

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

The Presidential Election.

In the battle against privilege, at the Presidential election last Tuesday, privilege won. But the war against privilege goes on.

* * *

Police Anarchists.

We call special attention to our Editorial Correspondence of this week. It contains an editorial letter from Hutchins Hapgood, giving in interesting detail—with fullness, fairness and accuracy, as may be inferred from the signature,—the circumstances of a brutal and lawless suppression by the police, at Indianapolis, of the American idea of free speech. The person whose speech was suppressed—and before she had uttered even a word—was Emma Goldman, a woman who has been grossly misrepresented by plutocratic newspapers, and who had but recently freely spoken to large audiences in Cincinnati and Cleveland. Miss Goldman's opinions in many respects may with reason be rejected. But they cannot be rejected with reason, unless she is permitted to express them. If actions like that of the Indianapolis police last week, and earlier of the Chicago police (vol. x, pp. 1212, 1227, 1233; vol. xi, p. 78), are not emphatically condemned, American freedom will soon be in worse plight than if the harshest caricatures of anarchy were in the ascendant. Indeed, the harshest caricatures of anarchy may spring into vigorous life, if official

acts of autocratic lawlessness like those at Indianapolis and at Chicago are passed by without effective protest. This is, at any rate, one of the warnings of history.

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Rapid Transit in New York.

An excellent plan for settling the rapid transit problems of New York has been proposed by the City Club of that city, in a report which is minutely enlightening in detail. The plan is designed to meet the conflicting difficulties of urgent demands for new rapid transit lines, which the city should build, and the limited borrowing power of the city. It is proposed by the Club for the additional reason, however, that it would be equitable. Incidentally the report shows that the plan is familiar in Germany, and that it is in use in this country for sewers, street construction, and so on. It proposes that the cost of subway building be borne by adjacent land owners in the proportion of the financial benefits thereby conferred upon their locations.

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Arguing for its proposal, the City Club discloses some remarkable results of past rapid transit improvement. "Between One Hundred and Thirty-Fifth street, One Hundred and Fifty-Fifth street, Convent avenue, and the North River," the report sets forth, "land increased in value between 1900 and 1907 about \$17,825,000; the district between the Harlem and North River from One Hundred and Fifty-Fifth to One Hundred and Seventy-Eighth street has increased in value about \$22,450,000; from One Hundred and Seventy-Eighth to Dyckman street, about \$15,925,000. The aggregate rise in land from One Hundred and Thirty-Fifth street to Spuyten Duyvil was about \$69,300,000. If an estimated normal rise of \$20,000,000, based on the rise in the previous seven years be subtracted from this, it leaves a rise of about \$49,200,000, apparently due to the building of the subway, which is 104 per cent increase on the value of 1900." By the same method the report shows that the rise in value in the Bronx, due to the building of the subway, is \$31,300,000, the aggregate normal rise before that being \$13,300,000. "The aggregate rise in values," the report goes on, "above One Hundred and Thirty-Fifth street in Manhattan caused by the subway was \$49,200,000; the cost of building it from One Hundred and Thirty-Fifth to Two Hundred and Thirtieth street was \$7,375,000, or but 15 per cent of the actual rise caused by the new line. The property owners could have paid the

entire cost and yet have had a net profit on their land of 89 per cent, or an aggregate of \$41,825,000 for the district." In this way, the report shows, that for the Bronx, if the land had been assessed to pay for the subway construction, there would have still remained a profit by the difference between cost and rise in values, of 77 per cent. "The aggregate rise in land values from One Hundred and Thirty-Fifth street to Spuyten Duyvil, due to the subway, was \$80,500,000. The cost of the subway from the Battery to Spuyten Duyvil, including the West Farms branch, was but \$43,000,000. The property benefited in the district noted could have paid the entire cost and have had a profit of over \$37,500,000. Had it paid only for the portion running through its own territory, it would have had a profit of over \$67,425,000." The report gives many other factors. For instance, the land adjacent to express stations rises far more than that about local stations.

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As to the legal aspect of the scheme, the report states that "the legislative action conferring on the city the power needed to carry out this plan could, no doubt, easily be passed."

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Perpetual Debts.

It is not often that technical publications of the mechanical sort discuss civic questions with much regard for public interests. "Business is business," with them, as a rule. To this rule the Engineering News appears to be an exception. In the relation of engineering to the public service, already an interest of gigantic proportions and rapidly becoming larger, the News constantly takes into consideration public as well as private interests. This is far from saying that it always views public questions as we do. We imply simply that it views them honestly and without conscious bias. An instance in point is its discussion in an issue of last summer—the issue of July 20—of the subject of public debts for the construction of public buildings and other public works. A correspondent had upon very plausible grounds advocated long-time debts for public works. He had said:

It is of course true that the coming generation should not be saddled with the unproductive debts of the past, but is it not equally unfair to require the present generation to tax itself for the benefit of future generations? . . . Why insist upon actually paying off such bonds so long as they are amply secured by the actual physical value in the plant?

To this plausible argument for permanent debts of a certain kind, the only kind which it is possible to defend with reasonable argument, the Engineer-

ing News made the novel as well as unanswerable reply from which we extract the following:

To us it is one of the strong arguments against private ownership of public utilities that the cost, represented by bonded indebtedness, is made a perpetual burden on the public. With interest rates at 4 per cent, it only requires a sinking fund contribution of 3½ per cent per annum to extinguish a bond issue at the end of twenty years. Few franchise holding companies can float bonds at a lower rate of interest than 5½ per cent on the average, when discounts, etc., are taken into account. With a city floating its own bonds at 4 per cent, therefore, a contribution of only 2 per cent per annum under municipal ownership would extinguish the bond issue in twenty years and leave the city freed, forever, from the burden of further interest payment on account of this particular debt. Further than this, we need only look back twenty years to see that cities to-day need to have their power to borrow money by bond issues unhampered by debts incurred twenty years ago. . . . With the rapid changes of our present day civilization, each new generation has its own needs. . . . The city or the State or the nation that allows a mountain of debt to be piled up by generation after generation will suffer a serious handicap in the competitive struggle. . . . Suppose all the work of the Middle Ages in the castles of feudal warfare—quite as necessary in their day as any public work that we now build—were to be still represented by bond issues!

* *

Expertism in Government.

Under the title of "Democracy and the Expert," the London Nation makes a suggestive inquiry into the bureaucratic tendencies especially of socialists like Mr. Sidney Webb, and generally of all the types of socialism that may be called artificially constructive, in contra-distinction to those that are naturally evolutionary. Mr. Webb is urgent for the expert or specialist in government. But the Nation, itself socialistic, shrewdly wishes to know if a high degree of specialization would not remove the government from the control of the people. That such specialization as that which Mr. Webb and his associates stand for would do this, seems evident. But this is because the line between the function of the expert and the function of the people is not clearly drawn. Yet it is a visible line. We observe it in all our ordinary affairs. It is a line that separates policy from method and execution—the what-we-want from the how-to-get-it.

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A business man knows better than his experts what he wants accomplished, and to that extent he instructs his experts; but the experts know better how to get what he wants, and to that extent he abstains from interfering with them. So it is with

government. The people know what they want better than any expert in government can tell them. They know, for instance, whether they want high-ways or not, free trade or restricted trade, direct taxation or indirect, freedom or despotism. But with reference to the details of what they want, the experts know best. Given a nation in which the people regulate details, and you soon have chaos; given one in which experts determine policies, and you evolve bureaucracy, and ultimately absolutism. Absolute monarchy is the very ideal of expertism in government.

* *

A Misleading Confusion.

The London Socialist Review for July contained a thoughtful article on the waste of capital, by L. G. Chiozza Money—a socialistic article of the Fabian flavor. It was especially interesting as exhibiting the point of departure of socialists of the artificially constructive type, and those of the natural development type. For instance, referring to what he describes as "the anti-social storing up of capital to enable a person or family to live for an indefinite period upon the labor of others" and thereby "to exercise control or dominion over the life and work of others," Mr. Money declares this to be "the only unnecessary function which capital now possesses" and the only one which socialism would eliminate. This is a platform upon which all who believe in a better social order should be able to agree, whether they would accomplish the betterment by abolishing competition, as Mr. Money would, or by freeing competition, as others of us would. And what would make us differ would be our differing apprehension of what it is that gives to the possession of capital the power to live upon the labor and dominate the life and work of others. In opposition to Mr. Money we contend that capital *per se* gives no such power. It seems to have the power only because it is capitalized along with property which has the power in fact. A mining corporation, for example, capitalizes its machinery and its mineral deposits together, or a railroad company capitalizes its plant and its rolling stock along with its right of way, including its terminal monopoly, and we call all the stock "capital." Such capital does indeed perpetuate economic power in the possessor indefinitely and from generation to generation. But if the value of the mineral deposits in the one case, or of the railroad right of way and terminal, were abstracted from the stock, it is obvious to any business man that the capitalization of the machinery or of the rolling stock, as the case might

be, would in time, and in no long time, completely evaporate. How many business establishments of even fifty years ago are worth a dollar to-day, unless they rest upon monopoly foundations? Even debts cannot be perpetuated unless they are secured by monopolies or are public debts. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, in determining whether to abolish competition or to emancipate it, that we consider whence the evil power of capital comes—whether from capital *per se*, or from capital into which government has breathed eternal life by shackling competition.

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That the foregoing distinction has not been made by Mr. Money, is evident from his treatment of \$225,000,000 of railway dividends as interest on capital, when a large part of it is tribute for monopoly. And if the labor of repairing railroads seems to give the plant eternity, it is because a network of monopolies cuts labor off from access to natural opportunities for employment and compels workers to bid for work in a glutted market. It is the resulting profit to the railroad company, and not its possession of plant and rolling stock, that enables it to perpetuate plant and rolling stock by means of repairs and reproduction. Were it not for this network of monopolies the companies would have to pay competitive wages, instead of strangled wages, and railroad plants and rolling stock could not be perpetuated beyond the confines of a square deal.

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Of Mr. Money's conclusion no rational criticism is possible, except to the last clause. He insists upon "the all-important difference between the checked production of the present and the free production which might be;" that "a more equitable distribution of the poor and attenuated product now put forth" is not the only desideratum, but also the like "equitable distribution of a product augmented a thousand-fold." This is truly the industrial ideal. But when Mr. Money attributes the present attenuated product to competition, he discloses his failure to apprehend the fact that we have not now and never have had competition. For competition of the unprivileged with the privileged is not competition. Neither is competition between the privileged. Yet one or both is all we have ever had. When we have competition of the unprivileged, we shall have natural socialism, evolutionary socialism, the socialism that grows with social growth, the only socialism that is not bureaucratic and at the core despotic.

NATURAL INSTRUMENTS OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

IV. Karl Marx and Henry George.

At our last two or three talks, Doctor, we spoke (p. 724) of the habit of confusing natural instruments of production with artificial instruments, as if they were essentially alike because they are capitalistically interchangeable. And in that connection we spoke also of the historical transition from feudalism to capitalism. We were pretty well agreed, I guess, that most business men, as well as our socialistic friend down the street, not to mention our anarchist-communist neighbor over the way, fail to appreciate the fundamental and unchangeable difference between those two instruments of social service—the natural and the artificial. They have grown up with a mental habit of regarding both, when immersed in their interchangeable capitalized values, as possessing no differentiating characteristics. In business thought, capital is simply value, expressible with figures and money symbols on the pages of a ledger. Whether the value be of an artificial product of human labor, drawn with pain and sweat from the natural opportunities of the planet—"back-ache value," as John Z. White calls it, you remember; or of those natural opportunities themselves; or of the human laborer himself, makes no difference to men of the business type. Each being tradeable for the other on a common basis of value, each is capital to the capitalist if he needs it in his business.

Following this capitalistic line of thought, our socialistic friend also loses sight of the underlying distinction between artificial and natural instruments of production, and all appreciation of the difference in the natural laws that govern their respective social uses. Or, if he doesn't lose sight of the distinction, he sees it vaguely as the man whose sight was restored saw men at first as trees walking. Yet these essential differences persist, and they produce characteristic effects. And this they do, as I have indicated and shall try to show you further, whether the land is used under feudalism, with its distinct personal landlord class, or under capitalism, where class personality gives way to an impersonal landed interest masked behind the capitalistic mode of indiscriminate capitalization. Let me repeat, and repeat, and repeat, if necessary, that you cannot turn the planet, the natural instrument of production, into the same thing as capital, the artificial instrument, by capitalizing the two together. You can no more do it than you can

change horses into cows by capitalizing live stock. Though they become interchangeable in trade, they are no more identical in fact than they were before.

But it is this indiscriminating capitalization, as I think, Doctor, that causes our socialistic friend to assure us, with entire good faith as both of us know, that monopoly of land, the natural instrument of production, has come to be of secondary economic importance to monopoly of capital, the aggregate of existing artificial instruments. Even if he had said that their economic importance is equal, we should have wondered. For how can existing artificial products of labor be of equal importance to the perennial natural source of all artificial products? But when he gives primary importance to existing artificial products, and only secondary importance to their perennial natural source, what is one to say?

Wasn't it as hard for you as for me to understand what he meant the other day when he asserted that if he had all the existing capital, and the workers had all the land, he could drive the workers off the face of the earth by refusing them the use of his capital? It truly did seem absurd to me, and I mean no disrespect whatever to him, for you know I hold him in high esteem,—but it did seem absurd that a monopolist who owned only capital could drive laborers off the planet if the laborers owned the planet, merely by refusing to let them use the capital which they had produced and could easily reproduce.

But you see, Doctor, he didn't mean the planet when he talked of workers owning all the land. He meant only the parts of it that landlords own as landlords—as a distinct personal class. Don't you recall his figures in which he estimated the landlord's power at so many millions, and the capitalist's at many millions more? Why, he left all sorts of landed property outside of the landlord's millions, and included all sorts of landed property in the millions of the capitalist. He seems to have lost sight altogether of the land that capitalists treat as part of their capital; the land, for instance, that is represented in the stocks of land-owning corporations—such as mining and railway companies. It is no longer land to him, any more than it is to them. In our friend's thought, as in that of the capitalist's, all this most important land, this vital natural instrument of production—all of it inventories as capital. Though a natural instrument of production, it is tumbled indiscriminately into the same inventory with his artificial instruments. He may distinguish when you come down to definitions, but

haven't you noticed how he drifts away when the argument is resumed? It is the confusion which the capitalistic line of thought promotes, that gets him out of the main current of economic thought and into the eddies.

It would not be fair to our friend, however, to attribute his misapprehension altogether to his own heedlessness. Karl Marx as well as our friend sometimes seemed to lose his way in this wilderness of capitalistic thought, although I think that he really recognized as vital the distinction I have made. Let me read you from Marx's "Capital." My copy is the first English edition, published in 1889, a translation by Moore and Aveling from the third German edition, and edited by Frederick Engels. At the beginning of the first chapter, Marx writes:

The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity. Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity.

Now observe, Doctor, the subject of consideration here is wealth as found in capitalistic society. We are told that it consists of "commodities." So far, then, I find myself, as I have already explained to you, in substantial agreement with the great expositor of socialism. Capitalization makes a commodity of everything it touches. And now comes the Marxian analysis of a commodity. Listen:

A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us.

Very good, provided "us" be understood as including only the acknowledged members of capitalistic society. For capitalistic industry might comprise chattel slavery, and then the slaves would be commodities, capitalistic wealth. A commodity would still be outside the members of the society, for slaves would not be accounted members; but some commodities would not be outside of some persons, since every slave would be a person and yet a commodity. But of course Marx contemplated in his definition of a capitalistic commodity only such objects as are outside the acknowledged membership; so this part of his analysis may go without criticism. A commodity, then, is an object outside of us. It is also, he continues—a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. The nature of such wants, whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach, or from fancy, makes no difference. Neither are we here concerned to know how the object satisfies these wants, whether directly as means of subsistence, or indirectly as means of production.

Well, Doctor, in view of our talks I reckon we'll both agree to that, won't we?

At this point Marx states his definition of use-values. We have had the same idea in considering the subject of desirability. He adds with reference to use values that they "constitute the substance or body or quality of all wealth, as distinguished from its quantity in terms of 'exchange value';" and then he proceeds to say that in the capitalistic form of society "use values"—

are, in addition, the material depositories of exchange value. Exchange value, at first sight, presents itself as a quantitative relation, as the proportion in which values in use of one sort are exchanged for those of another sort, a relation constantly changing with time and place.

After elaborating this capitalistic idea with some necessary detail, he concludes that—

the exchange values of commodities must be capable of being expressed in terms of something common to them all, of which thing they represent a greater or less quantity.

This common "something" he then ascertains by considering that—

as use-values commodities are, above all, of different qualities; but as exchange values they are merely different quantities, and consequently do not contain an atom of use-value. If, then, we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor.

Now, Doctor, if we stopped there Marx might appear to some readers as having made a false analysis. For he begins by defining commodities so as to include land—"an object outside us," don't you recall? which "by its properties satisfies human wants," whether "directly, as means of subsistence, or indirectly, as means of production,"—and he ends by distinguishing commodities as products of labor. So, as land is not a product of labor, here is false analysis. But this conclusion Marx follows with some metaphysical reasoning which goes to show that value—not "use-value" but "exchange value"—is his distinguishing characteristic of commodities, and that it is this value that is the labor product. It is, I should say, as if he had made his statement like this: "As material substantial objects, commodities are, above all, of different qualities; but as values in exchange they are merely different quantities, and consequently do not contain an atom of material substance. If, then, we leave out of consideration the material substance of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor."

To this idea we have already agreed in a way; and though only in a way, yet probably in the way that Marx meant. Since we accept the values of commodities as expressive of the irksome-

ness in labor which their possession will save, we may agree that in a metaphysical sense labor produces all value. There could be no value without commodities, and labor does produce all commodities except land. And while labor does not produce land, there is a sense in which it may be loosely said to produce land values. For it is by the extension of labor forces to the use of inferior lands that superior lands become valuable.

That labor does not produce natural commodities, but that these are the source of production and not its results, Marx recognizes so clearly in his next chapter as to leave no room for cavil. I refer to what he says specifically of "use-values." By "use-values" he evidently means what I mean by artificial things, or "wealth"—the products of labor from land. Perhaps he includes land in "use-values." But I, at any rate, shall not conclude that he intends to, for that would certainly convict him of confusing artificial and natural instruments of production. Listen again:

The use-values, coat, linen, etc., i. e., the bodies of commodities, are combinations of two elements—matter and labor. If we take away the useful labor expended upon them, a material substratum is always left, which is furnished by nature without the help of man. The latter can work only as Nature does, that is by changing the form of matter. Nay, more, in this work of changing the form he is constantly helped by natural forces. We see, then, that labor is not the only source of material wealth, of use-value produced by labor. As William Petty puts it, labor is its father and the earth its mother.

If Marx had held tight to that understanding—something which he realized as true of all modes of production, whether capitalistic or not,—he would not have made so inadequate a use of a certain significant Australian incident of which I shall read you in a moment.

But after this brief reference to "the bodies of commodities," which he describes as "combinations of two elements, matter and labor,"—accurately, if he means artificial commodities only, but quite inaccurately if he intends, as I am sure he does not, to include all objects outside us which directly or indirectly satisfy human wants,—he turns the whole force of his great intellect upon the ghost of commodities—the immaterial, unsubstantial, metaphysical, capitalistic concept of value as an abstraction from the objects valued.

And now, Doctor, let me read you the Australian incident to illustrate one of the effects of his having thus slipped his anchorage and gone off sailing into the cloudland of capitalistic metaphysics. In his thirty-third chapter, in the course of a discussion of modern colonization,

Marx tells—here it is, on page 791,—of a Mr. Peel, who—

took with him from England to Swan River, West Australia, means of subsistence and of production to the amount of £50,000. Mr. Peel had the foresight to bring with him, besides, 3,000 persons of the working class, men, women and children. Once arrived at his destination, "Mr. Peel was left without a servant to make his bed or fetch him water from a river."

Now, what would you suppose that situation to imply, Doctor? Certainly; so should I. With plenty of good land all around, available for the taking, those "3,000 persons of the working class" could not be coerced by Mr. Peel, although he had £50,000 of capital and they had none. But what do you suppose is Marx's comment? Here it is:

Unhappy Mr. Peel, who provided for everything except the export of English modes of production to Swan River.

Now, Doctor, I don't intend to try Marx's philosophy by the test of one of his brief illustrative allusions. But doesn't it look as if he had got so far away from what he calls the "bodies of commodities" as to lose sight of the plain common sense fact that whether on Swan River or on the Thames, coercive power over labor really depends upon monopoly of the natural instruments of production?

Indeed, we might not unfairly assume that Marx himself so believed. When he writes of the unhappy Mr. Peel who provided for everything except the export of English modes of production to Swan River, Marx may very well be interpreted, without doing any violence to his general exposition, as having meant that Mr. Peel had neglected to export land capitalism from England. Land capitalism is the capitalistic method of cutting off producers from access to the natural instruments of production—the *natural* instruments, mind you; and as land capitalism did not prevail on Swan River those servants of the Peel expedition were free. Mr. Peel could not coerce them with his £50,000 of capital. With all that land available to them, what cared they for the accumulated artificial instruments which that money represented to the amount of a quarter of a million dollars? While that supply of artificial instruments would have been a convenience, it was not a necessity.

That Karl Marx did believe that coercive power over labor depends upon monopoly of land, not only under feudalism but also under capitalism, appears from a specific statement of his made as late as 1875, and published by his friend Engels

in 1891. I find it in the International Socialist Review for May, 1908. It appears as part of a criticism of a socialist program made under the influence of followers of Lassalle. One sentence of that program had described labor as "the source of all wealth," and with reference to this declaration Marx wrote, as I find it quoted here at page 643 of the Review:

Labor is not the source of all wealth. Nature is just as much the source of use values (and of such, to be sure, is material wealth composed) as is labor, which itself is but the expression of a natural force, of human labor power.

Turn now to page 645 of the Review and you will find that Marx speaks in that way, not only of a period when feudalistic customs prevailed, but of the present age of production on a large scale and with enormous artificial tools—of this very age of capitalism. For there he says, writing as late as 1875, remember—

In the society of today, the means of labor are monopolized by the landed proprietors. Monopoly of landed property is even the basis of monopoly of capital and by the capitalists.

Returning now to his book, "Capital," I find that the language of Marx last quoted merely confirms his earlier conclusion concerning the power of land monopoly to coerce labor under the present capitalistic system. In the last chapter of "Capital," on page 793 of my edition, Marx explicitly says:

We have seen that the expropriation of the mass of the people from the soil forms the basis of the capitalist mode of production.

However far apart Karl Marx and Henry George may be at other points, Doctor, they are close together at this vital point. Making allowance for their differing habits of thought and forms of expression, and getting down to their essential meanings, I should say that upon this point—the most vital one, it seems to me, in the whole industrial problem—they are absolutely at one. Take up that first volume of "Progress and Poverty," Doctor, and read George's remarks upon the confusion under capitalism of natural with artificial instruments, of planet values with product-values, of land with capital. You will find it in the chapter on spurious capital at page 189:

In the speech and literature of the day everyone is styled a capitalist who possesses what, independent of his labor, will yield him a return, while whatever is thus received is spoken of as the earnings or takings of capital, and we everywhere hear of the conflict of labor and capital. Whether there is in reality any conflict between labor and capital, I do not yet ask the reader to make up his mind; but it will be well here to clear away some misapprehensions which confuse the

tion has already been called to the fact that land values, which constitute such an enormous part of what is commonly called capital, are not capital at all.

I could give you numerous other quotations, showing that George insisted upon distinguishing the natural instruments of social service from the artificial ones under all circumstances, and that he recognized the evil powers of capitalism as springing fundamentally from land monopoly disguised as capital. But it is unnecessary, for that was the key to his solution of the social service problem, and you may read it at leisure in his books.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE RELATION OF AERONAUTICS TO CIVILIZATION.

Zurich, Switzerland, September 27.—It was my intention to write you a letter about the Zeppelin airship after having seen it flying, but unfortunately it was destroyed before I had an opportunity to see it. The 1st of July it was sailing above Zurich, making in 12 hours a flight of 400 kilometres through the northeastern part of Switzerland, where it was greeted with enormous enthusiasm. Unfortunately I missed the opportunity to see it that day, and I learned only in the evening that the famous airship had been above Zurich in the afternoon. You may well imagine what an enormous sensation it had created throughout the country. For many days there was nearly no other news but that of Zeppelin in the newspapers, and the climax was reached with the tragic destroying of the airship at Echterdingen in Wurtemberg.* There was then a general exclamation of pain and compassion for the famous inventor; a subscription was opened to place funds at his disposal to build a new airship, and to-day six million marks have already been collected, so that Zeppelin would be able to build ten airships of the type of the destroyed one. Count Zeppelin is now, after having formerly been considered as a crank and sneered at, the most famous man in Germany. After all, with what is known about him, he seems to be a splendid man.

It has been said that the Germans consider the airship only as a machine of war, and that it was for this reason that they have given their money so willingly to construct new airships. Though some of them have been influenced by this reason, it is nonsense to say so of the whole people. The appearance of an airship, as big as a modern ocean-hunter, sailing against the winds at the will of its inventor, strikes the imagination most powerfully, and that is enough to account for the emotions of the people. The excitement in Switzerland was as intense as in Germany, though the Swiss have no interest in a machine of war built for the German Government. Nevertheless it goes without saying that the international mischief-makers, the patriotic idiots, and hirelings of a well-paying patriotism, are

doing their best and their worst to teach the world that it is absolutely necessary for a Christian people to use the greatest discovery of the age chiefly for the purpose of murdering other people on the other side of the frontier. To one who has travelled the world their arguments sound as intended for a comedy-joke. We maintain armies and navies as if we were surrounded by Huns and barbarians waiting only for the moment of weakness to burn down our cities and sell us into slavery; whereas the greatest mischief that could befall us would be that our parliamentary representatives would have to travel to Paris, instead of to Berlin, and that on the public buildings instead of a little bit of cloth with red, white and black stripes, there would be fluttering another with red, white and blue stripes. This cry for armies and navies to protect one nation against another in our little Europe, where all nations are on the same level of civilization, have the same trend of thought, exchange every day the products of their labor, give to their citizens the same rights in their countries as to a foreigner, is so wholly nonsensical and ridiculous that it will furnish a riddle for the historians of a more enlightened future.

There is only one explanation of this general madness, which holds good in my opinion, and that is that the latent cruelty and moral insanity in human nature which formerly found an outlet in religious persecutions and witch-burning, has now turned to patriotism. Otherwise it would be absolutely incomprehensible.

GUSTAV BUESCHER.

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POLICE ANARCHY IN INDIANAPOLIS.

Indianapolis, Ind., Nov. 2.—A simple tale of municipal blindness and police brutality and ignorance may be told; this time about Indianapolis, a quiet and sleepy town where there is no labor movement and where most good citizens seem to think this is the best of all possible worlds.

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Emma Goldman tried to speak in Indianapolis last week. Her lectures were to be delivered on October 27th, 28th and 29th, and the subjects were: "Anarchism and What It Stands For," "The Revolutionary Spirit in the Drama," and "Patriotism." She had never been in Indianapolis before and she did not know what she was running up against.

I was the only person she knew here, so that her manager, Dr. Reitman, came to me and asked my assistance in finding a hall. We went together to the Propylaeum, the most "respectable" hall in Indianapolis. I am a stranger in Indianapolis, or I would never have selected a place the directors of which were all women, and moreover women who are of our "best people."

But Dr. Reitman signed the contract for Emma Goldman, who was lecturing in Ohio at the time, made arrangements for printing, advertisements, etc., and left for Cincinnati, where Miss Goldman was to speak previously to coming to Indianapolis. The local papers announced the lectures, several thousand circulars were distributed by an agency, and many

*The Public of August 14, page 470.

citizens showed an unmistakable interest in what the noted anarchist had to say.

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The first lecture was billed for Tuesday. On the Saturday afternoon preceding, Mrs. Barbour, the lady in charge at the Propylæum; called me up by telephone and said that, as she could not reach Miss Goldman or Dr. Reitman, she wished to inform me that there was a city ordinance which made it necessary for Miss Goldman to secure a license from the authorities before she would be permitted to lecture; and requested that I pass on the information to Miss Goldman.

On Monday, the day before the lecture was to be given, I went to see George Breunig, the controller of the city, who at once informed me that "the city authorities had decided that Emma Goldman should not be allowed to speak in Indianapolis;" adding that he would not grant a license.

Tuesday morning Miss Goldman and Dr. Reitman arrived, and I went again to the controller, accompanied by Reitman. Mr. Breunig again said he would not grant a license, but admitted that none was necessary, in case Miss Goldman did not charge admission to the lectures, and she, through her agent, readily consented to give free admission. The controller reluctantly said, in answer to a question from me, that Miss Goldman was now quite within her legal rights, and that he would inform the chief of police to that effect.

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In the evening, Dr. Reitman, thinking that all had been happily settled, went to the hall to make preliminary arrangements for the lecture that night, but found the doors locked and a squad of policemen in the street. The chief, Mr. Metzger, was there in person and brutally told Reitman that if he did not move on, he would "run him in."

When Miss Goldman and I arrived a half hour later, there were signs indicating there had been perhaps a thousand people turned away. The hall is in the richest section of Indianapolis and the citizens who went to hear Miss Goldman were of the bourgeoisie, very respectable and law-abiding. There were present bankers, business men, educators and society leaders, and very few working men. There were certainly no anarchists, as there are none in Indianapolis.

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There is no educational crisis here, and nothing that can properly be called a labor movement. The conditions are most calm and peaceful, but yet the chief of police prevented, illegally, several hundred of the "best" men of Indianapolis from hearing a lecture which they evidently wished to hear.

I heard a great deal of indignation expressed that night and the next morning, and several prominent citizens tried to reach the Mayor, Mr. Bookwalter, and induce him to call off the police for the following two lectures. One of these prominent citizens secured an audience for me with the Mayor.

My friend and I and the Mayor talked the matter over for fully an hour. The Mayor said he agreed with us, that the action of the police was unlawful and unnecessary, that it was a crime against free speech and essentially inconsistent with true civiliza-

tion, that such municipal idiocy made anarchists, and he contributed to the list of incidents which we added in proof. Mr. Bookwalter said he had been so busy that he had not known of the action of the chief of police, or he would have prevented it.

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I then asked him, since he agreed so thoroughly with our point of view—that the suppression was not only a wrong to Emma Goldman, a wrong to civilization but also unwise from the standpoint of the government,—that he make amends by calling off the police and allowing the other two lectures to be given as advertised and contracted for. He said "that's another question," and called the chief of police, Mr. Metzger, to the conference.

The Chief walked into the room, as brutal and as ignorant appearing a policeman as I have seen. We went over the talk again, the chief passionately taking part. The Mayor told him he had done wrong, had acted illegally and unwisely, but ended by saying that he would not go back on the "department" now that action had been taken. I then said to the Mayor:

"You admit that the administration of which you are at the head has done wrong, has acted illegally, oppressively, towards a human being and against the great principle of freedom of speech, and at a time when the circumstances in no way necessitated it, and yet, in order to keep peace in your little municipal family, you will let this important wrong go unrighted?"

He nodded in good-natured assent, and I took my departure, feeling more like an anarchist than ever before in my life. Certainly the action of the Indianapolis authorities is one of the ways by which fundamental protestors are generated.

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It is said that Chief Metzger is the representative of the Manufacturers' Association and therefore practically independent of the Mayor. He is celebrated in Indianapolis for his brutality and autocratic ignorance. On one occasion he brutally attacked an epileptic, for which he was indicted. When Debs spoke here several weeks ago, the police tore away a small red banner carried by two little girls, representing a Woman's Socialist Club in Anderson, Ind.

A few days before Emma Goldman tried to speak in Indianapolis she talked to three thousand people in a public square in Cleveland, and only two policemen were present, and there was no trouble. The Mayor of Cleveland is a wise and civilized magistrate.

Emma Goldman left Cleveland feeling more kindly towards society; she said nothing as she left Indianapolis, but I knew that her soul was contracting more rigidly than ever in a tense hatred of rule.

HUTCHINS HAPGOOD.

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We need also to hold inviolate the principle of free discussion, which has been well defined as the struggle for existence on the intellectual plane. It alone can save us from the tyranny of the majority as from the tyranny of the individual ruler. Not often in our recent political life has a heavier blow been dealt at the higher interests of the country than Mr.

Balfour's declaration that the expression of certain views passes "the limits of human endurance." It is not only that it is the recrudescence of the old excuse for every form of tyranny; it also encourages the unhealthy tendency to shift responsibility for right conduct on to events or to the primeval instincts of savage man. The principle has been invoked by an aristocrat; but it will serve many purposes and may yet be applied by bands of hungry men.—G. P. Gooch, in "The Heart of the Empire."

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, November 3, 1908.

The Presidential Election.

The thirty-first Presidential election of the United States came off on the 3d—the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November—and William J. Bryan, the Democratic candidate (pp. 361, 365, 732), was defeated by William H. Taft, the Republican candidate (pp. 289, 296, 732). We shall not be able to give details of the vote until next week; but as *The Public* goes to press on the morning of the 4th, the newspaper reports indicate that the electoral vote is 172 for Mr. Bryan, and 311 for Mr. Taft.

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Reports of the side-party voting are not at hand, except from Chicago, where the Socialist vote for President is 14,942, as against about 43,000 in 1904, and where the Prohibition vote is 4,220, and the Independence party vote 4,351.

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Gubernatorial Elections.

In New York, Governor Hughes was reelected. So was Governor Deneen in Illinois, and Governor Johnson in Minnesota.

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The Congressional Elections.

Upon the face of the reported returns, the lower House of the next Congress will be composed of 171 Democrats and 220 Republicans—a Republican majority of 49. Speaker Cannon was reelected from Illinois by 11,000, which is about 3,000 more than the normal Republican majority in his Congressional District.

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New Republicanism.

Everett Colby, leader of democratic Republicanism in New Jersey, was re-elected to the State Senate.

Mr. Bryan's Speaking Tour.

After his 3 o'clock in the morning speech, made from the steps of the City Hall, New York (p. 732), Mr. Bryan devoted the remainder of the 27th to speeches in Greater New York, making 18 speeches in all. He had had but two hours' sleep in forty-eight at the close of the day. On the 28th he made an up-State tour, closing with a great mass meeting at Albany, at which David B. Hill presided; and on the 29th he ended his New York tour with a speech at Syracuse, where Alton B. Parker presided. He had spoken at various places during the day, and the Syracuse meeting is reported to have been of enormous size. Mr. Bryan entered Ohio on the 30th, making his principal speech at Cleveland. After devoting Saturday, the 31st, to Indiana, he would have closed the week at Chicago before three enormous audiences which waited for him until midnight, but was detained by mysterious railroad difficulties until too late to speak in Chicago except on Sunday, and this he declined to do. The remaining day of the campaign, the 2d, was devoted to speeches on his way home to Lincoln, his principal and final political speech being at Omaha on the evening before election. He made a non-partisan speech at Lincoln to friends and neighbors of all parties upon his arrival home.

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Mr. Taft's Speaking Tour.

Having campaigned the Hudson River towns on the 27th (p. 732), ending with speeches at Cohoes and Troy, Mr. Taft returned to New York on the 28th, making speeches by the way, and spoke at an enormous mass meeting at Madison Square Garden. He closed the 29th at Syracuse, the 30th at Buffalo, and the 31st at Rochester, and made his final speech at Youngstown, Ohio, on the 2d. A peculiarity of the meeting at Madison Square Garden on the 28th and of the business men's parade in New York on the 31st, was the campaign cry of "Taft, Taft, Big Bill Taft."

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Rockefeller's Announcement.

The sensational incident of the closing days of the campaign was John D. Rockefeller's announcement on the 30th that he intended to vote for Mr. Taft. The reasons he gave were that, "if for no other reasons" it would "make for law and order and stability of business," because Mr. Taft is not a man "to adventure with rash experiments or to impede a return to prosperity by advocating measures subversive of industrial progress." Mr. Rockefeller added that he felt the more impelled to announce his preference because—

it cannot be said that the present administration has in any way whatever favored the special interest to which my life has been devoted. That, however,

does not excuse me from publishing my opinion and doing what I consider my duty as a citizen.

Incidentally, while making his preference a personal one he said that he supports "the general Republican position on the tariff and the currency," and has "always been a Republican."

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Immediately upon the publication of Mr. Rockefeller's statement, President Roosevelt denounced it as a trick and published the following:

At the White House the announcement of Mr. Rockefeller through the press agent of the Standard Oil Company was regarded with some amusement, in view of what the Administration has done to the Standard Oil Company and of the bitter hatred borne by the Standard Oil Company to the Administration. It is a perfectly palpable and obvious trick on the part of the Standard Oil People to try to damage Taft—a trick so palpable that it can deceive no one.

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No reference was made by the President to a similar declaration by Andrew Carnegie, published on the same day with Mr. Rockefeller's, in which Mr. Carnegie urged Bryan's defeat and Taft's election for similar reasons, but in more vigorous language.

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Mr. Bryan criticized both statements in a statement issued from Toledo on the 30th. He said:

There are several things about this statement that deserve attention. The first clause says, "if for no other reason." But there is another reason. He is for Mr. Taft because Mr. Taft is for him. He is for Mr. Taft because Mr. Taft is in sympathy with the trusts. Mr. Taft has been making speeches for many weeks, and he has not yet dwelt upon the iniquities of the trust or pointed out the injustice done to the American people by them. No wonder Mr. Rockefeller is for Mr. Taft. Again, Mr. Rockefeller says Mr. Taft's election will make for law and order. This is false. Mr. Rockefeller's corporation is the most notorious lawbreaker in the United States, and he is for Mr. Taft because he does not want the law enforced. If he thought that Mr. Taft would enforce the law against the Standard Oil Company and favored the enactment of more stringent laws against the Standard Oil Company, as I do, he would not be for Mr. Taft. Mr. Rockefeller also says that Mr. Taft's election will make for stability of business. What kind of business? Stability in the trust business is what he means. He thinks that Mr. Taft's election will enable the trusts to get a tighter strangle grasp upon the American people, and put their extortion upon a more permanent foundation. The Democrats have reason to be grateful to Mr. Rockefeller for tearing the mask off the Republican campaign and revealing the duplicity that has characterized it. The Republican party cannot serve two masters. Its real master has now stepped forth and asserted his claim to the party's services. No Republican need be deceived any longer as to the indissoluble bond that binds the Republican organiza-

tion to the predatory interests of the country. It will be noticed that this statement comes out too late to be used by the weekly newspapers or circulated among the masses, but in time to be used in the business centers to influence those business men who look to the big financiers for advice. Mr. Carnegie also has come out for Mr. Taft. Mr. Carnegie holds the largest block of steel bonds of any man in the United States. And he comes out with Mr. Rockefeller. And it was that Steel Trust that went to the White House and got permission from the President to absorb a rival, and the Steel Trust is today supporting Mr. Taft, as it helped to secure his nomination.

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Mr. Bryan's Final Appeal.

On the eve of election, October 31, Mr. Bryan issued an address to the public in which he defined the leading issues, saying in substance that—the Democratic party attempts to inaugurate an era of honesty in politics by compelling the publication of campaign contributions before the election. It seeks to bring the Government nearer to the people by securing the election of United States Senators by direct vote. It seeks to restore competition through legislation which will make a private monopoly impossible. It seeks to reconcile labor and capital by legislation which will bring employer and employe together in friendly co-operation and to this end it proposes the creation of a Department of Labor, with a Secretary of Labor in the cabinet; an amendment to the antitrust law which will exclude the labor organization from the operation of that law; the limitation of the writ of injunction so that it will not be issued in a labor dispute unless conditions are such as would justify an injunction even if there were no labor dispute, and trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt. It seeks to secure legislation which will create a guaranty fund sufficient to insure all depositors against loss. It seeks to secure a reduction of the tariff by gradual steps until the tariff laws will no longer be made in the interest of the few and at the expense of the rest of the people. The Democratic party appeals to the awakened conscience of the Nation and the sense of justice in the human heart and to the growing desire for brotherhood. With a Democratic victory for the National ticket, with a Democratic Congress, and with the moral force of a popular verdict, I believe we can compel the Senate to yield to the expressed will of the people and permit the passage of the more urgent of the reforms. The Democratic party offers the only prospect of remedial legislation, and, while it does not go as far as some reformers would like to go, a Democratic victory will secure as much of reform as is now attainable.

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Cleveland Traction Situation.

Developments of the traction situation in Cleveland since the date of our last report (p. 729), as disclosed by the Cleveland papers, bring the controversy down to and including November 1.

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On the 26th, there was a meeting of the Mu-

municipal company with creditors holding claims aggregating \$125,000, at which Mayor Johnson explained the situation as affecting creditors. He said that all claims against the Municipal would be of less value than otherwise, if a receiver were appointed, because the property would revert to the control of the old monopoly interests, and it would then be a question whether any of the debts of the Municipal would be paid. He declared that if the representatives of these old interests did not keep their agreement to restore the status quo of last Spring in consequence of the defeat of the settlement by the referendum vote, he would not keep his, but would stand upon the lease to the Municipal which leases to it all property rights involved. In this he was supported by Mr. Goff, who represented the old interests in the settlement. It appeared that the strength of his position depends upon preventing a receivership, which would carry the lease with it. Meanwhile creditors' suits for a receivership had been instituted in the Federal courts; and the Municipal company has been holding all receipts and guarding the money, pending action by the courts, because the old interests refuse to allow the funds in bank to be checked out.

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On the 27th the good faith agreement of last Spring to which Mayor Johnson alludes, was published. It is as follows:

If for any reason the plan herein outlined is not carried through to final completion, in a manner satisfactory to both Mr. Johnson and Mr. Goff, all papers are to be returned to the parties from whom the same have been received, and each of the railway companies herein named, and the city, shall take such further action and execute such further papers as may be necessary to fully restore all parties to their rights and position as they existed prior to the execution and delivery of the first paper in this plan of procedure.

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On the 28th the Central Trust Company of New York began suit in the Federal court for a receiver of both the Municipal (the lessee company) and the Cleveland Railway (the owning and lessor company) on the basis of mortgages held by it upon the old monopoly company amounting to \$8,276,000, and the Federal judge, Tayler, issued a restraining order in the suit prohibiting both companies from paying out any money except for expenses of operation. Hearing was set for the 2d of November. Another meeting of the Municipal with creditors was held on the 28th, at which a committee of creditors was appointed.

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On the 29th Mr. Goff announced his unwillingness to act further as one of the voting trustees of the Municipal (p. 708) unless the Municipal

would assent to a receivership in the Central Trust Co.'s suit, and the Mayor would express his willingness to renew negotiations for a settlement upon broad and fair lines. Mayor Johnson replied as follows:

In reply to your letter of Oct. 29, permit me to say that I have repeatedly expressed in the most public manner, and I now reiterate my willingness as mayor to again take up at once with the representatives of the Cleveland Railway Co. the consideration upon broad and fair lines of an equitable settlement of the traction question.

Your letter makes as a condition of your remaining upon the board of trustees that the traction company consent to the appointment of a receiver in the suit pending in the Federal court. The object of the application for a receiver is to forfeit the lease, to grasp the Forest City property, to destroy 3-cent fare and to defraud the creditors and others whose obligations from the traction company rest for their protection upon the honor of the engagements made between you and me.

The written agreement made between you and me as mediators in good faith sought a settlement for the street railway question. The interests of individuals, both creditors and owners, corporations and the public, were affected and their positions changed by their reliance upon the good faith of the arrangement made by us. I regard myself as bound by an obligation, which I neither can nor desire to escape, to restore the entire situation as it was on the 27th day of April.

By this I mean not merely a restoration of the property rights and their protection from impairment, due to their reliance upon the arrangement made by us, but also the restoration of the public to a position in which it will not be at the mercy of a monopoly street railroad interest with all competition destroyed, and nothing to protect the public interest against its aggressions. This restoration and preservation I am pledged with you to bring about.

So long, however, as the old Cleveland Electric interests seek to repudiate this obligation, and to gain the enormous advantage of our settlement, accruing to them from the destruction of competition, by arraying their friends against the public interest and resorting to coercive technical legal proceedings, to be faithful to my trust I must resist them at every point.

In consequence, Mr. Goff resigned, although he commended Mayor Johnson warmly for the frank manner in which he had expressed his willingness to take up the consideration of settlement of the franchise question on broad and fair lines, and expressed the hope that the directors of the Cleveland Railway would confer with the Mayor in the same spirit.

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On the 30th Mayor Johnson offered to give up the claims of the Municipal company in order to secure traction peace, saying:

I am willing to treat immediately with representatives of the Cleveland Railway Co. to end the war, and the directors of the Municipal Traction Co. are

behind me. Any settlement reached must eliminate private profit, except for a legitimate return on investment. Good service must be provided for, and fares must be reduced as fast as increased profits will permit. There will be no quibbling on our part. We will insist on two things only: The protection of the people and the creditors. The first move should be made by the Cleveland Railway Co. directors. We are ready to meet their representatives at any time.

On the other hand, I shall never consent to ignominious surrender to the appointment of a receiver. That would mean the forfeiture of the lease, and would take away our power to fight for the rights of the people in settling the war. Such surrender would jeopardize the interests of creditors, and would rob the people of all fruits of their eight years' battle for better street railway terms. Enemies of the Municipal Traction Co. are trying to stampede the town for the purpose of getting the most favorable terms possible in a new franchise to a private street railway corporation. They are trying to make the people anxious to give a franchise quickly; a franchise with terms so liberal that people are likely to regret their haste in future years. They are trying to make the people think they are in a hurry to give up 3-cent fare and get back to 5-cent fare. A stampede now would mean disaster to the people's interests. In order to get peace with favorable terms, we must not throw away our ammunition and rush off the field headlong. We should have peace, but it must be peace with honor and with the people's interests safeguarded.

To this the directors of the Cleveland Railway Company replied that they were "ready to take up at once the discussion of the terms of a new street railway grant with representatives of the public in an entirely candid and frank manner," suggesting that "discussions shall be open to the public." Their statement was met by Mayor Johnson with the declaration that it "sounds all right as far as it goes," and an expression of his wish that "they would name a committee authorized to act." Also on the 30th the experts of the committee of creditors of the Municipal reported that the assets of the Municipal are \$1,587,259.22, and its liabilities \$1,166,011.22,—an excess of assets over liabilities of \$421,248.

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On the 31st the directors of the Cleveland Railway exposed anew their bad faith by refusing to confer in accordance with their offer stated above. Mayor Johnson had called a meeting of the city council for initiating the proposed conference, but none of the Cleveland Railway representatives appeared. The president, however, Horace Andrews, who was president also of the old monopoly company, gave out a statement in which he declined to negotiate unless the Municipal company would first turn over to his company all the property it now holds under its lease. The council adopted the following resolution:

That the council does hereby express its willingness to meet at any time to take up with the Cleve-

land Railway Co. and all others interested, the settlement of the traction question upon lines as broad as the adequate protection of the public interest will permit.

This was passed at the suggestion of Mayor Johnson, who preceded his suggestion with the declaration that—

We will surrender no advantage we have; we will fight technicality with technicality, and we will hold on, and they know in their hearts that they can't take this railroad away. They know that they have lost this battle, and when the question is really settled, they have fought against their own interest in killing that franchise. When they come in again, they will come with a clean sheet of paper, and we will make a trade with them on the best terms for the people that we can make; but we will make those terms in possession of this property, and they will be the ones that will have to sue for peace. Now, I recommend that you meet them half way, and don't surrender your advantage. I hope we will pass a resolution here, being ready to meet them at any time.

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On the 2d of November, Sunday having intervened, the receivership suit in behalf of the Central Trust Company came on for hearing before Judge Tayler. Mr. Goff's law partner—Mr. Tolles—having withdrawn from Mayor Johnson's side of the case, because as a lawyer he represented hostile interests, his place was taken by Samuel B. Clarke and Bronson Winthrop, of New York. After one day's proceedings, the hearing went over to the 4th, the day after the Presidential election.

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The Russian Parliament Reconvenes.

The autumn session of the third Douma (pp. 370, 470), the lower house of the Russian Parliament, opened on the morning of the 28th; and the Council of the Empire, the upper house, began its sittings on the afternoon of the same day. This is the first Douma to reach its second session, and something is hoped for from it. The calendar for the session includes besides the budget, a new university statute, and laws in regard to religious freedom and local self-government; and also, most important of all, two measures connected with the agrarian problem (vol. x, p. 250), described in the dispatches, one as relating to reform of the local courts among the peasants, the other as arranging for the dissolution of communes and the transfer of lands to individual ownership, which was introduced as a temporary measure between the first and second Doumas (vol. ix, pp. 824, 926; see also in same vol. pp. 219, 256, 441, 511, 560, 634).

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For those who see Truth and would follow her; for those who recognize Justice and would stand her, success is not the only thing. Success!

Falsehood has often that to give; and Injustice often has that to give. Must not Truth and Justice have something to give that is their own by proper right—theirs in essence, and not by accident? That they have, and that here and now, every one who has felt their exaltation knows.—Henry George in "Progress and Poverty."

NEWS NOTES

—A statue of President Harrison was unveiled at Indianapolis on the 27th.

—Eight of the sixteen battleships of the Atlantic-Pacific fleet (p. 733) arrived at Amoy, China, on the 29th.

—Mrs. William Astor, for a generation leader of the fashionable society of New York, died at her home on the 30th, at the age of eighty-two.

—Mrs. Julia A. Carney, author of "Little Drops of Water" and many other simple songs and hymns, died at her home in Galesburg, Ill., on the 1st, in her eighty-sixth year.

—Emma Goldman was prevented by the police from speaking in Indianapolis on the 27th. The circumstances are explained in our Editorial Correspondence by Hutchins Hapgood.

—Bulgaria has agreed to compensate Turkey for the East Rumelian section of the Oriental railway, seized by Bulgaria when she shook off Turkish sovereignty last month (pp. 660, 686, 708).

—The Liberal majority in the new Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, resulting from the recent elections (pp. 613, 733), is 50, a reduction of 14. The number of Conservative members reported is 82, and of Liberals 132.

—For charging that Edward Cook & Co., soap-makers of London, were attempting to form a trust, a judgment was obtained in the English courts on the 27th against newspapers owned by Lord Northcliffe, for \$115,000.

—A new record in aeronautics (p. 613) was established in France on the 30th, when Henry Farman flew in an aeroplane from Mourmelon to Rheims, a distance of twenty miles. The course lay from 100 to 150 feet in the air. The time taken was about twenty minutes.

—Count Nicholas Tchaikovsky, "the father of the Russian revolution," well known in England and America, who has been in prison in St. Petersburg for nearly a year under charges of high treason (p. 300), on the 28th was released on bail furnished by English friends.

—John W. Hutchinson, the last of the "Hutchinson Family" of singers, died at his home near Lynn, Mass., on the 23rd, in his 88th year. The original Hutchinson family consisted of Jesse and Mary Hutchinson and their thirteen children. Before and during the Civil War they sang everywhere through the Northern States for the causes of abolition, temperance and woman suffrage.

—Decision in the contempt proceedings at Washington against Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison, of the American Federation of Labor (p. 589) for contempt of court at the suit of

the Buck Stove and Range Company at St. Louis, which they published as being an unfair house toward organized labor, was postponed on the 10th, notwithstanding the requests of Mr. Gompers and his associates for an immediate decision.

—Dr. David J. Doherty died in Chicago on the 24th, at the age of about fifty-eight years. When the Philippine Islands were seized by the United States, Dr. Doherty, then practicing as a physician in Chicago, but always a student of ethnology, began to actively interest himself in the languages and races of the Islands. Later he visited them, and made interesting and valuable reports upon the condition of the people, always with recognition of their fundamental national rights.

—Two suffragettes (p. 733) chained themselves to the grill of the secluded woman's gallery in the House of Commons, London, on the 28th, and interrupted the proceedings with calls for votes for women and by scattering through the grill into the House placards containing printed demands. They were arrested, but could not be removed until the parts of the grill to which they had chained themselves were cut out. They were fined \$25, but elected to go to jail a month rather than pay.

—The Women's Henry George League of New York have adopted a resolution strongly favoring the "doing away with any kind of title" for women; but suggesting that if one be used it be "Madam" and be applied to all women of age, whether married or not. The resolution declares it to be "an important step toward the 'freedom of women,' that no distinction be made, by title, between married and unmarried persons." At the meeting at which the resolution was adopted, both married and unmarried women were present.

—An American Catholic Missionary congress is to be convened in Chicago, November 15 to 18, to celebrate the passing of the Roman Catholic Church in North America from the missionary to the autonomous class (p. 712), a change which went into effect on the 3rd. The Congress is to be held under the auspices of the Catholic Church Extension Society which has its headquarters in Chicago. It is planned to surpass any previous ecclesiastical gathering on the Western continent in the number of prelates and prominent missionaries and churchmen who will take part in its deliberations.

—A little of the exquisite tunefulness of Mozart, with some analysis of the processes of a sonata, was given last Sunday evening in Chicago to workers who do not have the advantages of Thomas concerts and high-priced music-masters. Musicians who believe that their art is needed in the great common life, co-operated with the Women's Trade Union League in giving the first of a series of musical evenings at the West Side Park, Chicago Ave. and Noble St. More music is to come on the evenings of the 15th and 29th, and the 13th and 27th of December, and January 10. Tickets for all the evenings may be obtained free on application at the headquarters of the Women's Trade Union League, 275 La Salle St., Room 503.

—Emperor William of Germany recently authorized an interview which appeared in the London Telegraph, in which he claimed to have planned the cam-

paing of England's late war with the Boers, and asserted that during the progress of the war he refused to join other European powers in demanding that the war should be brought to a close. The interview was evidently intended to ingratiate him with the English, but it seems to have failed in its purpose. Englishmen are not over-pleased at an appropriation of glory which should have belonged to their generals and their war office. And Germans are indignant over revelations of international meddling which threaten to complicate their relations with the other powers. So severe is German criticism that the Imperial Chancellor, the Prince von Buelow, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Herr von Schoen, who are technically responsible for the publication of the interview, since it passed perfunctorily through their hands, are believed to have been brought to the point of resigning their offices.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Traction Case in Cleveland.

The Cleveland (daily) Press (ind.), Oct. 31.—It's the same old Concon—arrogant, haughty, public-b damned Concon. Friday morning its board of directors issued a public statement saying they were ready to meet with the representatives of the public at once to take up the matter of settling the traction question along broad lines in a perfectly candid and frank manner. A short time prior to the issuing of this statement, Mayor Tom had issued a statement that he was ready to discuss the question of settlement along broad lines with the Concon. "The Press" assumed that both of these statements were issued in good faith, and in its night edition Friday suggested a public meeting at the Council chamber for Saturday morning. The Mayor, the directors of the Municipal Traction Co. and the members of the Council were on hand at the appointed time. At a late hour Friday night President Andrews of the Concon sent word through "The Press" that his company would not be represented at the meeting because the Municipal Traction Co. had refused to turn over to the Concon all the railway lines in the city, including the Forest City Railway Co. lines. Evidently the Concon's statement of Friday morning was not made in good faith. It was simply a bluff which they didn't expect would be called. No, gentle reader, the leopard has not changed its spots. It's the same old Concon leopard, with the same old spots.

+ +

Civic Uses of School Houses.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.).—Our Board of Education is preparing to enter upon the experiment of giving over the school buildings of the city, in the evenings, to the uses of the public. This is a progressive course for the Board. It is a certainty that nothing could be more conducive to the making of good citizens than the devotion of the schools to "social-educational work for the benefit of the many boys who are making the street their meeting place." . . . The schools should be open evenings to any part of the public desiring to use them for any educational purpose, for public meetings of

all kinds under the auspices of responsible and reputable people. The schools belong to the people and they should be in their neighborhood centers of life, making for the propagation of a general sentiment of civism. The schools should be civic centers for the free assemblage of the people to discuss all public matters, as well as foci of healthy entertainment, instruction and exercise for the children whose playground is the street.

+ +

The Land Question in Scotland.

The (Dingwall, Scot.) Northern Weekly (Lib.), Sept. 24.—Practically all Scotland is interested in the great land question as it affects rural and urban communities alike, and where there is so much at stake we may take it for granted that, with the Scottish people so deeply concerned in this matter as they now are, there will be but one voice at the next general election. The enthusiasm at the Inverness and Brora meetings on Saturday shows how keenly the Highlands at any rate are awaiting the next conflict with the Tories—if these land bills are not in the meantime accepted and passed by the House of Lords.

+ +

Who Pays for Idleness.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), Oct. 15.—When idle women spend \$10,000 a month and the babies of the big rich spend \$2,000 a year, it is clear that those who get without working can only do so on the basis of the many working without getting. We hear now and then of big pay for labor, but the laborer's big pay for a brief time is offset by a long time with no pay or very small pay. The big money that is spent is not spent by workers at all. It is dissipated by people who get it as the earnings of securities, and all the people contribute to those dividends. The big pay goes to the holders of privileges, and all privileges are vested in the land, or to gamblers in the evidences of privilege. Ability is entitled to some superiority in compensation, but ability doesn't receive it. The best lawyer in a community is not the richest one, nor the best doctor, nor the best journalist, nor the best engineer, nor the best professional man of any kind. The man who works with head or hand is the poorest paid. The man who "works" the public "gets the big money."

+ +

The Wicked Way of Taxation.

The (Mt. Vernon, N. Y.) Daily Argus (ind.), Sept. 22.—Let a man buy a lot and improve it by building a home, let men employ labor to make houses more abundant and cheap, let men employ industry to add to the wealth and prosperity of the community, and our system of imposing taxes decrees that they shall pay a penalty in proportion to the value of the improvements they have made. Let men, however, keep their lots vacant and allow them to become covered with weeds, and let them refuse employment to labor to improve these lots, then we grant to these men low taxation and place a premium on stagnation. The laborer turns the desert into a garden, and we increase his taxes for doing so; the land speculator turns the garden into a desert and we diminish his taxes: The better a man does for his city the worse

his city does for him. Our system of taxation places a premium on barrenness and a penalty on beauty. We have here in Mount Vernon many acres of so-called farm lands and thousands of vacant lots that escape just taxation and lie dormant as far as usefulness is concerned, while they increase in value because of the improvements made about them by those who must pay a penalty for their public spirit and progressiveness. We are not preaching a single land tax; but we are urging that so-called farm lands and vacant lots be compelled to bear a fair proportion of taxation, and that it be made less profitable to keep them unimproved to the detriment of the neighborhood. Here is a subject for our city fathers that is worth while considering.

* * *

Correlation of Socialism and Individualism.

The (Omaha) Chancellor (ind.) August.—At the bottom of every economic, political and social wrong lies the fact of the failure of men to distinguish between man and man; between man the individual and man in the aggregate—between the personal and the generic man. Were it possible always to have in mind an intelligent grasp of this distinction, and act upon it, there would be no private or public wrongs. The individual man has natural rights that are sacred and prior to any which society may assert, and the generic man has natural rights that are sacred and prior to any which the personal man may assert.

* * *

Rip Van Winkle returned from his long sleep looking fresh as a daisy, and made his way to the village barber shop, not only because he needed a haircut and shave, but also because he wished to catch up on the news.

"Let's see," said he to the barber, after he was safely tucked in the chair, "I've been asleep twenty years, haven't I?"

"Yep," replied the tonsorialist.

"Have I missed much?"

"Nope, we bin standin' pat."

"Has Congress done anything yet?"

"Not a thing."

"Jerome done anything?"

"Nope."

"Platt resigned?"

"Nope."

"Panama Canal built?"

"Nope."

"Bryan been elected?"

"Nope."

"Carnegie poor?"

"Nope."

"Well, say," said Rip, rising up in the chair, "never mind shaving the other side of my face. I'm going back to sleep again."—Success.

* * *

"Ma," said a newspaper man's son, "I know why editors call themselves 'we.'"

"Why?"

"So's the man that doesn't like the article will think there are too many people for him to tackle."—Sacred Heart Review.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

INDIVIDUALITY.

For The Public.

I, the Individual, am unit of all things;
 Figure 1 of the universal multiplication table;
 Atom, without which naught could be;
 Habitant of the earth, of the moon, of the stars—
 citizen of the cosmos;
 On the wing from whence to whither.
 A son of the glorious sun;
 Brother of the sea and of the land and of the air,
 And of the quick of the air of the land and of the
 sea;
 Kin to the mountains, valleys, forests and deserts;
 Cog in the wheels of the universe, fitting other cogs
 to make the whole go round.
 The rain is my tears,
 The gray day my gloom,
 The sunshine my smile,
 The thunder my threat,
 The raging storm my wrath,
 The zephyrs and the calm and the warmth my moods
 of love;
 And my savagery the cold-hearted snow,
 The iron-fisted ice,
 The frown-fronted frost,
 The ruthless glacier grinding the world to
 evolutionary grist.
 I am no greater than a pismire, no less than a whirl-
 ing sphere:
 Am as rough as the Alps, smooth as water at rest,
 Unrelenting and resistless as the tides,
 Kind and forgiving as a sister of charity.
 I am unlike anything else in the world, make up
 the world;
 And who takes no account of me leaves all else
 out.
 In my realm I am sovereign—king in a democracy
 of kings!

JOSEPH A. LABADIE.

* * *

LEGISLATE AGAINST, BUT BE CARE- FUL NOT TO DESTROY.

For The Public.

"As I understand it," said the Intelligent Voter, "the chief trouble with the country is special privileges."

"Exactly," said the Eminent Statesman.

"And these special privileges, under which one set of men get a large share of the wealth produced by the whole people, are created by laws enacted at the suggestion of certain selfish interests?"

"Quite so," agreed the Eminent Statesman.

"So that most of the social and economic evils of which the people complain are due to unwise laws?"

"That's right," assented the Eminent Statesman.

"Then it would seem self-evident that in order to abolish special privileges all that is necessary is to repeal the laws creating them. For instance, if our protective tariff laws enable certain manufacturers to make inordinate profits, the remedy would be the abolition of the tariff?"

"Not at all, not by any means," protested the Eminent Statesman. "What is needed to remedy the effects of bad or foolish laws, is more legislation. Thus we have a tariff that creates and protects trusts. Let us have laws against the trusts, and if these laws fail, we must have more laws, and if these laws are no good, then we can have still other laws. But for mercy's sake don't talk of repealing laws as a remedy for the evils of class legislation."

W. G.

* * *

BROTHER BOOTS.

For the Public.

One day when Left and Right were playing in the garden, old Master Spine gave them a push, and said:

"Let's see you run!"

Down the hill they went, tumbling after each other—it was such fun, and brought the glow of health to their cheeks.

After a time, however, Right, seeing Left, whom he regarded as his inferior because of his name, keeping pace with him, grew dissatisfied.

"That wasn't fair, anyway," he grumbled, when they had come to a stop and he discovered a slight scratch on his nose. "We didn't start together."

Old Master Spine smiled.

"All right—try it again, then," he said.

"One! Two! Three!"

High into the air both jumped; and down—flop—together.

"Once more," said Master Spine.

Again they went up,—again they came down,—close together.

"Aw, there's no fun in this," said Right, "I'm tired to death, too."

So he climbed upon Left's back and went to sleep.

"Say, your're hurting me," cried the smothered voice of Left; but Right was fast asleep and did not hear.

When he had quite rested himself he awoke and wanted to run again.

"I can't; my side aches and I am weary," said Left.

"What have you done to make you weary?—Come!"

So they ran again, and again; and after each race, Right would climb upon Left's back to rest. But one day when he awoke from such a nap he saw that Left was dead.

"Oh, what shall I do!" and he went, weeping, to old Master Spine.

"Too late, now——," the sage spoke gravely. "You've killed your brother—and for that you shall be exiled to the Land of the Lifeless and Lonely.

"Oh, oh, how can you be so cruel!" Right begged for mercy; but the old Master simply replied:

"You may find a wooden companion there to suit you; but in the World of Life only Brother Boots can remain.

L. D. MILLER.

* * *

THE NEW BROTHERHOOD.

William Jennings Bryan Before the Women's Democratic Club of New York, at the Waldorf-Astoria, October 28, as Reported in the Brooklyn Citizen.

To find that here in New York those reform movements for which the Democratic party is pleading are movements which the people are coming to realize have truth and reason underlying them, is gratifying. I am impressed with a growing appreciation on the part of the people that the reforms we are urging contemplate the betterment not of a class but of all the people.

We are recognizing better than we used to that we are all bound together by the bonds of brotherhood, and that we must rise or fall together. Some years ago I visited Tolstoy, in Russia, and he showed me a letter which he had received fifteen years previously from Alexander Dumas. In that letter Dumas said: "The world is about to see a new era which will be marked by the reign of the spirit of brotherhood."

I believe that the world has been coming to see this change in the last twelve or fifteen years. I believe in the awakening consciousness of the world and in a growing confidence in the ties between man and man.

While in this campaign we are discussing matters that lie on the surface of affairs, we never should forget that beneath the surface there is a broader and larger thought for us.

Our whole time should not be occupied with such questions as to whether or not campaign contributions should be published before or after election, nor should our thoughts merely turn to questions of government extravagance in administration, the extortion of the tariff, or the security of bank deposits, or other questions over which we are agitated at the present time. These things, it is true, are all important and must be borne in mind when we go to vote, but back of them all are the larger problems of society.

I believe that one of the largest problems we are facing today is that of the equitable distribution of the proceeds of our patient toil. There is no wealth that is not the product of effort, and some one must be the producer. The great prob-

lem is how to give each producer a proper proportion of the proceeds.

Our eternal effort should be to improve conditions along this line, and to reach as near as possible an approximation of justice; and at the same time to appreciate the brotherhood that unites us all one to another, to realize that the only way to build ourselves up is to lift the foundations on which we all stand, and to see that all society enjoys the benefits of the impulse that will carry us on to higher and better things.

* * *

THE NATURE CURE FOR TUBERCULOSIS SHOULD INCLUDE OCCUPATION.

For The Public.

The greatest organized effort ever attempted in the history of the world for the cure and prevention of consumption is under way; public meetings are being held; State boards of health are taking action; editorials appear in nearly every paper and periodical; the widest publicity is being given to encourage investigation and action; exhibits are being collected illustrating the causes and ravages of this insidious disease, and plans are being presented for its eradication and cure.

While discussions and scientific analysis are invaluable for arriving at a truer basis of action, immediate action is necessary to reach the suffering individuals. To-day there are tens of thousands of our fellow men, women and children who are being slowly but surely consumed by these persistent and insistent germs; children are soon to be made orphans, deprived of a mother's loving care; wives are soon to be made widows to struggle for bread for themselves and little ones. Thus time is precious.

The conclusions arrived at at the recent International Tuberculosis Congress held at Washington, D. C., favorable to the "Nature Cure" are most gratifying.

It was suggested that large tracts of land be secured in Colorado in a high altitude as a place of operation. There could be no wiser decision, for there are logical and scientific reasons why Colorado should be suggested. The light, thin air does heal diseased lungs.

How to gather up the sufferers and place them on this reservation has not yet been worked out. The great majority of them have neither ways nor means to take them even a hundred miles from home, and certainly have no means with which to pay board or expenses incident to a residence in a new environment. New England is dotted thick with sufferers whose lives could be saved or greatly prolonged if assistance could reach them at once; but to separate a mother from her family, or a father from his home, is not conducive to

happiness or the health even of people who are in good health, and homesickness certainly would not benefit an invalid.

The only solution of the family problem is to combine *occupation* with the Nature Cure. Occupation is a nature cure natural to animals. Confine one in a cage, and instead of resting he keeps continually on the go. Man is the only animal which in confinement sits down and dies.

There must be useful occupation; no climate on earth will cure an idle man or woman whose only occupation consists in studying their own symptoms and taking their own temperature. Again, occupation pays the board bill, secures independence, and makes it possible for these sufferers to exist and have their families with them.

Quite by accident it was discovered a few years since that consumptives were not only cured in the heart of the Rocky Mountains by dry air, but could become useful and independent by being employed. Parties were digging mica on the surface of the mountains, and employed the most available help. Some of them were those who were seeking health in Colorado. One man from Pennsylvania, whose right lung was so filled that a noticeable indentation was present and he breathed with difficulty, wanted work for he must live. He confessed that he did not think he could earn his board, but he was given \$1.00 per day, and worked for a time about three hours per day, gradually increasing the time. After five months he was able to earn \$80.00 per month; and at the end of two years he earned \$6.00 per day. His family soon joined him, and they are now a happy, useful family. But he must have suffered and finally died, had he been without employment, as well as without air.

Another, a Chicago boy, age 22, came on the stage coach, and was carried into the house by the stage driver and assistant. He at once had a severe hemorrhage, and the crimson spot on his white, white face impressed those present that the end was near. Two physicians stated he would probably not survive the night. But he rallied, and was soon given light work, and a year from this time he cut and hauled hundreds of cords of wood from the surrounding hills, and is to-day a thick-necked athlete.

A man of family from Watertown, Wis., landed at this camp suffering with asthma, influenza, sore eyes and catarrh. He had been given up by his physician. He was put to work as timekeeper, and after six months was cured, and earned \$85.00 per month mining. He sent for his large family, and his sore eyed children were enabled to take off their glasses, needing their assistance no more.

Many Chicago women, old and young, broken in health, nervous wrecks, were employed in the stamping out of mica goods in the mill, and

gained health and the happiness which comes with financial independence.

But little is needed. An old lady with an invalid daughter living in a shack remarked about its frail construction that it was astonishing what a piece of paper and an inch board would do for protection and shelter from wind and winter in the Rocky Mountains.

The Nature Cure can be combined with occupation. Manufacturing interests can easily be established, since the mountain streams furnish unlimited power. Ranches and fruit orchards can be secured to employ labor. What if the balance sheet does not show in favor of dollars and cents for a while? What if human life, health and happiness are weighed against a profit, and the balance is in their favor?

The cost of one battleship, built for destructive purposes, would erect mills, open mines, irrigate ranches, purchase farm implements and fruit trees, to assist in building up human beings. Why not prevent widowhood and orphanage, even at the expense of the fund used to make widows, orphans, invalids, cripples and dead men? The cost of one year of our pensions, the result of war, would be sufficient to fight the white plague successfully; and we could look with satisfaction upon a just war against disease, to be conquered and subdued.

The writer knows of localities in the Rockies peculiarly adapted to the Nature Cure, where bubbling soda and iron springs are trickling down the mountain sides, unknown and unused; where broad creeks are never dry; where cattle know no other than the shelter of the odorous pine trees.

It is to be hoped those who have this great philanthropic work in charge will learn at once that the Nature Cure, coupled with occupation, is the best solution of their weighty problem.

MINONA S. FITTS-JONES.

* * *

PRESIDENTIAL REQUIREMENTS.

For The Public.

"Pa, who can be the President?"

Child, anyone, if he

Will satisfy these—only four—

Requirements: he must be

A native of no foreign land;

Of gender masculine;

And he must be at least the age

Of thirty-five, to win.

And now, dear child, we reach the fourth

Requirement, and the last:

The candidate must have enough

Of all the ballots cast.

G. T. EVANS.

* * *

Have I done something for the general interest?
Well, then, I have had my reward.—*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.*

BOOKS

GROVER CLEVELAND ON GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

Good Citizenship. By Grover Cleveland. Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. Price, 50 cts.

This address was delivered before the Commercial Club in Chicago in 1903, and with Mr. Cleveland's sanction was published early in this year, together with his lecture on "Patriotism and Holiday Observance," given before the Union League Club of the same city in 1907.

Those who knew Mr. Cleveland will declare that in these essays he preaches only what in his lifetime he practiced, and such endorsement enhances the value of a little volume which should become a classic in the hands of the young citizen.

The whole course of Mr. Cleveland's reasoning is against the indecent demands of selfishness which saturate and threaten our public life, and he gives no quarter to that cunning and subtle evasion of law which undermines one's faith in the reality of a wise and just government.

He says:

There should be an end of self-satisfied gratification or pretense of virtue, in the phrase, "I am not a politician," and it is time to forbid the prostitution of the word to sinister use. Every citizen should be politician enough to bring himself within the true meaning of the term as one who concerns himself with "the regulation, or government of a nation or State for the preservation of its safety, peace and prosperity." This is politics in its best sense, and this is good citizenship.

Mr. Cleveland forecasts a conflict with those who engage in politics for personal ends and selfish purposes, and urges "a creed that shall bind together in generous co-operation all who are willing to fight to make our government what the fathers intended it to be—a depository of benefits which, in equal current and volume, should flow out to all the people." "This creed," he says, "should teach the wickedness of attempting to make free opportunity the occasion for seizing especial advantages."

And he prophetically adds:

In the day when all shadows shall have passed away, and when good citizenship shall have made sure the safety, permanence and happiness of our nation, how small will appear the stripes of selfishness in our civic life and how petty will seem the machinations of degraded politics!

The address delivered before the Union League Club on Washington's birthday voices the same patriotic sentiments and is worthy the preservation given it by the publishers. As is wisely remarked:

The land we live in is safe as long as we are

dutifully careful of the land that lives in us. But good intentions and fine sentiments will not meet the emergency. If we would bestow upon the land that lives in us the care it needs . . . we should see to it that cupidity and selfishness do not blind our consciences or dull our efforts.

A. L. M.

PERIODICALS

The Pacific Monthly (Portland, and San Francisco) for November reproduces David Starr Jordan's admirable commencement address at Stanford, in which he says that "no institution can live, none deserves to live, unless from time to time it can be born again." Several interesting short stories, Robertson's "Great Actors of Old San Francisco," the Jack London serial, and fine typography and printing make the issue very attractive.

+

Three monsters—the elective system, materialism, and pedantry—confront the advocate of "humanism in education," and for the humanist the Editor of the Dial in its issue of Oct. 16 emphatically speaks. Exactly such strong and ably expressed opinions we need in these days when our utilitarianism threatens to drown our idealism and make us look upon our children, first as producers, and never as human souls. "History, philosophy, and the fine arts are the agencies whereby the highest educational results

are reached." Natural science "remains of secondary importance, educationally considered, because its primary concern is with things and not with men."

A. L.

+

"The Belgian Solution of the Railroad Problem," by Carl S. Vrooman, appears in Government for November. Here is a frank and able analysis of the course of government ownership and operation of railways in Belgium, beginning in 1835, when the nation was only three years old. Run for years with a deficit, and always on the low-rate, high efficiency policy, the state railway has been unswervingly favored by the people. "For a quarter of a century state railroads and corporation railroads of Belgium did business side by side, competing with each other, making traffic agreements with each other, and in every other way conducting their affairs as any other competing roads might have done. The state exercised very little control over the private lines. . . . After this careful and conclusive test had been carried on for over twenty-five years, the Belgian people demanded and Belgian statesmen brought about the purchase by the state of practically all of the private roads. Why did this happen? . . . Many . . . were taken over to save them from ruin. Others were purchased because it was feared that they would get into financial difficulties on account of the reductions in rates which the state had decided to make on its own lines, and which the private roads would have been forced to make also, in order to get their share of the traffic. . . . Many

THE PUBLIC AS AN ADVERTISING MEDIUM

THE campaign closes with a large addition to THE PUBLIC's regular edition. It publishes more copies weekly now than ever before, by two thousand, and this in response to general demand. Meanwhile it has proved to be a good advertising medium. Here is testimony from one of the best known advertisers in the world, the Ingersoll Watch manufacturers:

Robert H. Ingersoll & Bro.
New York, Chicago, San Francisco, London, Brussels, Berlin.
Main Office, 45-49 John Street, New York.
October 12, 1908.

Publishers THE PUBLIC,
Chicago, Ill.,

Gentlemen: Some time since we quoted results from advertising in THE PUBLIC, and we are pleased to bring this report up to date now, and state that these good results are continuous, which is the second test of a good advertising medium, the first being to get good results. It is rare that a medium employed continuously, as in this case, holds up in the percentage of returns to the extent THE PUBLIC does. Wishing you success, we are,

Yours very truly,
ROBERT H. INGERSOLL & BRO.

¶ The advertising rates of THE PUBLIC are reasonable, and the subscription terms are One Dollar a year. If the improvement in subscriptions and advertising continues for the next two years at the rate of the first ten months of the present year, our efforts to place the paper upon a self-supporting basis will be successful.

DANIEL KIEFER.

other purchases were made because of the intense dissatisfaction with the service offered by the companies, as well as with the rates charged by them."

A. L.

* * *

No great truth, which has once been found, has ever afterwards been lost. Even so, the principles of Free Trade, as demonstrated by Adam Smith,

were vainly struggled against by the most overwhelming majorities of both Houses of Parliament. Year by year the great truth made its way; always advancing, never receding. Such is the way in which great thinkers control the affairs of men, and by their discoveries regulate the march of nations. Well may it be said of Adam Smith, that this solitary Scotchman has, by the publication of one single work, contributed more towards the happiness of

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man, than has been effected by the united abilities of all statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account.—Buckle.

* * *

Morse had perfected his telegraphic alphabet.

"The dots are all right," said his friends, "but why do you have so many long dashes?"

"Those dashes," he responded, "represent the language I used while I was struggling with the pesky thing, and I had to employ so many of them that I

just let them stay and worked 'em up into the alphabet."

Which explanation clears up a long standing mystery.—Chicago Tribune.

* * *

Nervous Man: "Now, you're quite certain, old man, that you understand all about sailing a boat?"

Friend: "Yes, to be sure, my dear boy. Had a full correspondence course in it out in Stanton, Pa."—Judge.

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