

The Public

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

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The Chicago School Superintendency.

We confess to a happy disappointment at the temporary outcome of the contest over the superintendency of the public schools of Chicago (pp. 701, 707). In calling the outcome temporary, we allude to the fact that the Big Business interests, which want a different kind of superintendent from what they must know Mrs. Young will be, have yielded only as a temporary necessity. But temporary or permanent, there could not possibly have been a better choice.

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Ella Flagg Young is an educator in the best sense, and one of extraordinary diplomatic and executive abilities. Her success as principal of the Chicago Normal School bears strong testimony in behalf of her fitness for superintendent. Much the same state of demoralization existed there when she took hold, as exists in the whole school system now—though on a smaller scale of course—and she has turned the discord into harmony. She was able to do this because her fundamental theory of educational management is not driver-ship but leadership. And that is why, if untrammelled, she may be depended upon to establish harmony in the whole public school system.

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It is the element of leadership that the system has lacked. From top to bottom, the spirit of

"business push" has been in the ascendent. Principals have been too much driven by superintendents, teachers by both, and pupils by all. This is the ideal of Big Business. But it is not Mrs. Young's ideal. To her, the public school pupils are citizens to be educated, not raw material to be manufactured; the teachers are educational co-operators, not factory hands; the superintendent is a leader alive to the vital importance of commanding the confidence and affection of the teaching force, not a boss fatuously dependent upon inspiring the force with fear. Her educational ideals are not plutocratic; they are democratic. Under her superintendency we look, therefore, with confidence for a—we were about to say revival, but "revival" is not exactly the word; we look for the beginning rather than revival of a genuinely democratic system of public school education in Chicago.

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The teaching force, however, will do well for the schools, and contribute best to the success of Mrs. Young's administration, if they heed the warning of the old Trojan experience. It may be that this excellent appointment is in good faith, as we wish to believe, or the result of an anti-plutocratic conspiracy of circumstances, as has been suggested. But, on the other hand, it may be that back of this gift of a school superintendent who as an educator is so thoroughly qualified and as a school executive so democratic, the plutocratic influences which are seeking to dominate the public schools have been playing in the role of Greeks bearing gifts. Some confirmation of this appeared in the Record-Herald of the 1st in the form of what purported to be an interview with John D. Shoop, the incumbent of the newly created office of assistant superintendent. Mr. Shoop is quoted as saying of the Teachers' Federation that—

they have allied themselves with a social organization (the labor unions) which is carrying on one side of a great social war. This in itself is fatal to every idea of a right educational theory. We cannot teach our children the doctrines of "capital," so-called, and neither must we teach them, or give them as an example, the dogmas of "labor."

Here is a pretty definite indication of a purpose to repeat the indefensible crusade which Superintendent Cooley made, and with the same underlying motive—a crusade in behalf of the tax-dodging plutocrats and against both the labor organizations and the independent school teachers. If the words truly represented Mr. Shoop's purpose, they would bode ill for Mrs. Young's administration. But we do not believe they repre-

sent his purpose, and we doubt if he used them. They sound more like a newspaper attempt to provoke under Mrs. Young and through Mr. Shoop, the deplorable demoralization which Mr. Cooley injected into the public school service, and in consequence of which, in the very nature of things, his public school career came to a pathetic end. Mr. Shoop has seemed to be too much of a fundamental democrat and too sane a man to think that public school teachers must not affiliate with labor organizations. He knows that they have the same right to do this that they have to affiliate with a political party, a church, a plutocratic club or the Mystic Shrine. What they do with their time out of school is nobody's business but their own, so long as they do not use it in disreputable ways; and we have yet to be assured that Mr. Shoop regards labor unionism as disreputable. Until his authentic statement or his unmistakable conduct shows that this new office has been made for him in order to renew the plutocratic fight against the Federation of Teachers and the Federation of Labor, and that he intends to execute its functions in that spirit, we shall not believe it. Having a like confidence in his educational and executive ability, his good sense, and his essential democracy that we have in Mrs. Young's, we shall allow nothing to disturb it in his case any more than in hers, but authentic declarations or administrative misconduct. We advise the teachers, however, to maintain their organization as loyally under improved conditions as when conditions were at the worst; and we trust that neither this organization nor the Federation of Labor with which it is affiliated will forget that the price of a good public school system, when plutocratic interests are prowling about, is eternal vigilance. Let them remember that the best disposed school administrators will be helpless to maintain a democratic system if those of us who want such a system abandon the field to the inner ring of the Commercial Club.

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Mayor Kern of Belleville.

The people of Belleville, Illinois, and the Mayor himself, are to be congratulated upon the failure of some of the friends of Mayor Kern to secure his appointment by Governor Deneen as a Democratic member of the State Board of Administration. Municipal service, upon election by the people, is every way to be preferred to State service upon appointment. Mr. Kern has made the right kind of mayor of Belleville (pp. 247, 373) at a period when municipalities are coming forward to dis-

place the States as political units. He has been three times elected, and for the excellent progressive character of his administration deserves to be elected again and again. He is a people's mayor; but on the new State board he would have had to be some man's man.

* *

Wall Street Melons.

Banker Henry Clews says in a recent market letter: "The new Lackawanna deal and the declaration of a dividend equal altogether to 150 per cent gave increased stimulus to the stock market." How fragrant Wall Street is with the rich, appetizing odor of ripe, unearned melons! Every railroad is a melon vine. Every worker in the country cultivates the vines, the largest and best fruit of which ripen in Wall Street. The Monte Carlo gambling establishment takes from those who go into the game voluntarily. The New York Stock Exchange, more impartial, takes also from those who never see the game and don't know they are playing, possibly on the principle that you are not robbed if you don't feel the hand in your pocket.

* *

Satire.

There is a type of newspaper, as there is of pulpiteer and reformer, whose policy is to expose sham and inconsistency but never to advocate truth or consistency. Folly must be exposed—provided it can be done without exhibiting wisdom. Sham must be impaled on the pen, but truth must be kept under a box in the cellar. If the two-year-old has swallowed a cupful of solution of bichloride of mercury, tell the distracted mother what it is, but for heaven's sake don't tell her to fill the child up with white of egg. When the slaughterer of shams falls ill, wouldn't it be prosaic justice for the doctors to combine and refuse to do anything except administer doses of sarcasm for his folly?

* *

Gentle Book Reviewing.

The way of some newspaper book reviewers with a book is one of the things Solomon wouldn't understand if he were alive. The "Book Page" of a prominent Western newspaper recently had a "review" of a book on railroad freight rates, the central idea of which seems to be that the Creator built up the American system of freight rates as the first natural law, and then built all other natural laws around that system. The newspaper review, occupying three-fifths of a column, is taken almost wholly from the introduction to the

book, to which unstinted praise is given, though a reading of the book by one familiar with the American system of freight rates shows that its object is the justification and sanctification of a system based on extortion.

* *

Legislative Prudery.

Somebody in the Georgia legislature is reported as having introduced a bill to prohibit women from riding horseback astride. What under the canopy is the use of trying to make people think that women are one-legged creatures? Nobody really does think so, and nobody would be any better for it if everybody did.

* *

Comic Documents.

Whoever wishes to inform himself on the objections to land value taxation may see how utterly lacking in merit are even the best by getting a bundle of the documents of the "Budget Protest League," at Caxton House (East Block), Westminster, S. W., London. They can be had "with the Secretary's compliments." Some are intended to be funny, but the rest are funnier.

* *

Leaving Out the Negro.

We notice that the Chicago Conservator, an organ of the Negro race, complains of the neglect to put a representative of this race upon the school board, when "every other race and nationality are given representation." The complaint is a just rebuke to the boast of Mayor Busse's Republican supporters, that he has appointed a truly representative school board. How can a school board without a single Negro member be representative, in a city with so large a Negro population as Chicago has, and at a time when the movement for separate schools is gaining strength? It would puzzle a casuist to explain. The Conservator's question, however, is quite easily answered.

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It asks "why the Negroes, who constitute so large and so representative a part of the population of Chicago and *so loyal a part of the Republican party*, should be wholly ignored by our Republican Mayor, who takes such infinite pains to see to it that every other race and nationality are given representation." The question phrases its own answer, and we have italicized the words that do it. The answer is that the Republican party ignores the Negro race because this race does constitute "so loyal a part of the Republican party."

Politicians of both regular parties in all places are especially indifferent, except on election day, to one class of the citizenship upon whose votes they depend for power. They take infinite pains between elections to conciliate, to please, to attract every other class, but the loyal of both parties they disregard. Loyal members of the opposing party do not interest them, because these cannot be attracted; loyal members of their own party do not interest them, because these need not be conciliated. The loyal members of a regular party will vote for its candidates, no matter what it may do to displease them or what the opposing party may do to please them. What sense, then, is there in wasting energy, thought or official positions on loyal partisans? None. And this is the secret, not alone in Chicago, but throughout the United States, of the neglect of Negroes by Republican politicians. Most Negro voters are loyal to the Republican party anyhow.

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If the Negro voters of Chicago, of Ohio, of any other locality where the vote of their race is large enough to turn an election, were to utilize it as a balance of power, casting it for one party or the other as its conduct pleased or displeased them respecting their race—even as our German, Irish, Italian and Scandinavian voters largely do—they would soon find themselves in a more salubrious political atmosphere. Instead of being neglected by Democrats because their vote is inevitably hostile, and by Republicans because it is unflinchingly loyal, the Negro race would be courted by the politicians of both parties as assiduously as other races are courted now.

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Congestion in New York.

Congestion of population in New York City is a subject to which no one in the whole country can afford to be indifferent. One consideration alone—the wide distribution of clothing made in New York “sweat shops”—is enough to make us all “sit up and take notice.” Even the “superior” men and women who never wear “sweat-shop” clothing are concerned, for they cannot live their daily lives without coming in contact with the “inferior” people who do wear it. Why does this concern them? Because “sweat shop” clothing brings disease up out of congested places. We good people may afford to be indifferent to the sufferings of the miserable creatures whom God in his wisdom and mercy—perhaps because he loves them so, perhaps to punish them for the sins of their ancestors, perhaps to afford us a field for the display

of philanthropy, but more likely because he is a God of order who cannot maintain equality of opportunity among a stiff-necked generation which insists upon nullifying the equality of opportunity which he ordains—we may afford to be indifferent to their sufferings, but not to our own. We may afford to pity them and let it go at that; but we cannot afford to ignore the fact that the disease germs which their sufferings breed among them are scattered broadcast among us. And so the congestion of population in New York, partly an effect and partly a cause of disease-breeding “sweat shops,” is of vital concern to everybody.

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Yet very few of us—even residents of New York, to say nothing of the rest of us—realize the monstrous congestion of population in that city. We should be exceeding grateful, therefore, to the New York committee on congestion of population for its efforts to spread information on this subject. In one of its bulletins this committee shows that in 1905, according to the State census, there were 122 blocks with a density of at least 750 persons per acre, and 30 blocks with a density of at least 1,000 to the acre. These densely populated blocks were spread all through Manhattan Island, up and down, on the east side and on the west; and in most of them the density of population increased in most blocks from 1900 to 1905. Many of those blocks have coralled five and six tiers of “sweated” humanity. In those conditions standards of decent living are impossible. Then there is Brooklyn, once regarded as a handy place of escape from the congestion of Manhattan—Brooklyn has suffered a similar fate.

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The committee on congestion of population have taken the initiative in organizing a group of civic organizations to prevent this congestion. Nearly 50 organizations with a total membership of over 60,000 have been enlisted in the effort, and a vice-president has been elected from each of the five Boroughs of the city to co-operate in the effort. They are conducting a campaign of education, part of which contemplates a commission to be appointed by the Mayor, to consider and recommend a plan to relieve the present and prevent future congestion. It is not to be hoped for that this commission will see, what every one with half an eye ought to see, that the wicked congestion of population in New York is an inevitable result of making houses dear by heavy taxes on building, and house sites dear by light taxes on forestalling. But this will work itself out in

time, and such movements as that of the committee on congestion of population will help in the work.

* * *

THE TARIFF HUMBUG.

From some points of view the interesting bunch of statesmen now in session at Washington furnish an amusing spectacle.

Some of these gentlemen call themselves Republicans; others call themselves Democrats.

But let it be understood that in order to be elected to the national legislature a man must affiliate with one of these groups. The majority of the people are tied to the superstition that there are two great political parties in the United States, of diametrically opposite principles. As a matter of observation, this is not the fact. There is only one great political party at the national capital, and this is the party of the Interests.

The deception lies in the label on the party bottle. These different professionals are working in the same interests. For illustration, the recent gas corporations of the city of Chicago,—the "Ogden" and the "People's,"—one under Republican and the other under Democratic control—are now united into one corporation. But the above remarks allude especially to the tariff discussion in Congress.

* *

The poet hath said that "Conscience doth make cowards of us all." The tariff makes criminals of us all by making that a crime which is not a crime.

The right to trade is a natural, inalienable right. It is as natural for a man to trade as it is to eat. Why then should it be made a crime for men to trade freely, whenever, wherever and with whom they please?

It is tacitly admitted, nay, it has always been generally accepted, that trade is the greatest promoter of civilization. Indeed trade is the origin and genesis of civilization. To quote an eminent authority: "To find an utterly uncivilized people we must find a people among whom there is no exchange of trade. Such a people does not exist and so far as our knowledge goes, never did. To find a fully civilized people we must find a people among whom exchange of trade is absolutely free and has reached the fullest development to which human desire can carry it. There is, unfortunately, no such people."

* *

Nobody really believes in a tariff. If the most rabid protectionist would honestly analyze his feel-

ings he would have to admit he desires absolute freedom to trade for himself and wants restrictions only for the other fellow—so strong is the notion that a successful trade can only be accomplished by forcing another to make a poor one, in other words, by injuring him.

The most persistent protectionist will not hesitate to smuggle provided he can do so without getting into trouble.

The "courtesy" of the Treasury office is a well known custom extended to influential officials and politicians returning from abroad.

The ordinary person is pleased if he may be made the recipient through the kindness of a friend traveling abroad of some article of value escaping the custom house tax. Such a person as a rule will be found accepting the protective idea.

The rich heiress is limited to only as many trunks full of costly wearing apparel as she may claim she has worn, perhaps once, before embarking from the foreign port. Such a person is more than likely a beneficiary of the tariff.

What a mean advantage this, to take of the forced-to-stay-at-home public.

On the other hand, let some simple-minded individual who instinctively feels he is committing no crime be caught with a few small valuables in his possession while crossing some imaginary political line, and lo, here is a criminal of deep dye. Compare him with those "eminently respectable" financiers, the sugar barons, whose greed so grows upon what it feeds on, that, not satisfied with the liberal protection secured to them, they are caught defrauding the revenue. Well might we exclaim, "Oh, Respectability! what crimes are committed in thy name!"

JOSIAH EDSON.

* * *

THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF RISING PRICES.

Advance in price of iron is generally heralded as a sure sign of growing prosperity.

While it is true that a sustained advance, coincident with maintained or increasing output, signifies increased purchasing power on the part of the public, this is of minor importance compared to the economic significance of the price-advance in itself. For, is it not an axiom of political economy that increased productivity tends not toward higher but toward lower prices?

* *

Rising prices for iron may indicate increased general affluence, but we should not lose sight of the further fact, that it may also indicate a power

in monopolists of the sources of supply to charge, not merely an equitable price, but a price—any price—within the power of the consumer to pay. If this power really exists, not only in relation to iron, but also in relation to the raw materials of industry in general, then it is evident that prices will be arbitrarily advanced to absorb any increase in the people's power to pay.

If adverse conditions have forced prices down below the point that affords an equitable margin of profit, then a return to that point should be matter of general gratification. But, under the monopoly conditions that now prevail in the field of raw materials, the public cannot possibly know when that point has been reached.

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Where the element of competition is freely operative, price may indeed fluctuate within narrow limits, but the unvarying tendency is to the point of equitable remuneration for service rendered.

But where the factor of competition is absent, in the field of monopoly, the point of equitable remuneration affords no check to the upward tendency of prices.

In the competitive field, A must perforce limit his selling price to what his competitor B, would accept. But in the field of monopoly, C is the sole operator, and he charges, not the same that someone else is willing to accept, for there is no one else, but all that his customers, A and B, can be forced to pay. His price stops at the point which in his judgment will afford him, all things considered, the largest possible return.

He could exact more, for a brief period, but only at the penalty of shrinkage in volume of sales, with the further risk of crippling his customers, and thus inducing panic and general business depression. In fact, this is precisely what he does do, in the end; he did it in '73, in '93, and last, in 1907.

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The point is, that the monopolists of the sources of supply of the raw materials of industry have the power to charge all that they choose to ask, and that prices in that field are determined, not by value of service rendered, but by the monopolists' judgment as to the paying power of the public.

Advancing price of raw materials is a manifestation of the monopolists' method of forestalling the public of the prosperity that otherwise it would enjoy.

Under competitive operation, increasing business activity and gradual decline in the price of

iron would coincide, distributing thus prosperity to the general public. But under existing conditions, business activity and rising price of iron will coincide, thus apportioning the activity to the public and the prosperity to the monopolist.

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These truths are becoming manifest to an increasing number of the people; which fact accounts for the widespread sentiment in favor of a revision downward of the tariff.

For the public is getting hold of the fact that the protective tariff buttresses the monopolist's position; that in the absence of the tariff the American public would have access to sources of supply not controlled by American monopolies.

It is only a vague sentiment with the general public as yet, however; it does not amount to a settled, intelligent conviction. The prevailing sentiment is in favor of equal opportunity, and many who ought to know better actually believe that such condition exists.

"We've equalized *opportunity*. This is the *most* that society *can* do; it *cannot* equalize *men*." That is the way a certain voluminous dogmatist puts it, emphasis and all. The quotation shows that the author of it is, in sentiment, in favor of equal opportunity; and it further shows that he is ignorant of the fact that equalization of opportunity still waits upon the action of society.

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Let us hope that society cannot, nor ever will be able to, equalize men.

And let us also hope, and confidently believe, that society will yet equalize opportunity, to the end, in part, that the increasing productivity of human society shall not longer afford special opportunity to the few to arbitrarily advance the price of the raw materials of industry.

Let us believe that society can do this. Let us see to it that society shall do this.

The sign of its accomplishment will be progressive decline in prices with increasing productivity, and a consequent tendency toward universal prosperity.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THINKING OUT LOUD.

Oakland, California, July 26.

Intellectual, prosperous graft sometimes pays a compliment to woman's sense of justice. One of the most notorious graft-corporation organs in the country (Oakland Tribune) asserts that "many

women demand the ballot more as a matter of principle than from a desire to vote." Naturally, a demand as a matter of principle, seen through corporation spectacles, is a sinister attack upon the most sacred institutions of the country—special privileges. The holders of special privileges don't want principle in politics. It's too explosive.

The strongest and most unreasonable arguments against equal suffrage are some of the women who write for the daily papers. Commenting on the methods of English suffragettes, a woman on the editorial staff of a daily paper writes: "If enough nice women were to engage in a concerted, well-mannered, sensible, coherent campaign, the men would let them have votes." But how many "nice" women would be "enough"? The graft opponents of equal suffrage don't object to it on the ground that its proponents are not "nice." They say that most women are too nice, too clean; that the "filth of politics," which is surely not a product of woman's suffrage, would contaminate and debase the women. Possibly if enough nice men of '76 had engaged in a concerted, well-mannered, strictly ethical campaign for their rights, King George wouldn't have been so disagreeable as to refuse them.

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It is said that Henry Miller, founder of the vast landed estates of Miller and Lux, prominent California monopolists, was once asked why he was buying so much land. "Vell, I tell you how it vas," he replied. "Der population vas ingreasing all der time, but der land it vas not growing one bit." A California paper, making loud complaint of the vast holdings of Miller and Lux, says "there should be a law that would prevent any one man or corporation from owning so much land." Fine! Why didn't Lincoln suggest as a substitute for emancipation that Congress enact a law to prevent any man from owning more than twenty or forty Negro slaves? How easily and justly that would have solved the slavery question!

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President Taft is quoted as saying that "no race would be better off if it were all educated as university men." Quite true. Among the conductors and motormen of the Oakland, Cal., street railway company there is a large proportion of college men, but it is said that their college training doesn't interfere with their efficiency.

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The Washington Times says, very truly, that there is still more suspicion of the tariff bill because the tariff "hogs" are so quiet. The only sound they make is a contented grunt, as when Steel Trust Corey and Gary praise the President and Congress and the "satisfactory downward revision" of the tariff, which revises structural steel schedules upward. As every country boy knows, when a hog is quiet it's in muck or mischief. The tariff hogs are in the consumer's potato patch, eating and growing fat. But there's consolation in knowing what happens to hogs when they get fat.

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It is cautiously and mysteriously announced that

when President Taft visits the Pacific Coast he will make "important and pertinent declarations of policy concerning the great national questions that agitate and sometimes perplex the American people." Of course the questions neither agitate nor perplex the President. The journey to the Coast will, it is said, "do much in the way of platform making for the future guidance of parties." But why does President Taft begin the making of a new platform for "parties"? Has the platform on which he was elected been officially condemned by his party? Has it already been found "guilty" after a trial of but five months? It appears from the announcement that there is a wash-out on the Sherman-law line, and President Taft will clear up the whole matter of "regulation of trusts and monopolies." With the expert assistance of Attorney-General Wickersham, he will classify the trusts and monopolies into "good" and "bad," benign and malignant, philanthropic and parasitical, helpful and harmful. When the work is completed it should be bound in one volume with the mathematical treatise of an English lunatic who based his system on the proposition—"Once one is two." But why go to the Pacific Coast to announce a guide for parties? Wall Street is a more appropriate place for the parturition of a plan to regulate trusts and monopolies.

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In this land of the interview, how did the President get immunity, and why? The "dignity of the office" does not explain it. Besides, the hardshell dignity that doth hedge a king, looks on an American President like a silk hat in a broken window. The King of England does not comment upon public matters in speeches or interviews, because he is a mere king, having no voice in public matters. The American President goes to a picnic or a dinner, or an opportune unveiling of a monument, and most inappropriately promulgates "policies"—and that is the way of the British prime minister. Now, why can't, and why shouldn't, the President prepare statements or interviews at opportune moments on questions in the public mind (as well as some that are only in the public eye) and give them to the news associations and the correspondents? It wouldn't "frazzle" his dignity, and the public would get his views without having them filtered through "a prominent caller at the White House," or "an authoritative source,"—which sometimes resides in the imagination of a correspondent.

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Now that Brother Charles Taft has the contract to furnish beef to the Panama Canal toilers from his Texas ranch, Elbert Hubbard should hasten to make a little journey to the home of those Texas steers. The American populace yearns for the true story of a self-made beef, and those Taft beeves are quite as self-made as any of the Captains of Cunning eulogized in recent "Little Journeys," and less selfish.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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Keep your temper! If it's good you don't want to lose it, and if it's bad no one else wants it.—The Crown (Newark, N. J.).

FAR WESTERN SENATORS AND SENTIMENT.

Tacoma, Wash., July 22, 1909.

It seems to be assumed that the Senators responsible for the tariff bill as it came from their House misrepresented their constituents. So far, however, as the Senators from the Rocky Mountain and Pacific slope regions are concerned, this criticism is unjust. The Senators from those sections—more's the pity—have represented and do represent the sentiments of their constituents. The fact constitutes not only a regrettable but a positively alarming feature of the tariff question.

If the people of the sections of the country mentioned were not protection-mad, their Senators would not have voted for the Aldrich bill. If their Senators had not voted for the Aldrich bill, Aldrich wouldn't have had votes enough to pass his bill. It is a fair conclusion, therefore, that the people of the far West, by reason of their abject ignorance on economic questions, and their devotion to a worn-out system of tariff robbery, are directly responsible for the fact that the whole country may be afflicted with that system indefinitely.

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Take, for example, the State of Washington.

There is a belief in this State, amounting almost to a superstition, that a tariff on lumber is necessary to the well-being of the State. Everybody out here believes it. Nobody questions it. The thought that such a belief may be erroneous never enters the head of the average man. There is not, so far as I know, a newspaper in the State which has ever dared to suggest that the lumber tariff was not a direct benefit to every man, woman and child in the State.

When a Senator is sent from here to the national capital, he understands that his first duty is to "protect" the lumber interest. He knows that if he fails in this, he will not be re-elected at the end of his term. Not only do the people themselves demand it, but the large lumber interests are openly and avowedly in politics, and ready to punish a recalcitrant or indifferent Senator.

Of course the only way a Washington Senator can secure a tariff on lumber, is to cast his lot and his vote with the protection (Aldrich) combine in the Senate. He must vote for every species of tariff injustice, in order to protect the graft in which his constituents imagine they are interested. And, while there is some kicking in this State over the enormities of the Aldrich bill, not one in a thousand, apparently, is acute enough to trace effect back to cause, and realize the responsibility of his State and of himself for the existence of those enormities.

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The same is true of Idaho.

In north Idaho are the large lead mines of the Coeur d'Alene mining district. It is a cardinal article of faith with Idahoans that the prosperity of the State hinges upon the maintenance of a tariff on lead ore. Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, a man almost as progressive in his political ideas as Cummins or La Follette or Bristow, has been forced

into a quasi-alliance with Aldrich, against his will, in order to "protect" the lead industry.

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Utah is interested in lead and wool, and her people are blinded by the same superstition that afflicts Washington and Idaho.

Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, elected as a Democrat on a reform wave, was forced to vote for the wool and lumber schedules to retain his standing at home.

Wyoming people are infatuated with the idea that their State will go to the devil if the tariff on coal or hides or wool is reduced or abolished.

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This tariff devotion of the people of those States works in two ways:

First, it prevents really progressive Senators like Borah and Chamberlain from lining up with the forces of progress in the Senate.

Second, it furnishes the excuse which men like Warren of Wyoming, Smoot of Utah and Heyburn of Idaho wish for aligning themselves with the forces of reaction, and prevents their being disciplined by constituencies which they daily outrage by their conduct in the Senate.

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One example of the utter ignorance of the people of the far West on the tariff question may be cited.

During the campaign last fall, Senator Heyburn of Idaho, who is more reactionary, if possible, than Aldrich himself, repeatedly stated from the stump in Idaho that the panic of 1893, and the hard times which followed it, were caused by "the influx of foreign goods" under the Wilson bill (which was not passed until 1894). He did not occupy the usual protectionist ground, and assert that the hard times were caused by the threat of tariff reduction and "free trade," but openly and brazenly asserted from every stump that it was caused by the actual importation of foreign goods in competition with American goods.

I am aware that it is almost unbelievable that a Senator of the United States would resort to such falsehood and misrepresentation—such total political dishonesty; but anyone who doubts it may refer to the abstracts of Senator Heyburn's speeches published in the columns of the Spokane (Wash.) Spokesman-Review.

Now the remarkable thing is that, so far as I know, Heyburn's assertion was never questioned. No newspaper denied it; no opposition orator pointed out its falsity. It was permitted to go unchallenged. And, when the legislature met at Boise, in the January following the campaign, Heyburn was re-elected by the unanimous vote of every Republican member of that body.

Fred T. Dubois, who, as a Democrat, formerly represented Idaho in the Senate, and who is unquestionably an honest man, always took particular care to befriend the lead and beet sugar tariffs, because he knew that to oppose either one meant his political extinction.

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Now, I don't have to tell the readers of The Pub-

lic that a tariff on lumber benefits nobody in Washington, save the owners of standing timber; that a tariff on lead benefits nobody in Idaho but the owners of lead mines; that a tariff on wool benefits nobody but the landowner or the land grabber; that nobody in Wyoming is helped by a tariff on coal except the Union Pacific Railroad Company, which owns every working coal mine in the State, and which will not permit an independent mine to ship at equal terms on its road; nor do I have to point out that there is no possibility by which the average citizen of those states can be benefited by the tariffs which he so enthusiastically supports.

The point I wish to make is that we must go deeper than the mere combination of Senators at Washington to serve selfish interests, in order to place responsibility for the tariff bill. If it were merely a question of our Senators misrepresenting us, we could easily correct that, because out West here we are electing Senators in direct primaries; but the trouble is that our Senators do not misrepresent us,—at least not to the extent that some people seem to think they do. The Senators from the far West have been doing our bidding.

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It is not my purpose to point out a remedy for this condition.

As a matter of fact, there is only one remedy. It is to be found in the economic education of the masses.

But how are you to educate a people who believe that they are the custodians of an inspired economic principle, and that you are groping in the heathen darkness of "British free trade"?

Theoretically I believe, I suppose, in the Initiative and Referendum; but I can't overlook the fact that high protection, militarism, government-by-injunction, the big army and the big navy and the "big stick" have all in turn been submitted with practical directness to the people at the polls, and their decisions on those questions do not impress me with the efficacy of the referendum as a measure of reform.

PUGET SOUNDER.

[The foregoing editorial letter is published without the name of the writer, because men in business and dependent upon it for a livelihood cannot afford the risks of publicity when they write of the economic, political and social conditions which prevail in any of the embryo dukedoms of America in which their bread-winning work is done. If there is oslerization for the worker above forty in years, there is something analogous to oslerization for business men who write too frankly and publicly. The writer is, however, peculiarly well qualified to testify upon the subject which his letter covers; and from many other sources of information, we are convinced of the accuracy of his statements.—Editors of The Public.]

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First Young Lady (learning golf): "Dear me, what shall I do now? This ball is in a hole."

Second Young Lady (looking over a book of instructions): "Let—me—see. I presume you will have to take a stick of the right shape to get it out."

First Young Lady: "Oh, yes, of course. See if you can find one like a dustpan and brush."—Tit-Bits.

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, August 3, 1909.

Revolution in Spain.

The rioting in Spain over the sending of more troops to Morocco, reported last week (p. 730), has developed into revolution. The poorer classes have complained that the rich can escape conscription by the payment of \$300, and that they themselves are being sent to Morocco to be killed in a rich man's war. The strongest resistance to the Government's program was initiated at Barcelona, as reported. This city lies in northeast Spain, on the Mediterranean, in the old province of Catalonia. It is the second largest city in the country, and is the commercial and manufacturing metropolis. Catalonia has always been the home of republican movements for Spain, and of late years both socialism and anarchism have made wide propaganda there.

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The rioting became more violent on the 28th, and took on an anti-clerical form. Many churches, colleges and convents were wrecked in Barcelona and the smaller neighboring towns; monks and nuns were murdered; railroads were torn up, and the movement began to assume the proportions of a revolution. King Alfonso, who had been hooted in the streets of Madrid on his arrival from the country, declared all Spain to be under martial law, and announced a temporary suspension of constitutional guarantees. In the meantime news came of more reverses for the Spanish troops in Morocco, with a long list of dead. Strict censorship of news had been established, and on the 29th the Government announced that the chief bands of Barcelona insurgents had been driven by cavalry into St. Martin's square and shot down, until the survivors surrendered. During the three days of fighting in Catalonia, of which this was the third, 1,500 insurgents are believed to have fallen. Following their apparent control of the situation the Government instituted drumhead courts martial, and the condemned were summarily stood up against walls and shot. In the meantime socialists and radicals were being freely arrested in Madrid. On the 1st uncertain news crept through the censorship, of more insurgent fight-

ing in Barcelona, with a repulse of the troops, and also of the proclamation of a Republic. Another message out of the disordered city stated that nine thousand armed revolutionists had formed a committee of public safety. A meeting of Carlist leaders had been held at Figueras, and the arrival was expected of the pretender, Don Jaime de Bourbon (p. 711), in order to place himself at the head of the rebellion. A general strike was called for the 2nd in Madrid, and in view of this fact the Government decided to arrest all the leaders of the various committees, and workmen's societies. By the 2nd the military seemed to be in firmer control at Barcelona and the first train since the beginning of the revolt left the city bearing what the press dispatches call "censored and plainly inexact newspaper accounts of the insurrection and of the conditions in the outlying parts of Catalonia. The rest is shrouded in mystery." Word from refugees and news correspondents under that date state, however, that the Republicans who had the day before proclaimed the Republic of Spain in Barcelona, had retired to secluded communes of Catalonia, where they had established a government, and that everywhere the fires of sedition were still smouldering. In the meantime the following description of the moment in Barcelona, written by the correspondent of the Paris *Matin*, gives us one more example of the ghastly mirth that so frequently blossoms over great social tragedies:

All is life and gayety, yet all is there which speaks death and recounts the drama of the bloody week in which revolt and order fought for mastery. Everybody knows that at the Montjuich fortress they have shot more than 250 men; that a majority of the Republican leaders have been captured and the others are in flight; that powder and cannon spoke forty-eight hours ago in all the streets where to-day the phonographs squeak and flower girls run and thrust roses in the faces of the passers-by. Everybody knows of the terrible burnings of the convents into whose ruins the revolutionists were driven and searched while they were decimated by the cannon fire; everybody knows that the slain number 3,000, which perhaps to-morrow or a month after the statistics of the heart-broken families are received, may be doubled or trebled. Yes, Barcelona sings and is gay; but be not deceived, for there are ways of singing over the tomb that are more impressive and more tragic than weeping.

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The Czar Goes Avisiting.

The Trafalgar Square meeting of protest against the announced visit of the Czar of Russia to the King of England (p. 732), was followed by two similar protest meetings in Paris on the 29th and 30th against a similar visit to the President of the French Republic. The meeting of the 29th was addressed by representatives of the socialist, revolutionary and anarchistic organ-

izations. The meeting of the 30th adopted resolutions expressing the hope "that an opportune accident would arrest the bloody career of Nicholas II, hangman of all the Russias."

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The greatest possible care was taken by the French and English governments to safeguard the Czar in his official visits to the two countries. Escorted by a Russian squadron, and protected by the entire French Channel fleet, the Czar arrived off Cherbourg on the 31st. He was met by President Fallieres on a cruiser, and visits and dinners were exchanged on shipboard. The only landing was for a tea under a tent on the breakwater, three miles from shore. On the 2nd the Czar crossed the Channel into English waters, where he was met by King Edward on the royal yacht. Again visits and dinners were exchanged on shipboard. The greatest English fleet ever assembled had been brought together for review before the Czar.

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Honoring the Dead Heroes of Peace.

At the convention of the Western Federation of Miners on the 29th at Denver, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the years in their flight mark memories of hundreds of men and women who have sacrificed their limbs, their health and even life itself in their efforts to save the lives of others, and frequently these are the only marks of their heroic conduct to inspire the coming generations; and, whereas, many instances, such as mining explosions, floods, inundations and such like disasters have called forth and have been characterized by many noble acts of men who did not hesitate to jeopardize their lives and everything that makes life dear to save their fellow—these illustrations having been particularly emphasized by many members of this organization whose graves have too often been neglected if not forgotten; and, whereas, many a modest man and woman who do not parade their efforts or seek to advertise the sacrifices they have made in the advancement and uplifting of humanity leave us only a name and a tomb, both of brief memory; and, whereas, this nation has seen fit, and properly so, to dedicate one day in the year to the decoration of the graves of the defenders of the nation in the hour of its peril; therefore be it—

Resolved, that we, here in convention assembled, will, wherever our subordinate unions are located and in every union of organized labor, urge upon our members and upon the citizens of that locality to remember the heroes of peace while decorating the last resting place of the heroes of war; and be it further resolved, that this organization shall communicate to the several organizations of labor to make Decoration Day a day of sweet, sad memory of those whom we love to honor, and particularly for the great hearts of those men and women whose memory is so deserving of commemoration, by appropriate memorial services on Decoration Day.

The Tariff in Congress.

An agreement of the Conference Committee on the important tariff schedules (p. 727) was reported from Washington on the 27th, but on the 28th reports got out that President Taft was not satisfied with this agreement, and a revised one was reported on the 29th. The completed report was officially presented to the lower house on the 30th by Mr. Payne, who explained that the bill as agreed upon by the Conference Committee provides for a general downward tendency from the present rates of tariff duty, with marked decreases as to the necessities of life, but with some increases on luxuries. The question came to a vote on the 31st, President Taft having meanwhile urged Republicans to vote for it.

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There was an adverse Republican vote, however, of 20, these bolters being Carey of Wisconsin, Davis of Wisconsin, Gronna of North Dakota, Haugen of Iowa, Hubbard of Iowa, Keifer of Ohio, Kendall of Iowa, Lenroot of Wisconsin, Linbergh of Minnesota, Mann of Illinois, Miller of Minnesota, Murdock of Kansas, Nelson of Wisconsin, Nye of Minnesota, Poindexter of Washington, Southwick of New York, Steenerson of Minnesota, Stevens of Minnesota, Volstead of Minnesota, and Woods of Iowa. The Democratic party vote was cast against the report, except that Broussard and Estopinal of Louisiana voted for it. The bill, as reported from the Conference Committee, was adopted by 195 to 183—a majority of 12.

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But in the Senate an obstacle immediately arose. When the conference report came there on the 2nd, an opposition developed which, had the vote been taken then, would have defeated the bill. The strength of this opposition was due to the discovery of "jokers" in the bill, whereby compromises were nullified. The compromise reduction of tariff on boots and shoes, for instance, to offset free hides, was found to apply only to shoes worn in penal institutions. Voting on the bill was therefore deferred, and on the 3d it was formally set for the 5th.

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As the bill passed the House upon the report of the Conference Committee, works of art more than 20 years old, petroleum, and hides go into the free list; timber is reduced from 1 cent to ½ cent a cubic foot; sawed lumber from \$2 a thousand feet to \$1.25; iron ore from 40 cents to 15 cents a ton; pig iron from \$4 to \$2.50 a ton; tin plates from 1½ cents a pound to 1 1-5 cents; steel rails from 7-20 of 1 cent a pound to 7-40 of a cent; and bituminous coal from 67 cents a ton to 45 cents. Wool remains as before, and the

rates on cotton hosiery, shingles, fur clothing, cigars and hops are increased.

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The bill embodies a clause which has not come in for debate. It is known as the maximum and minimum clause, and provides that—

after March 31, 1910, there shall be levied, in addition to the duties prescribed, which are called "the minimum tariff," 25 per cent on the value of all imports (with certain specified exceptions), and that the prescribed duties or "minimum tariff," plus this 25 per cent, shall constitute the "maximum" or "general tariff." Whenever after that date, the President is satisfied that the government of any foreign country does not discriminate against shipments from or to the United States, he may by proclamation admit shipments from that country at the "minimum" tariff. And if the government of any country upon the imports from which the "minimum" tariff is at any time allowed, shall thereafter discriminate against the American trade, then the President may restore the "maximum" as to that country.

This provision is intended to give the President a "club" with which to enter into negotiations for commercial treaties—the rates left to his discretion being those between the "minimum," which are to prevail until March 31, 1910, and the "maximum," which takes effect on that date. It is an expression of the "reciprocity" idea.

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The Cleveland Traction Referendum.

Mayor Johnson lost his fight on the traction referendum (p. 730) on the 3d in Cleveland.

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The principal features of the campaign of last week were the two debates between Homer H. McKeehan against the Schmidt ordinance, and Mayor Johnson for it. The first came off on the 27th, when more than 15,000 people crowded into and around the six-pole tent. W. H. Boyd was chairman, and Mayor Johnson opened and closed. The second debate was on the 28th, before an equally large crowd, and Mr. McKeehan opened and closed. These were the only debates of the campaign, the Chamber of Commerce Committee, the only organized civic body in opposition to the ordinance, having refused to authorize any debates, even that of the chairman of their speakers' committee, Mr. McKeehan. The debates are described as extraordinary, and Mayor Johnson as having done his most effective work at them. It was generally conceded that the opposition lost heavily in these debates. But the corporate interests centering in Cleveland were united against the ordinance, and the influence of the local banks was brought to bear upon every one having financial interests or obligations.

The voting began on the morning of the 3d, with ballots only—the Supreme Court of the State having recently decided that voting with machines is invalid in Ohio. Only 65,807 votes were cast, out of 80,000 expected; and the majority adverse to the Schmidt ordinance was 3,763.

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Socialist Street Speaking in Chicago.

A question of the right to hold street meetings is raised by the police of Chicago. The Socialist party organization has been accustomed to holding street meetings for several years without serious police interference; but at one of their meetings, held in the slum region on the 28th, their speakers discussed the police graft exposures in connection with socialism, and a large crowd was attracted. This crowd was attacked by the police. As reported by the Chicago Record-Herald of the next day, "six policemen fought hard to get into the center of the group, but by the time they arrived most of those directly connected with the meeting had mingled with the crowd." But the same paper reports that A. W. Mance of the Daily Socialist, and J. F. Keating and J. Herron, both ward organizers of the Socialist party, and B. I. Weber, employed by the Daily Socialist, were arrested and locked up. All were released later on bonds. The charge made against them was disorderly conduct and disturbing the peace. The next night another socialist street meeting at the same place was broken up by the police. Announcements of a meeting in the same locality were made for the 30th and this meeting was held without molestation; but at another place on the 31st the meeting was broken up and the speakers arrested. The matter is important, because the right to hold orderly street meetings which do not interrupt traffic is involved.

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A Woman for Chicago School Superintendent.

After several secret meetings, the Board of Education of Chicago (p. 701) decided on the 30th to elect Ella Flagg Young to the position of superintendent of schools, and at a formal meeting on the 31st the election was made. Although great diversity of choice had been manifested, her election was finally unanimous. The principal line of division was on the question of importing a superintendent, with known characteristics in harmony with the Big Business policy of school administration. On this question the advocates of importation were at a temporary disadvantage owing to the difficulty of finding at this time the right man, free from engagement elsewhere. They were under a further disadvantage from the fact that the teachers and principals have taken strong ground almost unanimously in favor of promoting from the local educational force, and that their demand in this respect has been echoed with emphasis among the people generally. A secondary

line of division in the Board was on the question of a man or a woman, and this line cut across the primary one at an angle, the Big Business and the German influences tending against the selection of a woman, but the majority of the Board being opposed to allowing the question of sex to determine the choice. Other questions entered in, some of them running pretty deep and others being no more than expressions of good tempered emulation among several contesting local aspirants. Finally, on the 30th, all the local aspirants were called before the Board and questioned as to their respective policies of administration. Four members are reported to have stood out against Mrs. Young, but finding themselves in a hopeless minority, they agreed at last to make her election unanimous. The result had been made possible partly by a concession that the position of assistant superintendent be created and that one of the contestants for the superintendency, a man, be appointed to it. The object is stated to be largely for the purpose of putting a member of the educational force in training for promotion. The former assistant superintendents are placed in charge, the one of high schools and the other of elementary schools, with suitable official titles.

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Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the first woman superintendent of schools in a large city, is promoted from the position of principal of the Chicago Normal School. Born in Buffalo, N. Y., January 15, 1845, the daughter of Theodore Flagg, a distinguished mathematician, she came when a young girl to Chicago with her family, and, graduating here from high school began teaching in 1862. Her first class as a teacher was in the Foster school, and all her teaching experience has been in Chicago. In 1868 she was married to William Young, who lived but a few years, leaving her a widow more than twenty-five years ago. They had no children, and Mrs. Young is now without near relatives. She became principal of the Chicago Normal School in 1905, meanwhile having served in the faculty of the University of Chicago. Nearly all her educational positions have been in the Chicago public schools, however, and part of her service was as district superintendent.

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A slight indication of Mrs. Young's attitude toward her new position may be had from the following extracts from newspaper interviews after her election:

There are two things to watch sharp for if one is superintendent of schools. One of those things is to cheer and inspire the teaching corps so that the school shall be truly educational for the teachers. The other is to look sharp for the administrative side. One must be able to advise the Board as to the best ways of meeting the needs of schools and children. Otherwise, their work, unaided, ceases to be

an educational work and becomes political or at best haphazard. All of the failures of superintendents have been due to a slip up in one or the other of these. I believe in personal contact. The superintendent ought never to let a teacher feel, I think, that he's got a whip out after her or is on her trail. All discussion and instruction, I think, ought to be informal and conversational.

I can hardly outline what my policies will be until I have consulted with the district superintendents and the assistant superintendents. I do not mean by that that I believe in any division of authority or responsibility. Teachers will be promoted according to their initiative, merit and ability and the length of time they have been employed in the schools. I do not expect to have any trouble with the Teachers' Federation. I have faith in the loyalty of the Chicago teachers and when they realize that the present school board really cares for their material interests there will be no trouble. There have been complaints made about secret markings. I do not believe there is any system of secret markings and I am sure there will not be while I am superintendent.

Of course I know that in a body of 6,000 school teachers a great many different views are entertained, but I shall try to reconcile them all. I shall endeavor to arrange my work in such a way that any teacher who wishes may talk to me individually. It is quite impossible for a teacher to deal satisfactorily with the superintendent through another official. A minute's conversation will often suffice to set aright matters which otherwise might cause trouble and friction for a long time. I have great faith in the power of many minds and I shall always be open to carefully considered suggestions. When it comes to a decision I shall decide for myself alone.

Asked if any representatives of the Chicago Teachers' Federation had called on her, the new superintendent said: "No, but it's not unlikely they will. I should welcome them as representatives of the Federation, as well as teachers. It is the right of the teachers to organize, and I am willing to deal with their organization."

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The new assistant superintendent is John D. Shoop, who was born in Ohio in 1857, and has served most acceptably as principal of the Chicago vacation schools. To this position he was elected on his merits, when the vacation schools were taken completely over into the public school system last May, but against urgent opposition from the Big Business interests on the Board and only with the support of the Dunne members.

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Liberty and property, the two conditions of social order, are invoked as names, by those who know nothing of any liberty but their own privilege to do wrong, and of no property but that which custom has allowed them to appropriate and fence.—Thorold Rogers, quoted in London "Land Values," for July, 1909.

NEWS NOTES

—Newspaper reports that William J. Bryan is to become a citizen of Texas have been denied by both Mr. and Mrs. Bryan.

—Annie Besant, president of the Theosophical Society, began her American lecturing tour at Carnegie Hall, New York city, on the 2d.

—Mayor Leopold Markbreit of Cincinnati (vol. x, p. 755) died on the 27th, and has been succeeded by Vice Mayor John Galvin, who took the oath of office as Mayor on the 28th.

—Grand jury proceedings in Chicago in connection with police graft (p. 722) were suspended with the discharge of the July grand jury, to be resumed, according to the assurances of the State's Attorney, before the grand jury to be impanelled in September.

—Central Mexico suffered severe earthquake shocks (p. 731) on the 30th, and still more severe shocks on the 31st. Great damage was done to property, and a number of persons were killed. The towns of Acapulco and Chilpancingo were almost entirely destroyed.

—Balloting of the members of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to decide whether a national strike should be declared in support of the Scottish miners, who are resisting a wage reduction of sixpence a day, was concluded on the 29th. It resulted in 518,361 votes in favor of a general strike and only 62,908 against it.

—An outdoor school for tuberculous children was opened on the 3d at Chicago as part of the public school system. The expenses of the school will be borne by the Board of Education, which will supply tents, grounds, equipment and teachers. Food, transportation and medical service will be furnished by the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute.

—The Republicans of Virginia at their convention on the 29th nominated William P. Kent for governor and amended the liquor plank of the platform so as to pledge the party to local option, high license and the rigid enforcement of the law providing for the application of the unit rule in counties and cities at all elections on the liquor question.

—A new council of the building trades of Chicago was organized on the 3d under charter of the American Federation of Labor. It is composed of some of the strongest unions in the building industry, and is understood to be the beginning of a movement to rid the building trades in Chicago of the domination of M. B. Madden (p. 298).

—A meeting called for the purpose by the Pennsylvania Single Tax League and held at the Plaza of the City Hall, Philadelphia, on the 1st, passed resolutions congratulating the people of Great Britain on the taxation campaign in which they are now engaged. The meeting was addressed by William H. Berry, who was recently Treasurer of the State.

—Osaka, one of the three "imperial cities" of Japan (p. 711), suffered from an extensive conflagration on the 31st. The number of buildings destroyed is put at between eleven and twelve thousand,

among them the largest Buddhist temple in the world. Only one life was lost. The population of Osaka is about 800,000, and it has been a center of manufacture and commerce.

—Arrangements for a State celebration of Henry George's seventieth birthday at St. Louis are being made in Missouri. The committee of arrangements are S. L. Moser, chairman; Dr. William Preston Hill, Max Stahl and Percy Papoon. They are aided by William Marion Reedy; Frank K. Ryan, J. H. Watson, Louis Horchitz, S. M. Ryan, Dr. George F. Homan and Percy Werner.

—The American example of a "city-planning" congress, which was set at Washington last May, is followed in England, where a national "city-planning" congress is to meet on the 4th and remain in session four days. The place of the meeting is Port Sunlight, the famous garden city across the Mersey from Liverpool. Several excursions to model villages and well planned towns near by are on the program.

—The concurrent resolution of Congress for the amendment of the Constitution of the United States so as to permit a Federal income tax without regard to the relative populations of the several States (p. 679) was formally transmitted by the President on the 28th, to the States for their action, through the State Department of the United States government. The lower house of the Alabama legislature adopted it on the 2d.

—The British war secretary, Mr. Haldane, announced in the House of Commons on the 2d, that in consequence of the report of a subcommittee of the Imperial Defence Committee, the Admiralty had ordered the construction of a rigid dirigible airship of the largest type, and stated further that the Government factory at Aldershot was already busy with the construction of three non-rigid balloons and two aeroplanes for experimental purposes (p. 731).

—A religious toleration act was passed by the Russian Douma shortly before its recent adjournment (p. 637). The act provides: "1. That all citizens of age should have the right to choose their own religion, and be free to change it according to the dictates of their conscience. 2. That children from the age of fourteen to twenty-one should have the right to choose their religion with the consent of their parents. 3. That only parents should have the right to determine the religion of children up to the age of fourteen."

—Memorial services for the late Henry Clay Cress, M. D., will be held in the Bethel A. M. E. Church, Chicago, at 3 p. m., on the 8th. Dr. Cress was a leader among those of his race who in the recent Presidential campaign refused to support the Republican party. A fund is being raised by Thomas W. Swann (3410 Wabash avenue) for the education of Dr. Cress's four-year-old child, and William J. Bryan has headed the subscription with \$100. Besides this child Dr. Cress left a widow. He was a man of no financial means beyond the slight earnings of his profession.

—The world's aeroplane record for two persons, for both time and distance, was broken on the 27th at Fort Myer, Va., by Orville Wright, with Lieutenant Frank P. Lahm as passenger. On the 30th Or-

ville Wright, with Lieutenant B. F. Foulois as passenger, surpassed all requirements of his contract with the United States government as to speed, weight carried and distance covered, in a flight from Fort Myer. The flight was made across country to Shuter Hill and return—a distance of ten miles. At one point the aeroplane stood 500 feet above the earth. The time taken was 14 minutes and 42 seconds (p. 731).

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 614) for the year ending June 30, 1909, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for June, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$1,063,126,908	\$1,311,948,592	\$251,178,316 exp.
Gold	91,531,818	44,053,989	47,477,829 exp.
Silver	55,682,192	43,954,810	11,727,382 exp.
Total	\$1,810,340,918	\$1,399,957,391	\$410,383,527 exp.
1908, total balance (vol. xi, p. 638)			\$603,942,615 exp.
1907, total balance (vol. x, p. 469)			357,183,715 exp.
1906, total balance (vol. ix, p. 374)			480,941,163 exp.
1905, total balance (vol. viii, p. 249)			461,329,924 exp.
1904, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			474,333,007 exp.
1903, total balance (vol. vi, p. 248)			416,617,778 exp.
1902, total balance (vol. v, p. 248)			496,446,285 exp.
1901, total balance (vol. iv, p. 248)			671,458,818 exp.
1900, total balance (vol. iii, p. 248)			571,677,235 exp.
1899, total balance (vol. ii, p. 248)			504,086,255 exp.
1898, total balance (vol. i, p. 248)			534,624,851 exp.

Total export balance, 1898 to 1909....\$6,023,025,213 exp.

Total export balance, 1834 to 1909....\$8,645,644,530 exp.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 590) for June, 1909, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909 (vol. xi, p. 371):

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cost	124,453,841.25
Total	\$274,453,841.25
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1908	389,557,993.16
Decrease for fiscal year ending June 30, 1909	\$115,104,151.91
ditto, 1908 (vol. xi, p. 371)	29,023,444.35
ditto, 1905 (vol. viii, p. 250)	28,587,180.18
ditto, 1904 (vol. vii, p. 248)	65,267,033.19
Total decrease for fiscal years 1904-05-08-09	\$236,031,809.63
Increase for fiscal year ending	
June 30, 1907 (vol. x, p. 469)	\$90,494,154.26
ditto, 1906 (vol. ix, p. 373)	35,896,650.38
ditto, 1903 (vol. vi, p. 215)	25,820,159.73
ditto, 1902 (vol. v, p. 218)	31,740,991.83
ditto, 1901 (vol. iv, p. 218)	21,127,470.14
ditto, 1900 (vol. iii, p. 218)	24,325,186.05
Total increase for fiscal years	
1900-01-02-03-06-07	\$229,404,652.39

Net decrease from June 30, 1900, to June 30, 1909\$ 6,627,157.24

—At the annual convention of the Women's National Single Tax League, held at Arden, Delaware, last month, the following officers were elected: President, Charlotte O. Schetter of Orange, N. J.; vice-presidents, Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe of Washington, Mrs. A. E. DuBois of Bayonne, N. J., Florence Garvin of Rhode Island, Dr. Mary D. Hussey of East

Orange, N. J., Mrs. Kate Freeman of Brooklyn; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Minnie Rogers Ryan of Brooklyn; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Mackenzie of Washington; Treasurer, Mrs. E. Murray Frye of New York; Auditor, Mrs. Percy Marcellus of Orange, New Jersey; Members Executive Board, Amy Mall Hicks of New York and Mrs. Hughan of Brooklyn. A contribution of \$25 was made to the Fels Fund.

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government (vol. xi, p. 372; vol. xii, p. 590) for June, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909:

I.—Ordinary:

Receipts—	
Customs tariff	\$301,209,863.41
Internal revenue	246,329,063.55
Miscellaneous	56,893,919.89
	\$604,432,846.85

Disbursements—	
Civil and miscellaneous	\$164,288,538.32
War	164,100,242.37
Navy	115,988,869.24
Indians	15,451,008.94
Pensions	161,689,423.20
Postal deficiency	19,501,062.37
Interest on public debt.....	21,804,571.98
	\$662,823,716.42

Less repayment of unex-		
pended balances	3,351,025.99	
		659,472,690.43

Excess of ordinary disbursements over ordinary receipts	\$ 55,035,843.58
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II.—Panama Canal—

Receipts—proceeds of bonds.....	\$ 30,731,008.21
Disbursements for Canal	31,420,286.04

Excess of Panama Canal disbursements over receipts	\$ 689,277.83
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III.—Public Debt—

Receipts—	
Proceeds of bonds and certifi-	
cates	\$ 00,000,000.00
Deposits to retire bank notes	45,621,739.50
	\$ 45,621,739.50

Disbursements—	
Bonds and certificates re-	
tired	\$ 15,434,687.00
Bank notes retired	89,562,083.00
	104,996,770.00

Excess of public debt disbursements over receipts	\$ 59,375,030.50
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Excess of all disbursements over all receipts	\$115,104,151.91
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IV.—Deficits, Surpluses and Balances in Millions:

	Ordin-	Canal	Debt	Total	General
	ary	deficits.	deficits.	deficits.	ances.
	deficits.				
June 30, 1909	\$55.	\$ 0.689	\$59.	\$115.	\$124.5
June 30, 1908	20.	12.7	5.9*	26.8	245.
June 30, 1907	111.*	4.*	24.	91.*	272.
June 30, 1906	45.*	19.	9.*	35.*	180.6
June 30, 1905	18.	3.9	3.9	26.5	145.4
June 30, 1904	7.5	50.	23.9	66.6	172.

*Surplus.

—A social center organization has been formed across the bay from San Francisco, under the initiation of William Kent of Chicago. As described by

The Survey, the enterprise is called Tamalpais Center, and the plan is that from this center shall radiate the social life of the neighboring towns. The whole undertaking is characterized by The Survey as "an admirable attempt to solve the problem of village life." Ernest Bradley, associate rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco, has been asked to be executive head of the institution which, however, is to be "absolutely without caste, creed, or politics, except as these things have to do with the broadest outlook on life, and the building up of healthy minds and bodies." The grounds are being put into shape and the formal opening is set for September 9, California's Statehood day, when Jenkin Lloyd Jones is to be the guest of honor.

PRESS OPINIONS

Airships for Peace.

Chicago Examiner (Hearst), July 30.—And so let us discount and dismiss the idle gossip which makes the airship merely a new battleship to distress the nations. Let us rather hold it as a new and eternal tie which binds men in closer bonds of acquaintance and good will. Let us rather exploit the aeroplane as a herald of the air, speaking fraternity and good will to all peoples and bearing swiftly and safely the message that every machine which multiplies the capacity of men to do evil to one another should inspire them to the necessity of peace.



Henry George's Seventieth Birthday.

Springfield (Ill.) Register (Dem.), July 12.—It is said that in fifty or more cities in the United States celebrations will be held by Henry George associations on the anniversary of Henry George's birth, Sept. 2. Springfield will be among those cities. Henry George was a truly remarkable man, a great student, deep thinker, logical writer, an authority upon economics and a wizard at analyzing problems of taxation. No author on these subjects has been more generally recognized than he, and the theories of no authority upon these important subjects have grown into such great favor as his since the study of them has become more and more general.



Omaha World-Herald (ind. Dem.), July 25.—Henry George was not only a prophet of freedom, a philosopher and a seer, but he was a martyr to the cause of humanity, perishing as nobly and unselfishly as any soldier who ever fell on the field of battle in devotion to a worthy cause. If any man ever lived who could truly say "The world is my country and to do good my religion," Henry George was such a man. In that tremendous battle he fought, almost single-handed, against greed and privilege in the memorable mayoralty campaign in New York when he ran as an independent candidate, and in which he died from exhaustion a few days before election, he erected to himself an imperishable monument. The memory of that contest will live almost as long as his epochal work, "Progress and Poverty," the

most original and inspired book that ever came from an American hand. There are millions of people who do not believe in Henry George's single tax theory in its entirety, but yet pay reverent homage to the name and character and services of the man himself. These, on the anniversary of his birth, should be given opportunity to meet with those who are his apostles to celebrate his memory and surcharge themselves anew with the enthusiasm and inspiration that electrify his messages to mankind. It was not alone as a "single taxer" that Henry George was great. His profound mind illuminated every topic on which he touched. Just now, when the tariff question is uppermost, the American people could do themselves no better service than to become familiar with his "Protection or Free Trade," the most vital contribution that has been made to this subject since the work of the great Frenchman, Bastait.

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Protection.

The Boston Free Trade Broadside (Free Trade), July.—No one would think of disturbing the sacred system, certainly not the Democrats. Mr. Aldrich and his lieutenants can count upon no trustier supporters than leading Democratic Senators. Confessedly the platform of their party denouncing the iniquity, to which their fealty was pledged during the campaign, was no more binding than a dicer's oath. The real resistance felt by the standpatters comes from the middle West. LaFollette, Dolliver, Beveridge, Culbertson and a few others scent the changing public opinion of their section. Obedience to local majorities is held paramount to public considerations, and easily condoned by the party as a personal necessity. However fierce the disputes and gross the inuendoes in the heat of discussion, all will be forgiven at the end when the party vote is forced and the brave recalcitrants hurry to "come in when the dinner bell rings."

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The Modus Operandi of Protectionism.

Milwaukee Daily Journal (ind.), July 12.—It is the observation of every one who has studied our tariff history that our tariff bills are made largely in conference. It is the further observation of every one familiar with our more recent tariff history (and most of the earlier, too, for that matter) that the controlling influence is Money. The men who represent the few wield the power. Or, to state it in another way, the rates which have made and unmade our commerce with other nations have been fixed by persons who were sworn to get all they could for their "friends" regardless of the commercial interests of the country as a whole, or the general welfare of its citizens. There have been exceptions to this, it is true, but they are only the exceptions which prove the rule. Our protective tariff system as it actually exists (and isn't "system" a splendid word for it!) is dominated by this prejudice in advance of the facts. It is a tariff of power rather than justice; of ability to get rather than ability to reason. It places right at the mercy of might. It evolves, instead of statesmen, dollar-thinking tricksters who spend their time framing cunningly worded paragraphs and parliamentary

snarers by which to serve their corpulent masters while seeming to serve the people. It puts a premium upon chicanery and falsehood; exalts the power and the worth of money, and preaches the gospel of "Get everything that you can lay your hands on and make the other fellow pay for it." This is our protective tariff system as it exists.

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Protection and Workingmen.

The (Pittsburgh, Pa.) Leader (ind.), July 18.—This is a community of working people. They are honest and straightforward. They have rights and their rights must be sustained and upheld. It is a sad commentary on a liberty-loving people that a trust will advertise for men who cannot speak the English language. Foreigners are employed in order that the workingmen can be fooled and cheated. If there is any preference to be given it should at least go to English-speaking men. It does not follow that all men employed in our workshops should be Americans. We invite the foreigners to our shores, and so long as they are decent and live up to our laws they should be given a chance. If, however, they are employed on account of their ignorance, the time has come when this practice should be stopped. As Americans and Pennsylvanians, we want protection for our industries, but we do not want protection for the manufacturers and free trade for the workers. Every man, whether he be American or foreigner, is entitled to living wages, and when our industries cannot afford to pay living wages they should be shut down. It is time for Congress to make an investigation of the conditions under which the workingmen live and work in this country. When the steel trust advertises for foreigners to work in our mills it is high time that Congress should find out the reason. If there are evils Congress should correct them. The steel trust is making millions of dollars every year. Its profits are enormous. No one objects to fair profits for capital. But if that profit is wrung from starving workingmen, then it is time for the government to step in and interfere. When men are compelled to work for from five to ten cents an hour, as it is charged the men at the Pressed Steel Car works did, it is no wonder they strike. The public has interests at stake, and when a man of the caliber of Hoffstat says, "We have nothing to arbitrate," it is about time that the people demonstrated to him that there is something to arbitrate. . . . This corporation is protected by the laws of the country and State. It owes something for that protection, and it is up to the people to demand this investigation.

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Lord Rosebery for a Referendum.

(London) Land Values (land values tax'n), July.—Lord Rosebery reveals a refreshing belief in the necessity for a referendum on the provisions of the finance bill now before the house of commons. "This is not a budget," he declares, "but a revolution, a social and political revolution of the first magnitude." Revolutions, he admits, may be beneficent; and he ingenuously professes not to be "concerned with the merits of this one." But, whatever its merits or demerits, he suggests that, before it passes

into law, a referendum should be taken, "to ascertain the views of the people on the vast changes projected." May we venture to suggest that, as it is impracticable to take a referendum on questions of detail, the question to be submitted should be somewhat after the following:—"Do you believe that the land of the country is the inalienable inheritance of the whole of the people, and that the value of land, due as it is to the presence and activities of all, is the source whence public revenue can most equitably be derived?" Such a referendum would be instructive, and the result might astonish Lord Rosebery and his friends.

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The Fiery Cross of a Just Crusade.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), July 10.—Once more the Scottish clans are rallying to the Fiery Cross. This old symbol has been adopted by the land value taxers, and in a striking poster it is being carried into every corner of Scotland. The poster is a work of art. It is printed in red and black, showing a youth in plaid with the Fiery Cross running on his mission. . . . The Fiery Cross was a well known symbol, used up to the middle of the eighteenth century, in the Highlands of Scotland by the chiefs to summon their clansmen to arms. It was generally made of yew—the ends set on fire and afterward extinguished in the blood of a goat. It was then placed in the hand of the swiftest runner available, with instructions to show it to everyone whom he met on his way to the nearest hamlet, calling out the place and time of rendezvous. When he had finished his course, he handed it on to another young man who would continue the process, and so on—the whole route being so well understood that in the course of a few hours, a territory of many square miles would be covered and the whole district be in arms. It was also called in Gaelic, the Creau Faugh or Cross of Shame, because dishonor fell on any who disobeyed or delayed the summons. A classical account of it will be found in Sir Walter Scott's "Lady of the Lake," Canto III, where the "Wizard of the North" describes the preparation of the cross to summon Clan Alpine round their chief—the successive summons of the chief mourner from his father's funeral, the bridegroom from the side of the bride, until the fateful circuit is achieved and the clan all hastening to Lamick Mead. As far as can be gathered the last occasion on which the symbol was thus used was during the second Jacobite rising. The Scotch Single Tax men in peaceful and constitutional times have adopted this warlike signal, as one which most of their countrymen understand, to rouse them pictorially to a sense of the strife which they are waging against the forces of monopoly through the taxation of land values. From all accounts the symbol is having its effect. It is appealing mightily to the Scotch imagination and in Scotland perhaps more than in England the sentiment it now represents is flourishing. For many years Glasgow has openly been following in the footsteps of Henry George.

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I hold that the earth was meant for the human race and not for a few privileged ones.—Max O'Rell, in *North American Review* for January, 1899.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

WHERE?

Translated from the German of Heinrich Heine, by
B. Marcuse.

Where will be the weary wanderer's
Haven of eternal rest?
Will it be on native hillside,
In tropic South, or golden West?

Shall I be in some strange desert
Buried by a stranger's hand?
Or will wild and foaming ocean
Break upon my grave of sand?

It matters naught! Above me ever
Heaven's firmament will spread,
And by night the golden starlights
Serve as torches for the dead.

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THE VALUE OF CHARACTER.

From an Address Delivered Upon the Presentation of
Diplomas from the Austin High School in Chi-
cago, January 29, 1909, by Wiley Wright
Mills, Member of the Chicago
Board of Education.

Character is the condition of all real success. Posing is destructive of character. Imitation is moral suicide. Be yourselves, your own men and women; live your own lives; think your own thoughts, and on occasion give them utterance in your own way, fearlessly and without favor. Dare to be misunderstood; nay, defy misrepresentation. Garrison said: "I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice." Emerson said: "Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of our own mind. . . . I am ashamed to think how easily we capitulate to badges and names, to large societies and dead institutions. Every decent and well spoken individual affects and sways me more than is right. I ought to go upright and vital, and speak the rude truth in all ways." Frederick Douglass said: "The truth is never uncalled for." And Altgeld said: "Only men of courage and conviction can save this land; only the men who stand erect ever get recognition."

The growing power of monopoly makes it increasingly difficult to stand erect, indeed, to stand at all. But He that is higher than the highest shall have these mighty in derision. And even while we wait there is forming a public opinion that shall sweep with a besom of destruction the spirit of graft, which is everywhere, flagrant and defiant, sometimes seeming almost omnipotent.

Meanwhile we must keep the faith, obey the vision, stand erect. There must be no stifling of

conscience, no trifling with reason, no cringing to power. To this end were you born, and for this purpose have you come to the high ground of a high school graduation—that you might bear witness to the truth. Wherever you may live and whatever you may do, to each of you I say:

To thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

You who can, tarry in the halls of learning with still greater zeal and fidelity; you who must, at once take up the burden with joy and faith and patience; you who will, contend for the laurels. But know this, that “if a man also strive for the masteries, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully.”

* * *

CHURCHILL'S LAND-FOR-THE-PEOPLE SPEECH.

Excerpts from the Speech of Winston Churchill, a Member of the British Cabinet, in Defense of Land Value Taxation, Delivered at Edinburgh, July 17, 1909. From the Manchester (Eng.) Guardian.

We are often assured by sagacious persons that the civilization of modern states is largely based upon respect for the rights of private property. If that be true, it is also true to say that respect cannot be secured and ought not indeed to be expected unless property is associated in the minds of the great mass of the people with ideas of justice and of reason. (Cheers.) It is therefore of first importance to the country, to any country, that there should be vigilant and persistent efforts to prevent abuses, to distribute the public burdens fairly among all classes, and to establish good laws governing the methods by which wealth may be acquired. The best way to make private property secure and respected is to bring the process by which it is gained into harmony with the general interest of the public. When and where property is associated with the idea of reward for services rendered, with the idea of reward for high gifts and special aptitudes displayed or for faithful labor done, then property will be honored. When it is associated with processes which are beneficial or which at the worst are not actually injurious to the commonwealth, then property will be unmolested. But when it is associated with ideas of wrong and of unfairness, with the processes of restriction and monopoly, and other forms of injury to the community, then I think that you will find that property will be assailed and will be endangered.

A year ago I was fighting an election in Dundee—(cheers);—just the same sort of election as we have fought and won in Mid-Derbyshire—(cheers),—and just the kind of election that my

friend Mr. Gulland—(cheers)—is fighting in Dumfries,—and in the course of that election I attempted to draw a fundamental distinction between the principles of Liberalism and of socialism, and I said socialism attacks capital, Liberalism attacks monopoly. (Cheers.) It is from that fundamental distinction that I come directly to the land proposals of the present budget. (Cheers.) It is quite true that the land monopoly is not the only monopoly which exists, but it is by far the greatest of monopolies. It is a perpetual monopoly, and it is the mother of all other forms of monopoly. (Cheers.) It is quite true that unearned increment in land is not the only form of unearned or undeserved profit which individuals are able to secure; but it is the principal form, and it is in an enormous proportion, to an enormous extent, the principal form of unearned increment which is derived from processes which are not merely not beneficial but which are positively detrimental to the general public. (Cheers.) Land, which is a necessity for human existence, which is the original source of all wealth, which is strictly limited in extent, which is fixed in geographical position—land, I say, differs from all other forms of property in these primary and fundamental conditions.

Nothing is more amusing than to watch the efforts of our monopolist opponents to prove that other forms of property and increment are exactly the same and are similar in all respects to the unearned increment in land. They talk to us of the increased profits of a doctor or a lawyer from the growth of population in the towns in which they live. (Laughter.) They tell us of the profits which are derived from the rising stocks and shares, and which are sometimes derived from the sale of pictures and works of art—(laughter), and this is always the burden of their plaint, “Ought not all those other forms to be taxed too?” But see how misleading and false all those analogies are. The windfalls which people with artistic gifts are able from time to time to derive from the sale of a picture, from a Van Dyck or a Holbein, may here and there be very considerable; but pictures do not get in anybody's way. (Laughter and cheers.) They do not lay a toll on anybody's labor, they do not touch enterprise and production at any point, they do not affect any of those creative processes upon which the material well-being of millions depends. (Cheers.) If a rise in stocks and shares confers profits on the fortunate holders far beyond what they expected or indeed deserved—(laughter),—nevertheless that profit has not been reaped by withholding from the community the land which it needs; but on the other hand, apart from mere gambling, it has been reaped by supplying industry with the capital without which it could not be carried on. If the railway makes greater profits, it is usually because it carries more goods and

more passengers as well. If a doctor or a lawyer enjoys a better practice it is because the doctor attends more patients, and more exacting patients, and because the lawyer pleads more suits in the courts, and more important suits. At every stage the doctor or the lawyer is giving service in return for his fees, and if the service is too poor or the fees are too high other doctors and other lawyers can come freely into competition. (Cheers.) There is constant service. There is constant competition. There is no monopoly. There is no injury to the public interest. There is no impediment to the general progress in these.

Fancy comparing these healthy processes with the enrichment which comes to the landlord who happens to own a plot on the outskirts of, or at the center of one of our great cities, who watches the busy population around him making the city larger, richer, more convenient, more famous every day,—and all the while the landlord sits still and does nothing. Roads are made, streets are made, railway services are improved, electric light turns night into day, electric trams fly swiftly to and fro, water is brought from reservoirs a hundred miles off in the mountains—and all the while the landlord sits still. (A laugh.) Everyone of these improvements is effected by labor and at the cost of other people, many of the most important are effected at the cost of the municipality and of the ratepayers. To not one of those improvements does the land monopolist as land monopolist contribute. (Hear, hear.) And yet by every one of them the value of his land is sensibly enhanced. . . . Some years ago in London there was a toll-bar on a bridge across the Thames, and all the working people who lived on the south side of the river had to pay a daily toll of one penny for going and returning from their work. The spectacle of these poor people thus mulcted on so large a proportion of their earnings appealed to the public conscience. An agitation was set on foot, municipal authorities were roused, at the cost of the ratepayers the bridge was freed and the toll removed. All those people who used the bridge were saved sixpence a week. Within a very short period from that time the rents on the south side of the river were found to have advanced by about sixpence a week—(laughter and cheers),—or the amount of the toll which had been remitted. A friend of mine was telling me the other day that in the parish of Southwark about £350 a year, roughly speaking, was given away in doles of bread by charitable people in connection with one of the churches, and as a consequence of this the competition for small houses, but more particularly for single-roomed tenements, is so great that rents are considerably higher than in the neighboring district. All goes back to the land, and the landowner, who in many cases, in most cases, is a worthy person, utterly unconscious of the character of the methods by which he is enriched,

is enabled with resistless strength to absorb to himself a share of almost every public and every private benefit, however important or however pitiful those benefits may be.

I hope you will understand that when I speak of the land monopolist I am dealing more with the process than with the individual landowner. I have no wish to hold any class up to public disapprobation. I do not think that the man who makes money by unearned increment of the land is morally a worse man than anyone else who gathers his profit in this hard age under the law and according to common usage. It is not the individual I attack; it is the system. (Cheers.) It is not the man who is bad, it is the law which is bad. It is not the man who is blameworthy for doing what the law allows and what other men may do; it is the state which would be blameworthy were it not to endeavor to reform the law and correct the practice.

We do not want to punish the landlord; we want to alter the law. . . . Look at our actual proposal. We do not go back on the past. We accept as our basis the value of the land as it stands today. The tax on the increment of land begins by recognizing and franking the past increment. We look only to the future, and for the future we say only this—that the community shall be the partner in any further increment above the present value after all the owner's improvements have been deducted. We say that the state and the municipality should jointly levy a toll upon the future unearned increment of the land. The toll of what? Of the whole? No. Of a half? No. Of a quarter? No. Of a fifth; that is the proposal of the budget—(cheers),—and that is robbery—(laughter),—that is plunder, that is communism and spoliation, that is the social revolution at last—(laughter),—that is the overturn of civilized society, that is the end of the world foretold in the Apocalypse. (Loud laughter.)

But there is another proposal concerning land values which is not less important. I mean the tax on the capital value of undeveloped urban or suburban land. Take the case of the man who keeps a large plot in or near a growing town idle for years while it is ripening—that is to say, while it is rising in price through the exertions of the surrounding community and the need of that community for more room to live. Take that case. I dare say you have formed your own opinion upon it. Mr. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne, and the Conservative party generally think that that is an admirable arrangement. They speak of the profits of the land monopolist as if they were the fruits of thrift and industry and a pleasing example for the poorer classes to imitate. (Laughter.) We don't take that view of the process. (Hear, hear.) We think it is a dog-in-the-manger game. (Hear, hear.) We see the evil, we see the imposture upon the public, and we see the

consequences in crowded slums, in hampered commerce, in distorted or restricted development, and in congested centers of population; and we say here and now to the land monopolist who is holding up his land—and the pity is it was not said before—(hear, hear)—you shall judge for yourselves whether it is a fair offer or not,—we say to the land monopolist by our tax on undeveloped land: “This property of yours might be put to immediate use with general advantage. It is at this minute saleable in the market at ten times the value at which it is rated. If you choose to keep it idle in the expectation of still further unearned increment, then at least you shall be taxed at the true selling value in the meanwhile.” (Cheers.) And the budget proposes a tax of a halfpenny in the pound on the capital value of all such land. That is to say, a tax which is a little less in equivalent than the income tax would be upon the property if the property were fully developed. That is the second main proposal of the budget with regard to the land, and its effects will be first to raise an expanding revenue for the needs of the state; secondly, half the proceeds of this tax, as well as of the other land taxes, will go to the municipalities and local authorities generally to relieve rates—(cheers);—thirdly, the effect will be, as we believe, to bring land into the market and thus somewhat cheapen the price at which land is obtainable for every object, public and private, and by so doing we shall liberate new springs of enterprise and industry, we shall stimulate building, relieve overcrowding, and promote employment. (Cheers.)

These two taxes, both in themselves financially, economically, and socially sound, carry with them a further notable advantage. We shall obtain a complete valuation of the whole land in the United Kingdom. (Cheers.) We shall procure an up-to-date Doomsday book showing the capital value, apart from buildings and improvements, of every piece of land.

After at least a generation of study, examination and debate the time has come when we should take the first step to put these principles into practical effect. (Cheers.) You have heard the saying “the hour and the man.” The hour has come, and with it the Chancellor of the Exchequer. (Loud cheers.) I have come to Scotland to exhort you to engage in this battle and devote your whole energy and influence to securing a memorable victory. (Cheers.) Every nation in the world has its own way of doing things, its own successes and its own failures. All over Europe we see systems of land tenure which economically, socially and politically are far superior to ours; but the benefits that those countries derive from their improved land systems are largely swept away or, at any rate, neutralized by grinding tariffs on the necessaries of life and the materials of

manufacture. (Cheers.) In this country we have long enjoyed the blessings of free trade—(cheers)—and of untaxed bread and meat; but against these inestimable benefits we have the evils of an unreformed and vicious land system. In no great country in the New World or the Old have the working people yet secured the double advantage of free trade and free land together—(cheers),—by which I mean a commercial system and a land system from which so far as possible all forms of monopoly have been rigorously excluded.

I have only one word more to say, and it is rendered necessary by the observations which fell from Lord Lansdowne last night when he informed a banquet at which he was the principal speaker that the House of Lords was not obliged to swallow the budget whole or without mincing. (Laughter.) I ask you to mark that word. It is a characteristic expression. The House of Lords means to assert its right to mince. (Laughter.) Now let us for our part be quite frank and plain. We want the budget bill to be fairly and fully discussed. We do not grudge the weeks that have been spent already. We are prepared to make every sacrifice—I speak for my honorable friends who are sitting on this platform—of personal convenience in order to secure a thorough, patient, searching examination of proposals the importance of which we do not seek to conceal. The Government has shown itself ready and willing to meet reasonable argument not merely by reasonable answer but, when a case is shown, by concessions and, generally, in a spirit of good-will. We have dealt with this subject throughout with a desire to mitigate hardships in special cases and to gain as large a measure of agreement as possible for the proposals we are placing before the country. We want the budget not merely to be the work of the Cabinet and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—we want it to be the shaped and moulded plan deliberately considered by the House of Commons. That will be a long and painful process to those who are bound from day to day to take part in it, but we shall not shrink from it. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, when that process is over, when the finance bill leaves the House of Commons, I think you will agree with me that it ought to leave the House of Commons in its final form. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) No amendments, excision, modifying, or mutilating will be agreed to by us. (Cheers.) We will stand no mincing—(renewed cheers),—and unless Lord Lansdowne and his landlordly friends choose to eat their own mince up again—(laughter),—Parliament will be dissolved—(great cheering),—and we shall come to you in a moment of high consequence for every cause for which Liberalism has ever fought. See that you do not fail us at that hour. (Loud cheering, amid which the right honorable gentleman resumed his seat, after speaking for an hour.)

BOOKS

THE STORY OF WHEAT.

The Story of Wheat. By Jean Halifax. Published by World's Events Publishing Co., Dansville, N. Y. Sold by Hall & McCreary, 261 Wabash Ave., Chicago. Price 5 cents; postage 2 cents.

Only a thin 32-page book in large black type, but a rich volume for the grown-up as well as for the school pupil for whom it is intended. It tells of the modern harvest, without the bucolic romance of old harvest days, but with the romance of a great commercialism. An entrancing romance, indeed, if you keep your thought on the story and away from the hopeless human lives that are ground up in the wheels. But if you think as you read, you may find yourself listening to untold tales between these lines of modern romance and wondering which will concern the next generation most—the romance of wheat raising or its tragedies.

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WORK AND PLAY.

Product and Climax. By Simon Nelson Patten. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1909. Price, 50 cents net.

The author of this small volume in "The Art of Life Series," under the editorship of Edward Howard Griggs, is Professor of Political Economy at the University of Pennsylvania and has written numerous books on Economics, among them "The New Basis of Civilization" (vol. x, p. 929).

The free and wholesome life of people on their country vacations the author contrasts at some length with their repressed and tawdry city existence; and asks: What is the matter with the workers in town? His answer comes with certainty, and incidentally explains—though possibly does not excuse—the peculiar title of his book.

"Overwork and overcrowding rob men of climax, without which men cannot progress. More than that, they cannot hold their own without it, nor use the facilities that grew from the powerful climaxes by which society was first formed. It is trite to repeat that the primitive world was full of swift dangers and sudden delights. The contrast I want to make is between the method by which the primitive man fought the universal poverty of his world and that by which the machine producer fights his poverty world today. The members of the first conquered the situation by action: those of the second are forced to meet it with inaction. The one developed resourcefulness, strength, suppleness and skill; the other suppresses them. . . . Producers do not yet understand how to make weapons out of their citizenship as their primitive ancestors understood how to use their stone implements."

The salvation of the producer, Dr. Patten thinks, is coming not through the moral and philanthropic agencies. For they are behind the times and ineffective because concerning themselves too much "with deeds, the effects" and too little "with situation, the cause." By his recreations, crude though they are, shall the worker be saved. The nickel theater, athletic sports, co-operative summer outings, all are gradually training him in the possibilities of citizenship.

If the author attributes "overwork and overcrowding" to any efficient cause he does not here disclose it. His reader, however, is loath to believe that one who sees so clearly that the producer's leisure is being stolen from him, should have as the only remedy therefor, that same worker's use of the very leisure he lacks.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

* * *

THREE FIFIELD BOOKS.

"Winning a Living on Four Acres," by Fred A. Morton; "No Rheumatism," by Dr. Arnold Eiloart; and "Tennyson as a Thinker," by Henry S. Salt. Price, each, 6d net. Published by A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet st., E. C., London.

If these titles suggest subjects far apart, they have at least the one thing in common that all are published by Fifield, to whom the spread of democracy by book publishing is a mission. And they are capable almost of a common service. For most of us would like to learn how to make a living on four acres, many of us want a cure for rheumatism, and all of us ought to read a wholesome criticism of Tennyson's way of thinking on human destiny. All those needs are supplied in these three Fifield books, without faddishness in the first, or quackery in the second or rancor in the third.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—A Fortune in Two Acres. By Fred Grundy, Morrisonville, Ill. Third edition, paper, 50 cts.

—The Basis of Ascendancy. By Edgar Gardner Murphy. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., 91 Fifth Ave., New York. 1909. Price, \$1.50 net.

—A Certain Rich Man. By William Allen White, author of "Strategems and Spoils," "The Court of Boyville," etc. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909.

PAMPHLETS

Wisconsin Tanneries.

The labor strike at the Kenosha (Wisconsin) tanneries, where some reckless shooting by the police appears to have occurred, makes Irene Osgood's

pamphlet on "Women Workers in Milwaukee Tanneries" peculiarly appropriate. It has just been published by the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor, which supplies copies upon request. This illustrated labor report describes the conditions under which several hundred women and girls work in tanneries. The noise of the machines, the foul smell of the hides, the long strain at the ironing tables and the intermingling of the sexes, are features of the work. Miss Osgood goes beyond the usual investigation of factory conditions and depicts the effects of such labor upon the homes of the workers. "Unless we change the present demoralizing condition," she concludes, "we will continue to see women, worn out by the work of their youth, unable to do their part in making happy and successful homes."

writes Mr. Berens, "as radicals and labor men concentrate on the land question, will the reactionaries, whose overwhelming political power and influence it would be folly to ignore, concentrate on any means to divert public attention from any serious attempt to grapple with this root problem, upon the solution of which the future of democracy really depends."

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Let him who thinks of sociology as a dry subject read the leading editorial, by Albion W. Small, in the American Journal of Sociology (University of Chicago) for July. Sociology is having a fight for its scholastic life, and this is the lively way in which Prof. Small opens on an adversary: "Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton has lately done sociologists the notable service of advertising to the world how ingeniously sociology may be misunderstood. This is by no means the first instance of strange sayings coming out of Princeton on this subject, but, in connection with recent occurrences at that venerable seat of learning, one of the effects of this elaborate darkening of counsel is reinforced suspicion that sociological obscuration is not only an affliction at Princeton but a policy." The rest of the article satisfies the expectations which this witty opening arouses. Prof. Small's caricature of a certain type of scientific—"almost-science," as he calls it,—could hardly be improved upon: "Its major premise is that knowledge is preserved in an assortment of hermetically sealed cans;" and "the right and the skill to open these cans is the monopoly and the mystery of corresponding groups of specialists," each group having "also the peculiar skill and right to manipulate the contents of its respective can." Professor Ford's attack upon sociology, which calls out Prof. Small's caustic reply, is published in the same

PERIODICALS

"Tolstoy on Land and Slavery," a recent publication of "Land Values" Publication Department (377 Strand, London, W. C.), is a collection of direct references to the land question to be found in Tolstoy's writings. It is introduced with a discriminating preface by Ethel Wedgwood. Among the selections is Tolstoy's preface to the Russian edition of Henry George's "Social Problems."

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In "A Retrospect and a Forecast," in the London Socialist Review (23 Bride Lane), L. H. Berens concisely describes the crucial issue in British politics at the present time, in its full broad scope. He shows that the struggle has opened between "labor coming into its own," and "modern capitalism" awakened to its danger. "Just in proportion,"

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issue of the magazine, as is also a reply by Professor Ellwood, of the University of Missouri. The three articles make an excellent presentation of a boiling controversy over the right of sociology to be considered a science. John Spargo's explanation of Christian Socialism adds to the value of this number of the magazine; and so does the story of "Pap" Singleton, the leader of the Negro "exodus" of 1879-80.



Recently a friend who had heard that I sometimes suffer from insomnia told me of a sure cure. "Eat a pint of peanuts and drink two or three glasses of milk before going to bed," said he, "and I'll warrant you'll be asleep within half an hour." I did as he suggested, and now for the benefit of others who may be afflicted with insomnia, I feel it to be my duty to report what happened, so far as I am able to recall the details.

First, let me say my friend was right. I did go to sleep very soon after my retirement. Then a friend with his head under his arm came along and asked me if I wanted to buy his feet. I was negotiating with him, when the dragon on which I was riding slipped out of his skin and left me floating in mid-air. While I was considering how I should get down, a bull with two heads peered over the edge of the wall and said he would haul me up if I would

first climb up and rig a windlass for him. So as I was sliding down the mountainside the brakeman came in, and I asked him when the train would reach my station.

"We passed your station four hundred years ago," he said, calmly folding the train up and slipping it into his vest pocket.

At this juncture the clown bounded into the ring and pulled the center-pole out of the ground, lifting the tent and all the people in it up, up, while I stood on the earth below watching myself go out of sight among the clouds above. Then I awoke, and found

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I had been asleep almost ten minutes.—The Good Health Clinic.

* * *

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ington himself." "Then buy a copy of 'Three Weeks,'" persisted the boy. "You ain't Elinor Glynn, too, are you?"—Argonaut.

* * *

She—"I suppose some people would say that we do just as wrong in chloroforming butterflies as those savage hunters do who kill lions."

He—"I don't know about that. I'm sure I shouldn't have the heart to kill a lion."—Puck.

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