

496 24 1908

The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR
ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Massachusetts
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island
HENRY F. RING, Texas
WILLIAM H. FLEMING, Georgia
HERBERT S. BIGSLOW, Ohio
FREDERIC G. HOWE, Ohio
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York
ROBERT BAKER, New York
BOLTON HALL, New York
FRANCIS I. DU PONT, Delaware
HERBERT QUICK, Iowa
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois
R. F. PETTIORNO, South Dakota
LEWIS H. BERENS, England
J. W. S. GALLIE, England
JOSEPH FELS, England
JOHN PAUL, Scotland
MAX HIRSCH, Australia
GEORGE FOWLES, New Zealand

Vol. XI CHICAGO, FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1908. No. 528

Published by LOUIS F. POST
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago.

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Ohio Politics.....145
 George Fred Williams.....146
 The Paper Tariff Investigation.....146
 Mind-healers in Business.....146
 Child Labor in the South.....146
 Postal Outlawry.....147
 A New Postal Offense.....147
 Legal Limitations upon the Use of Language.....147
 Deport the Cause, Not an Effect.....149
 Arbitrary Arrests.....149
 The New York Traction Fight.....149
 "Good" Men Not "Half Bad".....151
 Industrial Education.....151
 An Erroneous Allusion.....151
 Death of Juan Tejada.....151
 What Is Cheap Labor? (H. H. Hardinge).....152

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

On the Promotion of Race Antipathy. (Jas. F. Morton, Jr.).....153

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Ohio Democrats.....155
 The Illinois Prohibitionists.....156
 Presidential Politics.....156
 The Socialist Party Convention.....156
 The Cleveland Traction Strike.....157
 San Francisco Welcomes the Atlantic-Pacific Fleet.....157
 Old Age Pensions in Great Britain.....157
 The Douma Debates the Jewish Question.....158
 News Notes.....158
 Press Opinions.....159

RELATED THINGS:

A Negro Invocation. (Leslie Pinckney Hill).....160
 Some of Dobbs's Thinks. (Jackson Biggles).....161
 The Fleet. (E. V. Cooke).....162
 Echoes from Oregon. (F. C. Denton).....163

BOOKS:

Dr. Funk on "The Second Coming".....163
 Social Reform Upon a Scientific Basis.....164
 A "Big Business" Satire.....164
 Pamphlets.....164
 Periodicals.....165

Ohio Politics.

We are told that Tom L. Johnson wears his usual good natured smile after his defeat at the Ohio convention last week; but we suspect, although the Cleveland mayor has a large capacity for smiling in defeat, that this smile is much more a smile of satisfaction than of good natured endurance. At any rate we fail to find any very convincing evidence of his defeat.



It is true that Atlee Pomerene, Johnson's candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, was defeated by Judson Harmon. But Mr. Harmon was nominated by a majority which numbered less than the delegation from Cincinnati where he lives—a delegation controlled by Mr. Bernard, who is "Boss" Cox's Democratic coadjutor. Through this contest, in which he secured so large a vote, Mr. Pomerene has come into the forefront of Ohio politics as a democratic Democrat from the ground up. How then can he be said to have suffered defeat personally, or Johnson through him? The world does not come to an end in Ohio with this campaign: democratic Democracy will still go marching on, there as elsewhere. And how can their cause be said to have suffered defeat when Mr. Pomerene's principles, which are also Mayor Johnson's, are so firmly embedded in the party platform?



With his candidate for governor securely en-

trenched in radical leadership—more so than he might have been if nominated at this time; with strict instructions for Bryan, against the advice of the Cincinnati Enquirer which supported Harmon; with himself at the head of the Ohio delegation; with a platform demanding the initiative and referendum, direct primary laws, home rule in cities and villages, taxation of community values, the abolition of government by injunction, an eight hour day for workingmen, and protection for child labor, and asserting as the underlying principle that the products of labor belong to the laborer; and with nothing against him but the nomination this time of reactionary candidates—in those circumstances why shouldn't Tom L. Johnson smile? How could he help it? This is a long way to have traveled in the direction of democratic Democracy in eight short years. When he began his work in Ohio the whole State was in the grasp of plutocracy. To-day his own city is redeemed and working out its full salvation, while the rest of the State is tied to the old regime by a thread so slender that it may snap at the very next trial of strength. Wouldn't Mr. Johnson have to be a much less cheerful man than he is if in these circumstances he didn't smile?

* *

George Fred Williams.

The democratic Democrats of Massachusetts are to be congratulated no less than their leader upon the triumph in the party organization of George Fred Williams. This event marks the end, let us hope, of the long struggle for supremacy in the Democratic party in Massachusetts between Williams and those plutocratic Democrats to whom democratic principles are no more than scrap iron to a junk dealer. It has been a long fight and a hard fight; and George Fred Williams has done his part, with skill against great odds and with patience in the face of exasperating conditions. We trust that all the democratic Democrats of Massachusetts will begin now to realize the bunco game into which many of them have been inveigled by gold-brick leadership. Whether these have a liking for George Fred Williams or not, it is full time they should begin to see, what has long been evident to outside observers, that his is the only hard hitting and unyielding leadership of democratic Democracy of which their State can boast.

* *

The Paper Tariff Investigation.

There is a committee of Congress which is circularizing the country with reference to the tariff

on wood pulp and paper. The good faith of its inquiry may be inferred from the principal question, which asks whether the person responding would advise the immediate removal of this tariff, regardless of the hours of labor, wages paid, and labor employed in the pulp and paper industry. That question is like the noted trick question to which a categorical answer was demanded of a perfectly honest and reputable man,—“Have you stopped stealing?” To answer Yes, is to assume an attitude of indifference to the interests of hard working men; to answer No, is to favor continuance of the tariff. The fact is, of course, that this tariff does not add a penny to the wages nor deduct a minute from the working hours of the labor employed in making paper. It simply gives a “rake-off” to the monopolists who control the trade. Labor in the paper and paper-pulp industry would be better paid and get shorter hours if the trade were not monopolized and the price of paper were consequently cheaper. Cheaper paper means more demand for paper, and more demand for paper means more demand for labor at paper-making. This is the only condition that can raise wages or shorten hours in the paper industry. Incidentally it would tend to raise wages in every industry using paper; for the cheaper the paper the more of it these industries would be called upon to use and the more labor they would therefore have to employ.

* *

Mind-Healers in Business.

They have started a mind healing cult for the improvement of business down St. Louis way, and a committee of “healers” has waited upon the President. This cult expects to cure the hard times disease by constantly thinking and urging its dupes to think that times are good. “Confidence” these “healers” call it, and confidence it surely is—a confidence game. Their mission to the President was to bespeak his good offices in doing nothing to “hoodoo” their charm. They say they want to be let alone. Verily, are they not wise in their generation?

* *

Child Labor in the South.

The address of Miss Jean M. Gordon, factory inspector at New Orleans, made at the charities conference at Richmond last week, is a revelation of race tendencies under capitalistic injustice which should arouse the South to the presence in its midst of a white problem infinitely more menacing than its traditional black problem. In

her experience as a factory inspector, Miss Gordon says she has never found a Jew or a Negro child in a mill, factory, or department store in Louisiana. They are at school, she explains, being well nourished, playing out in the glorious Southern sunlight, waxing strong and fat. "It is only your little white faced, shrunken chested, curved back white Christians," she goes on, "who are in the mills and department stores at New Orleans." Of Negro children Miss Gordon's observations could probably be repeated throughout the factory regions of the South. The race prejudice which excludes them from association with white children in the babies' hell of factory life, is evidently working for their good as individuals and as a race. But terrible is the price the whites will have to pay. Their exclusive opportunities for grinding the bones of their children into capitalistic dividends are, with bitter irony, reducing their race in the South to a worse slavery than that in which they once held the blacks.

* *

Postal Outlawry.

In answer to Dr. Rumely (p. 125), the Post Office Department explains its refusal to deliver the letter which the little boy in Dr. Rumely's school had written to his father and the return of it with the word "fraud" stamped upon its envelope. "It is of course manifest," runs this explanation, "that the Department has no means of discriminating between those letters pertaining to the healing business, held by the Department to be fraudulent, and those of a personal nature, such as the letter of his son to which you refer." That explanation is in itself an adequate reason for repealing the law. This law authorizes the Postmaster General to declare, in his own discretion and without right of appeal to the courts, that any man's business is fraudulent, and thereupon to refuse to deliver to him letters whose writers he might defraud. It is bad enough that any one's business should be so absolutely at the mercy of any fanatical or corrupt Postmaster General who may happen along; but if in addition everybody is to be denied postal access to his victims—their lawyers, their doctors, their creditors, their debtors, their children, their wives—because the Postmaster General cannot discriminate between letters from persons likely to be defrauded and letters from persons having personal reasons for writing them, this method of protecting the guileless is a flat failure. After all, isn't it the business of the postal department simply to transmit mail matter, and to leave

crimes and their punishment to regular processes? And hadn't it better "stick to its last"?

+ +

A New Postal Offense.

"Any anarchistic publication which contains matter that suggests, advocates or approves the abolition" of "any and all government" will be non-mailable at newspaper rates if the amendment proposed by the Senate Committee to the post office appropriation bill goes through. The Postmaster General will be empowered to decide in his own discretion what matter does suggest this anomalous offense; and the courts will have no authority to overrule him. Such a law might serve one useful purpose, however, and therein is there possibility of compensation. It might give us a political issue over the question of whether Jefferson's apothegm that "that government is best which governs least," unlawfully suggests the abolition of government; and as an outcome of this issue, the whole brood of autocratic postal exclusion laws might be swept away.

+ +

Legal Limitations Upon the Use of Language.

We are criticised by Mr. Theodore Schroeder, a New York lawyer of ability who always has the courage of his convictions, for admitting (p. 79) that some speech, merely as speech, may properly be punished. The criticism relates to our statement that there should be "criminal responsibility for speeches actually made which advise the commission of crime," "whether the crime advised be committed or not," provided that only those utterances are penalized which, though they may not actually cause the commission of the crime advised, would, if they did so, "make the utterer an accessory before the fact." We stand by that position. Indeed we see no ground for contesting it except the ground of the philosophical anarchist who would do away with coercive government altogether. To us it seems that the man who so advises another to commit a crime as to make himself an accessory before the fact if the crime be actually committed, should be criminally liable though the crime be not committed.

+

But it is true that laws making language criminal are easily abused by intolerant officials, and we quote the points that Mr. Schroeder makes in so far as they bear upon our position. His first point is that "no one should be criminally punished for any unintended results of a mere speech,

no matter what the speech is." That much we freely grant. No one should be criminally punished (cases of criminal negligence excepted) for the result of any act unless he intended that result. Intent is of the very essence of crime. Yet Mr. Schroeder's statement of the legal limitations upon speech could hardly be maintained to the extreme he urges, when he says:

"Freedom of speech," as used in our constitutions, was intended to confer upon the public generally the protection which in England theretofore had surrounded only Parliamentary speeches, and this included protection even in the advocacy of treason. I therefore conclude that "freedom of speech" means the right to utter with impunity any sentiment whatever, upon any subject whatever, that any individual may see fit to utter, being held accountable only for directly resulting material injury, or designed actually resulting criminal acts. In other words, "freedom of speech" means what the words imply, namely: That only consequence and not mere speech as such shall be punishable.

Mr. Schroeder does not quote all the usual words of the State constitutions. They are not alone "freedom of speech," but also words expressive of responsibility for the actual abuse thereof. That this does not imply the absolute freedom secured to parliamentary debate is evident from the fact that the law of libel, from which parliamentary speech is exempt, was never abrogated by our constitutions. Mr. Schroeder would appear to reject the law of criminal libel; and not only by claiming parliamentary privilege for all utterance, but also by claiming that "only consequence and not mere speech as such shall be punishable."

+

Nor do we think that Mr. Schroeder's argument makes out a case for abolishing or objecting to the enactment of laws punishing speech that is invasive of personal rights. We quote:

Our constitutions make no exception as against those advocating doctrines of evil tendency. They guarantee "freedom of speech and of press," that is, freedom of all mere utterance. It is only thus interpreted that our constitutions can protect freedom of speech as a matter of right. Anything less than this is liberty by permission, such as may be destroyed in the discretion of law makers. Liberty by permission is enjoyed in Russia, Germany and England. Liberty to speak by permission was enjoyed in America before our constitutions, and liberty as a right was sought to be established there. But it won't be if our constitutions are to be amended under the false pretense of interpretation. If we may ignore freedom of speech as a right, and admit the discretionary power to destroy the freedom to advocate crime when no crime follows, then we also admit the discretionary power to destroy the freedom to advocate anything displeasing to those in power. The constitutions make no exception for the one law not

existing for the other. Then we are back to the condition of having freedom of speech only as a matter of permission, the very thing which our constitutions sought to prevent.

This argument strikes us as fatally defective in at least one particular. If it be destructive of freedom of speech to punish advocacy of crime when the crime advocated does not result, then it must be destructive of freedom of speech to punish advocacy of crime when the crime advocated does result.

+

Mr. Schroeder's letter was originally sent to *The Outlook*. It then embodied also certain specific instances argumentatively introduced. A woman attempted suicide, induced by a melancholy song in an opera; should the singer be punished? Revival meetings induced a suicide; should the revivalist be punished for his impassioned speech? A little girl burnt her baby sister by setting her on a hot stove lid, induced by a speech of Secretary Taft quoting Dr. Parkhurst's picturesque phrase about "sitting on the lid;" should Secretary Taft and Dr. Parkhurst and the newspapers that reported them be punished? An exasperated woman exclaims, "That fellow ought to be boiled in oil;" should she be punished, although no one acted upon her advice? A clergyman in a temperance lecture wished the streets would run with blood in the struggle against the saloon and expressed a desire to go out with a gun himself; should his speech have been penalized, although no crime or injury resulted? These instances are really not very argumentative. One might reply to them by asking Mr. Schroeder if such emotional expressions ought to be penalized even if crime or injury did result? Without the criminal intent, of course they should not be. But with the criminal intent, why not punish whether the intended injury occurs or not? However, *The Outlook* made no public response to Mr. Schroeder's letter. It merely denied it publication. To that alone there could be no criticism; to publish or not to publish, was *The Outlook's* affair. But *The Outlook's* editors gave its reasons in a letter to Mr. Schroeder; and while some of these are to us unexceptionable—for instance, that "if the utterances of a public speaker are criminal in form and in intention, they must be punished,"—*The Outlook* editors made one suggestion which seems to us in the last degree dangerous to civil liberty.

+

Here is *The Outlook's* suggestion:
If the character and past utterances of a man are

such as to make it reasonably probable that he intends to make criminal recommendations, he should be prevented by law from doing so.

How prevented—in what way, by what means? Certainly not by injunction, for nothing is more clearly established as a principle of civil liberty and law than that speech and writing cannot under any circumstances be constitutionally prohibited by injunction. How, then, shall speakers of criminal purpose be restrained from public speaking? Since the courts can have no constitutional jurisdiction over unuttered utterances, there is no other way than by the arbitrary action of the police. Who, then, shall decide as to the character of the speaker? The police, for the courts may not. Who shall decide as to his former utterances, whether they were criminal and whether he uttered them? The police, for the courts may not. And pray, what protection would the man of purest character, who had never uttered a criminal word or thought a criminal thought, and whose cause was innocent though unpopular at police headquarters—what protection would there be for him? The editors of *The Outlook* say that “any other position” than the one they propose is “anarchy, pure and simple.” But what they propose is worse than anarchy. They propose police despotism, and police despotism, with all its other evils, makes the only anarchy that any one need ever fear.

* *

Deport the Cause, Not an Effect.

There is no little wisdom in the words reported from Washington as having been said there by an anarchist with reference to the deportation of anarchists: “It is not anarchists but hunger that you should deport.” There does indeed seem to be a good deal less anxiety in the House of Luxury to rid us of the House of Want, than there is to suppress irreverent persons who try to make us understand that the House of Luxury and the House of Want are related as cause and effect.

* *

Arbitrary Arrests.

It is not many years since the summary arrest without process or warrant of any person upon a bare suspicion of crime would have aroused universal indignation. But police methods patterned upon the autocratic models of continental Europe have made great headway in recent years, not only in practice among the police but in the way of chloroforming public opinion. Last week a “drummer” thought he recognized in a fellow traveler on a railway train some resemblance to

the crude newspaper portraits of a woman murderer, who may or may not be alive. He mentioned the fact to a hotel clerk in Rochester, who reported it to the police, who were too late to board the train but telegraphed the police at Syracuse, who invaded the car at midnight, forced the woman out of her berth, and then forced her off the train at Utica, where they learned that their prisoner was not the murderer at all. This information could have been obtained by the police easily without subjecting their victim to the inconvenience of breaking her journey or even the indignity of an arrest. But “it’s Russian, you know!” and nobody complains—except the almost voiceless victims. Some of these days the Russian methods our police have adopted will have become firmly enough established to open the way wide for overturning American institutions of more general importance than the rights of the friendless—institutions upon which even large minorities must depend for protection from aggressive majorities—and then we may begin to ask ourselves how the “Sons” and the “Daughters” of the American Revolution came to lose these rights which their worshipful ancestors fought for. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance, but vigilance for liberty sometimes sleeps while the flag of liberty is adored.

* *

The New York Traction Fight.

New York is now in the throes of a traction war, and Governor Hughes must in a few days choose in this connection whom he will serve. He must sign or veto a traction monopoly bill. An explanation of some of the circumstances appeared in our Editorial Correspondence last week (p. 129) over the signature of ex-Congressman Baker.

* *

The bill to which objection is made, known as the Robinson bill, has passed both houses of the legislature and been approved by Mayor McClellan. It needs now only the signature of Governor Hughes to give it the force of law. This bill is a further play into the hands of the municipal utilities interests, which won a rich victory in Chicago a year ago and are now preparing to appropriate everything here that is not too hot to handle. Detailed information may be had of the Reform Club of New York which is systematically opposing the Robinson bill.

* *

One of the Reform Club documents is a con-

troversy between Mr. Allan Robinson, the father of the bill, and Mr. Calvin Tomkins, the president of the club. Mr. Tomkins contends that the right of referendum secured in 1894 shall not be annulled; Mr. Robinson contends that it should be annulled. Mr. Tomkins contends for continuous control by the city of traction grants, through continuous right of re-entry; Mr. Robinson insists that the right of re-entry by the city should be suspended for a term of years—he declares, in other words, for long term franchises. Mr. Tomkins demands that the city build and own its subways from their inception, arguing that private capital can meet subway requirements best by investing in municipal subway bonds instead of private corporation stocks and bonds; Mr. Robinson urges on the other hand that private capital directly invested in the stocks and bonds of surface, elevated and subway roads should be relied upon for construction for a long period yet to come. From this outline of the controversy it will be seen that the object of the supporters of the Robinson bill is to fasten private franchises for public service firmly upon the people of New York, and to do so without consulting them by referendum.

✱

And that is exactly the purpose which the Robinson bill would serve. The present, or Elsborg, law requires that the privilege of construction and operation shall be sold "at public auction," provided the people shall not have determined by referendum under the law of 1894 that construction shall be by the city. But the Robinson bill strikes out the referendum proviso, and changes "shall sell at public auction" to "may sell at public auction," thereby investing the public service commission with an absolute and dangerous discretion that it does not now possess. As the commission as now constituted favors the Robinson bill, it is not difficult to guess the use it would make of its discretion on the question of public or private ownership, should it get it.

✱

The advocates of the measure are taking a referendum of their own, peculiar even if characteristic. They call public meetings to approve the bill, intending to exploit them as evidence of public sentiment; and yet they forbid every expression of contrary opinion at these meetings. Here is an example as reported by the New York Herald of the 7th:

Disruption of a meeting amid shouting, hissing

and calls by the chairman for police interference resulted in Lyric Hall last night, when a greater part of the audience rose in rebellion against the chairman, Daniel Daly, presiding at a meeting of Ninth ward property holders to urge the immediate extension of Sixth and Seventh avenues, and the building of the Seventh avenue subway. . . . Robert Baker, former Representative in Congress from Brooklyn, was on the floor shouting defiance, with a policeman standing at his elbow, when the chairman and speakers left the building. C. C. Hickok, manager and organizer of the meeting, had ordered Mr. Baker out of the building and urged the policeman to arrest him, but finally had to slip away himself to escape the anger of the shouting men and women who threateningly surrounded him. . . . A resolution had been read demanding immediate action.

"Mr. Chairman, I wish to speak on the resolution," cried L. S. Bedford. "Do you wish to speak in favor of it?" the chairman demanded. "That makes no difference," Bedford cried; "this is a public meeting called to consider this project." "This is a meeting of those interested in its success," the chairman said, "and no one will be allowed to speak in opposition." Bedford said he did favor the project, but he no sooner got on the platform than he cried: "I favor building the Seventh avenue subway, but I do not agree with Senator Cantor, who seems to favor the Robinson bill." "You are out of order. Take your seat. I shall not let you talk," Daly said. Daly called a policeman to the platform but Bedford continued to talk and began to read his resolution as the policeman walked down the aisle. Once on the platform the policeman did not obey Daly's order to take Bedford away, but stood holding him while the speaker continued reading. "Is this a public meeting?" Representative Baker demanded, rising in his seat in the rear of the room. "I rise to a point of order." "Take your seat," Chairman Daly shouted; "you are out of order. I will not hear you." "I insist on a categorical answer," Baker demanded; "you have had your day and now we are going to have ours." "I will not listen to you," said Daly; "get out of here or I shall have you put out." "You can't and you won't," Baker defied him. "Put that man out," cried C. C. Hickok, leaving the stage and pointing out Baker to a policeman as he walked down the aisle. The policeman went to Baker's side, but made no attempt to arrest him. A crowd of two hundred men and a dozen women pressed about Hickok with threatening demonstrations and he walked away, while Baker and Bedford walked out with a cheering crowd surging around them. Mr. Daly put some motion, but it was lost in the noise. He and the men with him on the stage put on their coats and left.

✱

The Robinson bill is clearly reactionary. It recedes from the referendum, and would turn the city wholly back to private ownership and its methods of plunder, speculation and corruption. Governor Hughes' decision on the question of vetoing this bill will be more indicative of the man than any other of his public acts,

"Good" Men Not "Half Bad."

Mr. William C. Whitney used to carry stocks on margin for prominent politicians, giving them the profit if the stocks rose and standing the loss if the stocks fell. This is one of the simplest masks for bribery, the politicians "earning" their bribes by getting public franchises for the bribers—Mr. Whitney's group in this instance. The facts have been divulged by Mr. H. H. Vreeland, president of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company of New York, who was one of the Whitney group, and who corroborates Mr. Ryan's testimony as to the use of half a million of their "swag" to defeat William J. Bryan, whom they feared. It is in the face of such revelations that the proposal is calmly made to divest franchise giving in New York of the protection it now has from referendum requirements. But only "good" men are now engaged in the public utilities business, we are assured. Well, William C. Whitney was a "good" man in those stock-carrying days. They are all "good" men—until they are exposed. Even then the remaining "good" men consider the exposed ones as not "half bad."

* *

Industrial Education.

Probably every one who has thought upon the subject favors industrial education; but it is doubtful if many appreciate the point at issue between contending factions in the industrial education movement. Yet the issue is a simple one. It is whether the public school systems of this country shall educate intelligent and useful citizens by means in part of industrial training, or whether they shall by that means become an agency for flooding the labor market with uneducated youth skilled in narrow mechanical specialties. As a labor unionist might define the issue, it is whether the public schools shall give children a broad industrial education, or merely supply local factories with good enough material for strike breakers. And his definition would be in substance correct.

*

There is significance in the fact that school boards favor the narrow specializing that would flood the labor market, whereas educators favor a broad industrial apprehension and knowledge, as distinguished from mere skill in narrow specialties. As a rule, however, school boards are cautious about making their class preference known. But there is no such caution in the make-up of James W. Van Cleave of the National Association of Manufacturers. In an interview in the

Chicago Inter-Ocean of the 11th—probably received from the New York Sun—Mr. Van Cleave tells with much frankness how his organization expects to overthrow labor organizations by means of this subversion of the public school system. Listen to him:

Right at our hand is an opportunity to raise up more and better mechanics than the apprenticeship system ever furnished, namely by attaching a manual training department to every public school of the primary grade in the United States. In this department let every boy from the age of 9 or 10, to 14, give an hour every school day to the use of tools employed in the more important mechanical trades, under competent instructors, and make the attendance compulsory on each boy.

It is usual to advocate industrial training in the interest of the boy, though with only more or less candor. Mr. Van Cleave advocates it candidly in the interest of organized employers. If every business man were as candid, the public would have a better understanding of the motives which have impelled business organizations of late to take an exceptional interest in the public school system.

* *

An Erroneous Allusion.

In an editorial on the present hard times (p. 77) which appeared three weeks ago, we spoke of the discharge of mill hands in New England by scores of thousands. The allusion was to the wholesale reductions of wages reported by the press dispatches (p. 39) and should have read: "Over against this perfunctory optimism we find as a hard fact that mill hands by scores of thousands are having their wages reduced in New England."

* *

Death of Juan Tejada.

In the East and in Cuba the name of Juan de Dios Tejada, who has just died after a long and painful illness, was well known to a wide circle which included a great many followers of Henry George. An engineer by profession, he had made several inventions, one of which, a system for the utilization of power and heat from highly explosive substances, is said to give great promise of achievement. A few years ago he received a gold medal from the Academy of Inventors at Paris for his works on calcium carbide and its applications as acetylene gas. He was a member of the American Society of Engineers, of the Smithsonian Institution and of the Geographical Society. But he was not so abjectly wedded to material progress as to be indifferent to economic adjustments and industrial morality. He

was a fervent single taxer, thoroughly conversant with the subject both on its fiscal side and in its ethical aspects. Those who knew him personally would doubtless say of him that he would have his name remembered rather for what he did to propagate the doctrines of Henry George than for any other service to his kind.

* * *

WHAT IS CHEAP LABOR?

"Cheap labor" is a term that circulates as widely as "sound money," and with a certain stripe of patriots is almost as popular. But what is it?

Is it the man who works for the smallest amount of money per day, or is it the man who produces the most wealth and gets the least of it?

Which is the cheapest, measured by any scale or standard you wish to use? Which is the cheapest to himself, his employer, or the country in which he lives? Is it the man lowest down in the scale of intelligence and education, unskilled in craft, art or science, whose labor parallels that of the mule or any other beast of burden in its limited productiveness, and who produces so little that it takes nearly his whole product to keep him alive and at work?

Just how cheap this man is, was shown by chattel slavery, where several hundred slaves and a thousand-acre plantation were necessary to keep one white family in comfort and luxury. Where, under such a state of society, could you find a single millionaire, to say nothing of several thousand of them as in America to-day?

Verily, these are not cheap laborers. They do not produce enough surplus wealth to warrant calling them cheap.

The cheapest laborers in the world are the best and most efficient, not the worst and least competent. Not the man who comes nearest to being an animal, but the animal who comes nearest to being a man. It is the skilled, educated, inventive, ingenious, resourceful laborer who is by long odds the cheapest laborer in the world. The man who produces the most wealth and gets the smallest per cent of it, this is the cheapest man, incomparably so. It is the man who kneads into his muscular activities the most gray matter; this is the quality of man who more than any other makes the millionaire class in America.

This very skill is capitalized into the hundreds of millions, and if this skill were to vanish in a night, the bulk of the so-called wealth of the rich would be gone in the morning. There is a very narrow margin between gilt edged securities and waste paper,—a margin about the thickness of the

average human skull, which, thanks to radiating education, is getting thinner every day.

*

Where else in the world, or at what time in its history, save now, could a crop of millionaires be raised every month, and sometimes every day, on a "bull" stock market? Irrigated brains beat irrigated land to a frazzle when it comes to raising rich crops; and a turn of the market costs the garnerers not one single worthy effort, which shows what an unworthy thing is the stock market of to-day.

England raises no such crop, nor does Germany, nor France. Great, productive, and industrially progressive as those countries are, no such effect obtains, save in the United States. Why? Simply because we have here the cheapest laborers in the world. They make the most wealth, and get the least of it; the difference goes to privilege, for the law distributes wealth.

Great is the law, the monopolist's sole reliance, his first and final refuge and his haven of rest. Where is the pauper laborer of Europe or far off Cathay, who can out of a single sheet of steel make a finished bath tub in six minutes (as is done by six men in Detroit and Toledo, aided by those children of genius, hydraulic presses and dies), or six days, years or centuries for that matter; where is the pauper labor that can compete with the screw machine, punch press or automatic machine of any description?

*

If we need a tariff to keep out of the country cheap goods made by cheap men in other parts of the world, do we not need some other kind of law to prevent the production of still cheaper goods made by still cheaper men (because more efficient) in this country? If the one can threaten the country's prosperity, surely the other can destroy it; and yet so inconsistent is the protectionist that he will hold up his hands in horror at the thought of abolishing the tariff, and never see in labor saving machinery an infinitely greater menace to the American workingman's prosperity.

Protection is stupidity gone to seed; it is converted, perverted and inverted paternalism. Nor is this the worst feature of this stormy, choppy sea of economic cross purposes.

We speak of the poor laborer in America and the pauper labor of Europe; in both cases work and poverty are associated on both sides of the pond, and so firmly is the gaze of the poor working man of America fixed upon the pauper working man of Europe that he loses sight of the vast

fund of watered stock into which he is ducked every day, until he is immersed, saturated and drowned in it. It gets into his ears, then into his brain, then into his intellect, and the net result is economic mush—the nastiest, stickiest intellectual substance ever introduced into the human cranium. Poverty, work and pauperism, a blessed trinity; as incongruous and senseless as any disjointed aggregate of ideas can be. And the world has just begun to quarrel with this strange admixture of things so foreign to each other.

+

What a commentary on the quality of economic dope called political science handed to our children in our scholastic institutions! If this is education, what is ignorance? When will our schools begin to inculcate correct ideas relative to subjects of such vast social importance? When will the teachers themselves learn the great enduring truths which lie behind the term “political science”? Is it not to-day a case of the blind leading the blind, and do they not both fall into the ditch, as they have always done?

H. H. HARDINGE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

ON THE PROMOTION OF RACE ANTIPATHY.

New York, May 9.—The dinner of the Cosmopolitan Club last month was grossly misrepresented by the local newspapers, and the club itself and its guests have in consequence been vilely misrepresented by organs of race hatred throughout the country. From these self-styled moulders of public opinion, it would seem that human brotherhood is worse than an iridescent dream, and that its prevalence would be a national calamity. As one of those present at the dinner, I desire to present the actual facts.

+

The Cosmopolitan Club was formed about two years ago by a few men and women belonging mainly if not wholly to the Caucasian and Negro races, but with the intention of including members of the Mongolian and other families. Its founders believed that the time had come for a better mutual understanding between races, and for a fuller recognition of their common aims and common destinies.

The evils of race hatred are palpable on every side, in degrading the individuals entertaining it, and in imperiling the national life of the countries in which it rears its ugly head. The prejudice against the Negro, prevalent throughout the South and in large sections of the Northern States, has created an artificial “problem,” which a simple recognition of human rights would dissipate. Unscrupulous attempts to fan the flames of prejudice against our Japanese brothers have well nigh de-

stroyed the splendid good feeling which normally prevailed between Japan and the United States, and have threatened to plunge our nation into a fearful war, which would be unprecedented in its utter needlessness. The time has indeed become over-ripe for an aggressive counter movement.

Since the work must begin somewhere, surely cosmopolitan New York was as favorable a locality as possible for a tentative effort to draw a few into amicable consultation. The Cosmopolitan Club had no ulterior end other than to promote brotherhood and good will. It is not a Socialist organization, nor has it any intention of endeavoring to start or accelerate any process of racial intermarriage. Its aims are educational and ethical; and its methods are devoid of any sensational element.

+

For a considerable time, meetings of the club were held at the homes of its members; and the seed of human brotherhood was so well sown in a few hearts, that its full fruition cannot be hindered. As the numbers of the club gradually increased, and inquiries concerning its objects came in from various sources, the members decided to hold a public dinner, to which earnest and thoughtful representatives of different races should be made welcome. This gathering took place in Peck's restaurant, on the evening of April 27, 1908. It was attended by about a hundred ladies and gentlemen, the white and Negro races being about equally represented. One Hindu gentleman was also present.

In every particular, the atmosphere of the dinner was dignified and refined, and admirably free from any appearance of self-consciousness. It was the natural commingling of friends, who were glad of the opportunity to become better acquainted. The most captious critic could not find any cause for cavil.

The speakers were well worthy of the occasion. Their keynote was the necessity for education and for the cultivation of higher ideals by the members of the different races. Among the white speakers were Miss Mary W. Ovington, prominent as a settlement worker; Oswald G. Villard of the New York Evening Post; John Spargo, the Socialist orator, and Hamilton Holt, editor of the Independent. The colored speakers included Rev. William H. Ferris, Miss M. Lyons, J. Max Barber and Rev. George F. Miller. Without exception, all rose to the dignity of the occasion, and their speeches rang true. That of Miss Lyons, a teacher in the Brooklyn schools, was particularly noteworthy for solidity of thought and felicity of language. It is no exaggeration to say that her address would have done honor to any lecturer on the American platform. The universal sentiment was that the affair reflected the highest credit on the club and on the representatives of both races.

+

The next morning, however, the daily press began its work of falsification. We read with amazement of speeches which none of us had heard, of incidents which none of us had witnessed. To the dishonor of American journalism, the New York papers, almost all of them, from the Times to the American, contained slurs and flings of the vilest order. Even the respectable Times refuses to admit to its col-

urns corrections of the libelous utterances that had been made.

Readers were informed that the various orators urged racial amalgamation, and were wildly applauded in so doing. As a matter of fact, Mr. Holt, the most conservative of all the speakers, was the only one to make reference to the subject. He merely stated that several solutions of racial problems had been suggested, comprising extermination, exportation, amalgamation and education, advocating none of them, except as his commendations of persons working in the educational field would allow the inference that his hope lay in this direction, rather than in that of intermarriage or either of the other propositions. His speech awakened no particular demonstration; and that branch of the subject was not further discussed.

This bogey of amalgamation has been used so often that it is beginning to lose its efficacy as a stimulant of race prejudice. In point of fact, history shows clearly enough that a denial of human rights is certain to produce unlimited amalgamation in its most undesirable form. Witness the old slavery days, to which the modified color of almost the entire colored race in America is traceable.

+

One effect of this incident has been to strip the mask from the faces of a number of Southern editors, and prove them to be absolute hypocrites in their fine pretenses of facing a difficult problem which the North cannot understand. To all criticisms of their manifestations of race hatred, they have answered: "Oh, you Northerners do not understand the situation. The thousands of Negroes among you are so different from ours, although from the same stock, that you are incompetent to judge any of the Negro characteristics. If you had our problem on hand, you would feel differently. You must live in the South, before you will understand the race question. All we ask is to be let alone; and we will settle our own affairs." Of course, there is a great deal of bad logic in this; but it is at least consistent, and has won for the Southern point of view a certain measure of respect.

But this respect is now rendered impossible by the proof of insincerity displayed in vile and insulting comments on the Cosmopolitan dinner by Southern newspapers representative of race prejudice. If we cannot understand the Southern problem, by what degree of arrogance do they claim a superior understanding of our problem? If Northern Negroes are different from theirs, why do they ask that we treat them as they insist mere self-protection requires them to treat Southern Negroes? If they wish to be let alone, why will they not let us alone when we are simply minding our own business? If they believe in personal liberty, what do they mean by their intrusion? By their own act, they have deprived themselves of every subterfuge. Henceforth they stand self-branded as mere race bigots, fierce over the thought that any persons should have the presumption to stand erect in true manhood or womanhood, and refuse to truckle to the lowest prejudice against human rights that this world has ever seen.

+

The believer in race prejudice makes himself an

outcast from the society of the great and noble souls of the world's history, from Buddha and Jesus to Whitman and Tolstoy. The exalted ideal of human brotherhood is not for him; and so he deliberately cuts himself off from the highway of social progress. The plain teachings of Christianity and the other world-religions are utterly lost on him, although nowhere else are there greater pretences of religious zeal to be heard. As to the deductions of modern science, race hatred remains impervious to the plainest demonstrations. It is beyond the reach of logic, and a national enemy with which there can be no compromise. The time has come to take the aggressive as against all forms of race prejudice. For those who recognize the unity of humanity, no defence or apology is necessary. It is the racial isolationists who must account for themselves before the tribunal of an aroused humanity. It does not matter on which side the numbers lie. No question can stay settled, until settled right; and the doctrine of arrogance and hate must in the end give way to the gospel of justice and fraternal love.

+

Among the significant comments, is one from Henry Watterson. This typical Bourbon professes great desire to help the Negro, provided the latter will always "keep his place," that is, will remain servile and humble, content to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for ages to come, without presuming to aspire to recognition as a full human being.

Mr. Watterson was a speaker at a recent Tuskegee meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, where the burden of all the addresses was an overwhelming desire to help to educate the Negro, but where a counter education of a practical nature was unblushingly given, by forbidding any Negro to occupy an orchestra chair at the very meeting at which his own destinies were being so glibly discussed. No wonder that Booker T. Washington, in spite of all he has accomplished for good, is losing his grip on the thoughtful members of his race, who know that subserviency has never yet loosened a chain, but has tightened many.

Mr. Watterson closes an editorial by significantly declaring that "it would not be a good idea for Editor Holt and his satellites to talk very much in Kentucky." This is the one touch that was needed. What a suggestion of old slavery days! Of course, race prejudice cannot stand free speech! No villainy ever could. It is only a good and honorable cause that dares face all opposition, fearless of the result.

+

The Cosmopolitan Club, like all forward movements, must expect to meet slanderous opposition. But its work will go on; and the campaign of vilification will react against those who have begun it. Race prejudice must die, that humanity may live.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

+ + +

Problem: A certain man thinks that the automobile is an invention of the devil.

Does he own an automobile himself, or doesn't he?—Somerville Journal.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, May 12, 1908.

The Ohio Democrats.

At Columbus on the 8th the Democratic convention of Ohio, which had assembled the day before (p. 133), nominated Judson Harmon for governor.

+

The contest over this nomination began several months ago. The reactionary element of the party under the leadership of Harvey C. Garber, having chosen John C. Welty for their candidate, the progressive element under the leadership of Tom L. Johnson, put forward Atlee Pomerene to contest the nomination. The success of the latter at the primaries was so pronounced that Mr. Welty withdrew before the convention met, and Judson Harmon of Cincinnati, until then a candidate for the Presidential nomination against Bryan, became a receptive candidate for governor against Pomerene.

+

When the convention met on the 5th, it was almost equally divided, without counting the Lucas county delegation, a county which includes Toledo. From that county a delegation representing the local Democratic ring, which co-operated fruitlessly with the Republican ring to defeat Mayor Jones during his lifetime and Mayor Whitlock since, held the regular credentials. Its seats were contested, but the contestants were ruled out by a vote of 463 to 430. This gave the convention to Mr. Harmon, who was nominated on the second ballot by a vote of 512 to 442.

+

Overtures were then made to the Cleveland (Cuyahoga) delegation to name the lieutenant governor, but the Cleveland delegates were unwilling to put forward any of their available men for this or any other place on the ticket, being content with their responsibility for the platform. Positive instructions for Bryan were embodied in the platform, and Mayor Johnson was named by acclamation at the head of the list of delegates at large to Denver. The platform declarations were confined to State questions, owing to the early meeting of the national convention. They are the most progressive by far of any ever yet adopted by either party in Ohio.

Among the planks in this progressive platform are provisions that—

Favor the initiative and referendum in State and local matters and the principle that questions submitted to the electors should be determined by a majority of the votes cast thereon.

Favor free and unqualified home rule for the cities and villages of Ohio, leaving them free to decide for themselves matters of local policy, including the question of public or private ownership of public utilities.

Favor the franchise tax and demand the passage of laws imposing taxes upon the value added to the tangible property of public service corporations by the franchises which they enjoy.

Favor the protection of employes in shops, mines, factories and transportation service by the passage of an employers' liability act.

Favor the passage of a law limiting the power of judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes without notice and opportunity to be heard.

Favor liberal appropriations by the General Assembly for the betterment of the roads and the rehabilitation of the canals of the State.

Favor the protection of public participation in nominations by the passage of suitable primary election laws.

Denounce the existing system of taxation in Ohio as inequitable and unsound, and demand such a revision of it as will establish a just and equitable system.

Point to the child labor law passed at the recent session of the General Assembly as a Democratic measure, and demand further legislation in this behalf, as well as the establishment by law of an eight-hour day on public work.

The preamble to this progressive platform is as follows:

The great principles of justice and self-government upon which the Democracy of Ohio is united are set forth in the following declaration: In the eternal struggle between the many who produce more than they enjoy and the few who enjoy more than they produce, Democracy takes its stand with the many and sets its face against the privileges, outlawed or legalized, by which they are despoiled. We believe that the cure for the supposed ills of democracy is more democracy; that to the people belongs not the shadow merely of political authority, but its substance, and that the power to initiate new laws and to review the acts of their representatives is essential to the preservation of popular sovereignty.

+

One plank of the platform is an unequivocal declaration for the popular election of United States Senators. Following are its terms in full:

We favor the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. Until an amendment to the Federal Constitution can be secured we favor the passage of a law authorizing the selection of party candidates for United States Senate at the time of the election of the members of the General Assembly. We direct the State Central Committee to include in the call for the next convention

a provision for the nomination of a candidate for United States Senate by such convention.

Pursuant to this declaration the convention made a nomination for Senator. It was opposed by the Hamilton county (Cincinnati) delegation and urgently supported by the Cuyahoga (Cleveland) delegation. The votes against making a nomination were 253. Those for making one were 703, of which 647 were cast for ex-Governor James E. Campbell. Governor Campbell was nominated.

+ +

The Illinois Prohibitionists.

The Prohibitionist party of Illinois in State convention on the 7th nominated two candidates for each State office. A choice is to be made by the voters of the party at the primaries on the 8th of August. The platform—

demands the repeal of the internal revenue tax on alcoholic liquors and the immediate prohibition of the liquor traffic for beverage purposes in the District of Columbia, in the Territories, and all places over which the national government has jurisdiction. It declares that the time has come when the rights of the States should be protected by a national law entirely prohibiting interstate traffic in intoxicating liquors; favors a graduated income and inheritance tax; and favors the establishment of postal savings banks. It demands laws relating to corporations engaged in interstate business, revision of the tariff on the basis that no trust made goods shall receive protection; and favors a permanent tariff commission to furnish Congress with information from time to time. On State issues the platform denies the right of any city to nullify any State law; favors an initiative and referendum; demands the abolition of the fee system for all State and county offices; condemns the social evil of traffic in girls; demands adequate laws for the impeachment of officials who neglect or refuse to enforce the laws. It favors a law prohibiting the issuing to and the use of railroad passes by public officials and candidates for offices; holds that the process of injunction should be restored to its rational and normal use, and that industries should be made to bear the burden of accident liabilities incident to their existence, and favors the enactment of wise laws for the prevention of child labor. It favors public ownership of public utilities; denounces stock gambling on boards of trade; favors woman suffrage; favors a State board of control for the State charitable institutions; declares in favor of a deep waterway from Chicago to the Gulf; favors one term service for the governor of the State; favors a law for State local option; demands that the Sunday laws be enforced uniformly throughout the State, and denies the right of the legislature to grant any city or community any privileges or immunities not granted to the State at large.

+ +

Presidential Politics.

The most important State action of the past week in connection with Presidential politics (p. 133) was the platform instruction for Bryan

by the Democratic convention of Ohio. Although Judson Harmon, one of Mr. Bryan's adversaries, was nominated for governor by a small majority, the convention unanimously adopted the following clause in the platform:

We heartily and enthusiastically indorse the Presidential candidacy of William J. Bryan, and instruct the entire Ohio delegation to vote for his nomination at the Democratic national convention, firm in the belief that his nomination will insure an overwhelming national victory at the polls in November.

+

Newspaper reports of the Democratic primaries in Minnesota on the 6th say that Governor Johnson carried every county. Subsequent reports are to the effect that the Bryan League are about to make contests in the State convention on the 14th, based largely upon Republican votes at the primaries, and to carry their contest to the national convention.

+

The Democratic convention of Massachusetts on the 7th instructed for Mr. Bryan, and placed George Fred Williams at the head of the list of delegates at large to Denver.

+

The Democratic county conventions throughout Texas on the 13th instructed for Bryan.

+

The Republican convention of Connecticut on the 6th instructed for Mr. Taft; but the New Jersey convention of the 5th refused instructions, as did the Utah convention on the 7th, which placed Senator Reed Smoot at the head of the list of delegates at large. The Republican convention of Louisiana instructed on the 11th for Mr. Taft and named one Negro among the four delegates at large.

+

The Independence League of Massachusetts chose on the 9th a full delegation to the national convention of the League and instructed them to vote for Thomas L. Hisgen of Massachusetts for candidate for President.

+ +

The Socialist Party Convention.

After a morning reception at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, at which addresses were made by May Wood Simons, John Spargo, Joseph Wanhope, Morris Hillquitt and G. T. Fraenckel, the delegates to the national convention of the Socialist Party assembled at noon on the 10th (vol. x, pp. 1069, 1161) at Brand's Hall, where they were called to order by Morris Hillquitt of New York as temporary chairman. The first important matter under consideration, involving the rela-

tion of the party to farmers, was referred to a special committee. On Monday James F. Carey of Massachusetts presided, and a motion to do away with the committee on trade unions was hotly debated and defeated. The committee on platform chosen on the 11th consists of A. M. Simons of Illinois, Morris Hillquit of New York, Ernest Unterman of Idaho, James F. Carey of Massachusetts, John M. Work of Iowa, Stanley Clark of Texas, Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, Guy E. Miller of Colorado, and A. Brannselter of Oklahoma. An attempt to establish the two-thirds rule for nominations was on the same day overwhelmingly defeated. On the 12th Delegate Slayton of Pennsylvania was elected chairman of the convention for the day, and Wm. D. Haywood, who has been prominently mentioned as the candidate for President, submitted a signed statement to the convention declaring that he will not allow his name to go before it.

* *

The Cleveland Traction Strike.

The threatened strike disturbance in connection with the Cleveland traction settlement (p. 132) was renewed last week. It was threatened by the employes of the old monopoly company and opposed by those of the old low fare company. The contest was at bottom between these two sets of men, the former having induced the national organization to withdraw their charter from the latter and annul the wages contract between them and the low fare company. This left in existence an agreement between the old monopoly company and its men, evidently made with a view to influencing them as citizens in favor of extending its expiring franchises. It allowed an increase of wages to the amount of 2 cents an hour—1 cent more than the low fare men have always had—but not to take effect until its franchises were extended. Upon the settlement of the traction question these men claimed the 2-cent increase, instead of the increase of 1 cent which the municipal company offered so as to make all wages equal to what the low fare company had been paying. The municipal holding company offered to arbitrate all questions—the legality and morality of the 2-cent agreement as against the municipal company, and the validity of the national union's annulment of the low fare company's agreement. The employes of the old company refused at first to arbitrate any question but the legality of the 2-cent agreement; but after many interviews they assented on the 9th to arbitration of all phases of the dispute.

* *

San Francisco Welcomes the Atlantic-Pacific Fleet.

The combined Atlantic and Pacific fleets of the American navy (p. 84) steamed through the Golden Gate into San Francisco Bay on the morn-

ing of the 6th. The citizens of San Francisco and Oakland and the clustering towns of the bay, with thousands of visitors from farther away, gave themselves up to sight-seeing and holiday-making. As the ships bore down upon the straits thousands lined the shores from the "seal rocks" to the Presidio, and spread up the hills of the city, on the south side of the Golden Gate, and thousands more had climbed the steep slopes of Mt. Tamalpais on the north side. In all an estimated total of a million sightseers had gathered to see the ships. On the 7th 8,000 sailors and marines were landed, and marched through the streets in parade. On the 8th the combined fleets were reviewed by Victor H. Metcalf, the Secretary of the Navy. Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans, in command, who had suffered severely from rheumatism during the cruise, and had been obliged to absent himself from the fleet while it lay in Magdalena Bay, was unable to lead the ships during the review. With that event his active career was in any case to have ended, Rear Admiral Chas. M. Thomas having been deputed to take charge of the fleet until the 15th, when Rear Admiral Chas. N. Sperry relieves him.

* *

Old Age Pensions in Great Britain.

The annual budget presented to the House of Commons (p. 134) on the 7th by the new Premier, Mr. Asquith, in his capacity as the retiring Chancellor of the Exchequer, showed that the national debt had been reduced by approximately \$90,000,000 during the past year. If a further reduction of about \$75,000,000 should be effected during the current year, as is expected, the national debt of Great Britain would stand at the same amount as twenty years ago. In three years between \$200,000,000 and \$250,000,000 of the debt had been paid. The increase in the debt was due to the enormous cost of the South African war.

*

The matter of old age pensions had been the most anticipated point of the report. Mr. Asquith announced that it had been decided to rule out all contributory schemes, and provide pensions from the national treasury. A universal scheme of pensions was outside the range of practical politics. In order that lunatics, criminals and persons now receiving poor law relief should be ineligible it had been decided to start with a pension of \$1.25 a week to persons over 70 years of age in possession of incomes under \$130 a year. It had been estimated that the pensioners will not exceed 500,000, and that the cost of the system in operation will be something like \$30,000,000 a year. If this was socialism, Mr. Asquith declared, it was socialism that both parties accepted.

A bill repealing the Irish (p. 11) Coercion act of 1887 passed its second reading in the House on the 8th, by a vote of 201 to 7. Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, strongly supported the measure, declaring the Coercion act to be unconstitutional and intolerable. He maintained that Ireland as a whole was law abiding, and said that any attempt to govern Ireland by coercion would be political insanity.

+

The by-elections occurring on account of the cabinet changes (p. 109) have been a strain on Liberal prestige. At the election at Wolverhampton on the 5th, to fill the vacancy in the House caused by the elevation of Sir Henry Fowler, Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, to the peerage, the Liberal candidate managed to retain his seat by a majority of 8 in a total vote of 9,020. In the last election Sir Henry Fowler had a plurality of 2,865. Winston Spencer Churchill, defeated at Manchester (p. 109), stood again at Dundee, in Scotland, which has been Liberal for a quarter of a century. After a short, sharp contest, in which the Labor party used arguments relating to the industrial depression, and the suffragettes adopted bell-clanging tactics for breaking up the meetings of the unconverted candidate, Mr. Churchill won on the 9th, with a greatly reduced Liberal plurality. The vote stood: Winston Spencer Churchill (Liberal), 7,079; Sir George Baxter (Unionist), 4,370; Mr. Stuart (Laborite), 4,014; Mr. Strymeour (Prohibitionist), 655. Mr. Churchill was doubtless aided by the announcement in the budget of the day before, that the duty on sugar was to be remitted, for Dundee is the center of the jam industry.

+ *

The Douma Debates the Jewish Question.

During a debate in the Douma (p. 110) on the 8th, on the question of recruits for the Russian army for 1908, Mr. Zameslovsky urged the exclusion of Jews from the army, adducing the pernicious influence of the Jewish anti-government propaganda with the rank and file of the army. Mr. Krupensky moved to strike Jewish recruits from the conscript list, imposing upon them instead a poll tax in favor of the invalid pension fund. Mr. Roditcheff (vol. x, p. 856), the Constitutional Democratic leader, in an impassioned defense of the Jews, branded Russia's treatment of them. During his speech he was interrupted constantly by angry rejoinders. The dispatches report him as declaring that the congestion in the Ghetto pale and the inhuman treatment of the Jews for centuries were the criminal causes of Jewish bodily defects. The sole remedy he declared was to lift the disabilities of the Jews. He ridiculed the complaint that the Jews were re-

sponsible for Russia's catastrophes. They were forbidden to join the corps of officers of the army or navy, he said, and they were in nowise guilty for the defeat of the Russians at Mukden and in the battle in the Eea of Japan. Mr. Roditcheff contrasted conditions in Russia with those in Great Britain, where generals and admirals of Jewish extraction had attained distinction.

NEWS NOTES

—The new young King of Portugal, Manuel (p. 133), took the oath to support the constitution on the 6th, and was formally proclaimed sovereign of Portugal and the Portuguese possessions.

—The most destructive of a series of tornadoes (p. 110) extending from Gainesville, Texas, to southern Wisconsin, wrecked nine villages in Oklahoma and two in Illinois on the 11th. The number of known dead is ten.

—The second International Conference on State and Local Taxation (vol. x, p. 804) is called to meet in Toronto, Canada, from the 6th to the 9th of October next, under the auspices of the National Tax Association, of which Allen Ripley Foote of Columbus, Ohio, is president.

—At the organization of the Milwaukee charter convention, composed of 16 Socialists and 33 delegates from other parties, Carl D. Thompson, Socialist, was elected temporary secretary, and Messrs. Berger and Welch, Socialists, were assigned to the committee on plan of procedure.

—By referendum vote just completed, the 55,000 miners in the Illinois coal fields accept by a majority of 10,000 the employment agreement for two years submitted by the joint convention of operators and miners. By this agreement the miners are to pay "shot-firers," a requirement they have long contested.

—The North and West Side street car men of Chicago, by a vote of 4,416 to 96, on the 10th declared for a strike unless certain men who have refused to pay their dues to the organization—are discharged by the company. This decision will be submitted to a special meeting of the union and also to President John M. Roach of the Chicago Railways Company.

—A Philadelphia magistrate, James E. Gorman, has held for trial at the criminal court two policemen—Sergeant Kennedy and Officer Osterhout—for breaking up a Socialist meeting, last month. The Sergeant was held on a charge of inciting to riot in directing the police to clear the hall, and the officer on a charge of assault and battery in obeying the Sergeant's orders.

—A woman suffrage bill has been introduced in the Philippine Assembly (vol. x, p. 1069), and it is believed that it may pass the lower house. It provides that a woman to vote must be 25 years old. A married woman must have the consent of her husband in writing before she will be allowed to cast her ballot. Women under the care of parents must have the parents' consent, also in writing. There

are no restrictions as to the class of elections at which women may vote.

—The fifth year of the work of the Single Tax Information Bureau (E. B. Swinney, secretary, 134 Clarkson Street, Brooklyn, New York) (vol. x, p. 1093), which closed with April, shows the following for that period:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Number of copies of literature sent out..... | 300,900 |
| Number of requests for literature..... | 9,415 |
| Receipts | \$1,882.97 |
| Expenditures | 1,910.37 |

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 39) for April, 1908, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| Gold reserve fund | \$150,000,000.00 |
| Available cash | 251,596,987.55 |

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Total | \$401,596,987.55 |
| On hand at the close of the last fiscal year. | |
| June 30, 1907 | 418,581,437.51 |

Decrease

\$ 16,984,449.96

—The disturbances on the border between Afghanistan and India, reported last week (p. 134), have caused alarm in England, with a drop of a full point in "consols" (government securities). The Ameer disavows responsibility for the attacks of tribesmen in the Khyber Pass, and as his brother, who is trying to usurp the throne, is opposed to the British influence, and the Mohmands who are the chief cause of the trouble, are a great tribe, half in British and half in Afghan jurisdiction, his inability to cope with the situation is apparent.

—The legislature of New York assembled on the 11th in special session upon the call of Governor Hughes. Among the subjects he presents for legislative action the following are of general interest: Extension of the jurisdiction of the public service commissions so as to cover telegraph and telephone companies; amendment of the primary election law so as to provide for direct nominations and an official primary ballot; amendment of the labor law, so as to provide a bureau of mercantile inspection in the labor department; the appointment of special commissions to investigate stock speculation and the condition of the unemployed.

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (p. 39) for April, 1908, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Receipts. | |
| Tariff | \$243,434,033.20 |
| Internal revenue | 208,771,524.63 |
| Miscellaneous | 51,503,540.08 |
| | —————\$503,709,097.91 |
| Expenses. | |
| Civil and miscellaneous | \$124,194,145.01 |
| War | 93,193,555.28 |
| Navy | 99,409,072.54 |
| Indians | 11,922,622.74 |
| Pensions | 128,310,825.37 |
| Public works | 78,828,610.28 |
| Interest | 19,494,881.27 |
| | —————555,353,712.49 |
| Deficit | \$ 51,644,614.58 |

—The world-wide commercial depression (p. 78) has been manifesting itself in Japan so severely that they regard it as the worst they have ever known. A dispatch from Tokio to the New York

Herald states that since last August there have been two hundred runs on banks in the larger cities of Japan, and that about forty banks have suspended, only five of these resuming. Many failures have resulted, and the financial troubles have now reached the foreign business community, several large German firms doing business in Yokohama and Kobe, being in difficulties.

PRESS OPINIONS

Raymond Robins in Omaha.

The (Omaha) Western Laborer (labor), April 18.—Raymond Robins for a second time has captured the working men of Omaha, body, mind and soul—he can have the spare bedroom and put his feet under the table of any of the 3,000 workingmen who heard him last Friday night and stay as long as there is a bite in the house.

+ +

Exploitation.

The Straight Edge (1 Abingdon Square, New York), April.—What is this something-else-besides-labor that "directs" labor intelligently and whereby labor is "turned to better account than usual"? Is it anything more than intelligent labor? And is there any reason why all human labor should not be intelligent and self-directing and profitable, or why it should not enjoy the "value" it creates?

+ +

A Question of Method.

The Straight Edge (1 Abingdon Square, New York), April.—While it seems to us a foolish and disastrous blunder to forbid any class of citizens to meet and talk, we are convinced that parades and demonstrations and political hullabaloo are neither the line of least resistance nor the line of greatest effectiveness for those who want to see industry organized upon the basis of public justice and human brotherhood.

+ +

The "Reds."

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), May 3.—It is singular that England seems to experience the least trouble with them, although thousands of the "reds" find asylum there. No English official has been slain by anarchists; they have made no attempt against the life of a British crowned head. The one common theory for this immunity from violence, whether it is really sound or not, is that the policy of the government is not to interfere drastically with their meetings and movements, permitting them to talk and in that manner expend their force without causing physical harm.

+ +

Our Citizenship Factories.

The Memphis News-Scimitar (dem. Dem.), April 23.—Go into the slums of our big cities, whither light and air and sunshine are prohibited to enter; go into our mines, mills, factories and sweatshops, where they grind the lives of human beings by incessant toil at starvation wages, where they crush bodies and souls of little children beneath their

of commerce; see how the wolves of finance in their insatiate greed by cunning tricks plunder the whole nation that they may wallow in wealth and luxury! How can children whose bodies are stunted, whose minds are weakened by foul air and improper and scanty food, who are brought up in the vice-breeding environments of our city slums, who at an early age must leave the school—this manufacturing plant of future citizens—in order to supplement the meager earnings of their parents—how can they become the material for a healthy race?

+ +

A Sensible Prescription for Anarchy.

Syracuse (N. Y.) Journal (ind.).—Anarchy should not make cowards of us all. Death by anarchy is no more than death by war. It is not more terrible; and certainly it is not more frequent. To say that it is caused by acts more cowardly is to forget that the zealot in this cause gives all. "For what will a man not give in exchange for his life?" But some one says: "The anarchist advocates murder by dynamite!" Bless your soul! So does everybody who advocates war. How many tons of dynamite can a battleship shoot a minute? Suppose somebody advocates shelling the Mohammedans in Morocco, or the capital of the Turkish empire, or the ports of Venezuela. In truth, they are advocating "murder by dynamite." After all, is it not a mistake always to meet words with force? Suppose some hare-brained "prophet" should arise in Iowa and go from house to house among the comfortable farmers advocating a war between the farmers of Iowa and the farmers of Minnesota, would it be wise or necessary to clap him into irons? Is that the way to prevent hostilities between Minnesota and Iowa farmers? No. Why? Because the danger does not lie in the fact that some fanatic is preaching murder by dynamite. If there is danger at all it is to be found in the fact that something is wrong in the relations between the farmers of Illinois and those of Indiana. If there is nothing wrong there is no danger. If there is something wrong the remedy is in correcting the wrong conditions, not in putting irons on the man who preaches another wrong as a remedy. So we come back to the proposition that the proper answer to words is words. The misguided or foolish man who might seek to stir up warfare where there was no occasion for offense would be told that he is a fool. And that would be his proper answer; not force. To oppose force to words has never been effectual. Courts and czars have tried it, but always with the same result. The words of truth live on; the words of error fall of their own weight. And deeds of force never have done aught but confirm some gospel of discontent, which, without such deeds, would fall like that seed which fell on dry and stony ground. This is really what we mean when we speak of our freedom of the press and speech.

+ +

"Mamma, is that bay rum in the bottle on your table?"

"Mercy, no, dear!" she replied. "That is muck-lage."

"Oh!" said little Johnny, "perhaps that's why I can't get my hat off."—The Methodist Recorder.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A NEGRO INVOCATION.

For The Public.

Spirit of God, come down to thy people, we pray;
Come down and abide with them ever by day and by
night;

The World-spirit moves through the land in a menacing
flight,

To despoil and to slay.

It moves by the light of the hearth and abroad in
the fields,

And almost the heart of thy people, long-suffering,
yields,

In the stress of their toil and their weary life-buffets
and storms,

To the subtle alluring it sings in a myriad forms.
Wherever the morning breaks, there doth the wing
Of the World-spirit hover, and there doth it sing
Of vantage and ease, of the highway of gain,
Of the right of the strong when the weaker are slain,
Of justice hoodwinked, of righteousness foiled,
Of virtue's white vestures distorted and spoiled.

And a blight goeth forth with its breath where it
flies

Over ten swarthy millions of mortals and cries:

"In vain do ye dare,

Poor children of Ham, to shake off the black robe of
despair;

That garment shall wrap you, and if ye shall venture
to sail

For the golden fleeces of freedom your voyage shall
fall.

Not for you is the fruit of the spirit or fruit of the
soil;

Cain's mark is upon you, and yours is the guerdon
of toll—

The old mark of Eden still branding your foreheads
at birth;

And ye shall be meek, but ye shall not inherit the
earth."

+

Spirit of God, O hark!

Ten millions of men in the heat of the work and
the strife

Of the mighty Republic are breathing the breath of
thy life!

It was cast into moulds that were dark,

And fashioned to forms uncouth;

But ever that life has been quick with a spark

Of the passion that strains

Through fires and rains

Straight up to the summit of manhood and truth.

+

Our fathers groped long in the valley of shame,
But the keener their sorrows the higher the flame
Of prayer mounted up; and the wonderful name
Of the Savior was magic that loosened and stung
Their spirits to hope till the cotton-fields rung

With the weird minor music of yearning they sung.
And the ear of the nation was tortured and tingled,
Till the blood of her masters at length ran mingled
And free from the sword-shock and dread cannon-
crash

With the blood of our fathers drawn under the lash.
And when Justice rose up on the fields of the dead,
And the warrant of death to our bondage was read
To set the torn heart of the nation at rest,
The faith of our fathers had weathered the test.
And none could aver that the Pilgrims, forsooth,
Had been more than our fathers the soldiers of truth,
Or that Plymouth more surely had wrought for the
nation

God's good than Virginia's tobacco plantation.
And had not the way to the great Appomattox
Been blazed long ago by the falling of Attucks?
And have not the battlegrounds carried since then
Been bought by the blood of the darkest of men?

+

Spirit of God, let the children hold fast
To that faith of the fathers that lifted our past
From ravage and hate and the slough of despond.
Let them answer the cry of the World-spirit:

"Ever beyond

To a still wider freedom we fare.

Thy hoping of evil is lost on the air.

God's pleasure still follows a reverent meekness,

His purpose still runs through the channels of
weakness,

And, maugre oppression, his people are strong
Wherever they work with a prayer and a song.

Though we have suffered every loss,

And felt the thorns and borne the cross,

Though still we walk with fainting breath

Through many a shadowed vale of death,

We cry no vengeance, hate or spite,

But hold us hard to God and right.

Be ours the victory of those

Who triumph over all their foes,

Not by the strong man's brutal course

But by the sword of Moral force,

By still believing through the night

That there will come the morning light,

By work that swerves not from its aims,

By wills that fall not in the flames

Of doubt or prejudice or hate,

By love that watches soon and late,

By hearkening to God's old commands,

By training heads and hearts and hands

And all our dormant powers profuse

To every worthy skill and use,

Till we whose birthrights are denied

Shall be the nation's strength and pride.

"If this be not the upward way, and still the journey
be vain,

Then time and the world and God are nought, and
the sun in the sky is a stain."

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL.

+ + +

We cannot always help it that our gain is another's loss. Clearly. Because of that, we should help it where we can.—George Elliot, in "Daniel Deronda."

SOME OF DOBBS'S THINKS.

Remembered by Jackson Biggles.

For The Public.

Once upon a time somebody said: "In time of peace prepare for war." Somebody else thought it was a wise remark, and wrote it down and had it printed, so that we cannot forget it, even if we want to ever so bad. About the time we get it partly out of our minds and begin to feel something like real Christians, some one that is interested in the small arms business, or in the steel plate manufacture, hires a magazine writer to tell us how defenseless we are, and that Japan or Tierra del Fuego is likely to capture us before we can say, "Jack Robinson," or anything else for that matter.

Then we forget our comfortable frame of mind, and begin to dream of battleships and torpedo destroyers and brass buttons every night. Our Christian sentiments become barbarously militant, and the small arms business and the armor plate manufacturers become so prosperous that sites for palaces become hard to find and very high priced.

Not having these matters clear in my mind I asked Dobbs what he thought about it. Dobbs never saw the inside of a university, so he never learned anything about the university think, but has to rely on the plain homemade article. Some times you can understand him, which is a virtue not to be despised.

As near as I can remember, for it was last week that Dobbs made these observations, they were something like this; and, as Captain Cuttle always insisted, the "point of them lies in the application on't." If the application is wrongfully made Dobbs is not to blame.

"Yes," said Dobbs, "it looks on the face of it like a big chunk of wisdom—'In time of peace prepare for war.' Of course there never was a time in the history of nations when they were not more or less prepared for war, and even when they were fighting the preparation kept right along until the arbitrators were called in to parcel out the territory. After that part of the ceremony was over, both parties began at once to prepare for the next war. As often as not the party that made the most preparation in time of peace was the party that got licked. But that has not seemed to dim the wisdom of the saying. The parceling out of territory is a fascinating and lucrative sort of thing for some of the people, and most of the time. When peace reigns and we settle down to a real Christian frame of mind so many of the people find it hard to make a decent living that they are prepared to become professional killers for the sake of having a job. It may be that this is the real reason that we can never forget the possibility of war, and keep on making expensive preparations for what every-

body must admit is a thing to be avoided except in dire necessity.

"The pitcher that goes often to the well is surely broken, and the man that holds the championship of the pugilistic world always finds some one in the end that licks him. The nation that glories in its strength and fighting ability has always in the history of the world been finally beaten at its own game. In the light of these facts the saying may not contain so much wisdom as is generally accorded to it.

"The idea that the commerce of the world is something that must be fought for, and that we must be the boss of the Pacific Ocean in order to carry on commerce, has no doubt a considerable influence in keeping this constant thought of war in the public mind. Of course you know that trade could not exist if it were not beneficial to all parties in the long run, but the people that spend their time in preparing for war think different. They are so used to seeing traders go down to ruin in competition with monopoly that they cannot conceive of a condition where people may trade without restriction upon equal terms. The greed of conquest yet controls the thought of the controlling forces of governments. The dignity of work is something that is preached to the workingmen at election time, but not believed by many, even of the workingmen. If we should have too long a term of peace the thinkers of the world might produce such an effect on the minds of the masses that privilege would be abolished by law, and thereupon their condition would so improve that they would not care to hire out to become professional killers. In that case the small arms business and the manufacturing of munitions of war would become so unprofitable that it would cease. What then would become of the Krupps and the other makers of man-killing weapons that now fatten on government revenues? From their standpoint the thought is unbearable. We cannot imagine a world without generals and admirals and all the other titles that so dazzle the imagination of the young and blunt the reasoning faculties of the mature.

"Wars are recorded that seemed justifiable on the part of one of the combatants. But a critical examination of the history of such wars would probably disclose the fact that the real cause of the war was that one or both of the belligerents had followed the logic of 'In peace prepare for war,' and got so well prepared that they could not be satisfied without going out to lick somebody. Some cases may be mentioned where the party that never made any preparation was the victorious one.

"Parties that yearn for magnificent navies and big standing armies will have forgotten all such instances as this.

"We may be comforted, Jack, by considering that while the fighting blood makes the most

noise just now, and the thunder of the cannon dulls the hearing of the people, the thoughts of the thinkers are silently doing their work; and that the saying of the Master, 'He that will live by the sword shall die by the sword,' will some day take the place of the fallacy, 'In time of peace prepare for war,' in the minds of the people."

I am violating no confidence in telling what Dobbs said. There are folks that wear better clothes than Dobbs, and don't know more than two-thirds as much. And Dobbs don't tell all he knows, either.

JACKSON BIGGLES.

+ + +

THE FLEET.

Edmund Vance Cooke in *The Independent*.

This is the song of the thousand men who are multiplied by twelve,

Sorted and sifted, tested and tried, and muscled to dig and delve.

They come from the hum of city and shop, they come from the farm and field,

And they plow the acres of ocean now, but tell me, what is their yield?

This is the song of the sixteen ships to buffet the battle and gale,

And in every one we have thrown away a Harvard or a Yale.

Behold here the powers of Pittsburg, the mills of Lowell and Lynn,

And the furnaces roar and the boilers seethe, but tell me, what do they spin?

This is the song of the long, long miles from Hampton to the Horn,

From the Horn away to the western bay whence our guns are proudly borne.

A flying fleet and a host of hands to carry these rounds of shot!

And behold they have girdled the globe by half, and what is the gain they have brought?

This is the song of the wasters, aye, defenders, if you please,

Defenders against our fellows, with their wasters even as these,

For we stumble still at the lesson taught since ever the years were young,

That the chief defense of a nation is to guard its own hand and tongue.

This is the song of our folly, that we cry out a glad acclaim

At our slaughtering-ships, in the shadow of which we should bow our heads in shame.

And we call men brave who on land and wave fear not to die, but still,

Still first on the rolls of the world's brave souls are the men who have feared to kill.

This is the song of our sinning (for the fault is not theirs, but ours),

That we chain these slaves to our galley-ships as the symbol of our powers;

That we clap applause, that we cry hurrahs, that we vent our unthinking breath,
For oh, we are proud that we flaunt this flesh in the markets of dismal death.

* * *

ECHOES FROM OREGON.

Fred. C. Denton in Matter Put Out by the Oregon Tax Reform Association.

Old Hayseed and Mr. Single Tax.

Well, I'll be dinged, if here isn't old Single Tax coming down the road," said Oregon Hayseed, "and I'm going to lick the socks off him sure. He is trying to rob me of my land all the time, dang his ornery picture."

At this point Single Tax came briskly forward and grasped old Oregon Hayseed by the hand confidently and cordially. "Well, old friend," said Single Tax, "have you still a notion that I am trying to rob you of your land?"

"You bet I have, and what's more I am going to pound you out of sight next June. See if I don't."

"I have been operating in New Zealand a number of years," replied the object of the Oregon Hayseed's wrath, "and the farmers are the best friends I have there. They invite me to come and have never invited me to go, once I have come among them."

"Sure and honest?" queried the old man, peering intently at his coming antagonist.

"Cross my heart on it," assured S. T. "New South Wales—a state as big as this, full of farmers, too—just passed an act that will cause me to come right up close alongside of them. Town and county swinging right in after me to live with 'em. Read up a little, and you will find it just as I tell you."

"Well, mebbly so, mebbly so, but how about my land? What would you do with my land?"

"Your land will stay right with you, just the same. I will take the taxes from your improvements and livestock, furniture and implements, creameries, cheese and condensed milk factories, canneries and woolen mills. That amounts to several times the value of your land. You do not own the land, either, in Oregon at large as a whole, or taken county by county. Speculators own it, corporations, land grants, timber thieves, mines, swamp-land grabbers. The cities have more land measured in dollars than you have."

"But you will raise the taxes on my land, dingling your slick tongue," said the old Oregon Hayseed resentfully.

"You bet I will," was the reply, "but for every dollar I increase your taxes on your land I will take off three from your improvements and personal property and make the vacant land carry the burden. Some say I do three times better than that."

"But, look here, you, what about exempting

factories. I won't stand for these rich manufacturers cinching me with the taxes they should pay."

"Stuff! Who filled you with that sawdust? Why man, all the assessed values in Oregon of the manufacturing plants do not equal half your livestock as assessed. It is surprising that you do not realize that these manufactories are largely creameries, cheese factories and canneries. The more factories the closer you are to market and the bigger demand for your products. Don't be a chump. Manitoba farmers are laughing at you now, for paying taxes on every stick and chick. They pay nothing on anything but the land, thanks to me, and all their other property goes free."

"By the eternal," cried the Oregon Hayseed, "if I find what you say is so there are some eminent journalists and statesmen who have been lying to me that will have to eat dirt!"

"It's so all right," smiled S. T., "and I will help you prove it."

"Come to dinner with me," invited his one-time enemy. "I want to ask some more questions."

And the two went arm in arm to the well-taxed home of the Oregon farmer.

BOOKS

DR. FUNK ON "THE SECOND COMING."

The Next Step in Evolution. By I. K. Funk, D. D., LL.D. Fourth edition. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and London. Price 50 cents net.

First published six years ago and now in its fourth edition, this little volume still expresses the author's belief, in several essential particulars which he outlines in the preface.

Assuming that man has capacities for truth which transcend the senses, the argument of the book undertakes to prove to those who have the ears to hear and the eyes to see, that the coming of Christ is a natural evolution,—not necessarily Christ incarnate, which might be of little or no value, but a re-creation within ourselves "as the leaven is re-created in the meal, and as seed is re-created in new seed." This idea involves "a new birth, a new creation, a new kingdom," and means "a new step in the evolution of man."

As mankind has in the process of evolution advanced from the mineral through the vegetable and the animal to the natural man, so the next step in evolution, which has already begun, is from the natural to the spiritual man. To quote Dr. Funk on this climax to the evolutionary process, "in the fullness of time there was developed in him what may be called, for the sake of a name, the spiritual protoplasm, or the psychoplasm, the

exalted physical and psychic basis of the inner man, the new creature of the spiritual man." This new life could not come from below; it came from above. The Child of Bethlehem, though "born a natural man," yet "possesses the life of the kingdom next higher, and proceeds to lift the natural man by a new birth into the kingdom of the spiritual man." Even now "the second coming" is thus in progress.

Dr. Funk quotes from Croly, who "believed that 'The Wandering Jew,'—a type of the Jewish race,—is about to end his wearisome journeyings, as Christ is soon to come." But Dr. Funk's reading of the signs of this coming are far different from Dr. Croly's. The latter thought of a second incarnation; but Dr. Funk sees the second coming in the fact that "war is recognized more and more as a barbarism, and its end is over yonder hill;" that the court of nations looms above the horizon to settle wrongs; that the golden rule finds a place in international diplomacy; that the humanities are in order; that the Galilean leaven is leavening the whole lump; and that in many ways "we are learning that the golden rule and the law of self-preservation run parallel." So he says, "The Wandering Jew is near the end of his wanderings." For "man has climbed up in countless ages by the slow processes of evolution to where he can use the powers of nature through his brain, becoming a co-worker with God in finding the processes of evolution." Being reborn into the inner kingdom he starts on a new and infinitely higher destiny.

* * *

SOCIAL REFORM UPON A SCIENTIFIC BASIS.

The Physical Basis of Civilization. A revised version of "Psychic Economic Results of Man's Physical Uprightness." By T. W. Heineman. Published by Forbes & Company, Chicago. Price \$1.25.

In a former note upon this book (p. 116) insufficient emphasis was placed upon the economic and political conditions of the present civilization which the author traces to changes of structure that necessitated the upright physical attitude of man. He aims to demonstrate that present economic and political evils have their origin in a primary perversion of race character, a result of natural selection during the period of man's extreme physical helplessness.

Among the evils so generated, the author includes land monopoly, and other special privileges; and of course the consequent inequitable relations of labor and capital, and unjust distribution of wealth.

As the argument runs, a false race-character resulting from elimination of the true one by natural selection after primitive upright man had reached the degree of intelligence which led to the

use of clubs and missiles as weapons, has continued into the present period. But this continuance is maintained only by such perversion and abuse of those false traits that originated in the necessity for defense, as to turn its destructiveness against harmless and useful members of the race. It is from general recognition of this tendency which sprang from the physical weakness of the early human animal, that the author expects an intellectual and moral movement before which the coercive rule of perverted race characteristics will give way to the beneficent rule of true ones. What he believes he has established is a firm basis, scientifically demonstrated, for all true reforms.

So it will be seen that the book in reality seeks a scientific explanation of a civilization which is distinguished for its Napoleons and Rockefellers on one side and its Georges and Tolstoyes on the other.

* * *

A "BIG BUSINESS" SATIRE.

Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford. A cheerful Account of the Rise and Fall of an American Buccaneer. By George Randolph Chester. Published by Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. Price, \$1.50.

A story which seizes upon the reader's interest at the beginning of the first chapter and holds it to the end—something that is often said of books, but of this book it is true. And there is a reason for it. The operations of the central character, a very type of the great business organizer, in every respect except that he is frankly a "crook" and nothing but a "crook," are told with a fidelity to atmosphere and detail which accounts for his success in making money at the expense of other people. He is scrupulous only about one thing: he keeps within the law so as to keep out of jail. While a straightforward story of an enterprising confidence man, the book is a bitter satire upon Big Business.

PAMPHLETS

Patriotism and the New Internationalism.

In any product of the pen of Lucia Ames Mead on the subject of internationalism the note of peace would be looked for as dominant, and this is the note that rings out in her "Patriotism and the New Internationalism" (Ginn & Co., Boston). Mrs. Mead has a different conception of patriotism from the mummy variety which characterizes ancestral organizations, or the savage kind that associates patriotism with death and destruction. She associates it with good citizenship in all things, and her ideal of internationalism is brotherly love without distinction of race, color or religion.

* * *

A Humanitarian Freethinker.

Edwin C. Walker paid a well deserved tribute to Moncure D. Conway, "freethinker and humanitarian," in his address last winter at the Paine-Conway

memorial meeting at the Manhattan Liberal Club in New York, which has now been put into a neat paper bound volume (New York, 244 W. 143d St.). The sketch of Conway is as interesting as were the extraordinary experiences of the man's life. How significant his thought in connection with the slavery problem, that justice was the stone rejected of the builders which must become the chief stone of the corner. And how true it is of our own great problems.

PERIODICALS

A recent issue of the Portland (Ore.) Journal, a highly successful and most excellent daily newspaper, publishes a supplement devoted exclusively to the single tax amendment now in issue before the people of Oregon (pp. 79, 110). The editing of this

DANIEL KIEFER TALKS FOR THE PUBLIC AGAIN

SINCE my return from Fairhope I have been too busy with accumulated work to do much for **THE PUBLIC**. But now that one-third of its eleventh year has passed, we may take our bearings and consider its prospects. ¶ The first third of this year ended with the last week in April. At that time the paid circulation was 6,340, which is 405 more than the paid circulation for the corresponding date a year ago. Also, the average annual deficit is thus far less than was estimated at the beginning of the year. So far, so good. ¶ But I am told that the first third of the year comprises four of the very best months for subscriptions, renewals, etc. The dull summer months are still before us, and no doubt these will raise the average deficit very much, unless special efforts to keep up the subscriptions are made by those readers of the paper everywhere who do not wish this "light to go out." ¶ We must not be content to support the paper with a sustention fund. We must use this fund to support it while we are getting enough subscriptions to make it self-supporting. ¶ The paper would be self-supporting if every subscriber would forward two subscriptions besides his own during the year. A good many have done more than this. I am one of them. Are you? If you are, keep on. If you are not, please begin. ¶ Try to get the paper into public libraries. Try to get local news dealers to keep it on sale. Try to get democratic Democrats and democratic Republicans to take it on trial for a dime, for a quarter, for a half—if possible for a dollar. A whole year's trial is better than a month's. It enables the new subscriber to strike a trial balance between his "swearings at" the paper and his "swearings with" it. Anyone who strikes that balance is hopeless unless he finds the balance to the credit of the paper. ¶ Now that we have entered upon the second third of the eleventh volume, comprising what are usually four of the dullest months of the year, let's turn in all together and raise them up to an equality with the best months. No, let's make them better. The Presidential campaign affords a fine opportunity. ¶ Remember: ten cents a month, twenty-five cents a quarter, fifty cents a half, and one dollar a year; and make it a dollar whenever you can. Pay it yourself (if you have to and can afford it and the other fellow is willing), rather than lose a subscriber; but make him pay for himself if he will, even if you can afford to pay for him. He will take more interest in the paper if he pays for it than if you hand it out to him free. ~~Be~~ Always give him fair warning that **he won't like the paper** if he is opposed to fair play, or to free speech, or to keeping the doors of opportunity wide open, or to the American idea that the people should govern.

READY for DELIVERY**ERNEST CROSBY'S
LAST BOOK****LABOR and NEIGHBOR****WITH PORTRAIT OF
THE AUTHOR**

A limited edition of this book which has appeared serially in recent issues of **THE PUBLIC**, is now ready for delivery.

Price (postpaid): Single copy (paper cover) 25c; six copies to one address, \$1.00; twenty copies to one address, \$3.00.

**LOUIS F. POST, Publisher,
357 Dearborn Street, CHICAGO**

Fellowship Songs.

A collection of Hymns and Songs voicing personal aspiration, civic and religious purpose, social conscience and democratic faith; compiled by Ralph Albertson from such writers as Lowell, Whittier, Kingsley, Tennyson, Mackay, Carpenter, Markham, Massey, Crosby, Mrs. Gilman and W. C. Gannett.

Ernest Crosby's last written words for **THE PUBLIC** were about these Fellowship Songs. The review appeared in **THE PUBLIC** of January 5, 1907, which went to press on the morning of the 3rd, the morning on which he died. Of the Songs he wrote, among other things:

Ralph Albertson's "Fellowship Songs" is an admirable collection of the best liberal hymns and poems, set to the best music. . . . Every progressive group of thinkers—liberal church, woman's club or what not—would do well to lay in a supply of "Fellowship Songs" and practice its melodies.

Handsome stiff cover with cloth back, 25 cts., postpaid.

**THE PUBLIC, BOOK DEPT
Ellsworth Bldg. CHICAGO.**

supplement is of unusual excellence. Not only are the selections made with a keen eye to their missionary effect, but they are of a character individually, and are so related as a whole, as to make the entire supplement attractive alike to the converted and the unconverted. We doubt if any better propa-

ganda literature for Henry George's great reform exists than this supplement to the Oregon Journal.

+

Government (Boston), that marvel of typographical beauty, which devotes its attractive pages to

The Greatest Books in the World Are Swedenborg's
"Marriage Love," cloth, 58c; "Divine Providence," cloth, 40c; "Heaven and Hell," cloth, 40c; "Divine Love and Wisdom," leatherette, 35c; First Volume "Arcana Celestia," cloth, \$1.25; "True Christian Religion," cloth, \$1.25; "The Man and his Mission," paper, 15c. All books postpaid. Stamps taken.
Pastor Landenberger, Windsor Place, St. Louis, Mo.

RESIDENCE OFFICE:
King's Court, 1190 Madison Avenue, Corner 87th Street
Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday by appointment
Telephone 6660-79th, Evenings
DR. MORRIS M. BRILL
Osteopathic Physician
Registered
Tel. 4158-38th St. ASTOR COURT BLDG., 18 West 34th St., New York City

Bolton Hall's Books AT **Reduced Prices**

| | |
|--|-----|
| Three Acres and Liberty , postpaid, | 75c |
| Free America , paper, | 14c |
| Free America , cloth, | 50c |
| Things As They Are , cloth, | 50c |
| The Game of Life , cloth, | 65c |
| Life, Love and Death , paper, | 20c |

SEND FOR BARGAIN LISTS AND CATALOGS

H. H. Timby, Bookhunter & Broker in Books, Conneaut, O.

Hours: 10 a. m. to 4 p. m. Telephone Harrison 1027

**CHARLES L. LOGAN, D. O.
OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIAN**

Office: 45 Auditorium Building
HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS CHICAGO

GILLETTE and Other Safety Razor **BLADES** keenedged "good as new," many say better. Two cents per blade. Send address for our convenient mailing wrapper.
KEENEDGE CO., 66 Wabash Ave., Chicago

REAL ESTATE FOR SALE AND EXCHANGE**EDWARD POLAK**

4030 Third Avenue - - NEW YORK CITY

fair and vigorous discussions on all sides of vital public questions, is notable in its May number for its papers of a reactionary type. W. W. Finley, president of the Southern Railway Company, leads with a plea in the name of liberty for the monopoly side of the railroad question, and General Harrison Gray Otis sounds a similar note against direct legislation. These discussions are relieved by Henry Russell Wray's account of the founding of Colorado Springs by General William J. Palmer, and among the signed editorials is an excellent exposition of the Single Tax—brief, lucid and accurate—by Samuel Brazier. As usual, the half-tone illustrations add immensely to the beauty and value of the magazine.

The Public

is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, and, though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of fundamental democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Bldg., 357 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second-class matter.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------|
| Yearly | \$1.00 |
| Half yearly | .50 |
| Quarterly | .25 |
| Single copies | .05 |
| Trial subscription—4 weeks | .10 |

Extra copies in quantity, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$3.50 per 100.

Free of postage in United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts, postoffice money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders on Chicago or New York Drafts are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper.

The date on wrapper shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING

| | |
|--|---------|
| One page (240 lines), each insertion..... | \$20.00 |
| Half-page (120 lines), each insertion..... | 10.00 |
| Quarter-page (60 lines), each insertion..... | 5.00 |
| One inch (14 lines), each insertion..... | 1.25 |
| One line (agate), each insertion..... | .50 |

Two columns (240 lines) to the page. Length of column, 120 lines. Width of column, 3 inches.

Advertising forms close on the Monday preceding the Friday of publication.

The American Federationist (Washington) for May is largely given over to a discussion of Labor's political campaign, supplemented with a symposium on the relation to organized labor of the Sherman anti-trust law.

+ + +

As long as some people want to administer the affairs of others there will be opposition to really democratic government.—The Silent Partner.

Additions to Our Book Dept

Garrison, The Non-Resistant.

By ERNEST CROSBY.

In new stiff drab paper cover, 25c, postpaid.

The Digger Movement in the Days of the Commonwealth.

By LEWIS H. BERENS.

Green canvas, \$2.00, postpaid.

The Hungry Forties: Life under the Bread Tax.

Orange paper, 20c, postpaid.

Natural Taxation.

By THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

Paper, 50c, postpaid.

The Single Tax.

By GEORGE A. BRIGGS.

Stiff blue paper, 10c, postpaid.

The Story of My Dictatorship: A Dream of the Future.

Gray paper, 12c, postpaid.

Live Questions.

By JOHN P. ALTGELD.

Cloth, \$2.50; by mail, \$2.80.

Already Announced

Bisocialism: The Reign of the Man at the Margin.

By OLIVER R. TROWBRIDGE.

Price, 60c, postpaid.

Garrison, The Non-Resistant.

By ERNEST CROSBY.

With portrait of Garrison. Blue cloth, 50c, postpaid.

Ethics of Democracy.

By LOUIS F. POST.

With portrait of author. Blue cloth, \$1.25, postpaid.

Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce.

By LOUIS F. POST.

Blue cloth, \$1.00, postpaid.

The Single Tax.

By LOUIS F. POST.

With colored charts. Stiff red paper cover, 25c, postpaid.

The Prophet of San Francisco.

By LOUIS F. POST.

Rough gray paper cover, 10c, postpaid.

Address:

THE PUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

A Startling Sacrifice

Special Sale at Cost of a Limited Number of Sets of the Handsome Library Edition of the Complete Works of Henry George, Including the Life of Henry George by Henry George, Jr., in Ten Volumes

We find that we are positively compelled to dispose of a small number of the remaining sets of these valuable books, for cash, and we will let them go at cost. There are not many left and those who order immediately will be the ones to get them.

The regular price of this set is \$15.00, cash with order, or \$17.50 if paid in installments. The books are of uniform size and boxed. The volumes are as follows:

- | | |
|---|---|
| Volume I. Progress and Poverty. | Volume V. A Perplexed Philosopher. |
| " II. Social Problems. | Volumes VI. and VII. The Science of Political Economy. |
| " III. The Land Question. Contains "The Land Question," "Property in Land," and "The Condition of Labor" (open letter to Pope Leo XIII.) | Volume VIII. Our Land and Land Policy. Contains the miscellaneous writings, speeches and lectures. |
| " IV. Protection or Free Trade. | Volumes IX. and X. The Life of Henry George. |

No better work can be done to spread the truth taught by Henry George than to get his great books into public libraries everywhere, whether by gift or otherwise. This sacrifice sale offers an unparalleled opportunity to this end.

THE SACRIFICE PRICE

We will sell the complete set for **\$7.50, cash with order**; transportation extra. For \$1.00 additional, or \$8.50 in all we will send the set carefully packed, by express prepaid to any address in the United States or Canada. Cash must be sent with the order. This offer is subject to withdrawal without notice.

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO. Room 205, 357 Dearborn St., Chicago



THE FAME OF TOM L. JOHNSON

President of this bank, as an earnest worker for the interests of the whole people is world-wide. Few men are better known and the efforts of none are more appreciated. In organizing this bank we enlisted the personal and financial co-operation of Mr. Johnson upon the understanding that it should be a bank for "the people" rather than for the benefit of a few capitalists.

It is particularly gratifying that we are able to present our

BANK MONEY-ORDER PLAN

the most perfect method ever devised for handling accounts from depositors anywhere in the world. When you send money to us for deposit, we issue to you, instead of the old, clumsy "pass-book," with its dangerous and inconvenient features, our Bank Money Orders. They show, on their face, the amount of principal and interest—you know what it is at a glance, without figuring. They are Certified Checks on this Bank, the safest known form of commercial paper. You keep them, and when you need money,

YOU CAN HAVE THESE BANK MONEY ORDERS CASHED INSTANTLY—ANYWHERE

with interest at 4%. The plan is ideal—your money is always on deposit, yet you have it constantly in hand ready for instant use in time of need.

Deposits accepted for any sum from \$1.00 up, and from the moment your money reaches us it draws 4% INTEREST.

If you have money on deposit anywhere, or if you contemplate opening a savings account, you owe it to yourself and those dependent upon you to investigate this remarkably convenient and safe method.

Write for booklet "G" to-day, or send us your deposit and we will at once mail you Bank Money Orders for the full amount. The booklet is free—write for it now.

THE DEPOSITORS SAVINGS & TRUST CO., TOM L. JOHNSON, Pres., Cleveland, O.