

# The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and  
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

8th Year. No. 399

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**LOUIS F. POST**  
EDITOR

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## Portrait and Sketch of John P. Altgeld

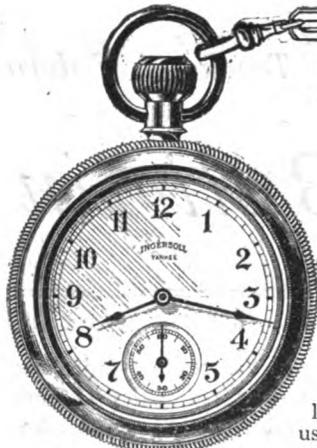
John P. Altgeld was born in December, 1847. The next issue of THE PUBLIC, Dec. 2, will contain an appreciative and very interesting sketch of the life and public career of Altgeld, written by Louis F. Post, and showing Altgeld as he actually was.

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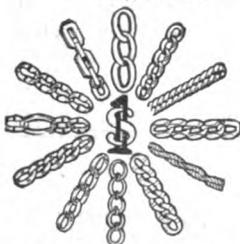
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# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 399

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOV. 25, 1905.

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## EDITORIAL

### Is it tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum?

Some of the papers are praising a remark said to have been made by President Roosevelt, that "it makes little difference in the long run whether a Democrat or a Republican is elected President." Many hard things have been said about the Democratic party, but surely this is the most unkind cut of all.

### Amazing "thrift."

The dispatches tell of a school teacher in New York, who, though

his salary never exceeded \$3,000, accumulated a fortune of \$750,000. If he had served 50 years at \$3,000 for every year, and had invested every cent at 5 per cent. compound interest, living upon nothing all the while, he would hardly have accumulated that fortune. This is thrift indeed! Or was it thrift?

### The late Walter H. Roebuck.

In the death of Walter H. Roebuck, formerly of Toronto, the single tax men of Canada have lost the services of a weariless coadjutor. Mr. Roebuck was at the time of his death the editor of the *Temiskaning* (New Ontario) Herald. A young man of unusual abilities and maturity of purpose, he had made an impression upon public opinion both in Toronto and in New Ontario, which counted for civic righteousness and is not likely to be lost.

### Death of Dr. Preetorius.

Emil Preetorius, another of the German immigrants of 1848 (p. 354), who have added to the democracy of the country of their adoption instead of taking from it, has died. Although he did not come to the United States until 1854, he belonged to the revolutionary band of 1848; and while he did not achieve nor seek distinction in public life, he did achieve a well-earned distinction in journalism as editor of the *St. Louis Westliche Post*, of which he took editorial charge in 1864. Dr. Preetorius's democracy made him an abolitionist in Lincoln's day and an anti-imperialist in McKinley's. He was born in Alzey, Germany, March 15, 1827; graduated from the Geissen university in 1848; and died at St. Louis November 19, 1905. One of his intimate friends and newspaper associates was Carl Schurz, whose essential democracy is like that to which Dr. Preetorius clung.

### Harold Rylett on Dalrymple.

When Harold Rylett, editor of the *London New Age*, spoke at Chicago on the 19th, with municipi-

pal ownership as his subject, he intimated that Mr. Dalrymple, the Glasgow street car manager, had fallen into bad company while here. What information Mr. Rylett may have had upon the subject we are not prepared to say. But if it should appear that the traction interests wined and dined Mr. Dalrymple, and kept a steady eye upon the workings of his mind, the most mysterious part of the Dalrymple mystery would be solved. Why are the traction newspapers and the traction aldermen so extremely insistent upon Mayor Dunne's giving publicity to the Dalrymple letter? Would they be so rashly solicitous if they feared the letter was against their interests? Would they be so riskily solicitous if they did not know its contents? Hardly. What, then, are we to infer? Did they dictate the letter? Mr. Rylett's hint might be so interpreted.

### Rich anarchists.

Mr. Franklin MacVeagh, of Chicago, has discovered that "it seems to be the fashion at present to call any man an anarchist whose views do not agree with our own;" but if he discovered this practice of his own class before some of that class had been characterized as anarchists, he neglected to complain of it. The occasion of his protest was a speech by Joseph Medill Patterson, the Commissioner of Public Works of Chicago, in which the business law-breakers of Chicago were arraigned as "rich anarchists." This speech was widely published and it evidently hurt. But it hurt only those whom it ought to hurt. So common has it become for plutocrats to denounce as "anarchists" every one whose views do not agree with theirs, or whose fidelity to public interests interferes with their private graft, that Mr. Patterson rendered a genuine service in proving, as he did prove, that if "anarchist" is a proper name for defiant law-breakers, then the worst anarchists in Chicago are

found among the rich. Mr. MacVeagh would serve his city better by admonishing his own class to respect the law when it operates against their selfish interests, than by criticising Mr. Patterson for applying to offenders of that class an epithet which they are accustomed to hurl with vicious freedom at citizens whose views do not agree with their own.

**Prayers for the healing of the nations.**

At the yearly meeting for 1905 of the Federation of Church Clubs in the city of New York, an organization of the Episcopal Church, a wholesome "litany for society," authorized by the Bishop-Coadjutor of the diocese of New York, was used. From it we make these extracts:

From all impurity, intemperance, idleness and dishonesty, From all corruption of the franchise and of civil government, From all rebellion against the kingship of Christ, Deliver us, good Lord.

O Lord, we beseech Thee, enable us to see that Thou hast a plan of love for the world, in the working out of which Thou dost give to each generation its appointed share. Help us and all humanity so unreservedly to acknowledge Thy social law\* that all society may rise to that supreme ideal which Thou didst give to earth when the Eternal Word was clothed with the life of man.

It must be difficult to say such prayers perfunctorily; but to say them intelligently and in earnest is as certain to bring the appropriate answer as is praying for grain with a plough.

**The Protestant Episcopal Bishop-elect of Michigan.**

Among the most efficient supporters of Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, in his efforts to make of that city what it is now acknowledged to be, the best governed city in the United States, has been Charles D. Williams, the dean of the Episcopal cathedral at Cleveland, who has recently been elected bishop of the diocese of Michigan. He is a man whose religion, which is awake seven days in the week, comprehends civil as well as personal righteousness, and who withal has both the courage and the intelligence of his convictions. For years he

has on all proper occasions been an outspoken supporter of the principles propounded by Henry George. That such a man should have been chosen bishop of Michigan by a considerable majority of the clerical and a large majority of the lay representatives of that diocese, is a tribute no less to the body that elected him than to his own fidelity and marked abilities. It testifies, too, to a changing order of things clerical in the direction of a broader and truer development with reference to social relations. Only a few years ago a clergyman as distinguished as Dean Williams has been for plain-spoken advocacy of the equal brotherhood of men on earth as a corollary of the universal fatherhood of God in heaven, would have been among the last to receive clerical honor and authority in any church. By signs like this we may see that the genuine spirit of democracy is pervading the life of the churches.

**Andrew Carnegie's doctrine of ownership.**

In speaking of municipalization of street cars, water works, lighting facilities and the like, Andrew Carnegie is reported to have laid down this broad doctrine: "I believe that any property that will be increased in value by an increase in population should belong to the municipality." Although Mr. Carnegie's thought was focused on public utilities, his dictum is broad enough to include the site of the municipality itself. In fact, the only kind of property that is increased in value by increase of the population of a municipality is the site of the municipality. Store goods decrease in value, unit for unit of desirability, and so do structures. If street car systems increase in value with increase of population, and they certainly do, the added value does not attach to rails or cars or building or machinery. It attaches to the street franchises, and these are property in sites. On Mr. Carnegie's theory, then, the sites of municipalities ought to belong to municipalities. And if

by this he means that the income from such property should go into the common treasury instead of going into private pockets, why isn't he right?

**Cause of hard times in England.**

A pertinent question was that of the New York Journal of Commerce of the 11th, when, in discussing the subject of lack of employment in England it asked: "Has not the system of land holding something to do with this?" A reply from John R. Waters, published in the same paper on the 14th, demands from all who are sympathetic with poverty and thoughtful about its cause, the most earnest attention. Mr. Waters wrote: "I respectfully aver that it has everything to do with it. In England vacant land is not subject to taxation, nor are improved land and its improvements, if unoccupied. The facts that here land values are taxed whether the land be vacant or improved, and that the non-occupation of houses does not suspend the tax on their values, are alone sufficient to account for the relatively greater misery and squalor of the masses in England. If, in addition to the facility with which their land may be sequestrated, the English people suffered from a protective tariff, they would starve by thousands where they now starve by units. Per contra, if the scourge of our robber tariff were not modified by the taxation of unused lands and buildings our masses would be in like fix. Genuine prosperity, not now enjoyed by either, will come first to that people which shall first combine free trade with taxation of all land values."

To the importance of this idea the English themselves are not blind. Candidates for the next Parliament are being required by their constituents to give satisfactory answers to the following questions, which relate directly to Mr. Waters's suggestions:

(1.) Will you urge the next Government to introduce at the earliest possible moment, and to press forward without delay, legislation having for its ob-

jects: (a) The separate assessment of the value of land, apart from improvements; (b) The taxation of land values, upon this assessment, both in rural and in urban districts; (c) The taxation of land values for national and local purposes? (2.) Will you support the taxation of land values as a means of opening up to industry the agricultural, mining and building land now held out of use, thereby helping to solve the unemployed problem? (3.) Will you support the substitution of a rate on land values for the present rates on building values, which tend to discourage building, and thus to make houses "fewer, worse and dearer?" (4.) Are you in favor of abolishing the taxes on tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, etc., and all other taxes on food, substituting a tax on land values?

#### African farmers and the land tax.

From the Natal Advertiser of September 21, we learn that the Inanda Agricultural Association, a county organization of Natal farmers, has been agitated deeply over the question of land monopoly and of land value taxation as the remedy. This agitation is traceable to the work of Henry Ancketill, a member of the provincial parliament. At the agricultural meeting in question, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

That this association advocates a universal taxation of land values, remission to be given to lands beneficially cultivated, occupied or built upon.

Commenting editorially upon this action of the farmers, the Natal Advertiser of the following day, September 22, disclosed the prevailing sentiment of the colony by saying:

What is wanted is a general land tax which will operate in the direction of bringing all uncultured or unoccupied land into beneficial use. We do not go so far as to say that it should be on the Harry George principle of appropriating to the state the whole of the land values; but it should be sufficient to bring in a good revenue and to form a substantial inducement to land owners to put their land to use. It is acknowledged on all hands that the system of holding large areas of uncultivated land is a curse to the Colony, and it is time effective measures were taken to remedy the evil. . . . The importance of the question arises from two considerations. One is the necessity of the policy as an economical measure. Without it we shall never get the full and legitimate usufruct of the land. We must have a

land tax, accompanied by compulsory expropriatory powers, if we are ever going to do anything substantial in the way of closer settlement, and increasing the agricultural population. . . . The second reason why a land tax is important is that it is, or soon will be, necessary as a source of revenue. There is little doubt that, before long, we shall have to make up our minds to a large diminution of revenue from our railways. Throughout South Africa the cry is for a reduction of the heavy transport charges. . . . Yet there is small reason to believe that the expense of administration can be reduced in proportion. Consequently some new sources of income must be opened up. One of these is a land tax, which is far preferable in many respects to an income tax—though there is more than a possibility that we may have to put up with both. But the land tax, if regulated on a fair and reasonable basis, is a thoroughly legitimate means of raising revenue, and when we see it advocated, as at Verulam on Wednesday, by a purely agricultural body, we may reasonably hope for its adoption in the near future.

This indication of a tendency toward Henry George's remedy for the evil of withdrawing land from labor and thereby creating a relative oversupply of labor and labor products, is widely observable—not only in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, but also in the municipal politics of Germany and the national politics of Great Britain.

#### How prosperity is diverted.

At the meeting of the League of American Municipalities at Toledo last Summer, Mr. Oscar Leser delivered an address, published in the October number of American Municipalities, which discloses some remarkable economic effects of the destruction of Baltimore by fire. Most important of them all is the effect upon site values. "Strange as it may seem," said Mr. Leser, "land in the burnt district increased perceptibly in value almost immediately after the fire. The sudden opening of opportunities for development upon modern lines by the enlargement of building sites and the erection of structures adapted to modern needs; the high civic spirit displayed after the fire; the prospect of a municipal dock system; wid-

ened, regraded and better paved streets—all these considerations portended increased activity and enlarged prosperity in the near future." So great was this effect that "in spite of the fact that about one-eighth of the private property in the burnt district was absorbed for public purposes, the taxable basis in that portion of the city, considering the ground alone, has been raised by about \$6,000,000;" and "a very considerable part of this represented enhancement after the fire." The singular thing about such phenomena is the common obtuseness to its significance and the common indifference to public duty in the premises. Yet a candid answer to one question ought to cause an awakening. Why should the values of a city's site, when enhanced by increased activity and enlarged prosperity, why should they be diverted from the whole population to whose activity that prosperity is attributable, and poured into the coffers of mere appropriators of space? Why, in other words, should we allow prosperity to be diverted from land users to land-owners?

#### Charles Frederic Adams.

A remarkable character who is about to take the place of secretary of the Borough of Brooklyn in Greater New York, a place second in authority to President Coler who appoints him, is Charles Frederic Adams. Mr. Adams's peculiarity is not his natural ability, though that is of an order unusually high, nor his accomplishments as a lawyer and publicist, though they are exceptional in their completeness, but his rigid probity. He is honest with every one, including himself, and about everything, including his own competency—so honest that he has possibly been less useful than he might have been, from underrating his own power of usefulness. One of a coterie of Brooklyn young men of a generation ago, of which Wm. M. Ivins was another, and all of whom have made their mark, he grew up professionally in one of the largest law offices of New

York, where his legal acquirements and his familiarity with three languages made him valuable in spite of his scruples. It was said of him that he was allowed a large salary, but agreed to remit most of it for the privilege of refusing to participate in cases which did not commend themselves to his sense of justice. It would not have been a bad arrangement for the firm, for such legal service as his sense of justice allowed him to render was of the first order. To this many an opinion in the Interior Department at Washington, signed by the Secretary but written by Mr. Adams while a law clerk there, will amply testify. So will his brief in one of the Philippine cases, the brief against the government in the only one in which the government lost. Mr. Coler's selection of Mr. Adams for second place in Brooklyn Borough is one that will prove its merit. And it will be neither less meritorious nor less acceptable to a rapidly growing sentiment throughout the country as well as locally, when the fact appears, that Mr. Adams of Brooklyn, like Dean Williams of Cleveland, has long been an unwavering advocate of the doctrines of Henry George.

#### The postal censorship.

It would be impossible to follow, instance by instance, the arbitrary acts of censorship by the Post Office Department (p. 420), but in occasional instances the circumstances are suggestive. One of these was the postal "hold up" of a Des Moines newspaper, for reporting a local social card party and naming the winner of a cut glass water pitcher. The Des Moines postmaster so construed his Department instructions that he stopped the mailing of the paper for half an hour while he telegraphed to Washington. He was advised in reply that while his construction of the rules was literally correct the Department had never enforced them against society card games! Another case was the "hold up" of Wilshire's Magazine

for two days, to enable the Department to decide whether or not one of the advertisements should be censored. According to this magazine for November the Department ruled that while in fact there was nothing objectionable in the advertisement, yet, as it related to a guessing contest, the neglect of the publishers to submit a proof before publication was against the rulings of the Department. If this statement is true, as it doubtless is, the editor's comment is entirely reasonable, that "if this ruling is valid as to advertisements it is valid as to editorials." As we have shown in previous articles, the rulings of the Department on these matters are absolute and final. The censorship is Russian in its absolutism. It is worse than Russian in its methods, for in Russia they only blacken censored articles, while sending the paper through the mails, but here the whole paper is "held up" for one censored article.

#### GERRIT SMITH A FORERUNNER OF HENRY GEORGE.\*

A generation ago the name of Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro, N. Y., was widely known throughout the country, especially in anti-slavery, temperance, and other philanthropic circles. In the exciting days of John Brown and Harper's Ferry he unjustly suffered proslavery opprobrium for alleged complicity in the plan attempted.

Gerrit Smith inherited large landed possessions to which, later, he added extensively, becoming the owner of a princely domain. His father, Peter Smith, of Holland descent, was a partner of John Jacob Astor in his youthful days of enterprise and adventure, when the great fur trade that enriched both partners was in process of establishment.

Each had a keen instinct for land investments; Astor more shrewdly placing his in the heart of New York City, while Smith acquired vast areas in the center of the State. Beginning with sixty thousand acres at \$3.53½, from the

\* This editorial, contributed by William Lloyd Garrison, was written at Boston on the seventieth anniversary (October 21, 1905) of the historical assault upon Mr. Garrison's distinguished father by a proslavery Boston mob.

Oneida Reservation, the latter subsequently bought lands sold for taxes, and, in the single county of Oneida, paid the State \$3 per acre for 80,000 acres. He was reputed to own nearer a million than a half million of acres, his property being measured by square miles.

Inheriting his father's business aptitude, Gerrit Smith also became an immense purchaser and dealer in unoccupied lands, buying 18,000 acres in the town of Florence when scarcely more than 21 years old, an investment of \$14,000, which, in a few years, reached a valuation of half a million.

The singular part of the story, as his biographer says, was the fact that his power of wealth "was his help, not his ruin; that it was his opportunity, and not his temptation; that it furnished a solid base for his intellectual and moral operations, not a grave in which his manhood was buried; that he could wear the purple and still be a king." There is hardly anything stranger in fiction than this plutocratic land-monopolist arriving at the same conclusions regarding the wrongfulness of land monopoly as those later enunciated by the needy San Francisco printer, Henry George, in "Progress and Poverty."

The conviction which forced itself on Gerrit Smith soon took action in lavish gifts of land to landless people. He evidently questioned the justice of keeping what he had not earned and could not improve. In 1846 he wrote: "I am an Agrarian.—I would no man were so regardless of the needs and desires of his brother men, as to covet the possession of more farms than one." To the colored men of New York State he made out 3,000 deeds, conveying land of 40 to 60 acres each, placing the selection of beneficiaries in the hands of a committee of well-known citizens. In 1849, he selected a thousand persons living in 58 different counties, to receive gifts of land, \$10 in money accompanying each deed. "Nor shall I be blamed for distributing the thousand parcels among white persons exclusively," he wrote, "by any who are informed that 3,000 colored persons have received deeds of land from me, entirely free of all charge either for the land, or for the expense of the perfected deeds thereof."

In January, 1850, he proposed to make similar gifts to 500 males and 500 females. Subsequently concluding that money would be better for women than land, he bestowed \$50 on each woman, sufficient to purchase 40 acres of government land. In his letter to the committee accepting the labor of selection, he said: "I need not say how deeply I feel that every person needs to be admitted owner of a parcel of land. This every person should be, without having to pay for it." At this date, Henry George was approaching his eleventh year.

It detracts nothing from the generous intention of the giver of this bounty that it disappointed expectation and proved a practical failure. Charity was never yet a solvent for injustice. Owing partly to the unfertile conditions of many of the allotments, but more to lack of skill and industry on the part of the recipients, the lands eventually passed into abler hands, were absorbed by debt, or acquired by speculators.

It seems strange that Gerrit Smith, whose clear sight led him to protest against gifts of land from the public domain "to soldiers, railroad and canal companies," because the soil would soon become the property of land speculators, should not have seen that the same destiny attached to his private benefactions. In his later support of the Homestead bill, when in Congress, he expressed his illogical faith that individual allotments to actual settlers by the general government would ensure permanency.

In 1852, to his great surprise, Gerrit Smith was elected to Congress as an independent. In a letter to the voters who supported him he stated his political creed, enumerating its peculiarities in seven articles. Two of these are as follows: Article 2 affirms "That the right of the soil is as natural and equal as the right to the light and air." Article 4 declares "That the doctrine of free trade is the necessary outgrowth of the doctrine of human brotherhood; and that to impose restrictions on commerce is to build up unnatural and sinful barriers across that brotherhood.

It is evident that the writer did not suspect the close relation of

the articles, as he interposed one on political rights between them. But he followed the proper sequence, the natural right of access to the source of production properly preceding the assertion of the natural right—freely to exchange the resulting products of labor.

The discussion of the Homestead bill in the House of Representatives, February 21 1854, gave Gerrit Smith his opportunity for expression on the land question. The resolutions offered by him and the substance of his speech, which it is the purpose of this preliminary explanation to introduce, are to follow.\* Like all men wiser than their time, he met with the impatient hostility of his hearers.

Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics," containing the famous and subsequently expurgated ninth chapter on "The Right to the Use of the Earth," was published in England in 1850. It received no attention in that country until a notice of it appeared in the "British Quarterly Review," in 1876, although it was reprinted in America by Appleton & Company in 1864. In 1850, also, Patrick Edward Dove published anonymously a book on "The Theory of Human Progression and Natural Probability of the Reign of Justice," asserting therein the fundamental postulates of the single tax philosophy.

There is no evidence or probability that Gerrit Smith had even heard of these publications at the date of his speech on the Homestead bill. The coincidence indicates that consciousness of the injustice of land monopoly, traceable throughout history in the expressions of ethical thought, was fast ripening for practical and political application. It was soon to find its consummate flower in "Progress and Poverty."

Independent investigators are often unconsciously abreast in search of a pressing truth or a scientific development. Contemporaneous announcements of discoveries like those of Darwin and Wallace on evolution, and of Edison and Swan regarding the incandescent electric lamp, mark

\*See "Gerrit Smith on the Homestead Bill" in this week's Miscellany department of The Public.

the fruition of long years of obscure labor and thought by unknown pioneers of human progress.

As a matter of historical interest it seems worth while to preserve such records as they come to light. If the enduring fame which is the prize of him who, arriving at a psychological moment, incarnates and typifies an epoch, the memory of unrecognized workers in the field, who saw the vision and toiled in faith for its realization, should be honored and preserved.

It is noteworthy, indicating the natural kinship of the anti-slavery and single tax movements, that the editor of the "Liberator," in the issue of March 8, 1854, thus characterized Gerrit Smith's address: "Mr. Smith has just delivered a radical and able speech in the House, on the distribution of public lands." Of course, the immediate and concrete question of Negro emancipation obscured the question of land monopoly, and Henry George himself declared that without the abolition of slavery the progress of land emancipation was barred.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

BUFFALO (see vol. vii., p. 616).

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 18.—Mr. J. N. Adam was nominated by the Democratic party for mayor and elected by 10,000 majority, carrying his whole party ticket with him and displacing the present Republican regime. While the new mayor, who has been successively councilman, alderman and councilman again, has always been in favor of the referendum and municipal ownership, he has done no aggressive work along progressive lines, but has fought extravagance and corruption and is known to be an honest man.

More important, however, than the election of mayor, was the question of public policy submitted to the voters, namely, whether the city should own and operate an electric lighting and power plant for the benefit of itself and its inhabitants. On this question 9,641 votes were cast, 7,691 being in the affirmative and 1,950 in the negative. The total vote for candidates was 65,000. The reasons the vote on the question was not larger were the absorbing interest in the election of the mayor, the consequent splitting of tickets, its obscure position on the voting machines below the seven constitutional amendments, and the limited time of one minute in which to

vote the whole. A more emphatic percentage of the vote cast for the question is evident than for Mr. Adam, the approximate percentage for Mr. Adam being 58, and for the lighting plant 75 per cent.

Immediately after election last year the Referendum League began to obtain signatures to petitions to submit three questions to the voters: First, whether all grants of franchises should be submitted to the people; second, whether the city should have direct nominations, and, third, whether a municipal electric lighting and power plant should be established. Congressman Robert Baker aided by incorporating our aims in a speech, 10,000 copies of which the League had printed and sent through the mails under his frank.

The five per cent. of the voters required on the petition was about 3,700, and a petition containing 4,200 signatures was filed with the City Clerk and referred to the Commissioner of Elections, who struck off 1,000 signatures. The league then procured and filed about 1,400 more signatures, and also persuaded the Common Council to pass a resolution submitting the three questions to the voters. The City Clerk certified to the Commissioner of Elections the resolution of the Common Council, but refused to certify the fact of the filing of the petitions. A mandamus was asked for, and on the return day the attorney for the General Electric company appeared for the City Clerk and asked for and secured an adjournment. The Corporation Counsel, Mr. Feldman, who was also the Republican candidate for mayor, denounced the proceedings, and on the adjourned day appeared and stipulated that the order for the writ be granted.

The Commissioner of Elections then notified the League that he would refuse to place the questions on the ballot machines, on the ground that the public opinion ordinance was invalid, as by it the city attempted to impose duties on county officers. He had secured an opinion from the State Attorney General to that effect. The Board of Aldermen authorized the Corporation Counsel to apply for a mandamus to compel the commissioner to place the questions on the ballot machines, and in the meanwhile the Corporation Counsel obtained from the Commissioner a signed statement agreeing to do so. But, taking an amendment of the above resolution by the Board of Councilmen as an excuse, he again notified the League that he would refuse.

The League then immediately applied for a writ of mandamus, Moses Shire making the main argument for the League, and ex-Attorney General John Cunneen for the Commissioner. The court decided that the public opinion ordinance was valid only in so far as the city sought to obtain the opin-

ion of the voters on matters which the city has express power to carry into effect. As the city is empowered by its charter to establish a municipal lighting plant, the court ordered that question placed on the ballot and the other two left off. Both parties have appealed from this decision, and in the meantime the vote has been taken. Great interest was shown in the argument, the courtroom being crowded. Mr. Cunneen has since appeared before the Common Council in behalf of the General Electric company, so the source of the opposition is easily traced.

ALBERT H. JACKSON.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

How 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 so 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 Thursday, Nov. 23.

### The King of Norway.

Following the plebiscite in favor of Prince Karl of Denmark for King of Norway (p. 530), the Norwegian parliament, on the 18th, with 116 members present out of 117, unanimously elected him as king. He at once accepted by telegraph, announcing that he would take the name of Haakon VII, and that he would confer on his son the name of Olaf. The throne was formally tendered him on the 20th at Copenhagen through his grandfather, King Christian of Denmark, by a deputation from the Norwegian parliament. King Christian formally accepted in his grandson's behalf. The coronation is set for July 27.

### The Russian revolution.

The workmen's council, in session at St. Petersburg, which was reported last week to have declared a general strike (p. 530), was reported on the 19th to have reversed its decision, after a protracted and heated discussion. In its manifesto the council explained that its strike-call had forced the government to yield to its demands regarding the Kronstadt mutineers. All of these were pardoned but six. But the Social Democrats, who are reported to have been outvoted at the workmen's council, declare their in-

tentions to devote themselves to preparations for a universal strike to sustain the revolutionary programme in the coming national assembly.

### The secession of the Isle of Pines.

A Cuban commission which went to the Isle of Pines to investigate the secession movement there (p. 530), returned to Havana on the 18th with a long report in detail of the situation. They report the total population of the Isle as 3,100, of whom only 430 are Americans. Of the Cuban residents 1,400 have signed and forwarded to President Roosevelt the following protest:

The undersigned citizens of the Isle of Pines hereby protest against the organization of the so-called territorial convention by a few American citizens of the Isle of Pines as a preliminary step to the establishment of a territorial government; not that we are ungrateful for the blessings bestowed upon us by American intervention, but because we feel perfectly satisfied with our Cuban government, from which all the inhabitants of the Republic receive justice and equity. We trust that, faithful to the treaty of Paris, the American Congress will do justice to our country. We especially trust your honorable self as the best friend of Cuba.

### A revolt brewing in Panama.

From Washington dispatches it appears that a revolution in the new republic of Panama (vol. vii, p. 568) is imminent. The same dispatches report President Roosevelt's intention of stamping it out if necessary.

### La Follette's struggle in Wisconsin.

Gov. La Follette is reported to be considering the necessity of resigning as United States Senator from Wisconsin (vol. v, 231, 251, 713; vol. vi, 102; vol. vii, 105, 119, 182, 295, 403, 409, 440, 449, 505, 664, 682; vol. viii, 41, 73) in order to finish his fight against the corporate interests of his State. This report is supposed to be confirmed by his call, issued on the 22d, for a special session of the legislature to meet on the 4th of December. The session is stated in the call to be for the purpose of considering and acting upon legislation intended—

(1) To amend laws relating to the State capitol; (2) to amend the laws to regulate railroads and other common carriers; (3) to enact more efficient laws relating to taxes and license

fees of railroad companies, and to provide remedies for collection; (4) to amend the laws providing for party nominations by direct vote; (5) to provide a form of ballot for use at elections; (6) to amend laws relating to fishways in dams; (7) to amend the statutes relating to county aid in building or repairing bridges; (8) to amend the act forming a grain inspection commission; (9) to provide funds temporarily for the university; (10) to investigate the expenditure of insurance companies, railroad and other public service corporations doing business in this State and enact laws in reference thereto; (11) to receive communications from the Executive relative to the United States Senatorship and Governorship.

#### Insurance reform in Missouri.

Further action has been taken by the insurance superintendent of Missouri relative to embezzlement for political purposes by the managers of insurance companies (p. 530), he having entered into correspondence with the Mutual and the Prudential similar to that which preceded his order of exclusion against the New York Life.

#### More evidence of Insurance "graft."

Further incriminating testimony has been disclosed by the insurance investigation in New York (pp. 266, 280, 371, 376, 385, 388, 401, 427, 430, 434, 435, 441, 449, 468, 492, 511, 521, 530). At the hearing on the 14th James Hazen Hyde testified that the Mercantile Trust Co., owned by the Equitable Life, had paid \$75,000 to Gov. Odell in 1904 to prevent hostile legislation. On the 15th Edward H. Harriman, named by Hyde as cognizant of and a party to the Gov. Odell transaction, denied Hyde's assertions; and Hyde, recalled, repeated them. Gov. Odell testified on the 16th that the charge is untrue. Senator Thomas C. Platt testified on the 21st that the Equitable had contributed \$10,000 a year for many years to Republican campaign funds, always in cash. The Mutual also contributed regularly, but not a uniform amount, and the New York Life contributed irregularly. His memory proved at fault when questioned as to the arrangements under which these contributions were made, but he explained that whatever advantage the companies got they got it through him as being connected with the State

committee. Asked how they would get it through him, he replied:

Well, they would suppose I would be likely to defend them at times when it was necessary. I never had occasion to do so.

Further questioned on this point Senator Platt's testimony was as follows:

Q.—And have they ever requested your support in any manner? A.—They never have.

Q.—In what matters could you properly give a company support in return for such contributions? A.—Well, I don't know.

Q.—I understand you to say they would expect that you would support them or defend them; now, what class of possibilities had you in mind in saying that? A.—I didn't have any class of possibilities in mind at all, because where their interests were involved they might come to me for help.

Q.—To see that the legislature did not enact legislation which they thought hostile to policy holders? A.—That is about what it would amount to.

Q.—How could you control such a situation—through the disposition of the moneys in the election of a legislator? A.—Oh, I could not say that.

Q.—Isn't that the way it really comes about, Senator, that the use of these contributions in the election of candidates to office puts the candidate more or less under a moral obligation not to attack the interests supporting them? A.—That is what naturally would be involved.

Q.—Isn't that really what is involved? A.—I should think so.

Q.—That is what you meant when you said they would expect you through your relations with the State committee to defend them? A.—Yes, sir.

#### Church action on "graft."

At the diocesan council of the Episcopal church in Milwaukee on the 21st, a recent refusal of the diocesan council of New York, Bishop Potter presiding, was rebuked. Resolutions condemning the crimes revealed at the New York insurance investigation had been presented at the New York council but ignored. The same resolutions were presented at Milwaukee on the 21st and their passage urged by Bishop Nicholson in an address in the course of which he said:

It is a matter of pride that an attempt was made to pass them [the resolutions] and a matter of shame

that the question was so soon snubbed into silence.

The resolutions declare that— the church of the living God stands for righteousness, and therefore this council cannot afford to pass unnoticed the revelations being made in the daily newspapers beneath its eyes of tampering with trust funds by men in high positions of privilege and confidence in the business world, constituting most discouraging evidence of moral laxity and bad example among those from whom the church and nation have a right to expect better things; that this council proclaims anew that word of God which says: "It is required of a steward that he be found faithful; that no talent for high finance, no useful service to the community, no benefaction to the church or to objects of philanthropy can excuse or atone for dereliction in trust, contempt for the rights of others or disregard for the rules of common honesty; that commerce languishes in the degree and dies to the extent that men cannot trust one another, and that this council commends to the members of this church and their associates in business the exercise of that exact and scrupulous fidelity in business which is not only the essential foundation of prosperity in every community but also a requirement for the favor and benediction of Almighty God, and will be required surely in the operation of His natural and irresistible laws.

These resolutions were adopted.

#### The Evangelical Inter-Church conference.

The Rev. W. H. Roberts, of Philadelphia, was on the 16th elected chairman of the inter-church congress (p. 530), and secretaries were chosen from the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Christian, and Cumberland Presbyterian bodies. In the report of the executive committee on the same day it was stated that there had never been any intention to invite all denominations claiming to be Christian, but only the larger churches and those "already in fraternal relations and substantial agreement as to fundamental Christian doctrine." The plan of permanent organization provides for "The General Council of the Churches of Christ in America," to consist of a federal council of Protestant churches to meet every four years, the first meeting to be held December 1, 1908. Each denomination is to have four members in the council and one extra

member for each 50,000 communicants. The council is to act in the capacity of an advisory board and to interfere in no way with the autonomy of individual denominations. The object is united action on social and moral questions, and to give spiritual counsel and promote fellowship. An executive committee will deal with the business of the council in the interval between meetings. The following Christian bodies are declared entitled to representation on their approval of the purpose and plan of the organization:

Baptist churches North, Baptist churches South, Free Baptist churches, Negro Baptist churches, Disciples of Christ, Evangelical Association, Evangelical Synod, Friends, Evangelical Lutheran church, general synod, Methodist Episcopal church, Methodist Episcopal church South, Primitive Methodist church, Colored Methodist Episcopal church, Methodist Protestant church, African Methodist Episcopal church, African Methodist Episcopal Zion church, Mennonite church, Moravian church, Presbyterian church in United States, Cumberland Presbyterian church, Welsh Presbyterian church, United Presbyterian church, Protestant Episcopal church, Reformed Church in America, Reformed Church in United States, Reformed Episcopal church, Seventh Day Baptist churches, United Brethren in Christ, United Evangelical church.

Other denominations holding Jesus Christ to be "our divine Lord and Savior" may be admitted.

#### Municipal progress in Ohio.

The reports from Ohio of the probable cooperation of, reform mayors (p. 519) has been confirmed. With the authorization of Mayors-elect Dempsey of Cincinnati, Badger of Columbus, and Whitlock of Toledo, Mayor Johnson has called a meeting of all the mayors-elect of Ohio cities, to be held at Cleveland on the 4th of December. Mayor Dunne of Chicago and Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia are expected to be present. In describing the purpose of the call Mayor Johnson said on the 20th:

Primarily the idea in arranging the meeting is to form an organization of the mayors of all the large cities. We want to get all of the reform mayors into the organization if possible. With the organization formed we will discuss and arrange to fight for legislation that will be of benefit to the cities.

#### NEWS NOTES

—A national association of bituminous coal mining employers was formed at Chicago on the 23d by 82 employers from ten States.

—Dr. Rufus H. Bartlett, one of Chicago's leading physicians, who was an active supporter of the movement against imperialism, died on the 21st.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 474) for the month ending October 31, 1905, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for October were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$515,792,698	\$398,339,358	\$126,453,340 exp.
G	3,147,286	24,518,236	21,370,950 imp.
S	18,866,954	11,157,233	7,709,721 exp.
	\$537,806,938	\$425,014,827	\$112,792,114 exp.

—Very Rev. Charles D. Williams, dean of Trinity cathedral, Cleveland, was elected bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Michigan on the second ballot of the diocesan convention on the 16th. On the deciding ballot 63 clerical and 106 lay votes were cast, making the number necessary for a choice 32 clerical and 54 lay. Dean Williams received 39 clerical and 80 lay votes, Dr. Maxon 12 clerical and 15 lay, Dr. Sayres 3 clerical and 5 lay, Dr. Faber 3 clerical, Dr. Roper 3 clerical and 2 lay, scattered 3 clerical and 4 lay votes.

#### PRESS OPINIONS

##### ELECTION ECHOES.

New York World (Dem.), Nov. 10.—Ten years ago Pingree was denounced as an Anarchist. To-day Pingree's programme would be regarded as mild and conservative. Where is the thing going to end?

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Nov. 15.—Little Rhody remains alone in her shame. She alone seems incapable of escaping from the political oligarchy which has ruled her with an iron hand for a generation. She has not only put her neck under the Aldrich yoke again; she has defeated an amendment to the constitution which was designed to restore the Executive office to something of its former dignity and power.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Nov. 16.—There is promise that the Democrats of Ohio will "make good" this time. Tom Johnson's influence in the party has driven the plutocratic element of the party largely into the ranks of the opposition. Under Hanna and subsequently under Dick, Herrick and Cox, the Republican party of Ohio became the private property of franchise grabbers and corporation interests. It has offered congenial refuge to Democrats of like stripe. The next legislature will contain many young Democrats—radical Democrats. The party retired every Democratic legislator that proved false to the party's pledges. The party is awake to its opportunities and the rank and file are showing a lively interest in its affairs.

St. Louis Mirror (Ind.), Nov. 16.—Messieurs, the Capitalists, this is not a riot, but a revolution. I refer to the Hearst election in New York, for he was elected by at least 50,000 votes. It is no accident that municipal ownership candidates have won in the greatest two cities in the country and that Tom L. Johnson has been elected for the

third time in Cleveland. The cry against municipal ownership of public utilities that it will make for greater political graft, no longer appals. There never was a graft in public business under politicians like that in the insurance business, or like that in the great shipping trust, or in Amalgamated Copper. Graft in public business is due to private capitalism working through the politicians. Political graft comes of helping private capital to exploit the public through the use by private capital of public property. Grants of privilege are gifts of public rights to private parties. The graft thereof comes through the deflection of profits belonging to the public into private pockets. To all this the public is getting "wise." Who has made them so? The Single Taxers. That gospel is leavening all opinion upon economics. It is a gospel which asserts that the greedy few shall not use the machinery of the law to enable them to use the property of all for the benefit of the few. The Single Tax policy is the one that will strike directly at the base and foundation of exploiting the masses. . . . They force the fighting for franchise taxation in every city and State in the Union. They are profoundly modifying all opinion upon the subject of taxation. They are shaking the privilege of privileges—the holding land out of use in order to force the people into servitude on land that is in use. They are awakening the cities from their torpor. It is the battle against public rights sold as private privilege that makes effective the attack upon the bosses. The bosses are pretty well dislodged. But the Single Taxers are after the bosses of the bosses.

##### BRYAN IN HONOLULU.

The Hawaiian Star, Oct. 3.—Honolulu today entertains one of the foremost Americans of his time—William Jennings Bryan. Mr. Bryan occupies and has occupied a somewhat unique position. The only high office he has ever held has been that of Congressman, and he held that before he had come into national prominence. He has twice been a candidate for President of the United States, and though twice defeated it was only after campaigns unexampled in the supreme effort made by the marshalled elements and interests which through varied and sometimes contradictory influences, had been arrayed against him. After each defeat he stood forth a larger figure in public estimation. His defeats were in no sense personal, except as a great leader invests any cause he champions, with his personality, and every great cause invests the personality of its leader with some of its own importance and distinction. . . . As the years have passed the asperities and the prejudices of bitter campaigns have softened, and William Jennings Bryan has secured a deeper and stronger hold on the respect and admiration of the American people as a great American.

##### THE VACANT LOT NUISANCE.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Nov. 23.—No great city in the world even compares with Chicago in the amount—to say nothing of the disheveled character—of its unoccupied spaces. The area in Chicago is nowhere summarized and it cannot therefore be accurately stated. One needs only to keep one's eyes open, however, in passing along the streets or the railways, to realize that it is a considerable fraction of the entire city area. Nor is the vacant lot a diminishing factor. It is, instead, an increasing one. . . . Its social cost is tremendous. It increases the cost of land devoted to streets, the amount of time consumed in traversing them, and the cost of building and paving them. It increases, likewise, the length, and so the cost of sewers and water supply, as well as of gas, electric light, telephone,

telegraph and street car lines. It is not only unproductive itself but it necessitates, for a great city like Chicago, enormous incidental expenses—and it usually disfigures the city. One needs not to be a single taxer or any other sort of a theorist to appreciate the practical detriment inherent in vacant lots, when they are as prevalent as they are in Chicago.

#### BISHOP-ELECT WILLIAMS.

Detroit News (Ind.), Nov. 17.—Bishop-elect Williams is popular, especially among the Episcopalian laity of Detroit and the surrounding territory which comprises this diocese. The basis for his popularity is his well-known work as dean of the Cleveland cathedral, and his presence at noon-day Lenten services at various times in this city. It is known, also, that he is a strong man, mentally and physically, and in the prime of life. He possesses an immense fund of energy and a resourcefulness and tact which will be felt in quickening the material and spiritual welfare of the Episcopal churches in Detroit and vicinity.

It is an interesting fact in regard to Bishop-elect Williams that he is one of the most radical single-taxers in the United States. Those who had the pleasure of listening to his address in Y. M. C. A. hall, last winter, on the theories of Henry George, know that he regards "Progress and Poverty" as a sort of second bible, and that he can talk on the single tax with a passion and earnestness truly inspiring even to an unbeliever in that economic doctrine. That this peculiarity of Dean Williams was not considered an obstacle to his elevation to a bishopric in the most aristocratic of churches is striking evidence of the broadness of thought and toleration to which society has attained. It should be said, however, for the Episcopal church, that it has always shown willingness to give new ideas a hearing. About twenty years ago a great Episcopal church congress was held in the Whitney opera house, of this city, to which all the men of brains in the denomination came. The name of Henry George then was in the minds of many honest citizens, almost synonymous with the word anarchy, and yet he was among the invited speakers. His ideas were attacked by able men, and they were also defended by such men as the Rev. Heber Newton. It was a great debate, which some citizens of Detroit can remember with pleasure. Bishop-elect Williams believes in working as well as praying for the coming of the kingdom. He wants it to come on earth as soon as possible. In Cleveland he has been a real force in civic development, and as an active member of the Municipal League of that city he has dipped into politics as much as one of the cloth can with propriety. He was one of the committee of the Cleveland Municipal League who gave Mayor Tom L. Johnson a fine indorsement during the recent political campaign. Therefore, it may be expected that while in Detroit his time will be mostly given up to the affairs of his high office in the church, he will interest himself also in all that makes for the welfare of the city.

#### THE NEGRO QUESTION.

The (Atlanta) Voice of the Negro (Neg.), Sept.—Three things we affirm modestly but strongly: (1) We are not inferiors. (2) We care nothing for the Jack-o-lantern phantom of social equality that exists in the small brain of so many small white men. Some blacks are inferior in the social scale to some whites; some whites are superior to some blacks; and some blacks are superior to some whites. With a few centuries of hard struggle, we shall decrease the first sort and increase the last sort of our kind. (3) We want a man's chance in everything.

## MISCELLANY

### THE TRAMP.

I am a knight of an olden order,  
I am a son of an ancient line;  
You hedge your land with a barring  
border—

Never a land that may not be mine.  
Others are slaves of the sword or saber,  
Others are bound to their thatched abode,  
Others are liege to the lords of labor—  
I am a Knight of the Open Road.  
What of the day, or the coming morrow?  
They may go down in the tideless past.  
I have my choice—I may beg or borrow;  
I have my way—I may feast or fast.  
Is it your world? Ho, the world is roomy!  
You and your toll have their slavish place.  
I know the debt that is ever due me,  
And I demand with a smiling face.

Mine is the blood of forgotten strayers;  
Mine is the soul of the great unrest—  
Soldiers' and sailors, strolling players—  
Men who knew neither east nor west.  
You are the blind who provoke my laughter,  
Stumbling about in your chosen towns,  
Hugging the shade of your slanting rafter,  
Vlewing my kind with your damning  
frowns.

What do you know of the ceaseless calling?  
What do you know of the luring trail?  
What do you know of the long road falling  
Down from the hill to the singing dale?  
What do you know of the night's blue curtain  
Swung in the sky for the sleeper's tent?  
What of the world? All your thoughts uncertain

Die in the walls where your life is pent.  
I am a knight of an olden order—  
Bred of the race that of old went forth,  
Careless of land and of line and border,  
Footing it east, west, south, and north.  
Stoop to the strokes of the lash of labor,  
Bend your backs to the galling load—  
I have the whole wide world for neighbor;  
I am a Knight of the Open Road!  
—W. D. Nesbit, in Chicago Tribune.

### MR. BRYAN AND THE HAWAIIAN OCTOPUS.

When the Bryan party were in Honolulu early in October they were taken to the aquarium at Waikiki beach. Both Mr. and Mrs. Bryan were enthusiastic over the beauty and variety of the fishes displayed in the tanks, declaring that they had never before seen anything so beautiful.

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, of Honolulu, for October 4, thus continues the story:

"When Mr. Bryan reached the squid tank he asked with some amazement what the object was therein. He was told that it was an octopus. Pressing his face close up to the tank, he said: "Well, that is the first time I have ever seen an octopus, yet I have been fighting them all my life."

"Just then Manager Potter went behind the tank and stirred up the sea reptile. The squid at once emitted an inky fluid.

"This," said Mr. Bryan, "is what I thought. It has subsidized the press."

### MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY. MAYOR JOHNSON TAKES STAND AGAINST UNFAIR PARTISAN LEGISLATION.

Mayor Johnson will use all the influence he has with the Cuyahoga delegation in an effort to prevent "ripper" or "gerrymandering" legislation on the part of the next Legislature, in the event that it is Democratic in complexion.

The Mayor announced his views on this subject in a pronounced manner last evening. There has been much talk to the effect that legislation of this nature would be offered by the Democrats, if they control the Legislature.

"'Ripper' legislation, as I understand it," said the Mayor, "is that kind which attempts to nullify the government of a city.

"In other words, where the people support one kind of government in an emphatic manner and elect officers of one political party to be representatives, and then when the State Legislature, because of opposite politics, changes the government of that city simply to knock out its officers, I call that 'ripper' legislation. In this class would be placed the knocking out of the 'federal plan' by the Cox Republicans.

"I shall favor any legislation that will make for better government for the various cities in the State.

"Yes, I am opposed to 'gerrymandering,' too, as that definition is accepted in its general term. I know nothing about any movement to 'gerrymander' the State, but if such a movement has for its object the making of strongly Democratic Congressional and State Senatorial districts, I should oppose it, particularly if it placed Republican districts in such shape as to make them doubtful. If there is to be redistributing I should favor it on a scientific basis, with compactness of territory being a point to consider.

"I should not make such districts, for example, as we in Cleveland are familiar with. Here we have one Congressional District in Cleveland with the Twentieth District to the west, south and east of us. That is not scientific nor a compact territory.

"I will also say that I believe Cleveland is entitled to two Congressional Districts. Cincinnati has two. Why shouldn't we have as many? This city has a larger population."—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Nov. 11.

### GERRIT SMITH ON THE HOMESTEAD BILL.

Extracts from the Speech of Gerrit Smith on the Homestead Bill, delivered in Congress February 21, 1854. See editorial article by William Lloyd Garrison in this issue of The Public.

#### RESOLUTIONS BEFORE THE HOUSE.

Whereas, all the members of the human family, notwithstanding all contrary enactments and arrangements, have, at all times, and in all circumstances, as equal a right to the soil as to the light and air, because as equal a natural need of the one as of the other:

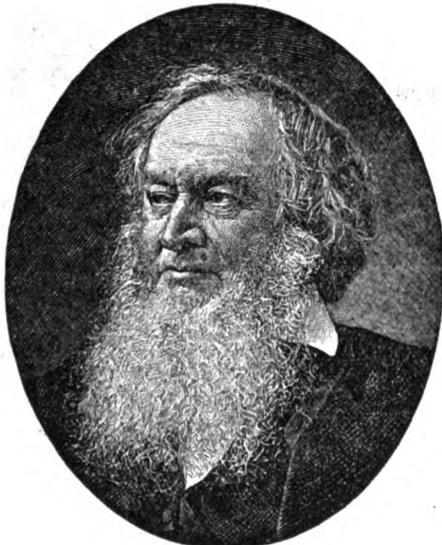
And whereas, this invariably equal right to the soil leaves no room to buy or sell, or give it away; Therefore,

1. Resolved, That no bill or propo-

land monopoly is the most efficient cause of inordinate and tyrannical riches on the one hand, and of dependent and abject poverty on the other; and that it is not because it is, therefore, the most efficient cause of that inequality of condition, so well-nigh fatal to the spread of Democracy and Christianity, that government is called upon to abolish it; but it is because the right, which this mighty agent of evil violates and tramples under foot, is among those clear, certain, essential, natural rights which it is the province of government to protect, at all hazards, and irrespective of all consequences.

#### SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH.

I am in favor of the bill because I am in favor of what I interpret the bill essentially to be—let others inter-



GERRIT SMITH.

A Portrait taken in the latter part of his life.

sition should find any favor with Congress which implies the right of Congress to dispose of the public lands, or any part of them, either by sale or gift.

2. Resolved, That the duty of civil government in regard to public lands, and, indeed, to all lands, is but to regulate the occupation of them; and that this regulation should ever proceed upon the principle that the right of all persons to the soil—to the great source of human subsistence—is as equal, as inherent, and as sacred, as the right to life itself.

3. Resolved, That government will have done but little toward securing the equal right to land, until it shall have made essential to the validity of every claim to land both the fact that it is actually possessed, and the fact that it does not exceed in quantity the maximum, which it is the duty of government to prescribe.

4. Resolved, That it is not because

pret it as they will. This bill, as I view it, is an acknowledgment that the public lands belong, not to the government, but to the landless.

And now to my argument, and to my endeavor to show that land monopoly is wrong, and that civil government should neither practice nor permit it; and that the duty of Congress is to yield up all the public land to actual settlers.

I admit that there are things in which a man can have absolute property, and which without qualification or restriction he can buy, or sell, or bequeath, at his pleasure. But I deny that the soil is among these things. What a man produces from the soil he has an absolute right to. He may abuse the right. It nevertheless remains. But no such right can he have in the soil itself. If he could he might monopolize it. If very rich he might

purchase a township or a county; and in connection with half a dozen other monopolists, he might come to obtain all the lands of a state or a nation. Their occupants might be compelled to leave them and to starve, and the lands might be converted into parks and hunting grounds for the enjoyment of the aristocracy. Moreover, if this could be done in the case of a state or a nation, why could it not be done in the case of the whole earth?

But it may be said that a man might monopolize the fruits of the soil, and thus become as injurious to his fellow men as by monopolizing the soil itself. It is true that he might in this wise produce a scarcity of food. But the calamity would be for a few months only, and it would serve to stimulate the sufferers to guard against its recurrence by a more faithful tillage, and by more caution in parting with their crops. Having the soil still in their hands, they would have the remedy still in their hands. But had they suffered the soil itself to be monopolized, had they suffered the soil itself, instead of the fruits of it, to pass out of their hands, then they would be without remedy. Then they would lie at the mercy of him who has it in his power to dictate the terms on which they may again have access to the soil, or who, in his heartless perverseness, might refuse its occupation on any terms whatever.

What I have here supposed in my argument is abundantly—alas! but too abundantly—justified by facts. Land monopoly has reduced no small share of the human family to abject and wretched dependence, for it has shut them out from the great source of subsistence, and frightfully increased the precariousness of life. Unhappy Ireland illustrates the great power of land monopoly for evil. The right to so much as a standing place on the earth is denied to the great mass of her people. Their great impartial Father has placed them on the earth, and in placing them on it has irresistibly implied their right to live of it. Nevertheless, land monopoly tells them that they are trespassers, and treats them as trespassers. Even when most indulgent, land monopoly allows them nothing better than to pick up the crumbs of the barest existence; and, when, in his most rigorous moods, the monster compels them to starve and die by millions. Ireland—poor, land-monopoly-cursed and famine-wasted Ireland—has still a population of some 6,000,000; and yet it is only 6,000 persons who have monopolized her soil.

Scotland has some 3,000,000 of people, and 3,000 is the number of the monopolists of her soil. England and Wales contain some 18,000,000 of people, and the total number of those who claim exclusive right to the soil of England and Wales is 30,000. I may not be rightly informed as to the numbers of the land monopolists in those countries, but whether they are twice as great, or half as great as I have given them, is quite immaterial to the essence of my argument against land monopoly. I would say in this connection that land monopoly, or the accumulation of the land in the hands of the few, has increased very rapidly in England. A couple of centuries ago there were several times as many English land holders as there are now.

I need say no more to prove that land monopoly is a very high crime, and that it is the imperative duty of Government to put a stop to it. Were the monopoly of the light and air practicable, and were the monopolists of these elements (having armed themselves with title deeds to them) to sally forth and threaten the people of one town with a vacuum in case they are unwilling or unable to buy their supply of air, and threaten the people of another town with total darkness in case they will not or cannot buy their supply of light; there confessedly would be no higher duty on Government than to put an end to such wicked and death-dealing monopolies. But these monopolies would not differ in principle from land monopoly; and they would be no more fatal to the enjoyments of human existence itself than land monopoly has proved itself capable of being. Why land monopoly has not swept the earth of all good is not because it is unadapted and inadequate to that end, but because it has been only partially carried out.

The right of a man to the soil, the light, and the air, is to so much of each of them as he needs, and no more; and for so long as he lives, and no longer. In other words, this dear mother earth with her never-failing nutritious bosom and this life-preserving air which floats around it and this sweet light which visits it, are all owned by each present generation, and are equally owned by all the members of such generation. Hence, whatever the papers or parchments regarding the soil which we may pass between ourselves, they can have no legitimate power to impair the equal right to it, either of the persons who compose this generation, or of the persons who shall compose the next.

It is a very glaring assumption on the part of one generation, to control the distribution and enjoyment of natural rights for another generation. We of the present generation have no more liberty to provide that one person of the next generation shall have ten thousand acres, and another but ten acres, than we have to provide that one person of the next generation shall live a hundred years, and another but a hundred days; and no more liberty to provide that a person of the next generation shall be destitute of land than that he shall be destitute of light or air. They who compose a generation are, so far as natural rights are concerned, absolutely entitled to a free and equal start in life; and that equality is not to be disturbed and that freedom is not to be encumbered by any arrangements of the preceding generation.

I may be asked whether I would have the present acknowledged claims to land disturbed. I answer that I would where the needs of the people demand it. In Ireland, for instance, there is the most urgent necessity for overriding such claims, and subdividing the land anew. But in our own country there is an abundance of vacant and unappropriated land for the landless to go to. We ought not, however, to presume upon this abundance to delay abolishing land monopoly. The greediness of land monopolists might in a single generation convert this abundance into scarcity. Moreover, if we do not provide now for the peaceable equal distribution of the public lands, it may be too late to provide for it hereafter. Justice, so palpable and so necessary, cannot be withheld but at the risk of being grasped violently.

It is said that all talk of land monopoly in America is impertinent and idle. It is boasted that in escaping from primogeniture and entail we have escaped from the evils of land monopoly. But the boast is unfounded. These evils already press heavily upon us, and they will press more and more heavily upon us unless the root of them is extirpated—unless land monopoly is abolished. In the old portions of the country the poor are oppressed and defrauded of an essential natural right by the accumulation of farms in the hands of wealthy families. In the new, the way of the poor, and indeed of the whole population, to comfort and prosperity is blocked up by tracts of wild land, which speculators retain for the unjust purpose of having them increase in value out of the toil expended upon the contiguous land.

And why should we flatter ourselves that land monopoly, if suffered to live among us, will not in time get laws enacted for its extension and perpetuity as effective even as primogeniture and entail? To let alone any great wrong in the hope that it will never outgrow its present limits, is very unwise—very unsafe. But land monopoly is not only a great, but a mighty wrong; and if let alone it may stretch and fortify itself until it has become invincible.

A much happier world will this be when land monopoly shall cease; when his needed portion of the soil shall be accorded to every person; when it shall no more be bought and sold; when, like salvation, it, shall be "without money and without price;" when, in a word, it shall be free, even as God made it free. Then when the good time prophetically spoken of shall come, and "every man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree," the world will be much happier, because, in the first place, wealth will then be so much more equally distributed, and the rich and the poor will then be so comparatively rare. Riches and poverty are both abnormal, false, unhappy states, and they will yet be declared to be sinful states. They beget each other. Over against the one is ever to be found a corresponding degree of the other. So long, then, as the masses are robbed by land monopoly, the world will be cursed with riches and poverty. But when the poor man is put in possession of his portion of the goodly green earth, and is secured by the strong arm of Government in the enjoyment of a home from which not he nor his wife nor his children can be driven, then is he raised above poverty, not only by the possession of the soil, but still more by the virtues which he cultivates in his heart whilst he cultivates the soil. Then, too, he no longer ministers to the undue accumulation of wealth by others, as he did when advantage was taken of his homeless condition, and he was compelled to serve for what he could get.

I would add in this place that inasmuch as land monopoly is the chief cause of beggary, comparatively little beggary will remain after land monopoly is abolished.

The world will be much happier when land monopoly shall cease, because manual labor will then be so honorable because so well-nigh universal.

It will be happier, too, because of the general equality there will then be, not in property only, but in education, and other essential respects also. How much fewer the instances then than now of a haughty spirit on the one hand, and of an abject spirit on the other! The pride

of superior circumstances, so common now, will then be rare. And rare, too, will be that abjectness of spirit, so common now (though, happily, far from universal) in the condition of dependent poverty, and the difficulty of overcoming which is so well compared to the difficulty of making an empty bag stand up straight!

Another gain to the world from abolishing land monopoly is that war would then be well-nigh impossible. It would be so if only because it would be difficult to enlist men into its ranks. For who would leave the comforts and endearments of home to enter upon the poorly-paid and unhonored services of a private soldier? It was not "young Fortinbras" only who in collecting his army,

Shark'd up a list of landless resolute, but in every age and country war has found its recruits among the homeless among vagabonds.

And still another benefit to flow from the abolition of land monopoly is its happy influence upon the cause of temperance—that precious cause which both the great and the small are in their folly and madness so wont to scorn, but which is, nevertheless, none the less essential to private happiness and prosperity, to national growth and glory. The ranks of intemperance, like those of war, are to a great extent recruited from the homeless and the vagrant.

How numerous and precious the blessings that would follow the abolition of land monopoly! By the number and preciousness of those blessings, I might entreat civil government the earth over to abolish it. But I will not. I prefer to demand this justice in the name of justice. In the name of justice I demand that civil government, wherever guilty of it, shall cease to sell and give away land—shall cease to sell and give away what is not its own. The vacant land belongs to all who need it. It belongs to the landless of every clime and condition: The extent of the legitimate concern of Government with it is but to regulate and protect its occupation. In the name of justice do I demand of Government, not only that it shall itself cease from the land traffic, but that it shall compel its subjects to cease from it. Government owes protection to its subjects. It owes them nothing else. But that people are emphatically unprotected who are left by their Government to be the prey of land monopoly.

The Federal Government has sinned greatly against human rights in usurping the ownership of a large share of the American soil. It can of course enact no laws and exert no influence

against land monopoly whilst it is itself the mammoth monopolist of land. This Government has presumed to sell millions of acres and to give away millions of acres. It has lavished land on States and corporations and individuals, as if it were itself the Great Maker of the land. Our State Governments also have been guilty of assuming to own the soil. They too need to repent. And they will repent if the Federal Government will lead the way. . . . And if the Governments of this great nation shall acknowledge the right of every man to a spot of earth for a home, may we not hope that the Governments of many other nations will speedily do likewise? Nay, may we not in that case regard the age as not distant when land monopoly, which numbers far more victims than any other evil, and which is, moreover, the most prolific parent of evil, shall disappear from the whole earth, and shall leave the whole earth to illustrate, as it never can whilst under the curse of land monopoly, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?

Let this bill become a law and, if our Government shall be consistent with itself, land monopoly will surely cease within the limits of the exclusive jurisdiction of that Government. But let this bill be defeated, and let success attend the applications for scores of millions of acres for soldiers, and for hundreds of millions of acres for railroad and canal companies, and land monopoly will then be so strongly fastened upon this nation that violence alone will be able to throw it off. The best hope for the poor will then perish. The most cherished reliance for human progress will then be trodden under foot.

My reference to the speculator affords me an occasion for saying that, not only the lands which you let soldiers have, but also the lands which you let railroad companies and canal companies have, will get into the hands of land speculators. That is their sure and speedy destination; and it is in those hands that land monopoly works its mightiest mischief, and develops its guiltiest character.

#### THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

Address by Lawson Purdy at the yearly meeting of The Federation of Church Clubs in the City of New York at Cooper Union, Nov. 16, 1906.

For many years Church people thought that the Church had nothing to do with "Social Problems." They said that it was the mission of the Church to preach the gospel and the

gospel only, and that the pulpit was no place for politics. In these days sentiment has greatly changed, and from many pulpits our duties as citizens are expounded, and not infrequently we are advised that some political party or candidate for office stands for righteousness and that all good citizens should support the party or vote for the candidate.

Somewhat more faintly we still hear the old injunction, "The Church should preach the gospel and the gospel only," and under that plea there lies a truth, seldom clearly expressed and often entirely obscured. The difference of opinion is chiefly due to failure to distinguish the temporal from the eternal. Candidates for office, here to-day and gone to-morrow, details of administration, expediencies of legislation—these are unmoral, transitory, temporal. The laws of God are eternal. It is man's duty to discover and obey them. To fail brings punishment, swift and sure, upon us and upon our children, unto the third and fourth generation.

The laws of God that govern the world of men are part of the gospel, part of the good news that this world is wide enough and rich enough for all mankind. If the Church preaches this gospel there will be wrath in the hearts of some who sit in high places and heap to themselves riches they have not earned, and of those who have the wish without the power. But those who have a sense, however vague, of social wrong will flock to hear the message.

#### WHAT ARE SOCIAL PROBLEMS?

We ask: "What are Social Problems?" The Lord's Prayer gives us the answer and at the same time points to their solution. "Our Father who art in Heaven. . . . Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." It is His will that His kingdom shall come to bless us all, that His will be done for the good of us all. Whatsoever holds back the coming of His kingdom and hinders the doing of His will, is a Social Problem. The foundation on which we must stand in every attempt to solve these problems is clearly put before us in this prayer, taught us by our Lord Himself. "Our Father," He bade us pray—"Our Father." God is our Father. All men are brothers, equal sharers in his spiritual gifts, equally entitled to his earthly bounty. There is here no title to privilege, no warrant for coercion. To justify a resort to force even in defense of life we are obliged to turn

from the gospel to what is called the first law of nature, self-preservation.

#### DIFFERENT KINDS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

There are two kinds of Social Problems. Those which depend primarily upon anarchistic methods for their solution, and those which must be solved by society acting through organized government. The two, however, must act and react upon each other. Some unjust laws produce economic results which no individual effort can counteract, and without individual effort we cannot have just laws. When the anarchistic, that is the peaceful, voluntary, cooperative method will suffice, we should never resort to law. Laws do not enforce themselves and have little educative value. I will give you an illustration of my meaning. We all object to advertising which disfigures beautiful scenery, and legislation has been sought to cure the evil. I am told that very much has been done in England without law. A society has been formed which has a very large membership, so large that it must be respectable. When any member complains of an advertisement to the secretary, the complaint is investigated, and if well founded the secretary notifies the advertiser that the society deems the advertisement offensive, and unless it is removed the matter will be laid before all the members. The withdrawal of the society's patronage is sufficiently feared to make its protests uniformly effective.

You will see at once that such a society is a tremendous lesson in brotherhood to all the members, and at the same time educates their taste. These benefits no law could impart.

It is only through legislation, however, that we can deal with the legal devices by which wealth is diverted from the producers to the owners of privilege. These are the great Social Problems. Until these are solved our puny efforts to eradicate vice and crimes of violence are futile. Yet these problems are called by some of our wise editors, "economic questions," which must not be made the sport of politics. When they are discussed in our pulpits the sermons are called "political," and the preachers are bidden to preach the gospel and the gospel only.

These great questions are being studied and discussed as never before. Too few of the leaders of the Church are prominent in the work. It is not too late for the Church to lead; but if it does not, if it blocks the wheels of justice, the members of the Church will be responsible for setting up another barrier between mankind and the

blessings the Church was founded to bestow.

#### THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHURCH HAVE PRÉVAILED.

In time past the Church organization has again and again conserved unrighteous institutions and protected wrongdoers, as in France before the Revolution, in this country before the Civil War, and in Russia to-day. Yet despite the frequent failure of many Church dignitaries to condemn legalized injustice and wrong, the divine principles of the Church have mightily prevailed.

The great truth of the gospel that all men are brethren and therefore all are created equal, now, thank God, imbedded in our Declaration of Independence, has been responsible for the abolition of slavery in all Christian lands.

The early fathers of the Church urged masters to free their slaves. \*Hermes, Prefect of Rome under Trajan, embraced Christianity with his wife, children and 1,250 slaves, whom he freed on the day of their baptism, Easter day, with ample

\* Enc. of Social Reform.

assistance to enable them to gain a livelihood. He himself afterward suffered martyrdom with Bishop Alexander, who had been the means of his conversion. . . . Ovinius, a French martyr, freed 5,000 slaves."

In one country after another slavery died out or was abolished by law. In many cases men were moved to free their slaves voluntarily, and the reason was beautifully given by the Count of Valois, who in the Fourteenth Century freed his serfs with these words: "As the human creature who has been formed in the image of our Lord ought to be free by natural right, . . . let these men and women be free."

The Church not only presented the principles of equality in her daily services, but exemplified them in her own practice. She was the one great democratic institution of the early centuries and the Middle Ages. The clerical order was the one profession in which it was possible for the humblest to rise to the highest place.

#### OUR PRESENT DUTY.

The simple principle the Church has given us of equal natural rights is sufficient to solve all problems now, just as it availed to abolish slavery in the past; but we shall solve no problems without a fervent love for our fellow-men and a thirst for righteousness.

God's beneficent laws bring home to us day by day our own personal responsibility for crime, poverty and sickness. It is charged that at the last election there were crimes against the franchise, and we know that men were assaulted, maimed and killed. Their

blood is on our heads and we must pay the penalty. Some men may be convicted of bribery and intimidation and their lives ruined by terms in prison. You and I are responsible for the corruption of the franchise, for the contamination of perjury and fraud. You and I have spoiled the lives of those men who must waste their days in jail.

We have failed to make the use of money in elections difficult by a Corrupt Practice Act, for which there have been good models these many years. We have failed to use approved means for ascertaining the people's will through simpler and safer methods of voting. We cumber our ballots with so many offices to be filled that we need the services of professional politicians to do our nominating for us. We offer hundreds of millions of dollars of the people's property to be struggled for as prizes of success at the polls. We have made the school which has taught the political worker that it is right to bribe and intimidate. We send a few men to prison, and say: "The guilty are punished." The most guilty will never suffer arrest. The most guilty are those who know the most, for the measure of knowledge is the measure of responsibility; but they will pay the penalty. We must all pay the penalty, for we are members one of another, and God is not mocked.

There are poverty, dirt and disease in sweat shops and tenements, and the moral and physical contagion surely invades the homes of the rich and clean.

The attitude of the Church toward Social Problems must be this. The Church must say to each one of us: "Thou art the man."

#### HOW IS OUR DUTY TO BE DONE?

We cannot all have expert knowledge of all questions. Indeed, only a few can know a great deal about even one function of government; but we can all hold fast to the Church's principle of equality and brotherhood, and test all questions by that principle.

It is important and very desirable that we should all do some serious reading, and study what has been done in other cities, States and countries. They have something to learn from us and we have much to learn from them. Reading and study of what other men have thought and accomplished is of little worth, however, unless we think ourselves, and thought is the hardest work in the world and that which pays the best.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, on his return from Europe the other day, gave us an application of the Christian principle of brotherhood. He said: "Whatever is increased in value by the increase of

population of a city, should belong to a city." That is a true thought and one that should be pondered well.

We have been so solicitous to protect "mine and thine" that we have neglected "ours." If we conserve "our property" we shall make long strides toward a better protection of "mine and thine." It is not to be forgotten that the law of life is "service for service." If anyone gets something for nothing, some of us, or all of us, are robbed; and he who appears to profit, suffers most of all. When no one receives more than he gives, we shall have realized that great principle which should find a place in every program of social betterment. Upon this principle the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor is based, and it is thus expressed in the Association's platform:

When the divinely intended, opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.

The prayer of faith is a mighty force, and all these things shall be added unto us when the whole Church shall pray the petition of our "Litany for Society" said to-night:

Help us and all humanity so unreservedly to acknowledge Thy social law that all society may rise to that supreme ideal which Thou didst give to earth when the Eternal Word was clothed with the life of man.

#### THE REAPER.

With apologies to Longfellow, recommending that he also apologize.

#### For The Public.

There is a Reaper whose name is Debt,  
And, after plunder keen,  
He gleans the farm and shop in his net,  
And the fools that grope between.

"Shall I do aught that is fair," said he,  
"To the toiler and grower of grain?  
The clip of the coupon is sweet to me,  
So I'll raise the rate again."

He gazed at the fools—poor, silly wights,  
As John D. heaps their sheaves.  
(It is for that Lord of Parasites  
He them of their wealth relieves.)

"My Lord hath need of these fools' small pay,"

The Reaper said, and smiled;  
He smiled because he saw how they  
Were easily beguiled.

"They all shall go to fields of light,  
When John collects his tolls.  
His Sunday School shall lead them right,  
And leave naught but their souls."

And mothers gave to shop and dive  
The buds their love doth need,  
For fools agree that some must live  
As slaves to lust and greed.

It was in fear of prison locks  
The Reaper fled one day,  
For Demos came with ballot box  
And coaxed the fools away.

C. F. HUNT.

"Harry, did you not hear your mother calling you?"

"Course I did."

"Then why don't you go to her?"

"She's nervous. If I should go too quick, she'd drop dead," and Harry went on with his playing as if nothing disturbed his mind.—Albany (N. Y.) Journal.

## BOOKS

### MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

**The City the Hope of Democracy.** By Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D., author of "Taxation and Taxes in the United States Under the Internal Revenue System." New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, \$1.50 net. Sold by The Public Publishing Co.

The work of a scholar who is also a practical man of extensive experience in civic affairs and a fundamental democrat.

Municipal reformers usually seek only enough reform to prevent vulgar grafting. They are plutocrats, or aristocrats, not democrats. But Mr. Howe is no longer that kind of a municipal reformer. "From belief in a business man's government" he has "come to a belief in a people's government;" and "from a conviction that we have too much democracy" he has "come to the conviction that we have too little democracy." A study of history has forced him "to the realization that the progress of civilization has been a constant struggle of liberty against privilege;" and personal study of municipal conditions, both in this country and abroad together with several years of actual political experience in the administration of the city of Cleveland, has forced him to believe that democracy has not failed by its own inherent weakness so much as by virtue of the privileged interests which have taken possession of our institutions for their own enrichment."

Mr. Howe finds as a matter of fact that "we nowhere have a democratic government;" that what "we really have is government by special privileges and big business men." Our cities are really not governed even by political bosses; these "are but representatives of privileged interests." The demand of the municipal reformer for "a business men's government" is unnecessary; because "we already have a business men's government, supplied through the agency of the boss."

The city is considered by Mr. Howe in this study of democracy, not alone because he knows the city, but also because we have entered upon "an urban age." The coming of the city "has destroyed a rural society" and "turned to scrap many of our established ideas."—a revolutionary change which makes every American city a democratic ex-

periment station and the city as the type of social life the hope of democracy.

And what is a city? It is not "a lot of cross streets on which houses are built," even "though paving is laid in these streets, and sewers are made," and "people live in the houses and move through the churches and theaters." We might as well call a world's fair a city. "But when within this human group, out of its common interest and common need, conscience is born and responsibility awakened; when will power and intelligence are civic forces, focussing on a united purpose and a definite ideal; when in addition to self-consciousness and family-consciousness there arises a city-consciousness, that instinct which is willingness to struggle for the common weal, and suffer for the common woe—then, and not until then, does the city spring into life."

On the question of city functions versus individual functions, Mr. Howe correctly draws the line at necessary monopoly. "Whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly, especially where it offers a service of universal use." It is to disregard of this principle and to tax evasions that he traces municipal corruption. While he concedes that "franchises and tax evasions do not explain all of the corruption of our cities," he insists that they do explain "the organized, systematized corruption," the rest being "unorganized, miscellaneous, occasional."

Home rule is another subject to which Mr. Howe gives special attention. He advocates the divorce of the city from the state for all the purposes of local affairs. One phase of his argument will doubtless surprise persons who think of municipal home rule as an innovation. "Home rule," says Mr. Howe, "is but an attempt to regain those powers which the State has assumed, but which were originally enjoyed by the local community." It "aims to reclaim to the city," he continues, "those functions of government which passed into the hands of the State at a time when the city was coming into existence, or which have been assumed by the State at the demand of the boss or the party."

It is gratifying to find so profound and practical a student of city life, frankly saying what most other writers are either too dull to notice or too discreet to mention, that "the housing problem" is due not to geographical peculiarities, but to exorbitant land values forcing inordinate economy in space; and that ultimate relief can be secured by reducing land values and increasing house accommodations, through the "taxation of land values and the abandonment of all taxes upon buildings and improvements."

This method of taxation is expressly advocated in the chapter on "The City's Treasure," in which the city itself is described as a wealth producer.

"Every city in the land is built upon a treasure like unto that which underlies the Colorado town whose revenues are all derived from royalties from the mines upon which it is built. The progressive needs of the municipality have a ready-made mine of treasure, a mine which needs only to be opened to satisfy the demands of city expansion without cost to the dwellers therein. This revenue renews itself from year to year. . . . Nowhere does the advance in population, in law and order, in comfort, commerce and the opportunities which the city offers, manifest itself so palpably as in the upward movement of land values, the treasure of the city. . . . No act of the owner creates this value. Nothing which he can do will either increase or diminish it. . . . This municipal treasure, this unearned increment, may now be measured. It is colossal. . . . All other wealth is the product of human labor. This value alone is a surplus value. . . . It is this growing fund, this unearned increment, which exists by virtue of the city and could not exist without it, that offers a ready-made source of revenue for municipal purposes."

Guided by his first principle, that more and not less democracy is the need of the city, Mr. Howe dissects all the general phases of city government and produces a book that will not only enlighten the student and assist the conscientious legislator, but which in fact mirrors a changing social order whose forward motion is but just beginning to be felt. What may be expected can hardly be better expressed than in Mr. Howe's concluding words: "With home rule secured, with popular control obtained, with the city free to determine what activities it will undertake, and what shall be its sources of revenue, then the city will be consciously allied to definite ideals, and the new civilization, which is the hope as well as the problem of democracy, will be open to realization."

#### CONSTRUCTIVE DEMOCRACY.

**Constructive Democracy; the Economics of a Square Deal.** By William E. Smythe. New York and London. The Macmillans. Price \$1.50. Sold by the Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

A great deal of good-natured enthusiasm, a deluge of interesting facts, and some economic and political wisdom, but not much construction that is really democratic, characterize this book.

The author is a protectionist who thinks protectionism obsolete, and a socialist who thinks socialism unripe. He therefore proposes, while waiting for socialism to perform the feat of making monopoly democratic, to tame monopoly by statutory regulation.

For taming railroad monopoly he advocates the Senator Newland propo-

sition of a consolidation of railroad systems under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which shall regulate the rates thereof and the taxes thereon, the latter to be a percentage of gross receipts in lieu of all other taxation. He advocates this method as a step toward government ownership.

For taming the trusts, he proposes national control of corporations engaged in inter-State commerce; "fixed taxes, preferably on gross receipts; fixed dividends on present valuation; and the retention by society of the increased earnings and values to arise in the future, such increase to be applied to better service, higher wages, lower prices."

The author's protectionism pursues him through his pages, obsolete though he declares it to be. For he would have the United States conquer the markets of the world by underselling, and yet would have us import no foreign goods. Whether he is expecting us to reduce our prices on goods abroad to zero, to take foreign land grants in payment, to run up a fabulous export balance in our trade statistics, or to get our pay as Mr. McKinley said we were getting it, in "pure gold," he does not explain.

His discussion of the "surplus man" is interesting, but his remedy is not very reassuring. "For every surplus man," he says, "there is a surplus place;" and his problem is simply "to find the surplus place." In his search for this he excites hopes of his having something both practical and effective in his mind, when he observes that "while a new man comes into the world every minute, not a single new acre of land will be created in ages." This should suggest the advisability of doing something to free the millions upon millions of acres, in farming regions, mineral regions and cities, now held in the grasp of monopoly. Here there might soon be an abundance of surplus places for surplus men. But no. It never occurs to him to release these forestalled acres. He is so enamored of monopoly that the idea of abolishing it gets no lodgment in his mind. Yet he does appreciate the value of the irrigation policy in delivering "future millions from the yoke of water monopoly." But he does not appreciate it sufficiently to realize that there will be no substantial relief from that monopoly for anybody but desert land owners. It will not permanently increase wages.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

**The Industrial Problem.** Being the William Levi Bull Lectures for the Year 1905. By Lyman Abbott. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.

Like rich fruit cake, Lyman Abbott's writings are usually a delight-

ful mess of good things, and his recent lectures on the industrial problem are no exception. They overflow with facts, historical and contemporary, all daintily handled with the lightest of light literary touches. You could read them by the hour without weariness. But not one controlling principle, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, reveals its presence if any is present. There is so little regard for the relationship and influences of natural law, such amazing heterogeneity, that the lectures would be exasperating if the heterogeneity were not kaleidoscopically beautiful.

These lectures were delivered before the Philadelphia Divinity School under an endowment by the Rev. William L. Bull of a Lectureship on Christian Sociology. They are four in number: The Industrial Problem; The Political Solution, Regulation; The Economic Solution, Reorganization; and the Ethical Solution, Regeneration. Although Dr. Abbott disclaims socialism, his philosophy as indicated by these lectures, so far as any consistent philosophy can be inferred, is essentially that of scientific socialism plus an infusion of Christian ethics.

#### THE LAW OF NON-RESISTANCE.

**The Freedom of Life.** By Annie Payson Call. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. Price, \$1.25 net; postpaid, \$1.35.

Few there are who have not on one occasion or another felt the clarifying and compelling power of non-resistance; but the law of this wonderful force is hardly recognized by most of us, though we may have observed and experienced its magical effects. That there is such a law, as immutable as

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the most familiar physical laws, one can hardly deny after reading Annie Payson Call's "The Freedom of Life."

Any adequate explanation of this book would be impossible short of reproducing the book entire. It is brief, serious and wholesome; and unlike so many books answering to that description it touches the springs of human interest and is very readable. We find that in marking passages for suggestive quotation while reading it for review, we have selected above 50 as especially valuable, so replete is the book with striking thoughts happily expressed. We have space only for these:

The only non-resistance that brings this power is the kind which yields mere personal and selfish considerations for the sake of principles. Concentration does not mean straining every nerve and muscle toward our work—it means dropping everything that interferes. Stage fright is an intense form of self-consciousness, but the man who is incapable of stage fright lacks the sensitive temperament required to achieve great power as an artist. . . . The strength of will it takes to attain an habitual attitude of wholesome non-resistance is far beyond the strength of will required to resist unwholesomeness. . . . If we are alive to our own true freedom, we should have an active interest in the necessary warfare of life—not of persons but of principles—and every man who loves his freedom loves to be in the midst of the battle. . . . If we want to do right and the other man wants us to do wrong, we must pass by his will, pass under it or over it, but never on any account resist it. . . . No one need be afraid of losing all backbone and becoming a "mush of concession" through the process of dropping useless resistance, for the strength of will required to free ourselves from the habit of putting one's own will

against that of another is much greater than the strength we use when we indulge the habit. . . . The surest and strongest basis of friendship is a common devotion to the same fundamental principles of life; and this insures reciprocal usefulness. . . . If I repress the expression of irritability, anger, hatred, or any other form of evil, it is there, in my brain, just the same; and, in one form or another, I am in bondage to it. . . . If a circumstance which is atrociously wrong in itself makes us indignant, the first thing to do is to drop the resistance of our indignation, and then to do whatever may be within our power to prevent the continuance of such wrong. . . . There is no real revelation for any one until he has lived what he sees to be true. . . . A man's true character depends upon his real, interior motives; he is only what his motives are, and not, necessarily, what his motives appear to be. . . . We should not want our children to be naughty, but we should be willing that they should be; we should drop resistance to their naughty-

### ALL READERS SHOULD NOTE THIS

All who have not already done so are urged to note carefully the announcement (on the third advertising page of this issue) of our new circular of **Clubbing Offers for the Season of 1905-06**, to write at once (postal card will do) for copies of this circular, and to ask us to send copies to their neighbors, acquaintances, and others who do not now read THE PUBLIC, but might be inclined to. We shall be glad to send this circular to any addresses suggested.

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the non-resistance of indifference or indolence, but of activity and intelligence; and the secret of the power lies in the clarity of vision, and the strength of muscle and mind, that come from willingness to fail, willingness to be despised, willingness even that evil should raise its head if it must. If you run for a train, be willing to lose it and the consequent nervous relaxation will free your muscles to run the faster. If you are to act in a play or to make a speech, be willing to fail, and your dramatic or oratorical powers will be released from the nervous tension that spells failure from the start. If your friend is unjust and bitter, be willing that he should be so, and you will have no blinding anger of your own to weaken your mental powers and dull your sense of justice. So runs the theme of the book through the whole gamut of human experience—daily toil, restful sleep, bashfulness, sympathy, independence, self-control, religion and motherhood. In every relation the greatest power is rationally shown to come from intelligent obedience to the Scriptural injunctions, "Resist not evil" but "overcome evil with good."

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

—Percy Bysshe Shelley, Poet and Pioneer. By Henry S. Salt. London: Arthur C. Fifield. To be reviewed.

—Advanced Civics. The Spirit, the Form and the Functions of the American Government. By S. E. Forman, Ph. D. New York. The Century Co. To be reviewed.

—Phantastes. A Faerie Romance for Men and Women. By George MacDonald. A new edition edited by Greville MacDonald. London: Arthur C. Fifield. To be reviewed.

—The Year's Horoscope, by Ethel Wheeler; Flowers from Upland and Valley, by Elizabeth Gibson; and Sayings of Tolstoy. London: A. C. Fifield.—Booklet substitutes for Christmas cards.

—The Evolution of Modern Liberty. By George L. Scherger, Ph. D. Professor of History, Armour Institute of Technology. New York, London and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. To be reviewed.

—From Servitude to Service. Being the Old South lectures on the History and Work of Southern Institutions for the Education of the Negro. Boston: American Unitarian Association. Price, \$1.10 net. To be reviewed.

—The Menace of Privilege: A Study of the Dangers to the Republic from the Existence of a Favored Class. By Henry George, Jr. New York and London. The Macmillans. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. To be reviewed.

—The Springfield Republican has begun a series of articles by Charles F. Dole, on The Spirit of Democracy, the first installment of which gives promise of the best production yet from the pen of this whole-hearted and truly sane democrat.

—Science and Revolution. By Ernest Untermann. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. Price, 50 cents.—A study in human evolution by a lucid writer who investigates by the methods of historical materialism and writes as "a proletarian and a socialist."

—The Science of Symbols; setting forth the true reason for Symbolism and Ritual.

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of the nation," said Dr. Gladden, "has been honestly come by." Many of us must, of course, take issue with him on this point unless by "honesty" Dr. Gladden means "according to law." He says further that "it is of the utmost consequence that the distinction be kept clear between lawless wealth and law-abiding wealth." This is all right on the face; but another distinction intrudes. Those who come by wealth may be putting through, or supporting or acquiescing in the laws that prevent a distribution of wealth according to honest earning. If Dr. Gladden had used the word honestly "earned," instead of "come by," the point would show up better.—J. H. D.

Lloyd Osbourne, the stepson of Robert Louis Stevenson, and collaborator with him in several of his most popular works, has contributed to the Red Book (Chicago), for December, a remarkable story, "The Renegade," which deals with the conditions that led up to the taking over of the Samoan islands by the three great powers. It ranks as a strong story in the delineation of the transition of its principal character from a reckless spendthrift American to an industrious and thrifty Samoan Islander; but it will attract attention principally for its political significance. Osbourne, who lived with his stepfather in Samoa for many years, and was conversant with the conditions that existed prior to and during the period of the partition of the islands, makes a frank analysis of this readjustment, in the later phases of which the United States took part in a manner that lost for us the friendship and confidence of the natives. The former American sailor and his native wife were despoiled of the fruits of their three years of hard labor. His house was burned, his crops destroyed, and his farm animals killed. The destruction was committed under the direction of an American naval officer with a company of English and American sailors, and an incident of the attack on his property was the tearing down and trampling in the mud, in full view of the American naval officer, of his American flag, in which he had educated his wife to believe as a protecting symbol. Outraged by this event, the "renegade" picked up the soiled flag and slowly tore it to pieces. Then he and his wife began fighting in the cause of the natives. This story is believed to be one of the best of Osbourne's short stories. It was refused in its original form—the form in which it now appears—by the editors of several of the largest magazines of the country. They wanted to make it less humiliating to American pride. But the author refused to allow it to be tinkered with.

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