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To suppose that the disruption of the British cabinet forecasts the downfall of Chamberlain and Chamberlainism, is to ignore or misunderstand some of the most significant signs of the times.

While it is altogether probable that at the first general elections everything Chamberlainistic will go by the board, it is just as probable that the return wave will carry back Chamberlain and all he stands for upon its crest.

What is most involved in this ministerial crisis is a realignment of British parties and a readjustment of their issues. Free trade of a limited kind has for two generations been a traditional policy in Great Britain. Both parties have been compelled to adjust their economic differences with reference to free trade standards of the Manchester or British school, much as both parties in this country have been for nearly two generations compelled to adjust theirs with reference to protection standards. That necessity is about passing in England and Chamberlain has had the sagacity to see it.

British sentiment has for some years been ripening toward more radical economic issues. The free trade idea has been developed by radicalism to its logical end as Cobden saw it—the land question. Concurrently, special interests have been turning back upon free trade. A clash between radical free trade and Imperial protection is consequently not far off. This

clash will be felt, though only slightly, in the first elections.

In those elections the official Liberal leaders will stand for the old Manchester idea of free trade limited. They will have the advantage of the support of traditional opinion. The old free traders who are not acting with them will not be acting against them. But active opposition will come from Chamberlain, who will stand uncovered as a protectionist. There is no probability of his making more than a beginning now, but he will have won his place as opposition leader when the Liberals come into power.

The Liberal lease of power will be short. That party is more distracted by internal conflicts over the approaching new alignment of parties than is the Democratic party of the United States. What with Liberals who are inclined to protectionism, those who are traditional free traders, those who are free traders limited, and those who are radical free-and-equal-rights-to-land men, no Liberal ministry can long hold together, especially in the face of the growing protection sentiment among the people, which Chamberlain will lose no opportunity to propagate, and the growing sentiment for radical free trade which the spirit of opposition aided by purposeful agitation will undoubtedly foster. And when the Liberal party goes again to the country, broken and scattered, it will confront a powerful antagonist in the new spirit of protection under the leadership of Chamberlain.

Under these most favorable circumstances Chamberlain would probably come into power at the head of the Imperial protection party. The Liberal party—in fact

if not in name—would repeat the experience of the American Whig party of the early '50s. What form the opposition would take cannot be predicted. Possibly an era of protectionism unopposed would be in store for England, somewhat like that which the United States has experienced since the Civil War. But meanwhile Mr. Chamberlain, for the remainder of his life, would be British premier and practically king. Such, in the rough, is doubtless the outlook in British politics as Mr. Chamberlain views it.

The Ohio campaign (p. 376) is now in full swing, the Republicans having begun their meetings last week. The opening meeting of the Republicans at Chillicothe was an astonishing performance, when the objections of the Republican press and leaders to "Tom Johnson's sensationalism" are considered. Johnson's "sensationalism" consists in using a large tent and speaking to large audiences. He is attended by no bands, by no uniformed clubs, by no glee clubs, by no banners. But the opening meeting of the Republicans was distinguished by every sort of sensationalism known to the political showman. We quote from the Chicago Inter Ocean, a Republican paper:

The Blaine club of Cincinnati, with over 800 uniformed men, had a strong rival to-day in the Ross County Rough Riders, every township in that county being represented by delegations on horseback. The Tippecanoes from Cleveland, the Rail Splitters from Toledo, and the Buckeyes from Columbus ranked next. The Glee club from Columbus had over 100 voices. The decorations were as elaborate as at the recent Ohio centennial celebration at this place, the first capital of the State. The attendance included all the party leaders and officials, with special excursions from all parts of the State.

How does that compare for sensationalism with the quiet entry of Johnson and Clarke into Akron

(p. 370) at the formal opening of the Democratic campaign?—so quiet that the occasion was supposed to be “a frost” until 7,000 auditors packed the large tent and stood 10 deep around its edges to listen, not to platitudes and buncombe and billingsgate, but to a straightforward discussion of issues.

At the Republican meeting the gubernatorial candidate, Mr. Herrick, plunged into a subject which, for the peace of mind of the plutocratic classes whom his candidacy represents, he might better have avoided. We quote from the Associated Press report:

The only issue between the parties this year having reference to taxation is whether we shall discard all recognized proper methods of taxation and adopt the methods based upon the speculative theories of Henry George and his followers. It is fair to discuss single tax because the leader of the present Ohio Democracy has declared for it, and is supported on the stump by recognized exponents of the doctrine. I cannot resist calling attention in brief to the fact that such a tax is objectionable to all classes, because it abolishes all plans of established revenue service; it prevents the assessment of desirable excise; it cannot be equitably assessed; it threatens free institutions; it cuts off the possibility of taxing trusts and corporations; it is unjust and not universal; it puts the whole burden of revenue on the few, and not equally, makes the farmer and home owner overpay and the dangerous form of wealth escape; it would not remove a single hardship, it would not relieve the poor, would not reach the so-called monopolistic class, and above all has been a disastrous failure in the only instances of experience. Contemplating what we have, we can ill afford to sanction, even by the inference of indorsement, Ohio's commendation of such a peril.

As that is not argument but only bald assertion, and raises no issue in the campaign, no reply is demanded. But Mr. Johnson is anxious that the single tax should be the issue in Ohio, and is therefore not unlikely to push Mr. Herrick further and further along this line of controversy. He would be glad enough if it resulted in making Henry George's ideas the subject of discussion in Ohio this Fall from Lake Erie to the Ohio. That might indeed assure Her-

rick's election as governor (no great matter in a State in which his party has a recent record of 137,000 majority which it held up to 90,000 last year); but what about the future? The discussion so begun would not stop with the election. It would go on all through the Winter; and when another campaign came on, the people of Ohio, especially the farmers, would understand the single tax principle so well that they could not again be fooled by the clap-trap speeches of its enemies. If Johnson could get the people of Ohio to understand the single tax at the moderate expense of letting Herrick into the office of governor of their rock-ribbed Republican State this year, it would be for the people of Ohio one of the best of good bargains.

Judge Lore, of Delaware, has strengthened his title to public respect (p. 356) by advising the grand jury to set the machinery of the law in motion against the mob that lynched and burned a Negro accused of crime (p. 201) near Wilmington last Summer. In the course of his charge to that body on the 21st, Judge Lore said:

The crime of George White and his punishment are not before us. Upon his body human vengeance has done its work. If the matter concerned George White alone, there would be nothing left for our consideration. But for the first time the lawless and revolting crime of lynching has invaded this State. Lynching is a crime against the law of both God and man. Every willful participant in such an act is a murderer. No person has a right to commit that crime because he believes or fears that some other person who is entrusted with the execution of the law will fail or has failed in the performance of his duty. In obedience to the oath you have taken and to your duty to your State, we ask you to so act that the crime of lynching may be suppressed in this State, so far as by your action that end may be attained, and that the perpetrators of this crime, and the authors of the disgrace that has come upon us through their crime, shall be dealt with according to their just merits.

Another Southerner whose sensible words are contributing to the rescue of the Southern name from the mire into which barbarous mobs and their more barbar-

ous newspaper and lyceum-platform setters-on are trampling it, is Bishop Warren A. Candler, of the Methodist Church (South), a prominent Georgian. Bishop Candler was reported on the 8th from Atlanta as saying:

When a lynching occurs the law is more truly lynched than is the victim of the mob's fury. It is an outburst of anarchy and not an irruption of righteous indignation against an atrocious crime. In defense of lynching it is sometimes said ‘Stop the outrages that provoke lynching and the lynching will cease,’ but pray tell which outrage is meant. If reference to the horrible crime of assaulting women is intended it is enough to say in reply that it is not the cause of one-fourth the lynchings which occur in the United States. Two years ago, for example, the figures for a year showed only 16 cases of assault against 128 lynchings. This evil strikes at the very heart of our civil institutions. If unchecked it will increase and eventually become unendurable by the vicious even. Men will grow so weary of it that they will welcome any sort of strong hand which will undertake to put it down, even the hand of tyranny. The “Chautauqua season” is a very dangerous period of the year, especially during those years when the Congress of the United States is not in session and the thrifty statesman who is deficient in a sense of responsibility for his words is “out for the stuff” and when platform managers, who have an eye for gate receipts only, are out hunting for “drawing” sensationalists. What a pity that these men undertake to handle matters so serious and so complex—yea, what a peril. Adventurous sportsmen discharging firearms in a powder house would not be a greater menace to good order and security.

At its recent session in Washington the International Typographical Union received from the Washington delegation and referred to a standing committee, a set of resolutions regarding the local government of the city of Washington, which this union and every other organization with the slightest pretensions to democracy, whether within or without the circles of organized labor, should adopt. It may not be generally known that the District of Columbia, including the city of Washington, has for a quarter of a century been totally divested of local self-government. Yet that is the fact. The District and the city are governed by the Presi-

dent of the United States and a committee of Congress, for neither of whom are its permanent inhabitants allowed to vote. This is delightful enough for land owners, for Congress pays half the public expenses and the land owners are able to increase their rents accordingly. But for workers and tenants, it is as pronounced an example of imperialism at home as could be desired. It is against this policy of hostility to American institutions that the resolutions now before the standing committee of the Typographical union protest.

The resolutions in question, which are of national interest, read as follows:

Whereas, the people of the District of Columbia were, in 1876, arbitrarily and unjustly deprived of their inalienable right of local self-government, and an un-republican, un-American form of government—"an absolute autocracy not legally responsible to the people"—forced upon them without their consent; and, whereas, the present form of government in the capital city of the Republic—the political heart of the nation—is contrary to the fundamental principles of American liberty; and, whereas, the ballot is one of organized labor's most effective weapons, deprived of which it becomes difficult, often impossible, to peaceably redress the grievances of, and secure justice for, the working classes; therefore,

Resolved, that it is the sense of the International Typographical Union, assembled in forty-ninth annual session at Washington, D. C., this 11th day of August, 1903, that Congress should re-establish in the District of Columbia a government, republican in form, and in harmony with the spirit and institutions of our country—"a government for the people"—based on free suffrage limited only by a reasonable educational test, with a secret ballot. Resolved, that copies of these resolutions be forwarded, under seal, to the President of the United States, the president of the senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives, when elected, and the chairman of the Senate committee on the District of Columbia, and to the chairman of the House committee on the District of Columbia, when appointed.

A wealthy young woman of Chicago is reported by the local press as having decided to give up a luxurious home to live as a settlement worker in a barely furnished room over a livery stable

in the stock yards district; and if the newspaper interviews with her are to be depended upon, she is very enthusiastic. Far be it from us to say anything that might by any possibility dampen her enthusiasm. On the contrary we should be glad to stimulate it. But she discloses a point of view with reference to settlement work which is common, and withal so natural yet so mistaken, that a word about her case may be useful to others if not to her. Referring to the poor among whom she is to work, this enthusiastic young woman is reported to have said: "Once we have won their friendship they will tell these troubles to us," etc. In this point of view there is an unhappy assumption that friendship and the confidences of friendship can be one-sided. It is a great mistake. The poor may seem to accept the friendship of the rich who step down into the slums with them for a season and then up again into the atmosphere of wealth where they cannot go, and may appear to be confiding; but there is in reality neither friendship nor confidence—no more than between master and slave, or "superior" and "inferior" races. Friendship and confidence exist only between equals and reciprocally. Unless this young woman intends to give her friendship—not her patronage, but her friendship,—to the poor among whom she is going to live, and to give them her confidence as fully as she invites theirs, she can expect neither friendship nor confidence in return. The probability is that she will bring greater benefits to herself out of her slum experience than she will carry to the denizens of the slums. She certainly will if she learns and takes to heart the good old lesson that there are no upper and lower classes to patronize and be patronized, but that the people of all classes are what Mayor Jones calls "just folks."

Gen. MacArthur expresses astonishment at the enormous number of desertions from the regular army—something like 20 per cent

of the entire force. He is astonished because, as he says, "the American soldier is so well provided for in respect to all his material necessities, and his personal rights are so carefully safeguarded in respect to all matters of discipline." Gen. MacArthur places the American soldier on the plane of the porker. But material necessities and protection from unjust disciplinary punishments are not the only considerations with American manhood. What if the American soldier be well fed and be not punished arbitrarily, if he is hourly impressed with the army lesson that he is a social inferior, a degraded creature unfit to associate with gentlemen except as a menial, and that his term of enlistment is as rigid as a term in the penitentiary?

It is reported from Washington that the Democrats intend at the next session of Congress to "quiz" President Roosevelt on his acceptance of "courtesies" from railroads in the way of free special trains and free cars. But which of them will have the hardihood to do this "quizzing?" All Congressmen are given passes by the railroads. That fact was brought out with sufficient clearness in the Baltimore & Ohio letter to (pp. 263, 274, 289) Congressman Baker. But up to date Congressman Baker is the only member of either House who is known to have refused such "courtesies." Is it any worse for the President than for Congressmen to accept railroad favors? We hope the President may be "quizzed;" but we also hope that Mr. Baker, or some Congressman with hands equally clean, may be selected to conduct the "quizzing."

The Chicago school board is entitled to the credit of making a promising innovation in having virtually decided to allow the use of school rooms for local civic purposes outside of school hours. A new statute empowers the board to do this, and the first step under the statute was taken last week. Two clergymen were allowed by

the board to use school rooms for religious services. No distinction can be made, of course, in favor of religious uses. That would savor too strongly of a union of church and state. Consequently it may be assumed that hereafter the school rooms will be available for local public uses, and that the school buildings will become centers of civic as well as educational progress.

### ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE NEXT DEPRESSION.

Since it has come to be generally agreed that the "good times" toward which there has been so much pointing with pride are doomed, an attempt is being made to hold organized labor responsible for the inevitable disaster. "In the growth and the demands of organized labor," says one prominent prosperity whooper, "is the first check to our unbounded prosperity."

This graceful sidestep provokes an embarrassing question. If responsibility for the next industrial depression is to be laid at the door of organized labor, why not account for previous industrial depressions in the same way? Why not accuse organized labor of having produced those of 1817, 1837, 1857, 1873 and 1893, if it is to be charged with responsibility for the one that now approaches?

The only apparent excuse is that organized labor was not strong enough in those years to be plausibly charged with producing any kind of calamity; whereas now it has become so great and so aggravating to employers that it might be charged with causing eclipses and sun spots without contradiction in "business circles."

But, really, there is not much sense—not even "business sense"—in accounting for the coming business depression by reference to the growth of organized labor and the demands it makes, if the business depressions of the past were not so caused and the conditions that did cause them still exist.

Organized labor did not cause the depression of 1817. Of that depression Senator Benton wrote that there was "no price for property," "no sales," "no employment," "no sound of the hammer," that "distress was the universal cry of the people, relief the universal demand," and that "the years 1819 and 1820, were a period of

gloom and agony." That language leaves no doubt of the genuineness of the depression, and many reasons have been given to account for it. Mr. Blaine said it was because the war duties were dropped in 1816 and an era of free trade was begun. Others have pointed out that the war duties, instead of being dropped, were increased 50 per cent.; and have claimed that the distress was due, therefore, not to free trade but to protection, then introduced for the first time by our government as an object instead of an incident of the tariff. Benton ascribed it to currency expansion. But no one has ever ascribed it to organized labor, nor could that possibly be done.

There is no more doubt of the terrible genuineness of the depression of 1837 than of the one that preceded it. Benton pictured the collapse of the United States Bank in 1837, and the going "down in squadrons" of the country banks, their paper being "as worthless as the rags of which it was made," and declared that "about 1840-41, the country was in precisely the same condition as in 1819-20." He ascribed this depression also to currency expansion. Protectionists ascribe it to the compromise tariff of 1833, while free traders agree with Benton in regarding it as due to the bursting of a banking "boom." But, here, again, no one has dreamed, no one could dream, of charging the depression to demands of organized labor.

The subsequent depressions are too recent to require citations of authority in confirmation. Even that of 1857 comes echoing down to us in the plaintive song, heard everywhere then, about "hard times and nothing to do." That of 1873 is notable for having evolved the "tramp" as a distinct class. The last one, known as the depression of 1893, dragged its slow length around the world from about 1889 to 1899. For these depressions, also, numerous and conflicting explanations are offered. We are told that they were due to currency expansion, to currency contraction, to tariff protection and to tariff reduction. But no one has ever been silly enough to venture upon attributing them to the demands of organized labor.

Why, then, should organized labor be held responsible for the coming depression? Isn't this pretty clearly a case of "blaming it on the cat"? There is not the slightest indication of any more connection, as of cause

and effect, between trade unionism and the approaching depression than between trade unionism and the depressions of the past, except that trade unionism has acquired a growth now which it lacked then.

But that exception is not enough. No reason exists for believing that there is not present to-day in this country the same efficient cause for industrial depression—efficient now as then, without any regard whatever to organized labor—that operated ten, thirty, forty-five, sixty-five and eighty-five years ago. To ascertain that cause is not only to account for the depressions to which it is obvious that organized labor could by no possibility have furnished even a contributory influence; it is also to acquit organized labor of responsibility for the depression that approaches. For if a cause is disclosed which did produce the effect when organized labor was weak, and which still exists and would produce the same effect though organized labor were still weak, the mere fact that organized labor has grown strong cannot be considered as shifting the guilt.

The probability of such a cause is evident from the periodicity of these depressions and the uniformity of the circumstances. They have recurred with a remarkable approximation to regularity as to periods, and they have all come as bursted "booms." "Abounding prosperity" has each time preceded and culminated in commercial gloom.

In some way, then, there is unmistakably some sort of cause-and-effect relationship between industrial prosperity and industrial adversity. It is the common recognition of this fact, and not any intelligent conclusion that organized labor is conspiring against prosperity, which creates the universal impression that we are soon to enter upon another of these eras of industrial stagnation.

Yet it is inexplicable that prosperity should produce adversity. There must be something wrong either in the observation of facts or our reasoning about them, when we conclude that adversity is caused by prosperity. That conclusion is altogether too much like the absurdity of supposing that good health causes disease. We dare not stop with it. Nevertheless, it is impossible to escape the conviction already noted, that in some way, however mysterious it may be, the relation of cause and

effect between those diverse phenomena does exist.

The paradox may, perhaps, be explained upon the assumption that the industrial prosperity that produces industrial adversity is not genuine. It may be, on the contrary, an unwholesome appearance of prosperity—one manifestation of a disease of which panic and depression are other manifestations. Why, indeed, is it not possible, even probable, that this so-called alternation of good times and bad, which we are beginning to regard as a matter of course, is altogether a social malady, analogous to some kinds of physical ailments? In those cases of malaria which were once known as "fever and ague," the physician did not call the fever phases periods of "abounding health" and only the ague phases periods of disease—not unless he was a quack. He regarded each of these phases as a characteristic symptom of the disease. So it may be with our recurring periods of "prosperity" and "depression." Instead of being alternations of good periods and bad, they may both be bad periods, one of fever and the other of chill.

This idea is really latent in all that has been said or written upon the subject of our periodical depressions. The free trader tells you that your protection prosperity is feverish and bound to produce collapse. The protectionist tells you that your low tariff prosperity is abnormal and necessarily without lasting quality because the protection is imperfect. The money contractionist tells you that prosperity under inflation is commercial fever; while the inflationist tells you that chills are bound to follow the seeming prosperity of contraction. However enthusiastic over prosperity any who predict a resulting depression may be, all of them entertain more or less vaguely the thought that the period of prosperity which produces a period of adversity is not a period of commercial good health.

But neither contraction nor expansion, neither protection nor tariff for revenue, neither lockouts nor strikes can account for the regular alternations of so-called "good times" and "bad times" which are so prominent a feature of American industrial history. The true explanation lies farther below the surface.

Of all the explanations of the collapse of 1837, for instance, that which Edward M. Shepard offers in his ex-

cellent biography of President Van Buren, is most satisfactory. It suggests clearly the cause of that depression, but a cause which examination will show to be as applicable to all the others. Mr. Shepard writes:\*

The cause of the panic of 1837 lay far deeper than in the complex processes of banking or in the faults of Federal administration of the finances. Every American under Jackson's administration had before him, as the one universal experience of those who had taken lands at the West, an enormous and certain increase of value. . . . If new lands at the West could be made accessible by internal improvements, the succession of seed time and harvest had for a dozen years seemed no more certain than that the value of those lands would at once increase prodigiously. So the American people with one consent gave themselves to an amazing extravagance of land speculation. . . . There is no longer dispute that the prostration of business in 1837, and for several years afterward, was the perfectly natural result of the speculation which had gone before. . . . During 1835 and 1836 there were omens of the coming storm. Some perceived the rabid character of the speculative fever. William L. Marcy, governor of New York, in his message of January, 1836, answering the dipsomaniac cry for more banks, declared that an unregulated spirit of speculation had taken capital out of the State; but that the amount so transferred bore no comparison to the enormous speculations in stocks and in real property within the State. Lands near the cities and villages of the State had risen several hundred per cent. in value, and were sold, not to be occupied by buyers but to be sold again at higher prices. . . . The disaster which in 1837 overtook so large and so important a part of the community was, in its ultimate nature, not difficult to comprehend. . . . There took place an enormous and speculative advance in prices in the cities where were carried on the operations of important traders and the promoters of enterprises, and in the very new country where these enterprises found their material. When a new canal or road was built or a new line of river steamers launched and an unsettled country made accessible, several things inevitably happened in the temper produced by the jubilant observation of the past. There was not only drawn from the ordinary industry of the country the wealth necessary to build the canal or road or steamers; but the country

\*Martin Van Buren, by Edward M. Shepard. American Statesmen series, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, and New York, 1897. Chapter VIII. pp. 242-77.

thus rendered accessible seemed suddenly to gain a value increased by the best results of former settlements, however exceptional, and by the most sanguine hopes for the future. . . . The so-called "business classes" throughout the country, related as they quickly became, under the great impetus of the national hopefulness and vanity, to the new land, to the new cities and towns and farms, and to the means of reaching them and of providing them with the necessities and comforts of civilization, found their wealth rapidly and largely increasing. . . . On the eve of the panic, the new wealth . . . was permanently represented by titles to lands, stocks in land, canal, turnpike, railroad, transportation or banking companies, and the notes issued by banks or traders or speculators. The value of these stocks and notes depended upon the fruitfulness of the lands or canals or roads or steamboat lines. . . . Before the panic broke, it began to appear that mere surveys of wild tracts into lots made neither towns nor cities; that canals and roads and steamboats did not hew down trees nor drain morasses nor open the glebe. . . . In 1836 and 1837 the operators found that there was no longer a population to give enduring life to their new operations. They had far outstripped all the immediate or even the really promised movements of settlers. . . . The new cities and towns and farms and the means of reaching them would be mere paper assets until an army of settlers was ready to enter in and make them sources of actual physical wealth. . . . Jackson's specie circular toppled over the house of cards, which at best could have stood but little longer. . . . Fancied wealth sank out of sight. Paper symbols of new cities and towns, canals and roads, were not only without values but they were now plainly seen to be so. Rich men became poor men. The prices of articles in which there had been speculation sank in the reaction far behind their true value. The industrious and the prudent, who had given their labor and their real wealth for paper promises issued upon the credit of seemingly assured fortunes, suffered at once with men whose fortunes had never been anything better than the delusions of their hope and imagination.

If Mr. Shepard had been writing of the hard times of 1817-21 he would have been obliged to attribute them also to the same fundamental cause to which in his life of Van Buren he attributed the hard times of 1837—speculation in land. As in 1837 so in 1817, other surface causes were abundant, but ample evidence of the

presence of the deeper cause to which Shepard refers is at hand.

McMaster, in his "History of the People of the United States," seems to have had an inkling of this cause of the depression of 1817; for, after noting that the hard times which had been felt by manufacturers and traders at the opening of the year 1817 began at the opening of 1818 to be felt by the people, he writes:\* "They, too, had engaged deeply in speculation, and, carried away by the flush times of 1815, had anticipated the growth of the country by many years."

Indeed, it would have been strange if McMaster had not suspected this reason for those hard times. The circumstances were as significant then as at the later depression of which Shepard writes, and McMaster himself tells about them. A few quotations from him regarding conditions immediately prior to the hard times of 1817 will make the parallel clear:

. . . . The West was almost transformed. Towns grew and villages sprang up with a rapidity which even in these days of rapid and easy communication would be thought amazing. . . . Letters from New York describe the condition of that State west of Utica as one of astonishing prosperity. . . . Villages were increasing in population at the rate of 30 per cent. a year. . . . Auburn, where 20 years before land sold for six shillings an acre, was the first town in size and wealth west of Utica, and land within its limits brought \$7,000 an acre. . . . Emigrants were hurrying up the Missouri river in such numbers that in August the first sale of public lands took place in the Territory and 40,000 acres were disposed of 50 miles west of St. Louis. . . . Such was the demand for town lots [in Alabama] that at a sale at Florence 284 lots brought \$226,000. One sold for \$3,500. Township 4, range 7, west, was bid off at more than half a million, which was something more than \$22 an acre. A company buying a town site for speculation paid \$251 an acre for one-half of a quarter section and \$150 an acre for the other half-quarter. . . . More than \$3,000,000 were realized from Alabama land sales at one public auction. . . . The rapid removal of hundreds of thousands of people from the seaboard to the Mississippi valley gave a new impulse to internal improvements. . . . Every old scheme of inland communica-

tion by turnpike, canal or steamboat was at once revived and urged with a seriousness hitherto unknown. . . .

No characteristic of that remarkable era is so noteworthy as the development of steam navigation. . . . Private enterprise combined with State aid had [1816] covered the seaboard with a network of turnpike roads and bridges. . . . [In 1817] from New York and Pennsylvania westward to the Mississippi and southward to Tennessee a state of general bankruptcy prevailed. The rush of immigration into this belt had been followed by a wild fever of speculation.\*

Here are quotations enough to bring before any intelligent imagination a companion picture of the industrial conditions prevailing up to the hard times of 1817 to that which Shepard has drawn of those that prevailed up to the hard times of 1837.

This glance at McMaster, coupled with Shepard's observations, leaves no doubt of the situation. The panic of 1817, like that of 1837, was preceded and caused by a land "boom." "Business men" were everywhere strenuously buying land, both farming land and town sites,—not to use, but to sell again on a booming market at higher prices; and the collapse came when land prices had risen beyond the point at which the land could be profitably used. In the one case as in the other, "wild cat" banking, excessive loans, premature internal improvements, and possibly tariff changes, may have knocked over the house of cards; but a house of cards it already was. It would soon have toppled without the impulse of any collateral pressure. The fundamental cause of these depressions of 1817-21 and 1837-41 was speculation in land values.

This was probably the fundamental cause also of the panic of 1857. It certainly was the fundamental cause of the hard times of 1873 and 1893. All were the culmination of a period of feverish speculation in land—a speculation which consisted in buying and selling on an upward incline of prices, which, having gone above the level of price where the land could be profitably purchased for the future production of actual physical wealth, were destined sooner or later to reverse their direction with a rush, carrying with them all loans and investments that were in any wise dependent upon inflated land values, and in-

volving in the general crash some that were not so dependent.

This explanation of hard times is essentially identical with that which Henry George has advanced as the principal one. He wrote:\*

I do not mean to say that there are not other proximate causes. The growing complexity and interdependence of the machinery of production, which makes each shock or stoppage propagate itself through a widening circle; the essential defect of currencies which contract when most needed, and the tremendous alternations in volume that occur in the simple forms of commercial credit, which, to a much greater extent than currency in any form, constitute the medium or flux of exchanges; the protective tariffs, which present artificial barriers to the interplay of productive forces, and other similar causes undoubtedly bear an important part in producing and controlling what are called hard times. But, both from the consideration of principles and the observation of phenomena, it is clear that the great initiatory cause is to be looked for in the speculative advance of land values. . . . Given a progressive community, in which population is increasing and one improvement succeeds another, and land must constantly increase in value. This steady increase naturally leads to speculation, in which future increase is anticipated, and land values are carried beyond the point at which, under existing conditions of production, their accustomed returns would be left to labor and capital. Production, therefore, begins to stop. Not that there is, necessarily, or even probably, an absolute diminution in production; but that there is what in a progressive community would be equivalent to an absolute diminution of production in a stationary community—a failure in production to increase proportionately, owing to the failure of new increments of labor and capital to find employment at the accustomed rates. This stoppage of production at some points must necessarily show itself at other points of the industrial network, in a cessation of demand, which would again check production there, and thus the paralysis would communicate itself through all the interlacings of industry and commerce, producing everywhere a partial disjointing of production and exchange, and resulting in the phenomena that seem

\*"A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War." By John Bach McMaster, University of Pennsylvania. D. Appleton & Co., New York, Vol. IV., p. 484.

\*McMaster's history, vol. IV., pp. 386 to 487.

\*"Progress and Poverty: an Inquiry Into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth. The Remedy." By Henry George. Doubleday & McClure Co., New York. Pages 261-62.

to show overproduction or over consumption, according to the standpoint from which they are viewed.

As we have already seen, that explanation fully accounts for the industrial depressions this country has so far experienced. If it is not so obvious with reference to that of 1893 as to the others the reason is not far to seek. By that year the volume of speculative land values had come to be represented, to a degree much higher than formerly, by corporate stock. In greatly-enhanced proportion, therefore, land speculation prior to the hard times of 1893 had assumed the form of stock speculation.

This is also the case to-day. Stock speculation serves to conceal much of the most ominous land speculation in which the country is indulging. Notwithstanding this speculative masquerade, however, any intelligent observer may see in the rising speculative prices even of unincorporated landholdings—in city and town lots and Western farm sites—the infallible signs of a gathering storm.

Already production is being checked. Railroads are reported to be postponing intended improvements; mines are reported to be restricting output; building investors are reported to be shrinking from the risk.

For all this the high cost of materials and labor is offered as an explanation. But investigation will everywhere disclose the fact that the principal obstruction is speculative land values. An instance is given quite inadvertently by a well known Republican daily paper of New York,\* in an appeal to workingmen to be moderate in their demands for wages. This paper offers an instance within its own knowledge to "illustrate the situation." It says:

Three years ago some capital purchased a site and erected a new building for half a million dollars. The investors were content to go into the undertaking for a five per cent. net return, or \$25,000 a year. Since that time labor and cost of material has advanced to such an extent that to erect the same building would cost \$110,000 more than when it was put up. The boom in real estate in that neighborhood has carried up the value of the same land there another \$130,000. Here is an increase of cost for capital going into an investment to compete with

the first-named property of very nearly a quarter of a million dollars on half a million dollars, or very nearly 50 per cent.

The illustration is a good one. But it is not a good one to show that the cause of the inevitable crash to come is organized labor. The total increase for labor and building materials in three years is put at \$110,000. Of that amount part is due to the arbitrary exactions of monopolists, for which organized labor is certainly not responsible. And so much of the amount as goes for wages, does not obstruct the industry unless it is fixed arbitrarily. If it is a normal increase, then the wages of all labor are proportionately increased and the greater cost for labor products is at least neutralized by the greater purchasing power of the earning classes. This part, therefore, of the \$110,000 cannot be regarded as a check upon our "abounding prosperity."

But what about the increased price of the building site? While the total cost of materials and labor (monopoly exactions and all) has increased in three years by \$110,000, the price of the building site, without which no building there is possible, has increased \$130,000!

Is it not fair to say that speculative land value is in this instance a far more important factor than organized labor, in obstructing industry and bringing on hard times?

The instance is typical. Though some production is prevented by organized labor, it is only as a drop of water in the bucket in comparison with the production that is prevented by speculative prices of land. As with the depressions of 1817, 1837, 1857, 1873 and 1893, so with the approaching depression—the principal cause, the cause which is always sufficient though no other be present, the cause which is fundamental no matter how many superficial influences may appear, is land speculation.

This principle is vividly exemplified by "boom" towns. In any of these towns there is a period of land speculation which all the "boomers" exploit, and all the enthusiastic inhabitants regard, as evidence of "unbounded prosperity."

Building lots "go off like hot cakes."

On some of them buildings are erected, but most of them change owners on the basis of great expectations alone.

To suggest that this is not prosperity is to be unpatriotic and disloyal to your town.

To throw any obstacle in the way of brisk trading in the real estate exchange is to incur obloquy for imperiling the "unbounded prosperity."

If mechanics were to lay themselves open to the charge of discouraging a homeseeker from building they would be held up to public scorn.

Yet every speculative sale of a building lot at an advanced price, proof of local prosperity as it is regarded, is in fact the most effective discouragement to building.

After awhile prices for building lots in the boom town run so high that contracts for buildings begin to fall off, and then the crash comes. An unwholesome "prosperity" has run its natural course and collapsed.

The present industrial "prosperity" of the country, like the "prosperity" of the "boom" towns, and of all previous periods of national "prosperity," is destined to produce industrial collapse because it is not wholesome prosperity. Like them it is one phase of industrial conditions poisoned with the malaria of land speculation, the symptoms of which are alternating spasms of fever and chill, recurring paroxysms of brisk times and dull times.

So long as this cause of industrial depressions persists, it does not comport with the dignity nor testify to the intelligence of full grown business men to accuse organized labor of bringing on the hard times that are coming.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Sept. 24.

Matters in British politics (p. 376) are taking shape. On the 17th the resignations of three members of the ministry were accepted by the King. They were those of Joseph Chamberlain, as secretary for the colonies, of Charles T. Ritchie, as chancellor of the exchequer, and of Lord George Hamilton, as secretary for India. Mr. Chamberlain's resignation had been tendered on the 9th, and must have been the principal subject of consideration at the mysterious cabinet meeting (p. 376) of the 14th.

Mr. Chamberlain's reasons for

\*The New York Press, May 8, 1903, editorial on "Capital's Present Attitude of Abandoning New Activities."

his resignation are explained in his letter to the Premier in which he tenders it. The principal point is the difference that he recognizes as existing at present between himself and the British voters with reference to tariffs on food. He favors such tariffs, in the interest of the colonies, as part of a general scheme of Imperial protection; whereas a majority of the voters, as he believes, are not yet prepared to adopt this view. He accordingly aims to leave the Premier in freedom to pursue a protective reciprocity policy not involving the question of taxing food, while himself declining to be in the position of seeming to accept this emasculation of his own policy by remaining in office.

So much of Mr. Chamberlain's letter of resignation as bears upon that vital point is as follows:

For the present, at any rate, a preferential agreement with our colonies involving any new duty, however small, on articles of food hitherto untaxed, even if accompanied by a reduction of taxation on other articles of food equally universal in their consumption, would be unacceptable to the majority of the constituencies.

However much we may regret the decision, however mistaken we may think it, no good government in a democratic country can ignore it. I feel, therefore, that as an immediate practical policy the question of preference to the colonies cannot be pressed with any hope of success at the present time, although there is a strong feeling in favor of the other branch of fiscal reform which would give fuller discretion to the government in negotiating with foreign countries and for a freer exchange of commodities and which would enable our representatives to retaliate if no concession was made to our just demands.

If, as I believe, you share these views, it seems to me that you will be absolutely justified in adopting them as the policy of your government, although it will necessarily involve some changes in its constitution.

As secretary for the colonies during the last eight years, I have been in a special sense the representative of the policy of a closer union which I firmly believe to be equally necessary in the interests of the colonies and ourselves. I believe it is possible to-day and may be impossible to-morrow to make arrangements for such a union. I have had unexampled opportunities of watching events and appreciating the feelings of our kinsmen beyond the seas. I stand, therefore, in a different position to any of my colleagues, and I think that I should justly

be blamed if I remained in office and thus formally accepted the exclusion from my political programme of so important a part thereof.

I think that with absolute loyalty to your government and with no fear of embarrassing it in any way, I can best promote the cause I have at heart from the outside, and I cannot but hope that in a perfectly independent position my arguments may be received with less prejudice than would attach to those of a party leader.

Accordingly, I would suggest that you limit the present policy of the government to an assertion of our freedom in the case of all commercial relations with foreign countries, and that you should agree to my tendering my resignation of my present office to His Majesty and devoting myself to the work of explaining and popularizing those principles of imperial union which experience has convinced me are essential to our future welfare and prosperity.

While Mr. Chamberlain resigns because the new tariff policy falls short of what he regards as a proper protection programme, the other ministers resign because it is inconsistent with free trade. He resigns because he is a more advanced protectionist, and they because they are more orthodox free-traders, than the Premier. Their action has been imitated by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, secretary for Scotland, a pronounced free trader, whose resignation was accepted by the King on the 20th. Arthur R. D. Elliott, the financial secretary to the treasury (a ministerial though not a cabinet post), has also resigned because he opposes the protection reaction which the Premier evidently contemplates.

Mr. Balfour has not yet announced the reorganization of his ministry, but several names are reported as possibilities. They are the following:

Lord Selborne, first lord of the admiralty, to be secretary for the colonies, in place of Mr. Chamberlain. Lord Milner is mentioned in the same connection.

Austen Chamberlain, postmaster general, son of Joseph Chamberlain, to be chancellor of the exchequer, in place of Charles T. Ritchie.

W. St. J. F. Brodrick, secretary of war, to be secretary for India, in place of Lord George Hamilton.

Mr. Arnold-Forster, secretary to the admiralty, to be secretary for war, in place of Mr. Brodrick.

It is reported that the delay in reforming the ministry is due to ac-

tive interference on the part of the King, who is regarded as being inclined to revive some of the obsolete prerogatives of the crown.

Interest in German politics centers about the proceedings of the Socialist congress at Dresden. Bebel's victory over the opportunist faction on the question of claiming a Reichstag vice-presidency (p. 376), has been supplemented with a kindred victory on the question of revising the party programme further in the direction of opportunism. Bebel offered resolutions in opposition to the revision, and on the 20th they were adopted by an overwhelming majority. The executive committee is reported also to have been virtually chosen by Bebel. So complete is his victory that the Associated Press dispatches from Dresden say "it now looks as though the agitation against Herr Bebel before the convention met was encouraged by him in order that his absolute leadership of the party should be demonstrated and the small faction opposed to him held up to the ridicule of the party." Through the same news channels his victory in the party is described as "a triumph for socialism pure and simple with no shadow of compromise or alliance with any other party." The dispatch proceeds:

It means that hereafter the work of the Social Democrats is to be carried on along the lines of Karl Marx's international propaganda. In his speech before the congress Herr Bebel declared that the aims of socialism were revolutionary; that the main purpose was the overthrow of the wage system and the exploitation of the proletariat by capital, and the substitution of cooperation. To this end he would refuse all offers of compromise and make an aggressive fight. With the great strength that his party has in the new Reichstag and with the assurance that every vote will be at his disposal, the veteran leader will be in a position to make no end of trouble for the government, which will be forced to effect an alliance with various sections in order to secure a working majority.

Activity in American politics is practically confined to the campaign in Ohio (p. 376), which was opened on the Republican side at Chillicothe on the 19th. The meeting was preceded by a parade of clubs from different parts of the

State, and was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Roemer, a Presbyterian clergyman of Chillicothe, whose prayer was followed by the strains of "Down Where the Wuertzburger Flows," by the First Regiment band of Cincinnati. Next came a song from a glee club, after which the temporary chairman, Albert Douglas, introduced Gov. Nash as permanent chairman in a speech in which he predicted Mr. Herrick's election by 100,000, and Senator Hanna's reelection by a legislative vote representing a popular majority of 60,000. Gov. Nash spoke but a few words. He was followed by Myron T. Herrick, the candidate for governor, who read a dignified address. Senator Foraker spoke after Mr. Herrick and was followed by Senator Hanna, the meeting being then closed by Warren G. Harding.

The Democratic meeting next after that of the 14th at Alliance (p. 377) was held on the 15th at Steubenville in the overwhelmingly Republican county of Jefferson. It was the largest Democratic meeting in the history of the county, over 4,000 people having assembled in the tent. The principal speakers were Mr. Clarke and Mr. Johnson, and the meeting was closed with a lecture on taxation by Peter Witt, which he illustrated with stereopticon views. It was presided over by John H. McKee. The campaigning of the 16th included a 50-mile automobile speaking trip through Jefferson, Belmont, Harrison and Tuscarawas counties, ending in an evening meeting at New Philadelphia in the slightly Democratic county of Tuscarawas, which was so large as to overflow the seating capacity of the tent. At Coshocton, in the Democratic county of the same name, the evening meeting of the 17th was held, a day meeting of 900 who crowded the village opera house having been held at New Conners-town on the way to Coshocton. The tent was again overcrowded at Coshocton, the audience being estimated at 4,500. Johnson was the only speaker. The meeting of the 18th was at Newark, in the Democratic county of Licking. Although the night was cold the tent was crowded

with 4,500 people. Mr. Johnson was supported here by Frank S. Monnett, candidate for attorney general. The other speaker was Peter Witt. On the 19th Zanesville, in the Republican county of Muskingum, filled the tent with an audience of 4,000. The speakers were Johnson, Witt and Monnett. The work of the next week began on Monday, the 21st, at New Straitsville, in the Republican county of Perry, where a large meeting gathered. Here Mr. Johnson was rejoined by Mr. Clarke, who had spoken alone during most of last week. The two spoke together also at Logan on the 22d. Logan, in the slightly Democratic county of Hocking, is a town of 5,000 inhabitants. An audience of 4,000 crowded into the tent. On the way to Logan Mr. Johnson had spoken on the same day at Gloucester and Nelsonville.

While speaking at Norwalk on the 18th Mr. Clarke embodied in his speech the following challenge to Senator Hanna:

I have been asked so frequently during the past two weeks if there would be a joint discussion of the issues of this campaign between Senator Hanna and myself that I desire to say publicly here to-night that it would be extremely agreeable to me to meet Senator Hanna, if his health will permit, in joint discussion of the issues which we represent. Permit me to add, gentlemen, that I am perfectly willing that the Senator shall name the times and places for such meetings, subject to but one condition, namely, that they be held in the close legislative districts of the State.

On the 20th Senator Hanna was reported by the Associated Press as saying with reference to this challenge that—

he would pay no attention to the challenge to debate with the Democratic candidate for United States Senator, John H. Clarke, until he had heard from Chairman Dick, to whom Clarke's challenge has been referred.

The principal subject of interest in municipal politics was the nomination on the 23d by the Republican and the Citizens Union conventions of New York city, of Seth Low for reelection as mayor, at the head of a fusion ticket against Tammany Hall.

Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, is still at work in traction matters. He has taken steps to guard

against interference with the 3-cent street car fare movement (p. 377) through injunctions. At his instance on the 21st the city council, by a vote of 23 to 4, passed an ordinance providing for a 3-cent fare street railway over Rhodes avenue and partly on Denison avenue west to the city limits. One of the councilmen favorable to this ordinance explained it. He said:

They are starting injunction proceedings on one end of the line now, and we want to be sure that we are to have one of the lines laid—it doesn't matter which.

It seems that the validity of the original ordinance as to part of Denison avenue is questioned. The second ordinance leaves out the questioned part. Mayor Johnson is quoted on the subject as follows:

I have advised the backers of the Denison avenue line to move slowly, saying that I foresee an injunction suit. It would not be wise to load the street with materials and then have it all tied up. There will be time enough to finish the road after the Cleveland Electric railway has shown its policy.

Three more street railway routes were provided for on the 20th by action of the Cleveland city council. They are presumably intended for three-cent fare routes. One is on Doan street, from Wade park avenue to Ansel. It is only half a mile in length, and is intended for a beginning of a cross town line. The second route is along Edgewater boulevard from Taylor street to the intersection of Lake avenue. The third is from Rhodes avenue west to the city limits. A fourth route, from the intersection of Summit and Erie streets west to the intersection of Summit and Seneca, was referred again to committees to be reported back next week.

The street car franchise fight in Toledo, O., gave rise on the 21st to one of the most sensational sessions of the city council in the history of that city. An ordinance promoted by the Toledo Railway and Light Co., granting a 25-year street car franchise, had been passed by the council and vetoed by Mayor Jones. The franchise came again before the council on the 21st, when arrangements had been made to pass it over the mayor's veto. But a crowd of citizens appeared, representing every

ward in the city; and, according to the news dispatches—

there was very little doubt existing that an attempt to pass the ordinance would have resulted in the crowd cleaning out the council chamber. The angry temper of the crowd was aggravated by the fact that a detachment of street car employes in plain clothes was stationed in the corridors early in the evening and the moment the doors were opened took possession of the lobby, but the crowd pushed in, forming a solid mass, and rendering entrance or exit impossible. Red fire was burned and several glass doors were broken in by the pressure of the crowd. The councilmen on whom the company had depended for the passage of the ordinance gave way under the pressure and when it was apparent that the ordinance would not pass the lawyer for the company made the statement that the ordinance would not in any case be accepted. The ordinance was laid on the table.

Resolutions relative to the Chicago traction franchise question (pp. 300, 36) were adopted on the 20th by the Chicago Federation of Labor. Premising that the truce between the city and the traction companies will expire November 30th next; that ordinances for a settlement have been drafted by the council committee, but concealed from the public; that it is understood that the council committee proposes a 20-year franchise with no reservations for municipal ownership at any earlier period; and that there is no sign that the Mueller enabling act for municipal ownership is to be submitted to the people of Chicago for adoption until after the grant of franchises, these resolutions urge the delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor and the members of their respective local unions "to proceed in a body Monday evening, September 28th, to call on the Mayor and council at their regular meeting" to present certain specified demands.

The demands specified in the resolutions mentioned above are 10 in number and in substance as follows:

1. That the proposed franchise ordinance be published.
2. That the Mueller enabling act for municipal ownership be submitted to the people for adoption, and when adopted that its powers be put into immediate operation.
3. That meantime no new grants be made to the traction companies.

4. That revocable licenses only be granted the traction companies pending the consummation of municipal ownership plans.

5. That the council leave the question of unexpired franchises to adjudication, and proceed to enforce better service.

6. That a traction expert be permanently employed by the city.

7 and 8. That he be employed to carry out the council's directions for requiring better service of the companies.

9. That special counsel be employed by the city to ascertain and punish violations by the companies of their existing obligations.

10. That the law department be required to push all disputed questions to final adjudication—"including the validity of the 99 years' act by which a corrupt legislature attempted unconstitutionally to deprive Chicago of its fundamental rights of home rule for a century."

Traction and other franchise interests have compassed the defeat of the new charter of Denver prepared by a local charter convention (p. 377) and submitted on the 22d to the people of Denver for adoption. A special dispatch of the 23d to the Record-Herald, the leading independent Republican daily paper of Chicago, gives this description of the election:

Corporation money, with the aid of every city and state official, caused the defeat of the new charter for the city and county of Denver to-day by 5,000 votes. Ministers were thrown from booths, repeating countenanced and thugs paid to intimidate electors at the polls. While the decent people unanimously favored the new charter, they failed to appear at the polls in the numbers counted upon by the reformers. On the other hand, voters poured in from the slums in droves to register the disapproval of the politicians, the corporations and the nonproperty holding electors. From 100 to 300 men voted from tenements in which less than one-third the number had been registered. Led by D. H. Moffat, the financial head of the traction, light and railroad interests, the politicians devoted the day to rallying every opponent to the charter they could find. While Chief of Police Armstrong had declared that he would fill the jails with prisoners if any attempt were made at repeating, Police Captain Michael Delaney aided by the opponents to the charter in every way by permitting thugs to enter the booths and drive away the watchers of the reformers or by intimidating electors who sought to register their approval of the new charter. The new charter contained much that was distasteful to the corporations. Its strongest recommendation was that the taxpayer was given some voice in the disposition of franchises, in their terms and the tenure of

their existence. In fact, through the following clauses the taxpaying electors practically were given full control of franchises and could have taken steps to have the city acquire ownership of public utilities whenever desired.

The vote as reported on the 24th was 13,823 for the charter and 21,547 against it. Under the constitution of Colorado, as amended a year ago, it will now be necessary (p. 282) to elect a new charter convention within 30 days from the 22d, the work of which must be submitted to the people at a future special election to be called for the purpose.

### NEWS NOTES.

—Henry George's 64th birthday is to be celebrated at St. Louis on the 30th.

—The People's party convention of Colorado was in session at Denver on the 21st.

—Curtis Jett, charged with a feud murder in Kentucky, was convicted at Cynthiana on the 22d. The jury fixed the penalty at death.

—A band of "ladrones" overcame the police force of the village of Laisan, in Batangas province, Luzon, on the 20th and captured their arms.

—One of the Evansville, Ind., rioters who attempted to lynch a Negro prisoner last July (p. 233), was convicted of riotous conspiracy on the 18th.

—On the 20th a detachment of the 28th U. S. Infantry fought an engagement with a band of "fanatics" in the Lake Lanao section of Mindanao, Philippine Islands.

—The 11th annual session of the National Irrigation Congress, sitting in Ogden, Utah, adjourned on the 18th. Wm. A. Clark, of Montana, was elected president.

—The city of San Francisco is to vote at a special election on the 8th of October upon a bond issue for the construction and operation by the city of a municipal street car system known as the "Geary street road."

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 314) for the month ending August 31, 1903, as given by the treasury sheet, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$181,124,840	\$161,216,677	\$16,908,263 exp.
G	9,292,624	12,440,024	3,237,490 imp.
S	5,035,091	4,840,233	151,758 exp.
	\$195,452,555	\$181,539,964	\$13,822,591 exp.

—From Berlin on the 22d it was reported that rioting between Jews and Christians had occurred at Gomel, Russia, and that the houses of 345 Jewish workmen were plundered and destroyed. Twenty-five Jews were killed, 100 sent to hospitals suffering from serious injuries, and 200 others were slightly hurt.

The killing and wounding of the Jews is attributed to the brutality of the troops and the police, who attacked the Jews while the latter were defending themselves from a Christian mob. The trouble arose on September 11, when Christian dealers forcibly despoiled Jewish peddlers who refused to lower the price of herrings. At the last accounts quiet was restored.

—At the Henry George Association, Handel hall, Chicago, the following speakers are announced: September 24, at 8, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, on "Victor Hugo—the Apostle of Liberty;" September 27, at 3:30, John Z. White, on the Single Tax; October 1, at 8, Wallace Rice, on "The Labor Movement in Recent Fiction."

**PRESS OPINIONS.**

**CHAMBERLAIN'S COMPLIMENT.**

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Sept. 21.—The more shallow standpatters cannot conceal their silly delight over the growth of retaliation and protection sentiment in Great Britain. Of course, the reversion to protection on the part of our best customer would be a severe blow to the American farmer and the American manufacturer, whose special champions the standpatters suppose themselves to be; but we are rich enough to pay many millions for the "compliment" which the Chamberlainites pay us in advocating the policy we have talked about but shown mighty little intention of adopting.

**TOM L. JOHNSON'S TAXES.**

Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), Sept. 15.—Whenever it is desired to say something really mean Chairman Dick and the Leader refer to the taxes which it is asserted that Tom L. Johnson owes and has not paid. . . . The bare statement of the matter shows that the claim is simply ridiculous. It is held that Tom owes \$42,000. This is on the basis of his paying as much taxes as are assessed against all the people on Euclid avenue from Erie street to Lakeview, a distance of six miles on a street inhabited by millionaires.

**OHIO POLITICS.**

Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), Sept. 18.—There is really some progress being made even in the Leacer office. That sheet, in its issue Thursday, declared that no one doubts the sincerity of Mayor Johnson in his advocacy of the single tax. Up to this time the Leader has never been willing to admit that the mayor was sincere in anything.

Columbus Press (Dem.), Sept. 20.—Mayor Johnson is not conducting a spectacular campaign. His is a campaign of education. . . . He asked his followers at home not to go to Akron and occupy space in the tent. He knew there would be more people in Akron who would like to hear the speeches than could get into the tent, and he wanted the meeting to be entirely for their benefit. And they turned out 8,000 strong to hear the message of Democracy. Those who could not get inside the tent stood about it within the sound of the speakers' voices. It is just so wherever the tent is pitched. Every meeting seems like an opening meeting as evidenced at Steubenville and Newark and other points reached by the caravan so far. The people want to hear about the platform, what the Democrats propose to do if given control of the legislature and the executive offices. They want to know about cheaper railroad fares, and just taxation and home rule. They want to hear what Tom Johnson has to say on these issues and they want to hear him

say it. Tom Johnson is out to win votes for a great cause. He is not trying to win them with brass bands and marching clubs, but with arguments in a candid, earnest discussion of the issues.

**MISCELLANY**

**THE KINGLIEST KINGS.**

Ho! ye who in a noble work  
Win scorn, as flames draw air.  
And in the way where lions lurk  
God's image bravely bear;  
O! trouble tried and torture torn,  
The kingliest kings are crowned with thorn!

Life's glory, like the bow in heaven,  
Still springeth from the cloud;  
And soul ne'er soared the starry seven  
But Pain's fire-chariot rode.  
They've battled best who've boldest borne,  
The kingliest kings are crowned with thorn!

The martyr's fire-crown on the brow  
Doth into glory burn;  
And tears that from love's torn heart flow  
To pearls of spirit turn.  
Our dearest hopes in pangs are born,  
The kingliest kings are crowned with thorn!

As beauty in death's cerement shrouds,  
And stars bejewel night,  
God-splendors live in dim heart-clouds,  
And Suffering worketh might.  
The murkiest hour is mother of morn,  
The kingliest kings are crowned with thorn!

—Gerald Massey.

**THE PULITZER SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM.**

One of the most perplexing subjects to be considered in connection with his school is the awful success of some newspapers that succeed. If the methods by which some of our most successful newspapers first won success are to be taught in the school, the advisory board will resign. If they are not taught, the school may be criticised as not sufficiently practical. —Life of Sept. 3.

**A WARNING TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.**

**THE TRADESMAN'S ENTRANCE TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION.**  
An editorial by J. A. Hobson, in The New Age, of London, for Aug. 27.

When Mr. Chamberlain first broached his design upon Free Trade, he bloated himself, blew a huge trumpet, and proclaimed "a big fight." He and his friends have already learned that "khaki" enthusiasm cannot be transferred from the military to the commercial field, and so are beginning to "cry off." The Times, however, still tries to bluster, and is making an audacious but very tactless endeavor to place the bann of Little Englandism

upon the respectable unionists who refuse to abandon free trade. I have a good deal of sympathy with this position of the Times, which comes perilously near to being logical. "You must," so seems to run its argument, "be prepared not only to fight for the preservation of the empire, as in 1900, but to pay for it in straitened markets and damaged trade." Indeed, the Times and the protectionist press in general are never tired of pointing out the signs of impending dissolution of the empire, if our colonies are permitted to continue moving along the political and economic road they have been taking for the last half century. For, in spite of all the inexpensive "imperialism" which Canada and Australasia have blown off during the last few years, the steady pressure towards independent nationalism on the part of our self-governing colonies is unmistakable. The group-federation which has been achieved a generation since in the Canadian Dominion, just recently in the Australian commonwealth, and which is soon to be consummated in South Africa, so far from making towards closer political union with Great Britain, manifestly makes a contrary direction. These group-federations are, in fact, so many nations which will "cut the painter" whenever an offense against their spirit of nationality is committed or attempted by Great Britain. The formation, alike of the Canadian Dominion and the Australian commonwealth, was accompanied by an attenuation of imperial control, and the larger, stronger, colonial unities thus formed are fully conscious of their power to leave the British Empire if any attempt be made to impugn or to abridge their liberties.

**HAMPER THE COLONIES.**

Such an attempt is now a-foot. Setting aside those trade-interests and that handful of English politicians who are protectionists by virtue of principle or pocket, it is plain that the animating motive of our preferential tariff-mongers is "imperialist" in the sense that they aim to stay the colonial movement towards nationalism and independence, and to force the colonies back into political bondage to Downing street. They do not, of course, admit that this is their aim, but their actions prove it.

The preferential tariff is nothing else than the tradesman's entrance to an imperial federation, the front door to which is closed. Mr. Chamberlain would have preferred to win his prize as federator of the British empire by

an open political coup, a federal home-rule scheme for the empire, with a federal imperial council and equal taxation and representation throughout. But he knew that Canada and Australia would never consent wittingly to abandon any of the powers of self-government which they had won, in return for a perpetual minority position in an imperial council, a position which would leave them helpless to prevent them being dragged at the tail of the huge "unfree" empire. Last summer he learned what he might have known before, that all the exuberant vapour of colonial jingoism during the Boer war would not yield by precipitation a single pint of financial aid in the form of military and naval contributions. The only way was to fall back upon the familiar business method, and offer the colonies the sacrifice of British free trade as a bribe to induce them to consolidate the empire. He trusted to be able to conceal from his countrymen the "sacrifice" he was asking them to incur by inflaming their combative passions against Germany, the United States, and other "rivals" and "unfair competitors." So, likewise, he hoped to deceive the colonies into a belief that they might advantageously enter upon tariff arrangements with Great Britain and one another, without impairing in any way their valued liberty of self-government.

#### A FEDERAL CUSTOM COUNCIL.

Now Mr. Chamberlain, the Times, and the entire body of preferential tariff-mongers, are perfectly well aware that the effective working of a system of such tariffs among the members of the empire must involve a surrender of some considerable amount of political independence on the part of the colonies. To leave to every colony the right to chop and change at its own free will a tariff delicately adjusted to the needs of the other parts of the empire would be quite impossible. A system of preferential tariffs would require the maintenance of a federal customs council representing the interests of the empire as a whole, with right of veto upon the arbitrary action of individual colonies, where such action was prejudicial to the interests of other members of the union. Such a council would be a very important political body, and its formation, and the powers it wielded, would be in themselves a substantial diminution of the liberties of the several colonies. Mr. Chamberlain, of course, was not such a fool as to breathe a word of his hope that such a customs union, once

founded, would gradually lead to a reversal of the liberative movements of the last half century, and would bring back the colonies to heel under an imperial federation which would make them helpless thralls of a perpetually predominant partner.

But though Mr. Chamberlain breathed no public word of this, it is quite evident that he has been urging it privately upon the cabinet, and has sought to win over by means of it some of his free trade colleagues. This will account for the blunt suggestion of the Duke of Devonshire that the colonies might be asked to surrender some of their freedom of action in "fiscal, commercial, and industrial legislation."

#### SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S WARNING.

Unless the colonists are utterly blind they must perceive that such surrender of their liberties is inseparable from a preferential tariff scheme. If they do not yet perceive this truth, it is because the matter has gone no further than a one-sided offer on the part of individual colonies. When a number of these schemes come to be welded into the unity of an imperial system, the truth can no longer be concealed. The colonists will then to a man endorse the words which Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who has more than an inkling of Mr. Chamberlain's real design, addressed the other day to the Chambers of Commerce congress at Montreal:—

If we are to obtain from the people of Great Britain a concession for which we would be prepared to give an equivalent, and if we are to obtain it also by the surrender of some of our political rights, for my part I would simply say, let us go no further, for already we have come to the parting of the ways. Canada values too highly the system which has made her what she is to consent willingly to part with any portion of it, for whatever consideration, and even for the maintenance of the British empire, I think it would be a most evil thing if any of our colonies were to consent to part with any of their legislative independence. Nor do I believe that, in order to make such an arrangement of a commercial nature as I spoke of a moment ago, we should be called upon to make any sacrifice of dignity or independence.

Colonists who are at all versed in modern history will be aware that a customs union, involving a system of interstate fiscal arrangements, is a first step along the road to a political union involving progressive encroachments of the central on the local governments.

Life is too short for one moment of drudgery.—The Straight Edge.

#### THE PROGRESS OF LABOR UNIONS.

Address of William Prentiss at Chicago, Labor Day, Monday, September 7, 1908.

I would be unjust to my feelings if I failed to express my high appreciation of the great favor shown me by the laboring men of Chicago on this day specially dedicated to Labor's cause. I congratulate Labor's leaders, and that vast army of organized toilers, on its splendid showing in Chicago to-day. Not only this. I congratulate the working men of our country and our country itself upon the great progress Labor has been making during the last few years. Many, very many thousands of working men and women never before organized, have been successfully organized and added to the Grand Army of Organized Labor. Labor's battles for better pay, better hours and better conditions were never so numerous and never so successful as they have been during the last two years.

And again, our country is to be congratulated, and the workers of America are to be both congratulated and complimented upon the fact that these battles have been peaceable battles, conducted almost wholly without violence, and upon a higher plane than such contests were ever conducted before in this or any other country.

It is not claimed that Labor has been without faults, or that no mistakes have been made. To declare it would not be true; to expect it would be absurd. When the recent and rapid organization of so many is considered, their vast numbers and inexperience, the wrongs which many of them have heretofore been subjected to almost without hope of redress, the inherent defects of human nature, and the score and more other difficulties in the way of harmonizing so many elements and interests, the marvel is that so few mistakes have been made. Of one thing I am certain: The wage-earners of this country as a whole were never so highly respected as now. And they are respected because their conduct has commanded respect. They have not bowed before power and begged so much as of yore; they have respectfully complained and respectfully demanded more often. They have stood upon their rights, erect as men, and met employers face to face. And more than all, no man has been asked to stand singly and alone. Brothers have stood at his side, and around and about him; thousands have stood as one. To this fact more than to all other causes combined is this marvelous progress due.

Yet, while much has been done, much more is yet to be done. Labor's warfare is not over; it has only just begun. Labor and its friends have much to be

thankful for to-day; but they have duties yet to perform as well. The unprecedented progress of organized labor of late has aroused and alarmed its foes, and the forces of organized greed have combined to check it, if not to destroy it altogether. One of the chief means being used to this end is and has been to place organized labor in an unfavorable light before the public, and to deprive it of that sympathy so needful to its continued success. It so happens that during the past year I have been made acquainted with a number of disputes between working men and their employers, and in that way have learned much that I would not have otherwise known. This came about chiefly in matters of arbitration. While this occasion will not permit of detail or much allusion to particular cases, certain things have impressed me as being largely responsible, not only for much of the trouble between employers and their men, but for the unfavorable impression sometimes created as to the action of Union men.

The impression has gone abroad that Union men habitually violate their contracts with employers. Well-meaning people, knowing nothing of the facts but what they gather from the daily papers, accept this as true without further investigation. I notice in this morning's papers that some of the preachers yesterday could find little else to say about the labor question except to assume that Union labor habitually violated its contracts, and proceeded to lecture labor upon the subject.

There may be isolated cases of violation of contracts by Union men, but if there are such they are extremely rare, and generally speaking this charge and impression is absolutely untrue. My observation has been that trouble over these contracts arises in large part from the way they are entered into. Very often when they were made the parties did not stand upon equal terms, and the men were cruelly overreached. I know a case of this kind, and yet the men have honestly and bravely stood by the contract, notwithstanding its injustice.

With some of the newer Unions, advantage has been taken of inexperience, and contracts signed that were never understood by the men. Shrewd business men with years of experience and behind them able lawyers, have been pitted against working men without any experience in such matters whatsoever. In this way so-called contracts have been made where the letter and spirit were not in harmony. Contracts entered into in this way are not in equity and good conscience,

contracts at all, and are sure to lead to dissatisfaction and trouble.

I know of another case where the employers insisted that the contract which was in writing should continue for a certain period not mentioned in it, and the men insisted that it had expired and demanded a new contract. It was published in the papers that the men refused to live up to their contract, when in fact the employers were insisting upon something that was no part of the contract.

No one knows better than Union men the importance to them and their cause that they live up to their contracts, and I venture the assertion that if an inventory were taken of all the contracts claimed to have been violated either by employes or employers, and a careful investigation made of the facts in each case, the men would be found to be less at fault than their employers. There is a plain and simple remedy for all this, and that is that all contracts be honestly and fairly entered into, and that they be rigidly lived up to by both parties, in spirit as well as in letter.

Another erroneous and unfair impression is being systematically spread broadcast which is calculated and intended to injure Labor's cause. I refer to the oft-repeated assertion that organized labor by its demands is checking that wave of prosperity which we have been riding for the past few years. The cry has gone forth and is still going forth, that if labor does not cease its demands prosperity will suddenly end, and that awful pall of financial depression and hard times is flaunted in the face of labor and the timid public. Has the country really been and is it still prosperous? Secretary of the Treasury Shaw, in a public address here in Chicago the other night, said yes to this, and gave it as his opinion that prosperity would continue. I shall not dispute so high an authority as Secretary Shaw, and so will concede that the country has been and is really prosperous, and is likely to so continue. Now, prosperity being a conceded fact, why should not the laboring men and women of the country, who do the work, get their full share of this prosperity?

But it may be claimed that they have been getting it. I deny it, absolutely. They have not been getting their share of the wealth their labor has been creating. Many facts and reasons can be given showing that what I say is true; but I prefer to give as authority Professor John R. Commons, an eminent economist and authority on social

science, an able Christian gentleman who keeps fully informed on these questions. In an article published in the August number of the "Review of Reviews," Professor Commons shows conclusively, not by argument alone, but by giving the facts and figures, that labor has not been and is not getting its share of this prosperity. He shows that the prices of commodities rose earlier and went higher than the wages of labor; that in all cases the rise of wages followed at a distance of one to two years behind the prices of commodities and the cost of living. He shows by high and acknowledged authority that the general level of prices rose 40 per cent. from July, 1897, to November, 1901, and has remained nearly stationary since. He shows that very few Unions have secured advances in wages as high as 40 per cent., and that where large increases of wages took place they were almost invariably in occupations where wages had been seriously reduced during the period of depression. He shows that while in view of the increase in the amount of employment working men have earned more money and lived better than before the rise in prices and wages, still the capitalists have gained both in the increased production and the increase in prices, and that the relative gain of the capitalists is much greater than that of the wage-earner; and he shows that the wage-earner's share of the increased production during this period of prosperity is less than was his share of the smaller production during the time of depression.

Now can any just reason be given why the men and women whose labor produces this vast increase of wealth during these good times should not get their full share of it?

Is it just or fair that they should be deprived of it? Are they to blame for trying to get it? Is it fair to try to array the public against organized labor because they try to get what is their due?

If capitalists may increase their capital by tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars, yea, by millions, during prosperous times, why is it wrong and a menace to prosperity for those who do the work, not only to live better for awhile, but to permanently improve their condition by saving a surplus for that period of depression which sooner or later is sure to come?

Some of the "Captains of Industry" who add millions to their wealth each year, have raised the cry that capitalists would be driven out of business if

Labor did not cease its demands. I have observed that this complaint rarely comes from the smaller companies or firms. Let me state a case that I am personally acquainted with:

Early this spring, when the steam engineers in the packing houses at the Stock Yards asked for an eight-hour day in place of the twelve they were working, and for the Union scale of 37½ cents an hour, it was not the smaller packers that refused. They made no complaint that they would be driven out of business if they complied, but they stood ready to grant all that was asked. It was the great packing houses, those whose annual profits were greater than the entire capital of some of the smaller concerns, that refused. Those whose capital was multimillions and their annual profits millions, were the ones who denied the engineers their most reasonable demands. The smaller packing houses were compelled to join the big ones in this refusal, or take the chance of being driven out of business by the mammoth concerns.

And so I dare say it will be found all the way through. Those who are getting the greatest profits protest the loudest against Labor's demands. They are wholly bent on piling up more millions of capital. The more they get the more they want, and the more intense their determination to pass all others in the attainment of wealth. Men, women and children are lost sight of except as material to grind dollars out of. Justice and humanity are unknown to them, and the laws of the land are sometimes defied when they come in the way of their appetite for more.

As I stated before, working men are not free from faults, and it may be conceded that in isolated cases they may have asked more than could be reasonably granted in the particular case, yet there is nothing more certain than this: When this period of industrial activity (prosperity, if you please) has passed, as it will soon or late, and that period of depression shall have come again, it will be found that for every extra dollar that has been left to gladden the homes of the laborers who did the work during prosperity, hundreds of extra dollars will be left with the few who had the capital. The number of millionaires will have been largely augmented, and other millions multiplied; and the great mass of those who did the work that made the millions will still possess as their only capital their ability to toil when they have the opportunity.

I said a moment ago that labor's warfare had only just begun. By that I do not mean strikes or a warfare of physical force of any kind. On the con-

trary, I believe, as I hope, Labor's physical contests are nearly over. Born myself to toil and struggle, and always in sympathy with the toilers of the world, my more than fifty years of experience and observation have suggested to me some things as being helpful, if not essential to labor's successful struggle.

Organized labor should not only continue its campaign of education among all classes of workers, but it should widen its scope and take into its school the entire community. That not clearly defined, rather timid, but all powerful something called public opinion should be educated. It should be kept fully informed as to the aims and purposes of Labor as well as its actual doings. Capital never loses sight of the public. Its side of every contest with Labor is presented to the public view in its most favorable light. Labor can learn lessons of wisdom from Capital in this regard. Labor should spare no pains or effort to give the public the truth, and the whole truth. Justice to the public, as well as to Labor, demands this.

The question whether Labor should go into politics, often arises, and is not easily answered, if Labor's real good is considered. Politics in the sense that it is usually understood, could be of little value to Labor's cause.

The kind of politics so common nowadays—the kind that is simply a struggle to get the offices where a few favorites or fortunates may hold good jobs at the public expense, where platforms are made to catch votes and to be disregarded or forgotten after election, or where the party is in the control of a machine held together by the power of spoils that neither regards the welfare of the people as a whole or even the rank and file of the party itself—could only be harmful to Labor, as it is destructive to good government. Labor should shun that kind of politics, and beware that it never unwittingly drifts into it, or is led into it.

But laboring men should never forget that they are citizens and voters, that a portion of the sovereignty of our common country rests in each one of them; that if government of the people, by the people, for the people, is to finally prevail, it must come through those who do the work. To control the government, make the laws, interpret them, and enforce them, is a mighty power.

A class of men who think much and work but little with their hands, have never lost sight of this fact. They have known and still know how valuable a privilege it is to make, interpret and enforce the laws. To this

knowledge on their part, and their skill, persistence and practicability in applying it, is chiefly due the colossal fortunes in a few hands. The ballot is the most powerful weapon that could possibly be given to a free man in a republic. If used honestly, intelligently and persistently, there is nothing in human affairs that the ballot may not accomplish.

How much longer will those who do the work of the country and constitute the great majority, continue to permit a small minority "who toil not, neither do they spin," to make, interpret and enforce the laws of our country? Answer this question correctly, and I will tell you how much longer the few will continue to live in luxury, affluence and waste, and the many continue struggling for the right to live and breathe and think as men.

The working men of the cities should come in closer touch with those outside of the cities; not only with those who dig wealth out of the bowels of the earth, the miners, but with those who cultivate the soil, the farmers who produce wealth off the surface of the earth. In short, those who toil and do the work in every part of our country should learn to know and understand one another better.

The working men of the cities already know the power of organization and united action; they should help to teach the lesson to their brethren in the rural districts.

Nowhere does Labor ask for favors. It stands upon its right. It bases its demands upon the solid rock of justice. It asks no more than this, and would not get it if it did. Labor's struggle thus far is to get a larger share of what it earns. The great body of working men and women cannot hope to get all they earn for a long time to come. That is the ideal toward which they are slowly moving; but society must be educated and radically changed before this ideal can be reached. Meantime the working men and women must unitedly continue the struggle. They must teach and they must learn; they must wait and they must hope. And now in earnest admonition let me conclude:

This above all: To thine own self be true,  
And it must follow, as the night the day,  
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

The industrial communion we now enjoy with the Syrian damsels who pack our dates and figs, the Dakota farmers who raise our wheat, the

schoolboys in Texas who gather our pecans, the dusky Cubans who supply us with bananas and oranges and guava, we recognize as but a rude first stage in a possible future acquaintance and fellowship when we shall all come into a conscious understanding of our mutual service. The ties that are now so crudely and imperfectly expressed in dollars and cents may then be translated into terms of joyous human brotherhood.—The Straight Edge.

The two-hundred dollar silver inkwell on the table is a work of art, symbolic of a reunited North and South.—Description of the Vice President's room in the Capitol.

An ink-well costing \$200 is fairly animate with the spirit which is gathering not only sections of nations, but nations with nations, into a brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of Mammon.—Life.

BOOKS

THE METTLE OF THE PASTURE.

In every outward expression of a man's or woman's inner nature there arises that curious mingling of the good and of the bad which, in despair of clearer wording, we call a complex action. It is because Mr. Allen has fully recognized this fact that his new book ("The Mettle of the Pasture," by James Lane Allen, New York: The Macmillan Co.) will come to success. With a visualizing power rare among latter day writers Mr. Allen takes us into a little town of living men and women and shows us the whole wide field of human emotions, which yet is very narrow, of love and hate, sin, repentance and forgiveness.

The story centers around the old puzzle as to whether what is wrong for a woman to do is right and excusable for a man to do; whether, if done, a man has a right to know, when in like case a woman would have no such recognized right.

Self shorn of all the false excuses which church and society offer him in such a strait, Rowan Meredith by the force of his own nature struggling towards the truth chooses to tell Isabel that which he thinks she has a right to know. Though losing what he sought to gain thereby he gains that better part which comes to those who do the right, the strength of character which survives over beyond defeat.

From his mother's ancestors have come to him impatience of restraint, pride of station, many good qualities, misshapen and abused. His fathers' fathers, narrow ministers of a narrow school, have given him sternness to hold himself to a strict account, rigor of conscience to judge himself thereby. In a scene, recalling us to Hawthorne,

Rowan reads the pictures of his ancestors one night as he goes up the stairs. "You who had the conscience and not the temptation," he says to the stern divine on one side of him, "and you who had the temptation and not the conscience," to the soldier on the other. What part of my nature is due to you?" Then looking within the outward seeming he ponders whether in the nature of men, no matter how repressed, it may not be that temptation shall come the sooner to those whose consciences are hardest to themselves and who outwardly are models of the rigid morals to which they bind themselves. Thinking so he seeks to blame both priest and soldier for his fault. Here is where Mr. Allen is truest to such a man as Rowan is. For as he blames them he sees how far from the right he goes and facing his wrong action of the past takes the shame upon himself and claims his deed and its consequences as his own.

As to Isabel, how could she do other than as she did. Born and bred as so many girls are to-day, she did what was most natural for a girl of her youth and character to do. That from such a distorted view of marriage as custom and her family sought to force her to adopt she saved herself and Rowan proves indeed the mettle of her pasture.

From an opening chapter of much beauty, where Isabel goes out to wait for Rowan in the garden, and where their happiness is destroyed, seemingly for all time, until the day years after, when, hearing he is under the shadow of false report, she comes back to him—the growth in beauty of her character is recorded for us by a master writer. The change from the girl up to the woman, acquainted with sorrow, is written down with the simple directness of the truth which takes us over many places where uglier minds than the writer's would have stopped and sought to prove kinship between Isabel and weaker selfish women.

When writers, who are men, are successful in faithful portrayal of such women it is the custom to say that such a one understands a woman's nature. Can we not say rather that Mr. Allen understands human nature as it manifests itself when men and women are found able to rise above the wicked lies and conventions which society has bound around them to keep them away from the truth that is in them?

Like an undercurrent there runs through this story the knowledge of the author that we are indeed children of the soil. That not only do we depend upon it for our physical food but, in the last analysis, we draw from it those mental and spiritual forces which each of us must adapt to our individual natures. Beyond this Mr. Allen does not go.

In Isabel we see the highest out-

come for good possible under that unjust system by which her people, through many generations, held the land and the men and women on the land subject to their will. All the grace and strength, the culture and the physical beauty which with saner ways of living would have been the rightful inheritance of the poorest and meanest of those around her, have been absorbed by the owners of the soil and appear in their full perfection in her.

As the story progresses it is of interest to read of the struggles of the farmer to keep his small holding from being swallowed up in the steady encroachment of the powerful landlord who is his neighbor. Pansy, his daughter, bears her share in the constant toil which this involves and, though in every way a contrast to Isabel, shows us also that she drew her nature out from the earth upon which she lived.

I do not know why it should not be so. Though an old theology said it could not be, that it would destroy our spiritual nature, make us of the earth earthy, an older wisdom than that taught us that it is on earth God's kingdom is to come. And surely this will be the manner of its coming—free land and free people, each drawing from the other according to their needs.

MAUD MALONE.

PERIODICALS.

The third number of the new Chicago magazine, the National Progress, being the number for October, is an interesting example of the monthly periodical. It is well balanced with serious matter and light reading and attractively illustrated. An illustrated story of old Fort Dearborn leads, as is proper for a Chicago magazine, and among the serious articles is a continuation of a paper on socialism by Ernest Untermann. Mr. J. Bellange contributes an article on the single tax, which is illustrated with views of Fairhope, the Alabama colony that has come to be widely known as a successful experiment in exemplification of the single tax principle.

The New Orleans Item of Sept. 16 had in head-lines three-quarters of an inch high: "Insane of Louisiana to Go to Mississippi." The article then goes on to say that Governor Heard has wired to Dr. Hays at Jackson, etc. Now of course Jackson is the capital of Mississippi, ergo, what a fine heading to call attention to the overcrowding of the insane in New Orleans. But it happens that the Louisiana State Asylum, over which Dr. Hays presides, is situated at a little town by the name of Jackson, and it was of course to this Jackson, Louisiana, that the Governor wired, not to the capital of Mississippi. Who says there is no need for Mr. Pultzger's journalistic addition to Columbia University? J. H. D.

The New York Nation of Sept. 10 has a learned editorial on yachts, which concludes with an ethical view of the situation. "The enormous sums," it says, "spent on this year's racers have caused much uneasiness and much justifiable criticism. Certainly, no one can contend that the benefits resulting to yacht racing or to naval designing are sufficient to counterbalance such unduly extravagant expenditure." The fact is that all except the wealthiest part of the American public are heartily disgusted with the parade, notoriety, and toadyism, which millionairism has injected into the sport of yacht-racing. Excessive wealth touches nothing on which it shows



DISINTERESTED ADVICE.

U. S.—My dear Mr. Bull, whatever you do don't allow them to persuade you to tie up your markets with protective bandages. You'll find it a terrible mistake!!

its pernicious influence more clearly than upon the innocent sports of a country.

J. H. D.

Andrew Long has an article in a recent number of the New York Independent which ought to have been widely copied, and yet, though three weeks have passed, no amount of scanning through current periodicals has revealed the slightest trace of its repetition. The article is called Literature and Advertisement, and is a most witty presentation of this modern combination. One cannot but wonder how far the business can be carried. Given cheap printing and a large reading public that has not yet learned judgment and taste, and the opportunity seems unlimited for many years to come. A publishing house puts a book on the market, the same house publishes a magazine—what is easier, paper being cheap, than to run in an extra page of advertisement to inform the public that this book is the greatest of the year—and prove it by numerous criticism? J. H. D.

We received the August-September number of the New Jersey Review of Charities and Corrections, containing several very interesting articles on problems of poverty. We have also at hand the September number of the excellent little magazine, The Commons (Chicago). These periodicals,

and all of their class, are doing work of great value in calling attention to pressing problems; but it cannot fail to strike any reader how lacking they are in the enthusiasm of positive accomplishment. It could not be otherwise, for they all deal with temporary plasters, and fail utterly to go to the root of the social trouble. Well-meaning people should show sympathy and lend help to all the charitable efforts which such papers advocate, but at the same time they should bear in mind that charity organizations are only touching the surface of the problem of poverty and are not to be taken too seriously. J. H. D.

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- .....Louis D. Goodman
- PIANO SOLO.... Miss Imogen Medsker
- "THE PRINCIPLES OF HENRY GEORGE"..... Thos. Samuels
- VIOLIN SOLO.... Miss Evelyn Mengen
- Accompanied by Prof. F. Gecke.
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