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

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Vol. XII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1909.

No. 577

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 the Act of March 3, 1879

EDITORIAL

Advice to Reformers and Others.

As a rule—sometimes better served in the breach than in the observance, but as a general rule,—a man must come to the waters and drink because he is thirsty, and not be over-urged to drink because it will do him good.

+ +

"Bucket Shops."

While one great speculator is with impunity and complete immunity cornering the wheat market through the Board of Trade at Chicago, a lot of so-called "bucket shop" operators are being pursued by the Chicago police. The contrast is suggestive. This speculator menaces the interests of the entire community, of the entire country: these "bucket shop" operators menace no one's interests, at the worst, but their own and those of their voluntary customers. Yet he stands out as a legitimate business man, unmolested by the officers of the law, while they are hunted down as criminals. What makes the difference? They are mere gamblers, do you say? Not always, perhaps, but concede it; and what is he? Does he differ from them at all in that respect except that he gambles through a licensed gambling hell? We do not imply that boards of trade and stock exchanges have no legitimate functions. They have legitimate functions. They are the modern market overt. But as now constituted, the Chicago Board of Trade is a private institution with monopoly

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privileges, for laws which it has secured shield it from competition. It tries to conserve its monopoly, as all monopolists do. Its monopoly is threatened by the "bucket shops." They offer gambling facilities in competition with the gambling facilities with which it supplements its legitimate functions. In the interest, therefore, of part of its business, "bucket shops" must be suppressed. Consequently it calls in the law (or the police, which do not always mean the same thing) to suppress these competitors for some of its gambling trade, competitors who harm no outsiders. At the same time it affords to Mr. Patten, the great wheat gambler, all its immense facilities for gambling, although his gambling is to the detriment not only of voluntary fellow gamblers but of the whole bread-producing and bread-consuming world.

* *

Taxation and "Big Business" in Chicago.

Maxwell Edgar has made an exposure of fiscal and business corruption in Chicago, which doubtless has its counterpart in most communities, and is at any rate worthy the attention of all communities. That Chicago has been unfairly taxed, the poorer bearing the burdens of the rich and the common income kept unjustly down to freezing point, has long been felt. It has been referred to collusion between Big Business and "greyhound" politics; but publicity has followed slow upon the heels of suspicion. Collier's made an investigation and began an exposure, but the local influence hurled at its editorial citadel was too much even for the well proved courage of Collier's. Maxwell Edgar has, however, brought some of the damaging facts to light.

*

Before the revenue committee of the lower branch of the legislature Mr. Edgar called public attention to some interesting nuggets of fact. Representing the Illinois Tax Reform League, he read the names of several large firms in Chicago which he said had taken their coal contracts from independent dealers and given them to the City Fuel Company, of which Fred W. Upham of the Cook county board of tax review is president, and explained that the tax assessments of several of these firms had been coincidentally lowered all the way from a few thousand dollars to more than one million. In his specification, Mr. Edgar particularized in this illuminating manner:

The assessment of the Chicago City Railway Company was reduced from \$12,000,000 to \$7,300,000 when the City Fuel Company got its coal contract.

The assessment of the Chicago Title and Trust Co., was reduced from \$2,500,000 to \$1,500,000 about

the time that the City Fuel Company got its coal contract.

The specifications, of which the above are samples included the First National Bank, Commercial National Bank, Heyworth building, Republic building, Palmer house, Mentor, Masonic temple, Atlas block, Great Northern building, Majestic building, Schiller building, Merchants' Loan and Trust company, Fort Dearborn building, New York Life building, Hartford building, Western Electric company, Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., Rothschild & Co., Mandel Bros., Siegel Cooper & Co., The Fair, Marshall Field & Co., John V. Farwell & Co., Chicago Telephone Co., and Union Traction Co.

+

Of course all this was denounced as "muckraking" by beneficiaries on both sides of the deal. But the sooner such muck is roughly raked the better will it be for Chicago. Isn't that so? When one member of the taxing board is president of a coal company which does a "land office business" under the circumstances noted above, and the law firm of another is under general retainer by over 100 corporations that would hardly be their clients under normal conditions, it is time, we should say, to bring in the "muckrake."

* *

Degradation.

A Southern correspondent, referring to our comment under the title of "Darkest Texas" (p. 245), upon a recent Texas bonfire with a writhing Negro in the center of it, wishes to know what we think about "darkest Illinois," alluding to the Springfield lynching (vol. xi, p. 923); or "darkest France," alluding to a public execution of brigands there, and the gloating over it by the people.

+

We think about all this sort of brutality wherever it occurs, precisely as we do when it occurs in Texas or anywhere else in the South. Brutality, savagery, hellishness, are not subject to geographical standards. They are as degrading in one place as in another, to the brutes and savages and hell hounds that practice or applaud them. For after all, the worst of these exhibitions is not so much the temporary physical pain they inflict upon the victims, as the moral degradation they disclose or foster and perpetuate among the perpetrators. Back of all infliction of physical pain is the fact that it brutalizes and degrades those who inflict or applaud it. And this is true in degree all the way on from the spanking of a child to the burning of

a man. When an offender is burned alive in any community the civilization of that community is not to be judged by its geographical location, nor even by the crime itself, but by what it does about it. The more vigorously it excuses the act the more damningly it accuses itself.

* *

A Certain Attitude Toward the Negro.

We shall embody in this editorial a letter on the Negro question which for some weeks we have withheld from publication. At first we thought of publishing it without comment, as an expression from "the other side." But when we considered the pain it might give to a race of people whose history and present position demand from every truly chivalrous person of the dominant race the utmost care to shield them from affront, we hesitated. Yet the letter is from a man in the South who writes in good faith, and with no more offense than is necessarily involved in his honest opinion, and whose opinion is largely that of the dominant race at the South—and indeed at the North also. It has seemed to us better, therefore, that this expression from "the other side," which though blunt is neither malicious nor savage, should appear in our columns even at the risk of pain to sensitive minds. We withhold the writer's name. Its publication could neither add to nor minimize the force of the letter, and we have no desire to appear in any way as personal in the comments we are about to make. They are wholly impersonal and free from any but the kindest feeling. Enough to say that the letter is absolutely genuine.

*

It is as follows:

You are doing fine work for true democracy, but I can't agree with your ideas about the Negro. You assume in all arguments on the subject that the only difference between a Teuton and a Negro is the color of his skin. A greater mistake could not be made. The two races differ: in mind, heart, and (many able writers believe) in soul as well. One of the great Northern medical magazines recently said that it would require 25,000 years to develop the Negro up to the average standard of the Teuton at the present time. This on the assumption that the Negro has the same natural attributes as the Teuton. If the Negro is only a higher development of the simian tribe, as great and good and able men now hold, 25,000 years would utterly fail to produce a Lee or a Lincoln. I suggest that in writing your editorials on the Negro, you remember the radical and utterly irreconcilable differences of opinion on the question.

The Negro has no friends in this Union so valuable to him as the average good man in the South. No others understand him so well, or will stand for him

so firmly in his true needs, and give him intelligent sympathy based on a true knowledge of his nature. Thousands in the North will call him "Mr.," give money for his education, and yet won't employ him. He is repulsive to them. The Northerner won't have any business relations with him. All this is cruel and absurd. The Southerner will compel him to stay in his place, doubt the wisdom of educating him, and yet help him every time when truly the Negro needs help. Now, we hold our plan infinitely better for the Negro than the Northern plan.

Speaking for myself, I am an "agnostic" as to whether the Negro has a soul. I truly feel that I don't know. Splendid people of the South in constant contact with the Negro say he's a natural thief and no exceptions. About this I can't say. I haven't had enough to do with him to decide for myself. They also say there's no virtue among the females, and no respect among the males for virtue. You know only too well, if this be true, that no such race can ever rise high in the scale of civilization.

If you have time and disposition, an answer from you on the points I have stated about the Negro, as I understand him, will be greatly appreciated. No one loves true democracy more than I, and I heartily encourage you in your great work.

*

A statement so ingenuous ought to be its own answer. But some of the human race have always fostered their sense of superiority by degrading others; and, as Guizot somewhere says, they are not satisfied with the mere power to do so, but want to convince themselves somehow that it is right. Captain Marryatt satirized this characteristic when in "Midshipman Easy" he gave the young "leveller" a convert in the person of the ship's cook, the most menial hand on board, and reconverted the cook from his equality theory by having the captain hire a scullion, a grade of hand still lower. It is a characteristic which finds historical expression among all peoples, in all times, and with reference to a great variety of standards. Every ten-penny James has had his nine-penny Jims. All races and all classes have experienced the hardships of this selfish attitude of their "superiors"—Saxon and Jew, scholar and peasant, white laborer as well as black. It expresses itself even by the standard of sex. When men protest tender regard for women while denying them civil equality, they draw a line of inferiority that differs from our correspondent's only as the harem differs from the cotton field. In the one case the "inferior" creature is a pet for the "superior," and in the other his servant. He may be the protecting lover of the one and the condescending friend of the other, but from the elevation of his "superior" intelligence he commands them to stay in their place. The quality of this love and this friendship is such that he holds the woman

as "a little dearer than his horse," the servant as "somewhat better than his dog." "Religion" has usually furnished the ethical justification. It is now more commonly furnished by "science." Our correspondent falls back upon both.



As for the Negro's identity with the human race, who has yet been able to distinguish any peculiarity in the life blood that courses through his body? As for his soul, the revolting history of Negro slavery amply testifies that the white man has less reason for doubting the Negro's than the Negro has for doubting the white man's. The white man understand the Negro! It is not true that the average white man of the South (or of the North either, for that matter) understands him. No man can understand another man unless he associates with him upon the basis of equal rights. The Southern white man doubtless understands the Negro slave, the Negro serf, the Negro menial, the cringing creatures that white men have made of Negroes, but it is simply as slave or serf or menial; he does not understand the Negro man. Negro nature (in contradistinction to slave nature of whatever race or color), the domineering white man does not understand, and he never can until he shall have acknowledged it to be identical with human nature.



Quincy Ewing, himself a Southerner of many generations, has answered our correspondent at every angle, in the Atlantic Monthly for March, and we leave him and those who hold with him to fight it out with Mr. Ewing. It seems appropriate, however, to say that in considering the pain which our correspondent's letter might give to Negroes, we must not ignore the pain it ought to give to those good people for whom and to the very section for which he especially speaks. Could there be a more terrific indictment of the intelligent and moral South? We are well aware that some empiricists have contended for the non-human status of the Negro. We are also aware that an illiterate class now furnishes adherents to the same doctrine, for we have seen that monstrosity of bookmaking—"The Negro a Beast," put out by a St. Louis house. Disinherited whites might hold such views of a distinct race with whom they are in a life and death labor struggle, without other blame than would imply pity. But the case would be far different should we attribute such views to that intelligent, able and conscientious class in the South who themselves, or their progenitors, have held the Negro in bondage, and who now live

upon the Negro's underpaid labor, as the plutocracy of the North live upon the underpaid labor of both whites and blacks. Think of the crimes against persons and civilization which our correspondent's suggestions proclaim! Can we conceive of an intelligent group of the Anglo-Saxon race as having taken a domesticated group of soulless and unmoral animals into the bosom of their families, and as putting their babes into their arms to rear? Can we conceive of them as leaving their children of both sexes in the care of these talking "simians"? More monstrous still, can we think of them as raising up a mixed race, half beast and half human? No crime against civilization could be more horrible. Yet this is the crime our correspondent charges against his own Southland. Not alone is the suggestion that they are mere animals an intolerable aspersion upon a race of affectionate, faithful and intelligent people whom our race has grossly wronged; but the necessary corollary makes the suggestion, under the indisputable circumstances, a hideous libel upon our own race as well.



In what we have said, there is no sectional spirit. Our correspondent is right in charging the white North with equal or greater cruelty to individual Negroes than the South inflicts. He is right in his contrast of North with South in their treatment of the Negro; for most white men of the South do treat individual Negroes who "know their place," better than most white men of the North treat individual Negroes whether they "know their place" or not. The question is no sectional question; it is a man question. The real difference between the North and the South is one not of sentiment but of expression. It is analogous to the difference in an individual between covetousness and theft, or the adultery of the New Testament and that of the Old. The white North is pretty much at one with the white South in unbrotherly sentiment toward the Negro; but the North cloaks the sentiment in fine phrases, whereas the South expresses it without reserve. The South thereby reveals to both sections the essential ugliness of the sentiment they harbor in common. Let us hope that this revelation may bear repentant fruit. Let us hope that both sections, loathing the sentiment so revealed, will with one accord cast it out of our national life. Let us hope that the time is at hand when both the white North and the white South will be democratic enough to think of their black fellowmen in connection with the Declaration of Independence,

and Christian enough to deal by them in accordance with the Golden Rule of the Nazarene.

* *

Tariff Tenderness for Farmers.

The attention of farmers is called by Alderman George Stewart Brown of Baltimore to another "innocent" in the free list of the Payne tariff bill. It is the item of "sheep dip." Sheep dip, by the way, is a disinfectant much used for the cure of a certain disease of sheep. Of course it may be used for other disinfectant purposes. If not, of what good would it probably be as a disinfectant for sheep? Now this "sheep dip" is in the free list. But it is put there with a proviso excluding "all compounds or preparations that can be used for other purposes"! In other words, "sheep dip" is in the free list provided it be a compound that will not disinfect anything but sheep. For, as Alderman Brown adds, "the Board of General Appraisers have already decided that unless it confines its disinfectant action to a sheep's back, it 'can be used for other [disinfectant] purposes,' and cannot come in free but must pay 20 per cent duty." Farmers should be interested in knowing that it is the name "sheep dip," and not its curative properties, that goes into the free list.

* *

Relgio-Economic Lectures.

An experiment in popular lectures on religio-economic subjects was begun at Handel Hall (40 Randolph street), Chicago, last Sunday by the Rev. A. B. Francisco. The experiment is to be continued next Sunday at the same place at 3 o'clock sharp. Mr. Francisco is a rugged, plain spoken clergyman, of commanding presence, who feels strongly, thinks straight, and enlivens his oratory with flashes of spontaneous eloquence. He aims his speech at head and heart alike, and keeps his feet firmly upon the ground. His governing idea is that the social whole, no less than the individual person, is subject to spiritual law. But the spiritual law he preaches is not arbitrary; it is rational. And it is related to natural phenomena in every stage, from the simplest natural laws of physics, up through all the natural laws of industrial activity, including the natural laws of human association. In his Handel Hall lectures, therefore, he keeps himself in close touch with life as we know it here—the picture of a life more real, it may be, but in itself a real life nevertheless. Mr. Francisco's meetings occupy middle ground between religious meetings that leave out economics, and economic meetings that leave out religion.

ARRAYING POOR AGAINST RICH.

If opportunity were equally open to all in this country and every one had his rights fully safeguarded, there would be no occasion for any protest such as this which recently appeared in Leslie's Weekly, and has been approvingly quoted in great newspapers:

Cruel wrong is done by those who constantly seek to array the poor against the rich and to misrepresent the latter as void of sympathy and all the kindly instincts of humanity. When we stop to think that most of our rich men of to-day were the poor men of a few years ago, we realize the injustice of the accusation. In this great country, where opportunities for advancement are open to all and where every one has his rights fully safeguarded, no class distinction should be permitted to prevail. Demagogues who endeavor to create such distinctions, should be regarded as a menace to the public welfare and be treated accordingly.

No "demagogues" can create class distinctions in any country where opportunities are open to all and rights are safeguarded. It is because opportunity in this great country has been monopolized to an enormous extent by the few, and the rights of the many have been insolently and wickedly ignored, that men of "kindly instincts" protest, in the name of justice, against the class distinctions which have resulted.

Demagogues do not create class distinctions—they merely take advantage of any class distinction that manifestly exists. The ignorant demagogue mistakenly draws the line of class distinction between Rich and Poor, instead of between the promoters and beneficiaries of Special Privilege on one hand, and the victims thereof on the other. And the ignorant press commentator does the same. But the "demagogue" rightly denounces the existing evil, while the ignorant press commentator seeks to defend it by brazenly denying its existence.

There is never any menace to the public welfare from the "demagogue" who tries to create a class distinction; but there is imminent menace to the generating cause of class distinction in the denunciation of special privilege by the prophet and the seer. And always Jerusalem stones the prophets!

Ignorant speakers and writers have so persistently misapplied the epithet "demagogue" that well-informed readers have come to regard its use as signifying a strong probability of exceptionally high virtue in the person assailed. And this because individuals thus stigmatized are in the great majority of cases found to be men of ster-

ling character and high ideals, fired with a quenchless passion for justice, who refuse to keep silence while powerful and "respectable" thieves ply their vocation of public plunder.

The assumption that in "this great country opportunities for advancement are open to all, and every one has his rights fully safeguarded," is a mossback philosophy, an echo of a long past plausibility, and a plump contradiction of the glaring facts of current economic and political history.



A cruel injustice it is indeed to seek to array the poor against the rich; but if the editors of great newspapers and popular magazines lack the capacity to discriminate between the rich, as such, and the promoters and beneficiaries of nefarious schemes for wanton exploitation of the public, then what wonder that the mass of their readers fall into the same ditch with them?



And, pray, what does it signify that "the rich man of today was the poor man of a few years ago"? Is not that very circumstance a symptom of the disease complained of? Is the rapid amassing of individual fortunes an indication of universal equality of opportunity, to take advantage of which will make millionaires of us all? He who imagines it, belongs in the kindergarten department of the economics school.

And here is a kindergarten lesson: By how much would it be possible for the employers of the country to advance the wages of their workmen, with safety to the stability of business? Would it be sufficient to enable the most productive laborer or mechanic of today to become thereby the rich man of a few years hence?

Employers engaged in competitive business will aver that no considerable advance can be made in wages without a corresponding increase in the prices of product—the commodities for possession of which the wages must be expended. At that rate will the mechanic of today become, by his mechanical industry, the rich man of a few years hence? Nonsense!

There are two ways, by either of which men may secure great wealth, namely: either by honest, socially beneficial, lawful and exceptionally able enterprise; or, by dishonorable, socially baneful, unlawful and exceptionally shrewd, cruel and masterful exploitation of the public. The former is welcome to his wealth; but, like poor dog Tray, he will doubtless be made to suffer occasionally at the hands of ignorant "demagogues" and cke ignorant newspaper writers, who, neither of them,

have the intelligence, or the sincerity, to distinguish between him and the vicious dogs whose "rich" company he is surprised in.



Loose to society the opportunities that those vicious dogs have wrongfully cornered, and not all the demagogues on earth would be able to array one class against another. There would be no "poor," for the reason that the billions now wrung from industry by special privilege and private monopoly, would then be, quite naturally, distributed competitively among the producers thereof. There would still be many rich men; but opportunity being equally open to all—"every one's rights fully safeguarded"—what ground of adverse criticism would remain? None whatever.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

London, April 8, 1909.

Since the last letter on the British political situation (vol. xi, p. 344), there have been several notable movements. At that time the Liberal government had just been partly reconstructed owing to the death of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and the retirement of a few members of the Cabinet and the consequent appointment of new men to the vacant positions. It is difficult to say what effect this change in the composition of the government has had on its policy. Even after a lapse of twelve months one does not feel justified in saying that the party have withdrawn their support from any of the distinctively Liberal measures whch formed the programme of the government when they came into power in 1906. But this period has been remarkable for the restraint which has been placed on the more radical sections of the party and especially on those who regard a strong and clear measure of land reform as the central part of Liberal policy.

The large and increasing number of people who support the taxation of land values have lived and worked in an undefined hope for almost a year. In this matter it will be admitted that their experience would have been different if Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had lived. The work of governments under a system of party politics is twofold in its nature. First of all they formulate their policy, and then, in seeking to carry out this policy, they expound and recommend it to the electors in order to get their support. This latter part of the government's work, since Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's death, has been less perfectly done. The campaign of the Ministers in the country has been weak and ineffectual.

During last year the House of Lords rejected the licensing bill, and the Scottish land bill for the extension of small holdings in that country, while they fatally amended the Scottish land values bill; and it cannot be said that the Liberal party have proved

to the people that these actions of the Lords have deprived them of several great and beneficial measures of reform. Indeed, if we judge by the results of the by-elections which have taken place during the fifteen months, we must confess that in the majority of cases there has been a very pronounced change of opinion in favor of the Conservative party and policy. The fact that the Lords had rejected an education bill and an electoral reform bill in addition to those mentioned above does not seem to rouse the people in favor of the government whose policy these bills embodied. On the contrary, the unprecedented activity of the Conservatives and Protectionists has swayed the people strongly in their direction. Their forced agitation on the question of the navy has undoubtedly done much to discredit the government.

While Mr. Asquith differs from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the fact that he seldom speaks out, seldom gives utterance to democratic thoughts that appeal to the mass of the people and rouse their enthusiasm, the radical members of his party still regard him as a sound and strong leader. They still believe that he is determined to obtain the object of some of his rejected measures by the more direct means of the Budget or finance bill of this year. There is a strong sentiment in many quarters in favor of increasing the duties on liquor licenses. Members of the temperance party who believe that temperance will be promoted by handicapping the liquor trade strongly advocate heavier taxes on spirits and beer. There is little that is novel in this proposal, as the principle is already applied to a certain extent, and it is generally admitted to be unpopular with the people of England.

More interest centers in the proposed tax on land values in the Budget, and those who believe that the future of the Liberal party is bound up with the genuine reform of economic conditions, hope and believe that the government will retrieve their fortunes, and win back a large measure of their lost popularity by a substantial measure of this kind. Nothing certain will be divulged until the Budget is produced. At the present moment the semi-official statement is that this will take place on April 22d. Meantime certain departmental arrangements are being made which suggest that the permanent officials are preparing to carry out some sweeping alterations in connection with valuation and collection of revenue. The Conservative papers are devoting much more space to attacks on what they call socialistic legislation. At the same time, the landowners, through the different organizations which they control, are stirring up a strong agitation against the proposed tax. This agitation is much more widespread and varied than anything which has yet appeared. The agricultural landowners appeal to the farmers to oppose what they describe as a new burden on agriculture. They do not define what they mean by agriculture and of course the majority of the farmers do not press their inquiries far enough to see that a tax on land value is nothing but a tax on the value of a monopoly which in every case militates against the industry of agriculture. These activities on the part of the Conservatives and the landowners show that they now really believe that a practical step is to be taken in the direction of breaking up their privileges.

Whatever happens in the political world we can congratulate ourselves on the fact that the people of this country have been interested and educated in single tax principles during the last year more than they have been within a much longer period in our history. It is possible that the Lords may venture to reject the Budget—a very serious step, and one which is almost without precedent. Referring to this possibility in a speech at Hyde, Lancashire, on April 1st, the Earl of Derby said: "There are no steps which the House of Lords will not take—and I will never refuse to vote—to force the government to appeal to the country. It will come before long." Such a decision on the part of the House of Lords would make the taxation of land values the supreme issue at the next election, and there is little doubt that the country would declare for it by a large majority.

JOHN ORR.

* * *

PARIS IN TIME OF STRIKE.*

Etaples sur Mer, France, March 20, 1909.

Three days, and no letters from Paris! The fourth day, and the carrier hardly thinks it worth his while to stop with one small letter from England. The fifth day, and the box on the inside of our door is empty. We have begun to cease to think of letters, or to wonder if the American mail, due days ago at Cherbourg, is still lying undistributed in some of the big receiving rooms. All interest centers now around the great strike—the first of its kind in the world. How appropriate that it should take place at Paris! At the brilliant capital of the great country that kindly, not arrogantly, calls itself the "Suri-patrie," or the Over-country, and that loves to hear a foreigner say, "I have two countries—my own and France."

Those of us who are not in vital need of funds from home, overlook the need of letters and watch for the Paris papers that reach us at midday. Then, as we read, we wish that we were there to see the posters freshly pasted on the walls before the break of day. Paris loves her "affiches." Since the time of the "Commune" it has been her manner of appealing to the public. Many are the amusing and interesting things you can find there as you stroll about the city.'

And just now it is the strike. Never, they say, was a "Mi-carême" more welcome, for most people did not know whether it was the strike or the holiday that was responsible for the cessation of business. Therefore they ceased to be vexed until the next day. But even now the great majority, though greatly inconvenienced, take things calmly because they seem to believe in the justice of the strikers' cause.

A sense of dissatisfaction, growing for two years, and repeatedly demonstrated to the authorities, finally culminates in a determination on the part of the government's postal, telegraph and telephone em-

*This letter is dated six days earlier than the letter which appeared in The Public of April 9, entitled "The End of the Strike," (p. 345), but it has come by a slower steamer or been delayed on the way. Though out of sequence we think it too good to be lost.—Editors of The Public.

ployes to work no more until their wrongs are righted.

Then what do we see? More than ten thousand organized State employes go in regular order to their work, relieve the several "brigades"—there were four—at the usual stated times; but daily doing less of their regular work, till finally among the piled up dispatches, the ticking implements, the wagons laden with their burden of mail, they sit and stand—these calm and orderly work men and women—with folded arms. The Paris papers are full of their pictures. If you do any kind of work in Paris you wear a long linen blouse, or apron. And there they sit or stand, in their blouses, beside their instruments, and among the heaped up sacks.

But what is the cause of the trouble? One might almost better ask, who? For all is peace until Simyan, the official head, appears. Then are cries of "Conspuez Simyan! Démission!" The despised and spit-upon Simyan—he must resign. The few cries and the absolute refusal to work, are followed by a few arrests. More cries and more arrests! Then trials in the police court.

"You are accused of crying, 'Conspuez Simyan.'"

"Yes," replies the first prisoner; "I left my work. I turned around. I not only cried, 'Conspuez Simyan'; I added, 'Démission.'"

The second prisoner, similarly accused, replies: "I have cried 'Conspuez Simyan! Démission.' I was on the stairway. I had finished my work. The policemen prevented me from going out. I remounted the stairs and cried it again."

So through the long list of prisoners, till Mr. Thibaut, lawyer for the Association, says: "My clients admit the facts. They have cried, 'Conspuez Simyan! Démission!' It was the cry of the heart of all the postal employes, little or great."

What has he done, this man, so hated and despised by his subordinates? They are said to have loved his predecessor.

When Mr. Simyan succeeded to the administration he journeyed first to the four corners of France; and on his return to Paris he began to institute what he was pleased to call "reforms," chief among them being a system of promotion based on merit, instead of the one in operation for fifteen years, which was purely automatic, and based on length of service, and the consequent experience and loyalty which are considered to increase the value of any service. A system of promotion based on merit, in France as elsewhere, could not but lead to favoritism and abuse. The people with "pull" are the people who "merit" things. Dissatisfaction grew apace. Further, in place of adding to the number of employes from time to time as the work increased, from one and another class an extra hour of work for which there was no extra pay, was demanded. Briefly, there was no co-operation between the head and even his immediate subordinates. Mr. Simyan aimed to be an autocrat. He took the personnel of his staff not at all into account. And even now he announces his intention of being "very severe" with the offenders.

Last Sunday there were many meetings among the different unions of the postal, telegraph and telephone employes, but very little excitement and not much sign of action, till suddenly, near one of the doors some one entered quickly and with one jump

was upon a table. It was Mr. Subra, a former president of the General Association of the R. T. T. In a few trenchant remarks he made the situation clear to all. "Our salaries are insufficient; our advancement has been retarded and there are many minor grievances, chief among them the fact that our complaints are unheard, our cry is disregarded." "As for you," he continued, addressing his hearers, "act as it seems to you good. If you do not wish to go to the battle, we will go without you. But if we are conquered you will know for what to reproach yourselves, and you will remember that you have betrayed the cause of the proletariat."

Applause resounded on all sides. The right note had been struck, and the keenly sensitive Parisian was quick to respond. The calm of the previous moment had become a noisy demonstration of eagerness to enter the fray.

The next morning it began at the central office, and spread to one and another, till days have passed and Paris is cut off from normal communication with the outside world. The service has gradually grown less. First the foreign letters were disregarded; then those from the provinces; finally you could not even buy a stamp in the main postoffices of Paris. Without any convulsion of nature, without any interference of foreign powers or any war in the usual sense of the term, Paris is to-day almost in the condition of a besieged city. Even shipments from producers in the country are ceasing. Business to-day depends on correspondence. Yours depends on whole armies of employes that you yourself do not employ.

And now the soldiers are called out. To protect an army of strike breakers? Not at all. To break the strike; to operate the telegraphs and the telephones, to despatch the mails, to run all the complex machinery of the postal and telegraph and telephone systems of a great city. How does it work? You know how it works. How would it work in America? Just the same as it does in France.

A handsome young soldier was leaving the central office in Paris when he was asked how it worked. He answered gaily that it worked exceedingly well; that he had a pretty little blonde girl to teach him how to use the instruments, and that he would soon learn under such gentle instruction; to which his crusty old interlocutor replied: "Instead of business, it will be: To the devil with business, and long live love."

IDA FURSMAN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SECOND ELECTIONS.

Lonsdale, R. I.

To Rhode Islanders it seems rather curious that reformers anywhere are asking for second elections. In this State until the year 1894, a majority of all the votes cast for officials was required to elect. Consequently second elections for Congressmen, members of the legislature, city and town officials, were very common. They were usually settled at the second trial. After a long continued agitation, resisted year after year by the State boss, an amendment of the Constitution was submitted to the people in 1903,

providing for plurality elections. It was adopted by a popular vote of eight to one.

Our reason for desiring to get rid of second elections was that the poorer party had a hard enough time raising funds to make any showing at the first election. When it came to a second trial for a few officials in a few localities, then the richer party had everything its own way.

Our experience of two hundred and fifty years was that good government loses rather than gains, and loses almost invariably and completely, by second elections. The single alternative vote would reach the result hoped for by reformers from a second election. It would enable members of third and fourth parties to express their first choice of candidates without at the same time helping to elect their last choice, as now is often the case.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

* * *

THE HEART OF THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

If the demand for woman suffrage were based upon the claim that granting it would purify politics, or cause any improvement in existing conditions, the point that its expediency is disproved or unproved might be relevant. I am well aware that some women suffragists do advance arguments of that kind. They are as illogical in doing so as others are in blaming woman suffrage for evils still existing in Colorado. If equal suffrage existed in Ohio, we should probably still have Cox rule in Cincinnati, and the usual Republican majority in the State. If it existed in New York Tammany would still control the city, and Hughes be in control at Albany. If woman suffrage were abolished in Colorado, Denver would still remain boss-ridden, and Guggenheim and Hughes would be in the Senate just the same.

My reasons for favoring woman suffrage are not based on any fear or expectation in regard to the use women will make of the ballot. I favor suffrage for women because I have no moral right to help to keep it from them. The question of what use they will make of the ballot has nothing at all to do with the question of whether they should be allowed to have it. If I have a right to keep women from voting, then I have a moral right also to keep men from voting, should I by any means happen to be able to do so. If I have no moral right to prevent men from voting, then I have no right to keep any woman who wants to vote from doing so.

Wherever suffrage is a "failure," whether it be man suffrage, woman suffrage, or both, the fault is not so much with the individual voters as it is with the common failure to understand the functions of government. Any government will be a failure that claims the right to regulate matters that do not concern it. As long as about nine-tenths of the laws on the statute books are attempts of government to meddle in individual affairs, the voters, no matter who or what they may be, will make more or less of a mess of the whole business. If government were restricted to its proper functions it would not matter much whether men of the Guggenheim stripe were in the Senate or not. Restriction of suffrage

is only one of innumerable meddlesome restrictions which most people unthinkingly concede to be a right of government to impose.

DANIEL KIEFER.

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, April 20, 1909.

The Tariff in Congress.

Debate on the tariff bill (p. 372) began in the Senate on the 19th.

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Meanwhile the Democrats had agreed in caucus to support a series of reductions of import duties on necessities, and the incorporation into the bill of an income tax feature.

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President Taft sent to congress on the 15th a message transmitting a recommendation from the Bureau of Insular Affairs for a proposed tariff revision for the Philippines. The measure so transmitted is described by the President as having been "drawn by a board of tariff experts, of which the insular collector of customs, Colonel George R. Colton, was the president," and the board as having "held a great many open meetings in Manila and conferred fully with representatives of all business interests in the Philippine islands." He adds that the bill "revises the present Philippine tariff, simplifies it and makes it conform as nearly as possible to the regulations of the customs laws of the United States, especially with respect to packing and packages;" and that "its purpose is to meet the new conditions that will arise under the section of the pending United States tariff bill, which provides, with certain limitations, for free trade between the United States and the islands." The President says that the bill "is drawn with a view to preserving to the islands as much customs revenue as possible and to protect in a reasonable measure, those industries which now exist in the islands." He recommends its enactment "at the present session of Congress as one incidental to and required by the passage of the Payne bill."

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The Wheat Corner.

Soaring prices for wheat were noted last week (p. 375) when May wheat rose to \$1.28 $\frac{1}{4}$ a bush-

el. That was on the 13th. The next day it rose to \$1.28 $\frac{1}{2}$, the highest price since the Leiter corner of several years ago. The present high prices are said to be the result of a corner engineered by James A. Patten; but Mr. Patten denies responsibility. In newspaper interviews on the 14th he said:

I never bought enough wheat to have a corner, although I have had enough to influence the market and raise the price above an export basis. I have been credited with having more wheat than I have really held. I have been credited with having 15,000,000 bushels. I never had 10,000,000 bushels, and I have kept the wheat from going out of this country because I knew we did not have more than we could use ourselves. If I had not done that the people would be paying more for wheat now than they are.

On the 16th the price fell to \$1.25 $\frac{1}{2}$, but rose again to \$1.27 $\frac{1}{2}$. At that time flour had advanced over the price of two months ago from \$4.90 per barrel in car load lots to \$6.20, and the price of bread had begun to reflect the higher prices of wheat,—not in the prices of loaves, however, but in their sizes. On the 20th May wheat fell to \$1.24 $\frac{1}{2}$. July wheat was then at \$1.14 $\frac{1}{2}$.

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Chicago Traction Transactions.

A firm of expert accountants,—Price, Waterhouse & Co.,—employed by Mayor Busse to audit the books of the traction companies now operating on joint account with the city under the “settlement” ordinances (p. 348), reported on the 13th. The Mayor had employed them on the receipt of a letter from a man in Philadelphia, unknown to him, who intimated that the city was being defrauded of its fair proportion of the net receipts by means of a rebate system. While the accountants did not actually find that the secret rebates received by the company were not shared with the city, they assert that the secret rebate practice is vicious and should be stopped. They characterize it as a variation of the ancient device of the padded pay roll as a means of appropriating funds for a purpose other than that for which the funds appear to be disbursed. The system of keeping two sets of books is also condemned by the accountants. They charged the company with hampering their investigation by refusing to allow an inspection of the individual books of the corporation, without which it is impossible, their report says, to get a correct audit. The company offered to allow its secret set of books to be examined on any specific item which the accountants might want to trace from the joint account, but this the report declares to be inadequate.

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Cleveland Traction Questions.

The meetings of the City Council of Cleveland for public conference over the traction questions

(p. 348), have continued since our last report, but no final adjustment has yet been reached. The conferences are over the settlement proposition with the old company. Meanwhile, to be fully ready for the emergency if the old company frustrates a settlement, the Council at its regular meeting on the 12th, passed thirteen new street railway ordinances covering all the territory over which old franchises have expired or will expire by next January. The ordinances must be advertised for ten days, and there must be three weeks of advertising for bids on each route. The dates set for opening the bids are May 18, 19 and 20th. By that time it is believed that the settlement ordinance will have been accepted by the old company, or the negotiations have come to an end.

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Woman Suffrage in Wisconsin.

By a vote of 13 to 16, on the 14th, the Wisconsin Senate refused to reconsider its action in passing the Stout woman suffrage bill (p. 350) two weeks ago. The bill now goes to the lower House.

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Woman Suffrage In Illinois.

A large representation of women was in attendance at the Illinois capitol in Springfield on the 14th (p. 349), to promote the passage of woman suffrage measures. A special train from Chicago had brought a large number into Springfield the day before. It had stopped at Joliet, Pontiac, Lexington, Bloomington, Atlanta and Lincoln, for meetings addressed by women from the platform of the observation car. The attendance at these on-the-way meetings is reputed to have ranged from 400 to 500. The speakers were Oliver W. Stewart, Agnes Nestor, Lillian Anderson, Mrs. Watkins, Mrs. Henrotin, Mrs. Rastall, Dr. Clara Todson, Anna Nicholes, Jane Addams, Catharine Waugh McCullough and Theodore Kemp. L. B. Bishop led the singing; and the song most sung was Louis J. Block's suffrage hymn (p. 182), which had received the \$100 prize offered by Mrs. Bishop.

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At the State House oratorical contest on the 13th, between representatives of four Illinois colleges on the suffrage question, held under the auspices of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, the following prizes were awarded by Dr. J. W. Rogers of Milliken university, Mrs. Moore of the University of Chicago, and Mrs. Elia W. Peattie of Chicago, who had been appointed as the judges: Glenn Kelly, a student at Eureka College, was awarded the first prize, \$100 in gold, for an oration entitled “A Plea for Equal Suffrage,” and Caroline Fisher of Lombard College received the second prize of \$50.

At the hearing before the joint meeting of the charter committees of the two houses on the 14th, Jane Addams introduced the speakers. They made twenty-five speeches in one hour and twenty-five minutes—an average of three minutes for each speech. Among the speakers were Ella S. Stewart, Elia W. Peattie, Representative Adkins, Anna Nicholes, Agnes Nestor, Alice Henry, Mrs. Dunlap, Lillian Anderson, Harriet Grim, Mrs. Bacon, Oliver W. Stewart, Representative Huston, Mrs. W. I. Thomas, Mrs. Stubbs and Ellen M. Henrotin.

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While this hearing before the charter committees in joint session was in progress in the House chamber, the elections committee of the Senate was listening to arguments against woman suffrage. They were made by Caroline F. Corbin, the president, and three other representatives, of the Illinois Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women. At the conclusion of their speeches in opposition to the Billings bill extending the suffrage to women generally throughout the State, the committee recommended the bill for passage by the following affirmative vote: Senator Breidt, chairman, and Senators Isley, Brown, McKenzie and Tossey and Schmidt. There were no votes in the negative.

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The International Woman Suffrage Movement.

The first quinquennial Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance is to be in session at London from April 28th to May 3d, both inclusive (p. 254). Eighteen nations will be represented by 200 delegates, of which number 25 are to come from America. On the 17th a great procession of women, in London to attend the congress, carrying the colors of their respective nations, marched from the Marble Arch to the Aldwych Theater, where speeches were made to a crowded house. The speakers included Mrs. La-reine Baker of Spokane (reputed to be the heaviest tax payer in the State of Washington), Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst.

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The Commission to Liberia.

As already reported (p. 178), the United States Department of State has decided to send a commission of investigation to Liberia (pp. 300, 339), in response to the appeal from that disorganized little Negro republic on the west coast of Africa (vol. xi, p. 203). The Commission consists of Dr. George Sale of Georgia, Emmett J. Scott of Alabama, and George A. Finch of Washington, D. C., secretary; also Captain Sydney A. Cloman of the Twenty-third Infantry, military attache at London, who will be called for en route, Major Percy N. Ashbury of the medical corps, and Frank A. Flower, attaché. The party leaves New York

on the 24th, and is to be conveyed by the cruisers Chester, Birmingham and Salem. Arrived at their destination the ships are to anchor off shore and serve as headquarters for the Commission, in order to minimize the dangers incident to equatorial climatic conditions. Mr. Scott is a Negro, the private secretary of Booker T. Washington; and newspaper reports indicate a disposition on the part of some of the naval officers of the cruisers to resent his presence among them on a basis of official equality.

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Bloody Adjustment in Turkey.

Constitutionalism cannot be expected to blossom in a moment out of the dry stem of autocracy, and Turkey has proved no exception to the common experience of history. In February a victory was recorded (p. 179) for the Committee of Union and Progress, which represents the Young Turk party, as against the Committee of Liberal Union. With the ascendancy of the Committee of Union and Progress, Kiamil Pasha was removed as Grand Vizier, and Hilmi Pasha was put in his place.

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A revolt against the Committee of Union and Progress broke out on the 13th, led by the troops of the First Army Corps, stationed at Constantinople. The claim was made that the Committee had succumbed to the blandishments of the Sultan, and no longer stood for the constitutionalism they had labored to establish. The troops sent to the government the following demands: "Protection of the Mohammedan faith. Dissolution of Committee of Union and Progress. Dismissal of the Grand Vizier, the Minister of War, the Minister of Marine, and the President of the Chamber, and immunity from punishment for the mutineers." Refik Pasha, Minister of Justice, was shot down by soldiers, and Hilmi Pasha resigned as Grand Vizier. The Sultan did not show himself loth to ally himself with the reactionary religious party, and on the 14th he named Tewfik Pasha as Grand Vizier. The Second and Third Army Corps, stationed at Adrianople and Saloniki, held the keys to the situation, and the Committee of Union and Progress opened headquarters at the latter point. The general disorder fostered rioting, and on the 16th a massacre of Armenians was reported from Adana in Asiatic Turkey, at which place two American missionaries, D. M. Rogers and Mr. Maurer, were reported among the slain. By the 17th, troops from Saloniki and Adrianople had declared themselves and had started for Constantinople to restore the Committee of Union and Progress to power. A commission was sent from Constantinople to intercept the troops with explanations of the situation, but met with no success. The soldiers of the Constantinople garrison, crazed with power, and without officers, were re-

ported as slaughtering their enemies in the streets. The cabinet was powerless and sent temporizing messages, as did the Committee of Liberal Union. The Sultan cowered in his palace. Massacre of Christians in the provinces continued. By the 18th, the Young Turks had an army within striking distance of the capital. By the 19th, the city was surrounded. By the 20th the wretched garrison was deserting, in many cases to join the army without the gates, and the Sultan was reported to be ready to abdicate. The Constitutional army was expected to enter Constantinople on the 21st. The Young Turks had the situation well in hand and serious disorder was not anticipated. Constantinople was excited but gay. According to the dispatches the Young Turks believe that the complicity of the deposed Sultan in the revolt of the 13th has been overwhelmingly proved. They have traced the Society of Reactionary Mohammedans which directly instigated the mutiny of the soldiers, back to the palace.

NEWS NOTES

—The Daughters of the American Revolution began their eighteenth annual convention on the 19th at Washington.

—President Taft and representatives of the American Federation of Labor (p. 375) were in conference at the White House on the 16th.

—At the next session of Congress the desks are to be out of the chamber of the lower house, and members are to occupy benches as in the British House of Commons.

—The final step in the beatification of Joan of Arc (vol. xi, p. 901) will take place at St. Peter's in Rome on the 25th. Sixty French bishops and 40,000 French pilgrims are expected to be in the city for the ceremony.

—Edward Payson Weston, the famous long distance walker of forty years ago (vol. x, p. 828), who began a walking trip on the 15th of March (his 70th birthday) from New York to San Francisco, arrived in Chicago, 1,288 miles, on schedule time at 6:25 p.m. on the 18th of April.

—The courts of Missouri were prohibited on the 17th by the Federal Court (Smith McPherson, judge) from restraining the Missouri railroad from raising fares to 3 cents a mile (p. 253). This decision is understood to prevent any future interference by the State with the rate situation in Missouri.

—Fifty-eight prosecutions for seditious speeches and writings in India (p. 224) since January 1, 1907, are reported in a paper of the British Parliament. The great majority of those tried were editors or publishers of Indian newspapers. In most cases the penalty imposed was imprisonment for from one to three years.

—After eight hours of debate on the 15th, the New York Senate, by a vote of 33 to 14, adopted an adverse report of the Senate judiciary committee on

Governor Hughes's direct nominations measure. This hostile vote finally kills the bill. The result followed similar action on the part of the Assembly a week before.

—The eighteenth International Peace Congress (vol. xi, p. 446) will be held at Stockholm, Sweden, August 29 to September 5. This will be the first international peace congress to be held in Scandinavia, though the International Law Association and the Interparliamentary Union have each held a conference at Christiania.

—Constitutionalism is still fighting for its life in Persia (p. 63). Richmond Pearson Hobson, former United States minister to Persia, in a report made public on the 18th, assigned as reasons for the difficulties of the situation, not only the vast illiteracy in Persia, but the fact that three thousand persons, among them the Shah, own three-fourths of all the land of Persia.

—The wife of former President Castro of Venezuela (p. 374) was prevented by the Venezuelan authorities from disembarking from the Guadalupe at Caracas on the 12th. It was reported from Caracas on the same day that extradition proceedings had been instituted for securing the return to Venezuela of Castro as a fugitive charged with the murder of Antonio Paredes.

—The Progressistas, who represent the minority in the Philippines Assembly (p. 133), went on strike on the 10th. The minority had presented a report favoring the adoption of certain features of the insular commission's resolution which urged the adoption of the tariff measure by the United States Congress, but the majority refused to receive the report. The strike followed.

—The contempt case against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison (p. 326) for boycotting the Buck's Stove and Range Company, as inimical to organized labor, was argued on appeal from the decision of Judge Wright on the 19th. Alton B. Parker argued the appeal for the labor side, and J. J. Darlington for the boycotted stove company. The argument was before the court of appeals of the District of Columbia.

—Mrs. Horace Carr of Cleveland is organizing an Anti-Noise Society to influence the makers of nerve-racking noises to desist. The Plain Dealer describes her as having "the courage of her convictions," adding that "quietly, gently, she goes ahead planning and working, and better still she is willing to spend her own money to get the reform through its initial stages."

—Recent dispatches from London are to the effect that confusion in the Independent Labor party of Great Britain has been caused by the adoption, at the Easter conference in Edinburgh, of Socialist resolutions condemning its support in Parliament of Liberal measures. Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden, J. Ramsey Macdonald and Bruce Glazier thereupon resigned from the national administrative council and refused to resume their offices upon the passage of a vote of confidence.

—The lower branch of the Missouri legislature passed on the 14th by a vote of 86 to 51 a resolution to submit the prohibition Constitutional amendment to the vote of the people at the regular election in November, 1910. The measure is yet to be acted

on by the Senate (said to be friendly), but if it passes that body the Governor's signature will not be necessary. Many Republicans voted for the resolution, but as a rule they opposed it. The Democrats, with the exception of the members from cities, voted for it.

—The final official figures on the financial operation of the Chicago Railway Company (p. 301) for the fiscal year ending January 31, 1909, show these general results:

Gross earnings	\$11,037,071
Increase	476,500
Balance after deducting operating expenses at 70%	8,311,121
Net income after also deducting 5% interest on value	1,571,436
City's share at 55%	864,290
Decrease of city's share from last report.....	17,000

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 326) for March, 1909, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909:

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash balance	133,934,070.94

Total	\$283,934,070.94
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1908	389,557,933.16

Decrease	\$105,623,862.22
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—Bulgarian independence is now assured (vol. xi, p. 901). According to the press dispatches, Bulgaria is regarded as having made good terms. She will pay to Russia as intermediary between herself and Turkey in the settlement of claims made by the Porte arising from Bulgaria's declaration of independence, 82,000,000 francs (\$16,400,000). A loan for this amount will be issued at par with interest at 4½ per cent, and will be extinguished in seventy-five annual payments of 4,025,600 francs. Bulgaria reserves the right to pay the debt outright at any time.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 326) for the nine months ending March 31, 1909, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for March, 1909, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M.	\$1,297,005,030	\$949,572,256	\$347,432,774 exp.
G.	65,676,113	36,026,672	29,649,441 exp.
S.	40,797,056	31,536,000	9,261,056 exp.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$1,403,478,199	\$1,017,134,928	\$386,343,271 exp.

From July 1, 1897, to June 30, 1908....\$5,612,641,686 exp.

From 1834 to June 30, 1908.....\$8,235,619,317 exp.

—Treaties of obligatory arbitration (vol. x, p. 708) were signed during 1908 and 1909 by Elihu Root as Secretary of State for the United States, with France, Switzerland, Italy, Mexico, Great Britain, Norway, Portugal, Spain, The Netherlands, Sweden, Japan, China, Peru, Salvador, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, Austria-Hungary and Brazil. The first eleven of these arbitration treaties were ratified by both the Senate and the President, and ratifications exchanged with the foreign powers and the treaties proclaimed.

The remaining twelve have been ratified by the President and the Senate, but ratifications have not yet been exchanged.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (p. 327) for March, 1909, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909:

Receipts—	
Tariff	\$216,926,093.56
Internal revenue	184,658,537.45
Miscellaneous	39,367,384.21
	\$440,952,015.22
Expenses—	
Civil and miscellaneous	\$121,528,965.26
War	99,754,924.96
Navy	86,841,012.41
Indians	12,786,162.64
Pensions	123,504,072.67
Public Works	69,952,264.13
Interest	16,014,114.61
	530,381,516.68

Deficit	\$ 89,429,501.46
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—A report on the condition of the Jews in Russia, from Spencer F. Eddy, now American minister to Rumania, and formerly chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg, was put out by the United States Department of State on the 18th. Mr. Eddy's description of the extreme poverty in the Jewish agrarian colonies is startling. "One wooden spoon has to suffice for an entire family," he says, "as the cost of one for each member of the family cannot be borne, and yet a wooden spoon can be bought for 1½ cents. There is a lying-in hospital supported by charity in St. Petersburg itself where it is a common occurrence for women to wrap up their newly born children in newspapers when leaving the hospital for their homes, simply because they cannot afford to buy even a piece of flannel cloth suitable for the purpose." Of the 9,000,000 or 11,000,000 of Jews in the world, Mr. Eddy estimates that 5,140,000 live in the Russian Empire.

—The citizens of Vienna are ambitious to make theirs the most beautiful capital in Europe. According to a report in the Chicago Inter Ocean the present mayor, Dr. Lueger, has hit upon the ingenious idea of hanging circular flower pots around the tall electric lamps; and such is his love of color that he has provided luminous fountains at night for the pleasure of the inhabitants, who collect to see them, as they do to hear their excellent popular music discoursed at the regular Sunday fair in the Prater. Among the popular institutions due to Vienna municipal initiative is the town hall cellar, where the ratepayer can console himself for the high price of some of these improvements by good food and pure wine at moderate prices, and guaranteed by the city fathers. This immense suite of rooms, occupying a great part of the basement of the Rathhaus, is decorated with paintings by native artists illustrating leading events in the history of the city.

PRESS OPINIONS

Judicious Prudence.

The (Binghamton) Democratic News (Dem.), March 19.—We are somewhat in doubt as to whether President Elliot of Harvard has been correctly quoted

in his remarks on the race question. He is a pretty canny old fellow, is Prexy Eliot, taking him by and large, and we shall wait for the authorized version before we believe that he has so misread history and daily experience.

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Caesar's Shadow.

The Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), March 13.—It has come to such a pass that congress or a state legislature hardly is able to enact a law to meet the conditions growing out of the centralization of capital that can withstand the judicial gauntlet. "Unconstitutional" has become a grim joke with the American people.

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Tariff Graft.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), April 8.—Why should the women stop at protesting against the grafting taxes on hosiery and gloves? There are a thousand other grafts just as intolerable and just as deeply affecting the household and there is just as much reason why the women should strike at these as at the comparatively trivial grafts in gloves and hosiery.

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Low Wages a Blessing.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (ind. Dem.), March 18.—The soulful satisfaction of certain good people over the wage cut just announced is another tribute to Mark Tapleyism. It is a new application of the mind cure. In the reduction they affect to see a portent of good times. By a shrinkage in the purchasing power of the great mass of the people they expect demand to swell. And so after all lower wages is a blessing in disguise. But why was not this comfortable doctrine preached last fall? Why was there need to wait until after the election to administer this wholesome stimulus to industry?

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Food Taxation.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), April 9.—The Republicans have dropped the proposed taxes on tea and coffee. But they cling tenaciously to the monstrous tax on sugar. As between a tax on tea and coffee and a tax on sugar, we should insist that tea and coffee should bear the burden while sugar should go free. For sugar is infinitely more necessary to the race. Probably not a man, woman or child lives who is not a consumer of sugar in some form. No other single food product plays so large a part in the nation's and the world's dietary. Sugar today pays a tariff tax of 80 per cent for the benefit largely of the sugar trust. It is through this largess to the sugar planters of the South that the Louisiana Democratic Congressmen are drawn into the ranks of the tariff grafters.

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The British War Scare.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), April 1.—Reading the more popular English papers about Germany today, one is reminded of the mingled hatred and fear that marked all references to Napoleon Bonaparte, when he was at his zenith. It is not so certain, either, that the hatred and fear are not being worked

up by the landed and money interests of England as a check upon the determination of the Liberal government to tax land values and to redistribute land gradually among the people forced out of possession by centuries of landlordism. The cry goes up that the Liberals are bent on anti-national, socialistic schemes and neglecting the public defense.—The peerage, the beerage, the landlords, would rather have war than old age pensions or a tax on site value of land.

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Bloody-Minded Peace.

The (Portland) Oregon Journal (ind.), April 3.—If great navies are all that prevent so called civilized nations from falling upon one another to destroy, then surely we are not building up our navy fast enough. We need to double, treble, quadruple what we have, as fast as possible. The cost is now some \$235,000,000 a year; the cost of what we will need, if the prevailing theory be correct, will rapidly grow to \$500,000,000, to \$1,000,000,000 a year. And all this, not only here but in Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Italy, France, even Russia and Spain; altogether, in a few years, perhaps, \$5,000,000,000 a year for building and maintaining navies to preserve peace among civilized and Christianized nations! No wonder the question is already being asked: Does such doubtful assurance of peace as great navies can give, pay at such a price? Is the risk of war without great navies worth decreasing at such a tremendous cost? And then it is by no means certain that the philosophy of these navy-building statesmen is true. A man does not plant a howitzer at his gatepost to keep peace with his neighbors. A nation is but a politically organized collection of men. A navy is rather a provocation to war than an inducement to peace. The theory of the navy-for-peace philosophers is at most only half true. But if altogether true, the cost eventually, according to the present programs, will bankrupt the European nations and even stagger this country of magnificent riches. Would we not better run a slight risk, and grow richer while they impoverish themselves? Then, if attacked, we can buy two or three noncombatant navies outright with the money we have saved, lick the invader, and have a navy for nothing.

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Russianizing the Press.

La Follette's (ind. Rep.), March 20.—It may become of vital importance to every publisher if the Pulitzer and Smith cases are decided in favor of the government. For if an editor in Indiana or New York may be taken a prisoner to Washington for trial because his paper was sold or delivered there containing what the President, or a Wall Street operator, or a Panama Canal salesman, or any one else, may have made a Federal grand jury accept as evidence of criminal libel under the glamor of the Presidential office or Wall Street influence, or even under the spell of an indignant witness's apparent sense of wrong, then the publisher of any paper anywhere can be in like manner carried a prisoner to any Territory of the United States, to fight for his liberty in a strange jurisdiction, and far from witnesses, friends, local counsel, and all that safeguards a defendant in an ordinary criminal trial.

The idea is intolerable. The concentration of power at the capital was so insufferable in the little island of Great Britain that assizes were established hundreds of years ago at which the judges went down into the counties and tried prisoners in their own courts, by juries of the vicinage. If the present laws of the United States make possible the thing that is attempted in these cases, they should be amended. Power vested anywhere in any office or court is always sooner or later abused; and here is a power the abuse of which is easy. Given an unscrupulous administration, or an honest one under the pressure of troublous times, and the law contended for in the Pulitzer and Smith cases lends itself to a press censorship as galling and ruinous to liberty as that of Russia.

* *

Suffrage Sacrifices.

Puck, March 31.—Merely to say that man has no right to a monopoly of suffrage is not enough. Woman must be ready to do what man does in the exercise of his privilege. She must be willing, in the month of October, to stop for five minutes on her way home from business or "bridge" and tell her name, address, how long she has lived in the ward, the election district, etc., to the proper custodians of such secrets. She must be willing, early in November, to stand in line at the plumber's shop, the real estate office, or wherever it is, draw a little cross in a circle because it is too much trouble to split a ticket in the interest of decent government and make several crosses, hand her folded paper to the poll clerk and wait to hear him bawl, "Mary Ellen Jones votes ballot number 298!" She must agree not "to loiter between this point and the polls." She must learn to look hurt when asked why she is a Republican or Democrat and then proudly to puff up and answer: "Why? Why, because my mother was one before me, and her mother before her." She must be willing to stay away from the primaries, yet at the same time condemn most scathingly bossism in municipal politics. To prove herself man's equal, she must forget to register occasionally, must go out of town once in a while on election day and on other occasions, to vote for a yellow cur if one be nominated by "her party," and therefore "regular." She must be willing, once in four or five years at least, to attend a big political meeting, yell and stamp for speakers whom she can't hear, and get all saturated with stale tobacco smoke. Finally, she must be willing at last to say, just as though she were saying something original: "Oh, damn politics! One party is as bad as another, anyhow!" There are other requirements that might be cited, but these are the essentials. As we claimed before, merely to say that man has no right to a monopoly of suffrage is not enough. Woman must be ready and willing to do what man does, before the sacred portals of the plumber's shop or the real estate office can be opened for her. Woman's place, of course, is in the home; that we have heard quite frequently. But it ought to be possible for her to take, say, twenty minutes off from the home, each year, to devote to politics, that being about as much time as the average man devotes to it.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

IN THE PASTURE.

Out upon the hill-side, in the vernal weather,
Daisy tops and buttercups growing altogether;
Grassy knolls and clover tufts moistened by the dew,
Woodland and pasture-fields overarched with blue;
Hiding in the fern plots sloping to the glen,
Bobolink and meadow lark watch the mocking wren.
Tripping in the sunshine, pausing in the shade,
There swings her milk-pail—a pretty milking maid.

Why doth she linger in the upland hollow?
Sunrise and sunset on each other follow
Faster than lover's vows hasten to come true—
Homeward! pretty milk-maid! No one's here for you.
Moonlight and starlight and not the morning sun,
Inspire the gentle wooing that melts two hearts in
one.

Then turn my pretty maiden and hasten down the
glade,
Your lover's in his garden—leaning on his spade.

Still doth she loiter in the morning's glow,
Bending o'er the violets blooming sweet below.
Gazing down the mill-stream that sparkles in the
rays,

Winding in the distance and fading in the haze.
She listens to a murmur far in a leafy dell,
That grows into a tinkle like a near-approaching bell.
At last she rises upright and shades her arching
brows—

She sees the cattle coming—she's waiting for the
cows!

DAVID EDWARD CRONIN.
Georgetown, D. C., June, 1879.

* * *

MIRANDY ON THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

From Progress (Warren, Ohio) for April. By Dorothy Dix, of the Hearst Syndicate.

"Dere's Sis Tempy, what is married to Brer Eben, what is a mighty fore handed man, what has got a good job an' passes de contribution plate in church, an' has odder sources of revenue. Sis Tempy is big an' hefty, an' de most dat she does is to set at her front window, an' watch de folks go by, an' as long as she's got aplenty of ev'thing herself de very tho't of anybody else not bein' satisfied looks to her lak dey was flyn' in de face of Providence.

"Sis Mirandy,' says she to me, 'I'm against givin' in women de ballot, an' ef I'd had my new Umpire frock done I'd a gone along wid dem women to Albany to raise my voice against hit.'

"What's you' objection to women votin', Sis Tempy?" axes I.

"Hit ain't right,' says she, fetchin' a groan,

'to lay de burden of de franchise on our delicate shoulders.'

"'Hump,' spons I, 'hit looks to me dat hit would be easier to make laws dan hit is to keep 'em; an' as long as bein' a woman don't excuse us from committin' murder, or doin' a little shopliftin', or from payin' our taxes, we ought to have a little say so 'bout sayin' what ought to be done wid folks dat commits dem offences. . . .

"'Maybe so, Sis Mirandy, maybe so,' spon Sis Tempy wid a sigh, 'but hit's awful to think of frail women havin' to mix up wid thugs an' roughs at de polls.'

"'Well,' says I, 'long as you've got to vote in de neighborhood where you lives, an' is got to meet up at de polls wid de folks dat you lives amongst all de balance of de year, an' dat you visit wid, an' dat you invites to you house for a fish fry an' you goes to deirs for a 'possum dinner, hit don't seem to me dat you'se in any very great danger. Besides, you can always scream for de police.'

"'As for me I never has been able to see why Brer Eben, an' Brer Jake, an' Brer Simon, what treats me mighty gallant all de balance of de year, is g'wine to turn round and slug me on election day.'

"'Let woman use her sacred influence wid men to do what dey want done in politics,' says Sis Tempy. 'A woman can always git around a man if she'll fix herself up real pretty, an' feed him up, an' roll her eyes at him, an' jolly him.'

"'Does you think dat kind of conduct is mo' ladylike an' honester dan droppin' in a box a little piece of paper dats got yo' wishes on hit?' inquires I.

"'To be sure,' respon's Sis Tempy. . . . 'I tell you, I'se against woman's suffrage, Sis Mirandy; I'se got ev'ry thing dat I wants, an' I don't want no change.'

"'But how about dem women what ain't had de luck to marry Brer Eben, an' dat ain't rich an' fat like you is, Sis Tempy?' I axes her.

"'Sis Mirandy,' says she, abridlin' up, 'dem po' creeters ought to be humble an' meek an' bear de misfortunes dat is sent upon 'em wid a lowly spirit, an' hit certainly does shock me de fuss dey is makin' about things. Hit shows dey ain't ladies. You never hear me raisin' my voice in public. Besides, deir affairs ain't my business. I'se comfortable an' satisfied wid things as dey is.'

"'Sis Tempy,' spons I, 'you shorely has got all de earmarks of a Anti.'"



PROGRESS OF EQUAL SUFFARGE

It is sometimes said that while the movement for women's education and property rights has advanced rapidly, the movement for suffrage has made little or no progress. On this point let the "hard facts" speak for themselves.

Eighty years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden and a few other places in the old world.

In 1838 Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows with children of school age. In 1850 Ontario gave it to women, both married and single. In 1861 Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867 New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869 England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows. Victoria gave it to women, both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women.

In 1871 West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota, in 1876 by Colorado, in 1877 by New Zealand, in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon, in 1879 by Massachusetts, in 1880 by New York and Vermont.

In 1880 South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women.

In 1881 municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland, and Parliamentary suffrage to the women of the Isle of Man. Nebraska gave women school suffrage in 1883. Municipal suffrage was given by Ontario and Tasmania in 1884, and by New Zealand and New Brunswick in 1886.

In 1887 municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona and New Jersey. In the same year Montana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers.

In 1888 England gave women county suffrage and British Columbia and the Northwest Territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889 county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. In 1891 school suffrage was granted in Illinois.

In 1893 school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894 school suffrage was granted in Ohio, bond suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women, both married and single. In 1895 full state suffrage was granted in South Australia to women, both married and single. In 1896 full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho.

In 1898 the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all offices except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; Delaware gave school suffrage to tax-paying women; France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce; and Louisiana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the taxpayers. In 1900 Wisconsin gave women school suffrage, and West Aus-

tralia granted full state suffrage to women, both married and single.

In 1901 New York gave tax-paying women in all towns and villages of the State the right to vote on questions of local taxation. Norway gave them municipal suffrage, and the Kansas legislature voted down almost unanimously and "amid a ripple of amusement" a proposal to repeal municipal suffrage.

In 1902 full national suffrage was granted to all the women of federated Australia, and full state suffrage to the women of New South Wales.

In 1903 bond suffrage was granted to the women of Kansas, and Tasmania gave women full state suffrage.

In 1905 Queensland gave women full state suffrage.

In 1906 Finland gave full national suffrage to women, and made them eligible to all offices from members of Parliament down.

In 1907 Norway gave full parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage, Sweden made women eligible to municipal offices, Denmark gave women the right to vote for members of boards of public charities, and to serve on such boards, and England, with only fifteen dissenting votes out of the 670 members of the House of Commons, made women eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councillors. The new State of Oklahoma continued school suffrage for women.

In 1908 Michigan gave all women who pay taxes the right to vote upon questions of local taxation and the granting of franchises; Denmark gave women who are taxpayers or the wives of taxpayers a vote for all offices except members of Parliament, and Victoria gave full state suffrage to all women.

Years ago, when equal suffrage was much more unpopular than it is now, somebody asked Bishop Gilbert Haven if it were true that he had been speaking at a suffrage meeting.

"Yes," answered the bishop; "I don't want to fall in at the rear of this reform; I mean to march with the procession!"

There can be no doubt as to which way the procession is moving.

—Alice Stone Blackwell.

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NATURAL TAXATION.

From an Article by E. W. Grabill, of South Dakota University, in Plain Talk, Vermillion, South Dakota, January 14.

The single tax is based on the law of equal freedom, upon individual rights and a denial of all privilege, most of all privilege and advantage in the use of the earth without compensation to society. It implies the absolute right of a man to all that he earns, subject not even to taxation by government. For governmental and social

needs have a source of revenue which is natural, which is not subversive of individual property, but which arises out of the very protection of individual production—the price of privilege, in the use of the earth.

For the price of land (unimproved) is nothing but the measure of the advantage which its possession confers in production (including manufacture, commerce and all means of satisfying wants). And the price of land where population is sparse is (unless influenced by the future) nothing, because possession confers no advantage. In such a state of population, too, there is little need for governmental revenues. But as population grows denser, as land in its midst becomes capable of satisfying more and greater needs, its price correspondingly rises. So at the same time arise needs for public funds. These needs and the price of land grow together. They are both caused by the same thing, advance in population and civilization. The price of land is the measure of the privilege of possessing it. Society has the means of satisfying governmental and social needs by charging the possessor of land the value of the privilege, as measured by the price.

In so doing, society infringes upon the rightful property of no man, but takes what itself produces—and what, through present society, past social progress, past discoveries and past thought have added to a man's productive power. For every invention, every new machine, every economic improvement, makes land in the centers of population capable of greater production, therefore, the advantage of using it, and its consequent price, worth more. If society takes this self-created value, it prevents some individual taking it who did not create it, but who, under the present system, is allowed to take the earnings of society, by means of land ownership. In other words, we now pay the single tax, and can no more keep from doing so than we can escape the law of gravitation. But we now pay it in addition to other taxes, and into private pockets instead of into a public fund. Indeed, we pay a much greater sum at present, as land rental, or interest on land purchase price, than we would as the single tax. For wherever land is increasing in value, the expectation of that increase causes land to be held at a speculative price far in advance of what it is worth for present use. This is now the case all over America. Capital and labor, therefore, which are the humanly produced factors in production as land is the natural factor, must pay now for the use of land a much heavier price than if there were no expectation of profit from future advance in value. This constitutes a heavy burden on manufacture, trade, and all production. During good times the rise in the price of land outstrips its worth for present use so rapidly that land users cannot meet the obligation

incurred in the purchase or leasing of land. Their consequent failures set in motion a procession of resultant failures which eventually bring about financial panics and what we know as bad times. This is most evident in the case of large public service corporations and the banks which handle their stocks, bonds and other paper. A large part of the value upon which such stocks and bonds are based consists of the worth of the franchises which they hold. These franchises are nothing in the last analysis but land values (rights of way, etc.). Speculation in the stocks and bonds is really speculation in the franchises, or land values. What we call "water" is allowance for franchise value. When there is too much water, the real operators of the enterprise (not the originators, who may have sold out) cannot pay operating expenses and interest on the "water." Receiverships or failures result, with their effect on the banks backing the enterprise, and the reaction of this on their clearing houses and general business.

The single tax (and its concomitant principles as to franchises and other natural monopolies) put into effect, would free labor and capital from the excessive burden caused by land speculation and consequent unnatural price of land. It would thus very much raise the share which the laborer and the capitalist could retain from the result of productive enterprises. This share would be further augmented by the amounts now paid by laborers and capitalists in taxes on personality, the improvements on real estate, imports, etc., all of which really operate as fines on enterprise, thrift and honesty. The sum which would go to the public as the single tax would not be nearly so great as that now expended as rental or interest on purchase price of land. Society, as a whole, would get the social share only of the present total earnings. Individuals would be prevented from putting this share into private pockets through holding privileges in the natural material of the earth, equal access to which all men are entitled by birth. Great monopolies, the source of vast and increasing advantage over those who do not hold them, and the mother of immense fortunes and aristocratic dynasties, would be cut off. Every variety of legitimate productive activity would be stimulated in a manner natural and without harmful speculative reaction, with its resultant economic depression. There would be no eras of "hard times."

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LITTLE 'RASTUS JACKSON.

Hey, little 'Rastus Jackson, a-rollin' on de flo'!
Mos' stub my toe agin you as I come th'oo de do'!
Ef you keeps on a-growin', like punkins in de co'n,
Nex' week you'll be a-walkin', as shore as you is
bo'n.

When you was bo'n, Erastus, you's mighty close to white,
But den yo' hair was kinky, so dat made mattahs right;
Now day by day de shadder grows darker on yo' face,
De shadder you mus' live in, de shadder ob yo' race.

Dere's jots o' trouble, honey, you's boun' to meet,
I know;
De way am rough an' stony yo' little feet must go;
But don't you worry, 'Rastus, yo' troubles ef you's black,
Dey jes' roll off like watah f'm off de ol' duck's back!

Yo' daddy an' yo' mammy, I bet yo', can't be beat
At smoothin' out de road fer deir pickaninny's feet;
So when you's grow'd up biggah an' all you' teef
am th'oo
You's gwine to kindergarten on Armour avenoo.

Dat little 'Rastus Jackson is wise as he kin be;
Sometimes I heahs him talkin' to some one I can't see.

When he come down from heaven a year ago, I bet
Some angel kep' him comp'ny what ain't done gone back yet.

Ho, little 'Rastus Jackson, de worl' am big an' wide!
Dere's room fer li'l black babies an' udder ones beside.

Gawd made 'em in all colahs, 'case folks is hahd to suit;
I 'spect you keeps him smilin', yo looks an' acts so cute.

—F. L. Rose, in the Chicago Record-Herald.

BOOKS

PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.

From Servitude to Service. Being the Old South Lectures on the History and Work of Southern Institutions for the Education of the Negro. By Professor Kelly Miller, of Howard University; President William G. Frost, of Berea College; Professor Roscoe Conkling Bruce, of Tuskegee Institute; Principal H. B. Frissell, of Hampton Institute; Professor W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, of Atlanta University, and President James G. Merrill, of Fisk University. With an Introduction by Robert C. Ogden. Published by the American Unitarian Association, Boston. Price \$1.10 net.

What a magnificent title—"from servitude to service"! In those four words are embodied the whole rational philosophy of human life, regardless of race; and, with reference to race, the whole tragical history of the American Negro.

Servitude is the evil of which service is the good. Two expressions of acts externally alike, they are at opposite moral poles. Servitude exerts a degrading and demoralizing and devilish influence upon servant and served alike, while serv-

ice is ennobling, unifying, co-operative and democratic. It is doubtful if in the English language any other phrase would so aptly express the spirit of this volume of lectures. The phrase contrasts the slavery status from which the American Negro has emerged, with the free and competent co-operative service to which he aspires and which in increasing measure and in spite of the obstacles that so many of the dominant white race thrust in his way he is actually realizing. And such is the contrast the book seems to make.

Its servitude side, however, is hardly more than an allusion, sufficient only to arouse in the reader's mind a memory of the Negro's debased enslavement, so recent that large numbers of emancipated slaves are still living. All the emphasis of the lecturers is upon the progress the race has already made and is yet capable of making, from the servitude of slavery to the higher levels of co-operative service.

In every lecture of the book there is much to excite and to sustain the enthusiasm of Negroes, and much that ought to open the minds and soften the prejudices of race-crazed whites. The appeal to the uplifting words of Bishop Galloway of Mississippi, that "we must insist that the Negro have equal opportunity with every American citizen to fulfill in himself the highest purpose of an all-wise and beneficent Providence," should alone be enough to silence the bigots who, upon their hypothesis that the Negro's God-given function is enforced servitude rather than free cooperative service, would shut him off from all opportunity to prove their hypothesis mistaken.

A just tribute is paid, let us say in passing, to those noble women of forty years ago, who, to quote the grateful Kelly Miller, "left homes, their friends, their social ties, and all that they held dear, to go to the far South to labor among the recently emancipated slaves" who had been prevented by law, as men like Vardaman would prevent them now, from learning even to read. Those "nigger teachers," as they were derisively called—North as well as South,—richly deserve Mr. Miller's tribute to "their courage, their self-sacrificing devotion, sincerity of purpose and purity of motive, and their unshaken faith in God," which served as "their passkeys to the hearts of those for whom they came to labor."

Experience has proved that the incompetency once alleged, of the American Negro to acquire the white man's learning, was a mistake. The recent explanation that he acquires and utilizes it only as an imitator, is being torn away by the facts of further experience.

It is a flimsy explanation at best. What are most white men but imitators in their use of white men's learning? And what, for the most part is the white man's learning but something for imitation? Originality and invention do not consist in doing things wholly in a new way. They

consist in doing things in a slightly better way—not all at once, but little by little. The line between imitation and originality is so dim at any given time in the world's progress, that as a rule progressive changes have to pass into history before we white men recognize their value. Meanwhile, with the tenderness of our racial characteristics, we are not unlikely to discipline the originator—on a cross or a gibbet it may be, or possibly only with magnificent contempt. Since this is true of white men, the white man's plea that the learned Negro is only an imitator, is one of the curiosities of ignorant Caucasian pride.

That plea falls to the ground along with the more pretentiously "scientific" one that the Negro race, in order to reach the altitude of the white man's development, must pass through ages of painful evolution, as the white man has done. Kelly Miller's answer to this bit of sophistry is suggestively complete:

The African was snatched from the wilds of savagery and thrust into the midst of a mighty civilization. He thus escaped the gradual process of evolution. Other men have labored, and he must enter into their labors. Education must accomplish more for a backward people than it does for those who are in the forefront of progress. It must not only lead to the unfoldment of faculties, but must fit for a life for which the recipient is separated by many centuries of development. . . . The African chieftain who would make a pilgrimage from his native principality to the city of Washington, might accomplish the first part of his journey by the original modes of transportation—in the primitive dug-out and upon the backs of his slaves,—but he would complete it upon the steamship, the railway, the electric car, and the automobile. How swift the transformation! and yet how suggestive of centuries of toll, of struggle, and of mental endeavor! It required the human race thousands of years to bridge the chasm between savagery and civilization, but now it must be crossed by a school curriculum of a few years' duration. The analytic process is always more rapid than the synthetic.

Grant that the Negro has capacity for acquiring and utilizing knowledge and for practicing virtue—which is granted when the imitative faculty is conceded to Negroes to the extent that is insisted upon by boastful Caucasians,—and you have conceded to the Negro race all the intellectual and moral possibilities which the white race is supposed to monopolize. You have then conceded to him as a race the capacity for becoming just what the white man is, namely, neither very much better nor very much worse, not very much more intellectual nor very much less so than the social environment which stimulates alike the imitative faculties of both.

Though some Negroes might be somewhat greater intellectually and better morally than others, this would prove nothing more as to their race than similar facts prove as to the white race.

Even if no Negro had yet risen to the intellectual or moral level of exceptional white men, this would prove nothing against the capacity of the race; so long at any rate as some Negroes rose, as they do now, to higher intellectual and moral levels than many white men.

Kelly Miller himself is an instance in point, on the intellectual side. We do not discuss the moral side, since there are no moral tests suitable for individual comparisons. On the intellectual side, however, Professor Miller is manifestly the peer of most white men in his vocation, and the superior of many. In his specialty, mathematics, his professional reputation must testify for him; but in his power of lucid, exact, impressive, persuasive, convincing and genuinely eloquent speech, his lecture, the first in this book, is testimony enough in itself. Whoever says that the Negro that uses language for the expression of thought with the precision and power of Kelly Miller in this lecture is an imitator, has himself no conception of what it means to use language for expressing thought. Mr. Miller imitates conventional spelling, yes. He imitates conventional grammar, yes. And in these respects it may be fairly added that his imitations reach a higher degree of excellence than do the orthographical and rhetorical imitations of whole armies of his self-assumed superiors of the white race. But beyond spelling and grammar and the other imitable conventionalities of speech, this man's lecture in the book before us reveals an intellectual power over the conventional instruments of human expression that would put to scorn the white man who should expose his ignorance by calling this product of Kelly Miller's pen an "imitation."

We choose Kelly Miller especially from among the contributors to this book, all of them able and some of them white men, because he is par excellence a black man. What we have said of Professor Miller's lecture is true also of the lecture of Professor W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, of Atlanta University. But as Professor Du Bois is not of pure Negro lineage, it might be replied as to him that the Caucasian part of his inheritance, though insufficient to exempt him from "Jim Crow" regulations on railroads, or to qualify him for participation in white men's gustatory performances except as cook or waiter, fully accounts for his intellectual equipment and power. So also we might refer to the lecture of Professor Roscoe Conkling Bruce as evidence of Negro intellectuality. But Professor Bruce, too, has Caucasian as well as Negro ancestry. As to him, moreover, it might be urged with added force of the same kind, such as the kind is, that his intellectual equipment and power are attributable not only to the Caucasian part of him, but also to his baptismal name. One can't quite tell what kind of wild goose chase the anti-Negro argument will lead one out upon if it be but given a chance to

spread its wings. So we ignore Professors Du Bois and Bruce, as men whose pronounced Caucasian ancestry may be pointed at to explain away their "apparently" Negroid abilities.

But Kelly Miller is not to be so explained. If enough Caucasian blood courses through his veins to account for his intellectuality, it has been singularly ineffective in modifying his features. He is a very type of the pure Negro—crispy curl of hair, spreading nostrils, coal black skin, thick lips, beautiful white teeth, and all. If there is a difference between Negro blood and white man's blood—a difference, by the way, which no physiological tests have yet disclosed—then Kelly Miller must be a full-blooded Negro. Yet he is a man of fine presence, of charming manners (cultivated, of course, but not counterfeit imitations), in full control of his scholarly attainments, capable and modestly self-respecting, whom any university might be proud to include in its faculty. He is a man whom one or another of the best white men's universities would in fact have in its faculty, were it not for the white man's unfounded prejudice against Negroes, and Mr. Miller's own devotion to the work of helping lift his race farther up from servitude to service.

To all white men of fair mind, we commend this book. They may not help the Negro race by reading it. But that makes little difference, for the Negro race is rapidly helping itself. They may, however, improve their abilities to help their own race.

* * *

THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

The Negro and the Nation. A History of American Slavery and Enfranchisement. By George S. Merriam. Published by Henry Holt and Company, New York.

Ten years after the Civil War, this book would have been considered valuable only—in Northern communities at any rate,—as a sane and interesting historical narrative of a past period, or at best for the analogical lessons it might afford in cases of recurrence of slavery in newer and more subtle forms than the chattel variety upon the basis of race. Today the book is valuable for the light it throws upon the progress of the same old race question that made the Civil War, and which the Civil War was mistakenly supposed to have settled for good and all. For this purpose, equally with the other, it is a book of unusual merit and value.

Beginning with the origin of Negro slavery in the Colonies, the author follows its development, and the controversies over it, chronologically down to the Reconstruction acts of Congress and the Negro Amendments to the Constitution ("corporation amendments" they might better be called, since the principal one has served plutocratic corporations famously and the Negro not at all); for this is not a treatise nor a series of controversial

essays, but the history of one of the sociological processes of our national life.

It is a good history, too; an impartial history in the best sense. It is not one of those flabby or deceptive histories which self-styled nonpartisans put forth. The "non-partisan" historian, if his work escapes flabbiness, is pretty sure to mislead his readers by half statements in one direction or inflated statements in another. The historian who is at all fit, is a partisan on every historical controversy he handles. Pretenses of non-partisanship are indications either of indifference or hypocrisy. This is not, however, to justify the partisan historian in making his work unfair. The good historian, while partisan, is also judicial. He has the ability and the honesty to marshal the facts against his own view as well as those that favor it, and to draw his conclusions in the light of day, with no concealment of his own temperamental, or traditional, or intellectual, or moral bias. And this is the kind of historian that the author of the book before us appears to be.

He is evidently a democrat of the fundamental species,—a Jeffersonian democrat, a Lincolnian democrat,—whose democracy knows no distinctions of race; and he is without pretense of being neither a democrat nor an aristocrat. He is frankly a fundamental democrat who handles his material "on the square."

While, for instance, he exposes and condemns the "black codes" of the Southern States for the devices they clearly were to re-establish Negro slavery, he is not blind to the local bitterness which the circumstances of the Reconstruction period following the "black codes" naturally engendered at the South. "Fancy the people of Massachusetts," he writes, "were the state-house on Beacon hill suddenly occupied by Italian, Polish, and Russian laborers—placed and kept there by a foreign conqueror." At the same time he is not unjust to the "scalawag," the "carpet bagger" and the Negro legislator. The first was any Southerner, good as well as bad, who did not go on political strike with the aristocracy; the second was any Northerner, good or bad, who had migrated to the South as he might have migrated to the West; and the Negro legislators, some good and some bad, some intelligent and some fools (like all legislators), produced nothing as bad even at the worst as the "black codes" that preceded and provoked their enfranchisement. The Southerner who condemns this as unjudicial is himself unjudicial. He may be a sectional patriot, or a true blue Caucasian, but he is not judicial if he condemns "scalawags" or "carpet baggers" or Negro legislation without discriminating.

We have given but an instance of the judicial quality of this book. It is characteristic of its spirit and letter throughout. The author treats the Negro neither as angel nor devil, neither as

philosopher nor fool, but as man—and as man demoralized by the degradations of slavery. It is with the same considerateness that he treats the other race, and all the persons and political parties and industrial or social classes within the scope of his work. His condemnation of the partisanship of the majority of the eight-by-seven Presidential Commission of 1876, is another instance.

From Jefferson, who, as he says, wrote "the universal and undying ideas that the authority of governments rests solely on their justice and public utility, and that every man has an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," who "did not flinch, as did many of his associates, from giving that right a full and general application to blacks as well as whites," and who was not "a mere doctrinaire," for, "as he revolted from the abstract injustice of slavery, so its concrete abuses as he saw them, filled him with horror," the author quotes this additional and pregnant sentiment: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submission on the other."

Mr. Merriam's book is one which every genuine democrat, regardless of party, should read at this time of reaction against the Negro's human rights. Not for its preaching; there is very little of that, if indeed any at all. But for its lucid, judicial and democratically sympathetic narrative of the American Negro's relations to the development of the American Republic. Although the author nowhere explains the national anti-Negro reaction (for it is national as well as sectional) upon the grounds that Quincy Ewing does, yet the explanation so clearly expressed by Ewing (p. 266), that the Negro race question is at bottom a labor question, the question of how to hold this race in virtual slavery to the white race,—is a clear inference from the circumstances which the author groups into his able historical narrative of "the Negro and the Nation."

PAMPHLETS

Vivisection.

The dumb brutes can neither make speeches nor frame declarations of right against the cruelty of scientists who dissect them alive, but Miss Lindaf-Hageby can speak for them, and she does. Her speech at the public meeting of the American Anti-Vivisection Society last February, to be had in pamphlet form of the society at 2025 Broadway, New York, is a moderate, well poised, instructive and powerful plea. Its theme is opposition to vivisection because, first, it goes "against the moral, the spiritual, the ethical progress of the human race," and, second, it cannot be productive of useful results.

PERIODICALS

John Orr's reply in the *Nineteenth Century* (London) for April to Harold Cox's arguments against land value taxation, is in form an admirable specimen of controversial writing, and in substance a crushing reply to Mr. Cox.

+

Keir Hardie's account of socialism in America in the *Socialist Review* (London) for April, is as clear and true a summary of present conditions and future prospects here as any observer could make. Being himself a socialist, Mr. Hardie's observations are not discolored with hostile prejudice; yet he does not allow his wishes to distort his judgment.

+

"National Monthly" is the name of a new one dollar magazine, about the size of Collier's, to be handsomely printed and richly illustrated, which Norman E. Mack, editor and publisher of the *Buffalo Times*, is to publish from Buffalo in May. This magazine is to be "a journal of Democracy" and a clearing house for political information, as well as an attractive publication for family reading. The publisher is now soliciting the subscriptions necessary to entitle the magazine to publishers' rights in the mails,

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+

More than a year after the panic of 1907, Alexander D. Noyes reaches the conclusion, writing in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Harvard) for February, which we expressed at the time (vol. x, p. 963), that this panic was no passing flurry, but was the beginning of "a panic of the first magnitude, and will be so classed in future economic history, along with such financial episodes as the crises of 1893, 1873, 1857 and 1837." We venture the suggestion, however, that the progress toward "a normal state of

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things" is not as well established as Mr. Noyes infers; and we incline to attribute his over-confidence in this respect to his explanation of the cause of the panic as "extravagant over-exploiting of capital and credit throughout the commercial world." This would account for a financial flurry; but it does not account for that stubborn alienation of consumptive from productive forces which has characterized all our

panics of first magnitude from 1893 back beyond 1837 to 1816 and 1784.

* * *

John Bright used to tell how a barber who was cutting his hair once said to him: "You 'ave a large 'ead, sir; it is a good thing to 'ave a large 'ead, for a large 'ead means a large brain, and a large brain

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