

conservative, and harking back to the old cry that property must be protected, and that the only cure for the evils is individual honesty and restraint. There is a great outcry always against wealth and corruption in the abstract, or a thousand miles away, but when it is brought down to the concrete, at its own door, the average newspaper suddenly draws in its horns and is found apologizing, with more or less speciousness for the institutions and for the system and for the individuals that rob the community. It is no wonder, therefore, that the public has lost faith in the editorial. It is cause for gratification that the public is now awakening to the fact that it can not any longer believe in the news.

The course of the newspaper towards the reformer is an interesting one. If a reformer arises anywhere, if people take to him, the press follows for a time—but only for a time. Take the case of Folk, in Missouri; Pingree in Detroit; Golden Rule Jones in Toledo; Tom L. Johnson in Cleveland; Henry George in New York. For a while—so long as they are new to the public—the great daily press will exploit such men, but as soon as it becomes evident that the reformer is sincere—that he really means to make war upon privilege, that he proposes to carry out his promises to the people—what do we find? Invariably, that the bigger press turns upon him unanimously, and if his position is economically sound and logical in character, and can not be successfully assailed in rational argument, recourse is had at once to the weapons of abuse and ridicule. There is not a man in the United States today who has tried honestly to change the fundamental conditions that make for poverty, disease, vice and crime in our cities, in our courts and in our legislatures, who at the very time when his effort seemed most likely to succeed, has not been suddenly turned upon and rent by the great newspaper publications. If this occurred but once in a while, we might regard such matters as mere coincidences, but in view of the fact that it occurs all the time there must be a cause for it, and in searching for the cause we must look for the motive, and by the process of exclusion and elimination we come finally to the last motive, which is self-interest, and we find, from what we know of the people who own and control great newspapers, that everyone of them is identified through sympathy, through investments, through revenue, through association with the great corporations, who milk the community by means of the powers which they have filched from the body politic.

The independence of the press is a fake. In every city the papers may appear to fight one another on the surface but in every case they have a business combination to shut out the new comer. The established daily papers in any city are as much a trust as any steel trust, or the Standard Oil—while the Associated Press is another national trust—and it is exceptionally rare that anyone can break in upon the combination and break it; and if one does, it must be solely through the possession of financial support great enough to fight to a finish the established newspaper wealth of the community, controlling and owning carriers, newsboys and newsdealers absolutely. Of course, when a new paper so backed succeeds in establishing itself, it is not to be expected that the paper will take up the cause of the people against the interest of the men of great wealth, who have put their money into the great journalistic enterprise. The newspapers of any city will always be found a unit when there comes up any matter in which the public service interests and the interests of the advertisers are a unit.

At the height of the recent—or perhaps we should say the present—panic, the daily newspapers were as dumb as oysters before the lawlessness, the brazen effrontery and the sublime nerve of the consolidated banks in refusing to give the depositors their own money, and in issuing promises to pay which had no more validity than the rankest counterfeit. In St. Louis, when one newspaper presumed to utter a feeble chirp on the subject, in one edition, the office was jammed and rammed with great advertisers ordered there by the banks to protest against further criticism of the lawless action of the bankers.

Naturally I will be asked, "What is the remedy for all this?" I don't know that I have formulated one. I will say that I don't believe in the cry for more law on this or any other subject. We have too much law already.

I am inclined to believe that the time is about here when we shall have to return to the use of the pamphlet, if we are to have any

such things as free utterance of heretical opinion, and heretical opinion in this country is always and everywhere nothing but the idea that this government has departed from its original principles in that it has built up through privilege an oligarchy of wealth, and in doing so has necessarily done some outrageous violence to the principle of equal rights for all. There can be no privileges if there be not an expropriation of the rights of others, to the holder of the privilege. Every privilege is built upon an arrogation of the rights of some individual, or of the community at large. With the great newspapers closed to the man with new ideas, there is no place for him to turn, except to the pamphlet. The liberties of England, of France, and of Germany, so far as they have liberties—and indeed, in some respect they have more liberty than we have ourselves—were gained through the dissemination of ideas by the pamphleteer; but for the pamphleteer, Tom Paine, for example, there would have been no American revolution, and no liberty for ourselves. With the great daily newspapers absolutely controlled by the men and interests whose sole desire is the perpetuation of the present status, with the great organs of public opinion openly fighting or secretly betraying the popular movements for a return of this nation to the principles of democracy, it would seem to be a matter of but a short time when it will be impossible for any man or set of men, devoted to a principle antagonistic to the wishes of our more and more consolidated aristocracy to secure publicity for their ideas. The daily newspaper is gradually drifting into such a state of intellectual ossification under the influence of the restrictions put upon it by the wealthy interests of the community in which it is published, that the irruption into one of their offices of a man with an idea is almost enough to create a panic and call for the police. There is no longer an attempt made to speak honestly for the people.

Every great subject is considered first in its relation to the existing private interests and lastly in relation to its bearing upon the public welfare. The Sunday supplements and the comic section are unloaded upon a helpless people, apparently with no other purpose than to debauch their minds and to prevent them from doing any serious thinking.

But the case is not hopeless. Something can be done. My opinion is that the country editor can help and help greatly. Let him study the daily paper in the light of such instances of a revelatory character as I have described here, and of many others which he can find out for himself by a little inquiry, and then, let him cease to follow the lead of the papers of the cities on public issues. Let him think for himself and write his own opinions in a way to make his readers think. The sort of big corrupt journal to which I have called attention, flourishes because the people do not think. It distorts and prevents its news in order to lead the occasional thinking reader to wrong conclusions, for a man is certain to reach a wrong conclusion if his reasoning is based upon false premises for thinking.

## North Pole Literature

The claims made by Dr. Frederick A. Cook and Robert E. Peary concerning the north pole discovery has created a furore in the scientific world, and not only in the scientific world but even among common mortals. The claims of the two men are being discussed and individuals everywhere are taking sides in the controversy.

The impression seems to obtain, among disinterested men, that the world is face to face with perhaps the most remarkable coincidence in scientific history and that Cook and Peary each accomplished just about what each claims for himself. Peary, in making progress along the coast of Labrador, sent dispatches denying that Dr. Cook made any discovery. The following is a sample of these dispatches:

Indian Harbor, Labrador (by wireless), via Cape Ray, N. F., Sept. 7.—To Melville E. Stone, Associated Press, New York: I have nailed the stars and stripes to the north pole. This is authoritative and correct. Cook's story should not be taken too seriously. The two Eskimos who accompanied him say he went no distance north, and not out of sight of land. Other members of the tribe corroborate their story. (Signed) PEARY.

From Copenhagen Dr. Cook made a very mild and dignified reply saying:

"I have been to the north pole. As I said

last night when I heard of Commander Peary's success, if he says he has been to the pole, I believe him. I am willing to place facts, figures and worked out observations before a joint tribunal of the scientific bodies of the world. In due course I shall be prepared to make public an announcement that will effectually dispel any doubt, if there can be such, of the fact that I have reached the pole. But knowing that I am right and that right must prevail, I will submit at the proper time my full story to the court of last resort—the people of the world. I will not enter into any controversy over the subject with Commander Peary further than to say that I have not taken his Eskimos. My reply is that Eskimos are nomads. They are owned by nobody and are not the private property of either Commander Peary or myself. The Eskimos engaged by me were paid ten times what they agreed to accompany me for. As to the story that Commander Peary says I took provisions stored by him, my reply is that Peary took my provisions, obtaining them from the custodian on the plea that I had been so long absent that he was going to organize relief stations for me in case I should be alive. For this I have documentary proof."

On September 11 Dr. Cook set sail for New York City. During his stay in Copenhagen Dr. Cook was entertained by the king and scientists generally made much of him.

Chicago dispatches say that J. Pierpont Morgan has offered to finance Dr. Cook's proposed expedition to the Arctic region to prove his statement that he discovered the north pole. It is further said that Dr. Cook has declined the offer saying that he would provide the money from his own pocket.

Washington dispatches say that the coast and geodetic survey will undertake to arbitrate the Peary-Cook controversy providing Dr. Cook asks it.

The University at Copenhagen has conferred upon Dr. Cook the degree of Doctor of Science.

Paris newspapers say that Peary's recital of his trip to the north pole provides a vindication for Dr. Cook.

In a dispatch received from Peary he announces that J. C. Bemont of Ithaca, N. Y., a member of the Peary expedition, was drowned April 10 forty-five miles north of Cape Columbia.

### Dr. Cook and Admiral Melville

To the Editor of the World: Among the doubts cast on the epoch-making achievement of Dr. Cook let us consider that expressed by Admiral Melville. The admiral says he traveled thirty miles south in one day "only to find that northward drift of the ice we were on had reduced the distance we had actually covered to two miles." Now suppose Dr. Cook going north was fortunate enough to be on such a drift won't Admiral Melville admit that the discoverer of the north pole went at great speed to the goal?

OWEN J. KINDELON.

New York, September 3.

### Pelican-Polar Bear Ticket, 1912

To the Editor of the World: Here is an invincible ticket for the great year of 1912: For president, Theodore Roosevelt of New York and Africa. For vice president, Frederick Albert Cook of New York and the North Pole. Campaign slogan, "The Earth is Ours."

JUNO.

Jersey City Heights, September 4.

### Cook Won Them All

In a Copenhagen dispatch to the New York American William T. Stead says:

The King of Denmark, the Prince and Princess of Greece and a whole bevy of pretty princesses in picture hats occupied the royal balcony at the Concert Palace this afternoon, where Dr. Cook, the north pole discoverer, addressed members of the Danish Geographical society. All Copenhagen was there. Large maps placed behind the lecturer showed his outward and homeward routes, with an American flag pinned at the north pole.

The crown prince introduced Dr. Cook, expressing the joy of the Danes that they were the first to welcome the discoverer on his return from the pole. The prince then gave the doctor a diploma conferring on him the gold medal of the society.

Cook was loudly cheered. He delivered his lecture in a clear resonant voice, in even tones, remarkable self-possession and slight recourse to his notes. The address was necessarily a recapitulation of his story already told. The