

ent anxiety of these banks to keep up the speculative price of stocks.

There is only one thing about this situation upon which the country can be congratulated. In large degree, the first effect of a money stringency must be a shrinkage of stock gambling transactions, and a shrinkage in the inflated values given to diluted stocks. In the shrinkage of loans and discounts that must occur when there is stringency in money, legitimate industries and legitimate commercial transactions may be, for a limited time and to a limited extent, protected by the shrinkage in speculative credits.

The fact is that there is so much concealment, and so many false statements, that it is difficult to predict, except in a general way, what will occur in the future, or when it will occur. It must be apparent to every thoughtful man that the near future looks dangerous.

We shall look with some anxiety for each week's report of the New York clearing house, and for the next abstract of the comptroller of the currency, but when they come we shall not be sure that they disclose the whole truth.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.
Indianapolis, Ind.

QUESTIONING CANDIDATES

A Settled Policy—Majority Rule Program
for This Year and Next—Other Issues Provided for

Experience of the past year demonstrates the great value of questioning candidates. In California organized labor and the direct legislation league questioned candidates and reversed the action of the republican state convention, and the necessary two-thirds vote for the submission of a constitutional amendment for the referendum and initiative would have been secured had it not been that half the senators held over. In Missouri, too, the action of the republican state convention was reversed, but as the democratic party declared in its platform for the submission of a constitutional amendment for majority rule the hold-over senators, being largely democratic, were brought into line. The absence, however, of specific detail in the democratic platform left the hold-over senators and those unpledged to organized labor, free to insist on conditions that will almost nullify the system. The only portion of much use is the direct initiative as to the constitution itself. In Montana the action of both the democratic and republican state conventions was reversed.

The foregoing demonstrates the value of questioning candidates. The organizations that do not make nominations can easily determine the issues. This is the vital function. No candidate dares openly oppose majority rule or many other issues that have been kept in the background through the monopolists' control of the two leading parties. Third party politics have been used with almost no immediate success, while the open sesame—the questioning of candidates—was within reach and untouched.

The anti-saloon league was among the first in this country to discover the secret, and its remarkable line of successes is a tribute to the effectiveness of the plan and the capabilities of the managers. At the annual meeting of the Missouri state federation of labor, January, 1902, Mr. Isaac Taylor, of Kansas City, introduced a resolution for a joint committee on direct legislation, "the purpose of which shall be to interrogate all candidates for legislative positions upon the subject of direct legislation, and to secure the pledges of candidates on this proposition, and such other legislation as is demanded by the Missouri state federation of labor, and to make public such information, to the end that the next general assembly may be composed of men who may justly conform to the wishes of the toilers in securing 'equal rights for all and special privileges for none.'"

This program was adopted a year ago last January. The writer, when the system came to his notice, realized something of its value, and through the national federation for majority rule began sending to state federations of labor copies of the Missouri resolution, with changes suited to the conditions.

During the early summer of last year, we learned that the Washington state federation of labor was planning to question candidates, but I have never been able to get a reply from inquiries. However, at the annual convention of the American federation of labor last November, representatives from the Washington federation introduced a resolution for a national system. It includes questioning candidates and bringing before the county conventions the demands of organized labor. This resolution,

No. 140, was reported favorably and unanimously adopted. And there was introduced by First Vice President Duncan, resolution 121, commending the questioning of candidates in the several states, and providing that the system shall be used to secure the referendum and initiative in national affairs. This resolution was also adopted unanimously.

At the annual session of the Washington state grange, June 2-5 of last year, the master of the state organization was instructed "to appoint a grange committee in each county where there is an organized grange. The duties of said committee shall be to interview the various legislative candidates and to persuade them to use their best efforts if elected to the legislature to secure the passage of a bill to amend the state constitution providing for direct legislation, which shall be submitted to the people, as required by the state constitution."

Doubtless there are many other instances of a systematic questioning of candidates in this country. Recent investigations of political progress in New Zealand by Prof. Parsons, show that much of the success there has been due to questioning candidates.

Profiting by the past year's experience the system is being improved and extended. The county and state conventions of all the parties will be notified of the demand for the submission of a constitutional amendment. The questioning of nominees will be completed much earlier in the campaign. The details as to majority rule amendments will be fully specified by enumerating some of the details and for the balance reference will be made to the South Dakota system and that of federal Switzerland. Mass meetings have been successful in Chicago, and will be used freely, if necessary. At the meetings held by candidates they should be questioned orally, and repeatedly. In this way they will publicly commit themselves. Cities can send committees to the legislature, as Chicago is doing.

Instead of a formal federation for majority rule, local leagues of the unorganized are being formed, leaving organized labor, organized farmers, and organized business men each to do their own questioning and convention work, or do it through a joint majority rule committee. To stimulate action in these organizations is one of the chief functions of the local leagues. A single individual, by using its letter-head, can stimulate action in the local grange, trade union, and chamber of commerce; can question candidates, call meetings, write for the press, and take such other action as will insure the election of nominees who are pledged to majority rule in place of rule by the few. If all the trustworthy candidates in a district who have a likelihood of being elected pledge themselves to the improved system, they may be questioned on other issues until there is reached a vital question upon which they differ. Thus the league can bring about a live campaign and then do its best for the side it favors.

In subsequent campaigns the work can be continued by taking up issue after issue. The league is to be a pace-making organization. A permanent institution, just as nominating organizations are permanent. The men who run the party machines are interested in making a living from their profession, therefore the non-partisan organizations should determine the issues, and will do so. Conventions will be notified and nominees will be questioned.

There is much work to be done and at once.

Ten states elect legislatures this year: Ohio, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Mississippi. In each of these states the candidates for the legislature should be pledged to give the voters an opportunity to ballot upon the termination of monopoly rule. This can easily be accomplished through the combined action of organized labor, organized farmers, or organized business men, and majority rule leagues.

In all the cities and villages of the country where the referendum and initiative does not exist the system can be installed at the next election by questioning candidates. Ask them whether, if elected, they will vote for rules of procedure whereby the people may instruct their representatives in the city council. In this way the people in several cities have protected themselves. There is no need to wait and organize a successful state campaign, then wait two years to ballot on a constitutional amendment, and afterward wait two years more for the legislature to provide by statute the details of the system. Cities that have liberated themselves are Winnetka, Ill., Geneva, Ill., Detroit, Toronto and Vancouver, B. C. The majority rule committee of the Texas

state federation of labor has sent to each central union in the state a request to appoint a committee to present questions to aldermanic candidates. A single individual in a city can, at no expense, secure its immediate liberation.

Next year there are not only city elections, but in all but four of the states a legislature is to be elected, while in national affairs, a new house of representatives is to be elected, one-third of the senators are to be elected, and the remaining two-thirds can be instructed. Already a considerable number of congressmen are pledged to vote for rules of procedure for the referendum and initiative. This year's fight for self-government in most of the legislatures is arousing public opinion, thereby helping to carry congress next year. The trust question is the dominant one. And "Strangely enough," writes the chairman of the questioning committee in Missouri, "we find it easier to pledge congressional candidates than legislative nominees."

Preparatory to sweeping the country—city councils, legislatures, and congress—the national and state referendum organizations are merging in a majority rule league with national, state, and district committees, and a league is to be formed in each community. Charters for the locals are being issued upon application of seven or more adults. Here is congenial and effective work for such of you as have at heart the welfare of the race, and at the same time you can benefit yourselves. The most popular men in Chicago and other localities are those who are leading the majority rule movement. Now is the time to organize a local league.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

Washington, D. C.

Labor Force

Editor Independent: The force of demand. What is it? The robber with his pistol demands money. Is it his demand or the fear he will exert his labor force and explode his weapon that compels our money? Evidently his demand has no force only as enforced by the use of his labor force. Had we no fear of his violence his demand would be fruitless. Our bodies require food. The labor of the life uses up the food we have eaten. This labor of the life requires new fuel to take the place of the fuel consumed. If no food is supplied the labor of the life begins to feed upon our tissues and we suffer the pain of hunger. The force of demand, so-called, seems to resolve as all forces do into the one force of the labor of growth or life. The more labor done, the more food required to supply the place of the fuel labor consumes.

Since it is labor force, why give it another name? 1,000 hogs, 100 sheep, 10 cattle, each equal one horse. Why? Because it requires the same continuous time or labor to bring one horse to maturity that it does to bring the 1,000 hogs, the 100 sheep or the 10 cattle to maturity. Some seasons it requires but one bushel of wheat to procure three bushels of potatoes. Again one bushel of wheat will procure but one-half a bushel of potatoes. In the latter case we say there is a short crop of potatoes while there is an average crop of wheat. The fact is we have stored the same amount of labor in the small yield of potatoes we usually do in the average yield, and the small number of bushels command in exchange about the same amount of labor stored in the wheat that a full crop of potatoes does. The relative price of commodities is determined by the labor stored. If few raised potatoes and many raised wheat, this might make an exception to the general law that the relative price of any commodity is determined by the time or labor stored in the producing it.

Labor force restored makes price. However human ingenuity may pervert for robbery it cannot abrogate natural law. The ultimate of exchange forever remains the continuous time or labor intelligently stored. The intelligence that creates and governs is known to us through his works through his labor stored. All force seems to resolve itself into labor force. Intelligently controlled it gives to all plenty and peace. Its unit applied will remove many of the gyves with which crafty greed has shackled ignorant labor. F. W. ANTHONY.

Mattawan, Mich.

(Mr. Anthony, in common with the Marxists, falls into the error of looking at certain articles, noting certain phenomena, and then laying down a rule which is conceived to apply to all valuable things.

It is certainly a fact that the value of certain things, which may be quickly produced in indefinite (though

not infinite) quantities, falls with a decrease in cost of production and rises with an increase in the cost. But this is not true of all valuable things. And it gives no warrant for the assumption that "the relative price of commodities is determined by the labor stored." Even the Marxists are too shrewd to make such a statement. By their expression of "socially necessary labor" they avoid the embarrassments sure to arise from such an ill-considered statement.

How is the "relative price" of land determined, especially virgin soil? Whose labor is stored there?

Labor force applied to land, or some material taken from the land, results in SUPPLY of products—but has nothing whatever to do with DEMAND. The act of exchange never produced a commodity. The act of production never caused exchange. The farmer's energy expended in overcoming the adverse forces of nature, in tilling the soil, killing the weeds and beetles, planting the seed, and harvesting the crop, may result in a crop of potatoes. But these acts will not convert the potatoes into wheat. If he wants wheat, having failed to grow any himself, he must exchange something for it.

When he comes to exchange potatoes for wheat, his energies are now directed not to overcoming nature's forces, but to overcoming adverse possession. He gets the greatest possible quantity of wheat for the least possible quantity of potatoes, who? regardless of the energies expended in producing either of them. It may be that this particular potato grower expended a great deal of energy in growing his crop. His soil may have been inferior, the season drouthy. He may have carried fertilizers and water to beat old Mother Nature in her efforts to destroy his plants. But his potatoes are no more valuable to the wheat raiser than potatoes of equal quality grown under more favorable conditions by another. As to what he will give for the potatoes, the wheat grower, consciously or unconsciously, makes a mental estimate of the quantity of the force of demand for potatoes and for wheat, and compares the degree of that force for one bushel of potatoes with the degree for one bushel of wheat. The potato grower does likewise and a ratio of exchange is agreed upon.

The robber illustration is defective. There could be no force of demand for the vast majority of things if there were no private ownership, or for anything incapable of being held in the exclusive possession of any person, or for anything the supply of which exceeds all known uses of it. —Associate Editor.)

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