to forget," says Mr. Joseph Conrad in an article on Books in the London Speaker, "that the way of excellence is in the intellectual, as distinguished from emotional, humility." His article is well adapted to set one in the way of excellence, for nothing can make one more intellectually humble than to read an article, written in apparently plain English, which he can make neither heads nor tails of. The only thought the humiliated reader can be sure of is the following: "To be hopeful in an artistic sense it is not necessary to think that the world is good." This is clear; but why limit it to an artistic sense? Is it not true in a political sense, an economic sense, an any kind of sense? Mr. Conrad is by some much admired as a novelist, but surely this essay in criticism is a puzzling production.—J. H. D.

The Philistine, in its August number, has some remarks on colleges and education that some who are not philistines—in the dicitonary sense—may applaud. "The spirit of mendicancy," it says, "pervades every college, just as in the good old days of the monks. Beggars all! There are 4,000 young men at Harvard, average weight, 142 pounds. Why not set them to work at some productive employment for four or five hours daily? Would they not be better off morally, physically, mentally? They ought to earn, at least, a dollar a day each. That is $4,000 a day—over $1,000,000 a year." The Philistine suggests this to Harvard as a means of increasing its endowment. Later on in the preachment is a sentence which might well be inscribed over the portal of every college: "There are some things money cannot secure, and one is education."—J. H. D.

The statement of the editor of Town Topics as to the ultimate purpose of his publication deserves the attention of the large circle of readers who do not subscribe to the paper and have entertained prejudices against it. The Colonel's optimistic hopes of reforming society by showing up "those people" is pleasing to contemplate. As reported in the Times the Colonel said: "Do you know what I want to do—what I am doing? I am showing up those people. I am making them impossible. I am teaching the great American people not to pay attention to that sort of silly fools. And by and by those men and women that Town Topics is showing in their true light will become so disgusted with themselves that they will reform. Yes, sir, that's what they'll do. Do you still think I am wrong in publishing Town Topics?" Meantime the Colonel is making a handsome living out of his paper; and the collateral publication, Fads and Fancies, is said to have already netted $200,000.—J. H. D.

One of the best written of recent short stories is a Strange Conversion, in Blackwood's Magazine. It tells of an aged Polish revolutionist, who had lost his faith, as well as all hope, after the collapse of '63. The triumph of wrong robbed him of his former belief in a God of justice. He lived a life of seclusion, and would not allow the name of God to be mentioned in his presence. When the Japanese war began he lay on his death-bed. As the news came to him of victories against the Russians he and his faith began to revive. He lived long enough to rejoice in the fall of Port Arthur, and died in full communion with the church! The story is told with admirable force and clearness.—J. H. D.

As the word of the Lord came to Abram, as it came to Israel and Moses, as it comes year after year to the robin, so also it comes to me, saying,

"Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee."

—Ernest Crosby.

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All readers of THE PUBLIC who have not already done so, are requested to send at once to the publishers the names and addresses (with occupation, where it can be given) of all those living in their vicinity, men and women, who are believers in, or sympathizers with, single tax principles, whether actively so or not. Prompt compliance with this request will help to advance an important work. Blanks will be sent where desired.

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The Ant—Why, friend Bee, they're not worrying about the Ant-Eater; they're discussing the Inter-state commerce question. The Ant-Eater is one of our established and legalized institutions!

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