

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Death of Dr. Thomas.

In the death of the Rev. Dr. Hiram W. Thomas, The Public loses one of its most valued friends—one whose encouraging applause dates from its early days. He was a democrat in the purest sense of that much-abused word; and when we say this, we say all that need be said in eulogy of that man-loving and God-loving man. For no one can win higher recognition than that he has made his standard the Two Great Commandments; and what is this but democracy? The remembrance of such a man's encouragement and cooperation in one's work is an inheritance to cherish.

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Good From the Aldrich-Taft Tariff.

In watching the outworking of the true inwardness of the new tariff law, let us not ignore the good that has come out of it. Through its discussion the people have come to realize that the tariff is a tax; they used to think it wasn't. They have come to realize that it is a tax which they pay themselves; they used to think the foreigner paid it. They are beginning to see that the workingman gets none of the advantage of protection; they used to think he got it all.

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Is the Tariff Question Settled?

Warren W. Erwin & Co., dealers in stocks and bonds at 54 Broad street, New York, don't think

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so. In their market letter of August 9 to their customers, they refer in this rather uncomplimentary way to the Aldrich-Taft tariff law: "We expect to see the tariff agitation go on in the next few years even more actively than it has gone on in the past few years; the fact that the prices of materials, food, shelter and clothing will rise rapidly—partly as a result of new tariff trusts—cannot but lead to renewed tariff discussion when consumers' eyes are turned toward and watching for these probable effects."

* *

An Embarrassing Asset.

Professor Merriam of the University of Chicago and the Chicago City Council, affects the political ring of his party in a peculiar way. They recently offered him to the school board for superintendent and later to the census department for the Chicago supervisorship. But he has each time insisted upon staying in the City Council where he has work which he says he cannot give up. It is really a serious thing to have such a man on your hands when you are bent on serving the "Larger Good" and don't want to get found out.

* *

Make Your Indignation Effective.

Indignation is an inalienable right of democratic Democrats when democratic principles are betrayed by Senators and Representatives who wear the "Democratic" label. At the same time, such betrayal shows the necessity for the Initiative and the Referendum. The powerlessness of the people is an invitation to conscienceless men to seek legislative office and to the Interests to meddle in politics for the purpose of bringing about the election of such men. The work of real democrats, then, whether they call themselves Democrats or Republicans, is to do all they can to intensify among the people the sentiment in favor of the Initiative and Referendum. Leaders in the war against privilege are prone to spend too much time playing the part of alarm clocks, neglecting their many opportunities to act as compasses. That is true of democratic Democrats as well as of democratic Republicans.

* *

The Police "Third Degree."

We are glad to name the first magistrate of whom we have yet heard, to condemn the "third degree" (p. 625) officially. He is Howard P. Nash of New York City. As reported by the Tammany Times of the 7th, one Dominick Augustino had been arrested by a police detective on

suspicion of having shot a policeman, and it appeared that "the detective broke his club over the head of the prisoner in an effort to make him confess, and that he then got another club and was using this, but succeeded in getting only protestations of innocence." Judge Nash held the detective in \$1,000 bail to await the action of the grand jury, and we are told that the detective and his fellow policemen were dumfounded. That officers of the law should be dumfounded at the performance of so plain a duty by a magistrate goes far to show how habitually magistrates as well as policemen have been departing from the law.

* *

Democratic Reorganization.

If the movement to reorganize the Democratic party of New York State at a conference in Saratoga on the 9th of September, is to get no closer to the heart of democracy than Morgan J. O'Brien's utterances imply—and Judge O'Brien is one of the leaders in the movement—it could expend its force better in raising a monument than an oriflamme.

* *

Work for the Workless.

The annual newspaper flim-flam, which every year tempts so many workless dupes to Western farming regions in summer in search of work that exists only in the imagination of heartless newspaper writers, or at best can last for only a few weeks, has begun for the season of 1909. Following is a letter from the Chicago Tribune of August 4 which exposes these wretched efforts to make it appear that the workless who really want work can find it in plenty—at a distance:

You state again in your paper that 100,000 men are wanted for harvesting work in the West. I wish to state my experience with this clamor. My son, a student at the University of Illinois, thought he would try some experience on a farm and the \$3 a day and board in July, 1908. The papers then stated, as they do now, that all able bodied men, willing to work, could get steady work immediately in the West. He left Chicago with \$30 in his pocket and traveled from Kansas to North Dakota looking for work with another able bodied and willing young man. My son was employed for about three weeks with a thrashing machine gang as engineer and received \$3 a day. The other young man, a helper, received \$2 a day. Anybody who knows about the thrashing work will concede that these wages are not exorbitant for such work from sunup to sundown. The work was finished in three weeks and they heard they might possibly procure work in Mandan, N. D. They walked about 100 miles from their last place to be able to return to Chicago if they shouldn't succeed in finding work. They were joined on the road by fifty or

more unfortunates, some of whom had not had any work and had spent their last cent for railroad fare and starved, although eager to work. No work in Mandan or anywhere around except on a ditch for \$1.25 a day without board. Their money sufficed to bring them as far as Minneapolis, the rest was sent them from Chicago.

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ANOTHER ADVANCE IN OREGON.

Oregon is learning the great truth that in the progress of the race, government by force must give way to government by consent. This truth has hardly risen above the horizon of our times, for government by consent must be evolved from human experience and effort, and can be perfected only through years of discovery and progress.

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"The scheme of representation, as a substitute for a meeting of the citizens in person, being at most but very imperfectly known to ancient polity, it is in more modern times only that we are to expect instructive examples." So wrote Madison, in 1788, in one of the papers of *The Federalist*. During the century and more that has passed, the years have allowed no stand-still in the evolution looked forward to by Madison. No deficiency, no failure, no obstruction has stopped the development of "government of the people, by the people, for the people." It is still true, as in Madison's day, that "it is in more modern times that we are to expect instructive examples" of representative government.

The methods of democracy are still in their infancy. The very principles of democracy are as yet recognized but dimly—even by the citizens of the greatest free government on earth. The evolution of democracy is yet unfinished, and years hence it will still be said that "it is in more modern times that we are to expect instructive examples" of representative government.

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For many years Switzerland has furnished the world the bright example of a government in which the officers are not rulers, but are merely the servants of the sovereign people—a representative government in which democracy, by means of improved methods, has wielded greater power than it had ever before possessed.

But to see the brightest example of representative government based on democracy, the world must now look to one of the United States of America. Oregon has in the past few years put into practice so many improvements in the methods of democracy, that she is now in advance of

Switzerland. She has adopted not only the Initiative and the Referendum, but the Recall and Proportional Representation. And the people rule in Oregon more than they do anywhere else on earth.

But more improvements are yet to follow. Oregon will doubtless soon have in use another advanced method of representative government that will make the sovereignty of her people still more powerful and secure. This is a plan proposed, or a method discovered, by Hon. William S. U'Ren, the leader in the great advance of that State.

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That the people should have control of taxation is a principle that has been recognized but slightly in the past. Hitherto they have had little to do with this matter, even in the freest of governments. The Initiative and Referendum give them a large control. The Recall adds still more to their power; and at first look, seems to make it complete. But these methods merely make officials more amenable to the people. They do not entirely prevent legislators from making vicious tax laws; though they reserve to the people a power to veto, the veto must come promptly through an optional referendum that can only be had after a petition for it has been made by at least a certain percentage of the voters and is filed within a certain time. If the people, for any reason, fail to learn, within that time, that an act of the legislature is bad, it will become a law in spite of their veto power.

U'Ren's plan is to take from legislators all power whatever to make laws relating to taxation. It would leave to them only the power to propose such laws, and reserve to the people alone the power to make them. This is to be done by an amendment of the State constitution which will require that every act relating to taxation shall be submitted to a referendum before it can become law—a master stroke of statesmanship for which U'Ren deserves the lasting gratitude of every friend of human freedom.

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The taxing power has always been in the hands of the few, and the few have always abused that power. The class that controls taxation also controls the expenditure of the revenues and so holds all the power of government. Even the army and the navy are at its service when it decides to use them. The force of public sentiment has proved but slight protection from a privileged class that wields the power of taxation. Indirect control of taxation does not make secure the liberty of the

people. To keep their sovereignty complete and their freedom safe, the people must reserve to themselves a power over taxation that is direct and absolute.

When U'Ren's proposed amendment has been adopted, the defenses of the people of Oregon against unjust State and municipal taxation will be complete; and every step they take toward a juster system of taxation will put them on new vantage ground from which they can never be routed. And because political freedom and industrial freedom advance hand in hand, there is likely to be such progress and prosperity in Oregon in a few years more as will be the world's wonder. There will be more liberty there than anywhere else on earth. The whole world will learn from Oregon.

ASHER GEO. BEECHER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A WOMAN WHO UNDERSTOOD.

When the news arrived from Cleveland that the Schmidt proposition had been defeated on referendum [p. 776], an unassuming housekeeper was sitting mending small garments, and resting, while their small owners lay like cherubs, storing energy with which to tear more clothes on the morrow.

Now unassuming housekeepers, who are so called because they keep the house standing and useful in spite of vigorous life from one to five years old, are sometimes not much consulted or advised with over investments, or political economy and radical ideals. It is more exact to say that when they may happen to ask questions they are most often answered with brevity, and courteously referred to back numbers of *The Public*, which much mending puts largely out of reach. You see, until a housekeeper of the above type goes to heaven, and leaves the house and babies to be looked after by her bread-winning, voting lord, it is only upon occasions that he fully recognizes that she is a producer.

To such housekeepers income is a matter by no means trivial. They may not be wholly acquainted with its origin; but lord, how well they know its need and the growing uses to which it may be put!

Now the unassuming housekeeper with whom "a mile back" this story started, had once derived income from Municipal Traction shares. This stopped, which impressed her exceedingly. What with the mending and housekeeping, however, much analysis, so as to understand the situation, had not come her way. Before the referendum she had gathered certain things regarding both income and principal, should the Schmidt proposition win. These certain things suited her well. What wonder? Income is very close to much mending and house-preserving, when life from one to five is vigorous and buoyant round about.

The news was divulged to this unassuming house-

keeper, perhaps with brevity, profanity and a tendency towards cowardice.

"Well, how about income," said the unassuming housekeeper. It was then explained that income and principal were less tangible than before, owing to this defeat.

There followed an interval. The unassuming housekeeper finished a patch in a "romper," and started upon a slit in a dainty, tiny petticoat, while elsewhere in the room rage brooded over the sins of that large community in Cleveland.

Then the unassuming housekeeper looked up. "I am very sorry indeed for Mr. Tom L. Johnson. He is so sincere and energetic that this will hurt him badly. What will he do about it?"

It was then explained that Mr. Johnson had declared that he would fight to the last ditch in this street railway business. Also that not the least item of his fight to this ditch would be to obtain principal and income for the investors in Municipal Traction.

Then an interval, and, "Well, I do hope that he won't bother too much about the investors. I should hate to add to the burden of so sincere and energetic a man in so great a struggle. Why, it may kill him!"

And the unassuming housewife plainly exhibited the fact that she understood something of the fight, and what it called upon the men fighting to give to it.

Ever since the 3rd this thought has been variously expressed, or lain dormant, in the minds of many men all over the world. To "the men who work" it is not strange that the group of men called "Our Tom" should appeal, and awaken this feeling.

But to the unassuming housekeepers, "the women who weep"—well, it is not strange, but it is very beautiful.

X. X.

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WORKING FOR THE FELS FUND.

Merrivold Park, Sullivan Co., New York.

By this mail I am sending to the Fels fund a check for \$124, money made at a little fair held in our garden here and liberally patronized by the summer colony.

The idea occurred to me a few days before, that with no shops near by at which to spend our pocket money we might in this way make it doubly useful, first by spending it for our own enjoyment and then by turning it over to the Fels fund. All of us worked, and even those that cared nothing for the Fels fund gave cakes and pies and so on.

If we hadn't run out of ice cream our check to the fund would be larger.

I am reporting this little experiment in the hope that it may be taken up in other summer colonies, as a means of swelling the Fels fund. And I don't suppose it need be limited to summer colonies.

ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE.

P. S.—I am opening this letter to say that seven dollars more have come in, making the total contribution of our little fair to the Fels fund \$131. I am delighted and am planning bazaars for future years for the same purpose.

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 17, 1909.

The Water-Power Land Monopoly.

Something very much out of the ordinary developed at the seventeenth annual Irrigation Congress which met at Spokane on the 9th (pp. 711, 781) and adjourned on the 13th. The vast water power grab of the electrical trust (pp. 410, 440) came under discussion in illuminating fashion, and the action of the government with reference to the interests of this trust was brought out in bold relief by the Chief Forester of the United States,—Gifford Pinchot.

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An understanding of the general facts is necessary to appreciate that discussion, and these are told in condensed form, with special reference to Montana, by Samuel M. Evans, of Helena, whose statement appeared in the Milwaukee Journal (a Republican paper) of August 10. Mr. Evans explains that—

the birthright of Montana has been taken to round out the water power monopoly, the youngest and destined to be the greatest of all the brood of American monopolies. Water power will succeed steam. "White coal," as water power is called, will run the railroads of the future. Not only that, the electric power generated by mountain torrents will be sent across the plains to operate the mills and factories of many States of the nation, and most important of all, this wonderful new power will pump endless floods of water upon millions of acres of arid lands, and so make new homes for millions of Americans. But the water power trust will be in a position to exact tribute from every settler and from his children forever.

Proceeding then to describe the action of the Government in the matter, Mr. Evans says:

It was in the closing days of his administration that President Roosevelt learned of the wholesale seizing of water powers by the then forming trust. The grab was at its height. The President sent surveyors and experts from half a dozen government bureaus into the field to find out what was going on. The first and unanimous report was that the woods and hills were full of the engineers and surveyors of the trust, and that the trust had better maps of the public lands than the government had. So Roosevelt had Secretary Garfield end the grab by resuming Government control of public lands containing

power sites. It was generally supposed that Garfield was to remain in Taft's cabinet, but on February 15 he was asked by Taft to resign on March 4. Not knowing who the new Secretary would be, President Roosevelt and Garfield decided to lock all the doors so that the new administration would find everything snug. Day and night the engineers worked on their plats, and the last thing President Roosevelt did, at midnight on March 4, was to withdraw more land, to the extent of 186,000,000 acres, from the reach of land grabbers. And the first thing Ballinger did after he was sworn into Taft's cabinet in Garfield's place on March 5 was to begin to turn that land over to the half-entrenched trust. The throwing open of these lands had progressed for a month when a rising tide of popular protest was heard at the White House, and, the clamor increasing, Taft called Ballinger in to explain. By one excuse and another Ballinger secured delay and meanwhile kept throwing land open to entry, and was again called to the White House, and this time the public was given to understand that the public lands had again been withdrawn. But it was too late—the trust had had warning and had had time. The power sites, scores of them, were grabbed. Right here it might be well to remark that a water power site has to be a mighty small one not to be worth a million dollars. A political explosion will come with the public knowledge that it was after President Taft had ordered Ballinger to withdraw certain Montana lands, which he had quietly reopened a few weeks before, that the Amalgamated Copper Co. owned by Senator Guggenheim and brothers, together with the General Electric Co., had swallowed thousands of acres of these important Montana lands, holding the power sites of untold wealth.

Mr. Ballinger's defense has been that the law does not authorize the withdrawal of lands from entry, and that the responsibility is with Congress as the law-making authority, and not upon the Interior Department.

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It was in allusion to those circumstances that Mr. Pinchot spoke at the Irrigation Congress on the 10th. Although he did not mention Secretary Ballinger, it is reported to have been evident to all who knew the circumstances that his allusion was to Mr. Ballinger. Among other things, he said that—

there could be no better illustration of the eager, rapid, unwearied absorption by capital of the rights which belong to all the people than the water power trust, not yet formed, but in rapid progress of formation. This statement is true, but not unchallenged. We are met at every turn by the indignant denial of the water power interests. They tell us that there is no community of interest among them, and yet they appear year after year at these congresses by their paid attorneys, asking for your influence to help them remove the few remaining obstacles to their perpetual and complete absorption of the remaining water powers. They tell us it has no significance that the General Electric interests are acquiring great groups of water powers in various parts of the United States and dominating the water power market in the region of each group. And who

ever dominates power dominates all industry. Have you ever seen a few drops of oil scattered on the water spreading until they formed a continuous film, which puts an end at once to all agitation of the surface? The time for us to agitate this question is now, before the separate circles of centralized control spread into the uniform, unbroken, nation-wide covering of a single gigantic trust. There will be little chance for mere agitation after that. No man at all familiar with the situation can doubt that the time for effective protest is short.

Equality of opportunity is the real object of our laws and institutions. Our institutions and our laws are not valuable in themselves. They are valuable only because they secure equality of opportunity for happiness and welfare for our citizens. To follow blindly the letter of the law, or the form of an institution, without intelligent regard both for its spirit and for the public welfare, is nearly as dangerous as to disregard the law altogether. It goes without saying that the law is supreme and must be obeyed. Our civilization rests on obedience to law. But the law requires to be construed. Rigid construction of the law works, and must work, in the vast majority of cases, for the benefit of the men who can hire the best lawyers and have the sources of influence in lawmaking at their command. Strict construction necessarily favors the great interests as against the people, and in the long run can not do otherwise.

The great oppressive trusts exist because of subservient lawmakers and adroit legal constructions

Equality of opportunity, a square deal for every man, the protection of the citizen against the great concentrations of capital, the intelligent use of laws and institutions for the public good, and the conservation of our natural resources, not for the trusts but for the people—these are real issues. Upon such things as these the perpetuity of this country as a nation of homes really depends. We are coming to see that the simple things are the things to work for. More than that, we are coming to see that the plain American citizen is the man to work for. If we fail, the great interests, increasing their control of our natural resources, thereby will control the country more and more, and the rights of the people will fade into the privileges of concentrated wealth.

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It happened that Secretary Ballinger was on the program of the Irrigation Congress to follow Mr. Pinchot, but in his speech on the 11th he did not utilize the opportunity to defend the action of the Taft administration (represented by himself in this particular) in opening up to appropriation in the interests of the General Electric the water power lands which Roosevelt's administration had withdrawn from entry.

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Mr. Ballinger's silence on the question raised by Mr. Pinchot was regarded as all the more remarkable because, only a few minutes before his own speech, ex-Governor Pardee of California had aroused the enthusiasm of the delegates in this wise:

I am one of these rather old-fashioned people,

perhaps, who believe that there is something outside of the cold features and words of the law. I believe that to withdraw from entry these lands which take with them power sites and to hold them for the people is the thing for the government of this country to do. Therefore, I thoroughly agree with the actions and work of the predecessor of the present Secretary of the Interior. You will remember that Mr. Garfield did withdraw from public entry millions of acres, in each of which parcels of land there was a power site. Much to the surprise of the people who were interested in these things in this country, almost immediately after his induction into office the present Secretary of the Interior put back these lands for public entry and within eight days these power sites were grabbed. By whom? Not by anyone who will use them for the benefit of the United States or its people. I am informed that the Secretary of the Interior opened these valuable power sites to entry because there was no specific law under which they could be withdrawn. But Garfield withdrew them. And then, after all the good power sites had been grabbed, the present secretary withdraws them.

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A response in behalf of Secretary Ballinger was made on the 12th by George Otis Smith, a subordinate in Mr. Ballinger's department, as director of the geological survey. Mr. Smith explained that—

under the administration of President Roosevelt the withdrawals of public lands for power purposes aggregated 1,417,540 acres in the States of Oregon, Idaho and Montana. In April of this year whatever portions of these lands were unentered were restored to entry by Secretary Ballinger, and the following month, after critical review of the areas by the geological surveys, withdrawals were made which amounted to 154,126 acres. This reduction of acreage was inspired solely by the desire to exclude from the power site withdrawals patented lands and all areas not essential or useful to power development. Thus in Montana, while the earlier withdrawals exceeded 700,000, the later withdrawals covering and protecting the same power sites amounted to only 38,426 acres. This was a concession made to Montana citizens who wished to enter agricultural lands.

Gov. Pardee at once replied:

I call your attention to this fact that public lands and also power sites were withdrawn from public entry by Secretary Garfield, and that those lands included power sites and were restored to entry by Secretary Ballinger. Why were not the agricultural lands restored and the power sites left unrestored?

The very day on which he took office, or certainly the next day Mr. Ballinger began to restore public lands which had been withdrawn for water power sites by his predecessor, Secretary Garfield. The list of lands restored to entry by Secretary Ballinger aggregated several millions of acres. The days upon which lands were restored and the rivers and acreages upon which these lands are, I am informed, as follows: March 5, North Platte, Wyo., 160,000 acres; March 22, for Colorado River storage, Utah, 23,000 acres; March 27, Madison River, Mont., 209,000 acres; March 30, Salmon River, Idaho, 185,000 acres; April

6, for Colorado River storage, Wyo., 327,000 acres; April 7, for conservation Missouri River, Montana, 250,000; April 8, for conservation Swan River, Montana, 19,000; April 8, conservation Yellowstone River, Montana, 55,000; April 8, conservation Yellowstone River, Wyoming, 200,000; April 8, conservation North Platte River, Wyoming, 145,000; April 8, conservation Yellowstone River, Montana, 345,000; April 9, conservation Yellowstone River, Wyoming, 34,000; April 10, conservation Grand River, Utah, 70,000; April 10, conservation Missouri River, Montana, 359,000; April 15, conservation Colorado River, Utah, 177,000; March 31, Green River, 69,120. Then we have lower Powder River, Oregon; Blackfoot, Idaho district; Yellowstone, Montana; Green River, Utah; Owyhee River, Oregon; Flathead, Montana and Colorado River storage, Utah—aggregating something over 4,000,000 of acres.

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Dispatches of the 13th from Washington stated that Secretary Ballinger had "turned the tables on Gifford Pinchot" by withdrawing from entry the largest area of land ever withdrawn in the history of the Interior Department. The order was issued by Acting Secretary Wilson in the absence of Mr. Ballinger. It covers 87,360 acres along the Colorado river in Utah, and came direct from Secretary Ballinger, who was at Spokane attending the Irrigation Congress. It is described in the dispatches as an offset to the disclosures regarding fostering monopolies made by Mr. Pinchot at the Spokane Congress. With the order came an unofficial announcement that the action was taken to forestall "monopolies" seeking water power privileges. The same dispatches told of a statement issuing from the land office asserting that "at no time during the administration of Secretary Ballinger have any power sites been filed upon in Montana."

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Exposure of Enormous Land Grabbing in Chicago.

Developments of the past week indicate that the raids upon public school land (p. 579) are not the only great land grabs in Chicago. A legislative committee which began its investigations on the 9th, has brought out testimony to the effect that large private interests are mere squatters on Chicago land worth probably as much as \$500,000,000.

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Among these squatters the following are named: The Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, the Pennsylvania, the Illinois Central, the Wisconsin Central, the Economy Light & Power Company, Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co., the Goodrich Dock Co., the City Fuel Company, the Allis-Chalmers Company, the Armour Company, the American Steel and Wire Co., the Commonwealth-Edison Company, the McCormick Harvester Co., the Deering Harvester

Co., and the Illinois Steel Company. Some of the grabbed lands are filled-in lake bottom, while some are shore lands along the river.

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One of the expert witnesses, Edward T. Cahill, who said that he had made a study of water-front rights in Illinois, testified that under an act of the legislature of 1822 a 90-foot strip along an old canal should have been preserved for all time for the use of the people, and that neither the legislature nor the city had any right to convey title to "water lots" lining the canal. The Chicago river at Clark street, he said, should be about 450 feet wide from building line to building line, but encroachments have left it only about 250 feet wide, —some 200 feet having at that point been unlawfully deeded to private interests.

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The second day's investigation, that of the 11th, is reported by the Inter Ocean (Republican) as indicating that—

a startling and almost unbelievable amount of land has been appropriated by private interests along the lake shore and river bank wherever by fair means or foul it could be grabbed and made use of. With few exceptions every property owner along the river and its branches has illegally extended his dock lines from three to seventy feet out into the stream, and is using it for commercial purposes without recompense to city, State or Federal government, so it is charged. It is likewise charged that every foot of the thousands of acres which have either naturally or artificially been built up beyond the original meander lines of the lake, as given in the United States government plats of years ago, is unlawfully held and must be turned over to the State. As values of these river and lake lands mount into the hundreds of millions and involve nearly every large railroad interest, as well as many of Chicago's greatest industries, the enormous possibilities of a series of the greatest legal battles in the city's history are clearly apparent. A gigantic fight with the State of Illinois on one side and the combined forces of some of the greatest corporations in the world lined up on the defensive, is seen looming on the legal horizon. The successful recovery of the public lands now held by private interests will insure two things: The deepening and widening of the Chicago river and branches to make it navigable for the largest fresh water craft, thus giving Chicago the greatest industrial and commercial boom ever enjoyed by any city in the world; secondly, permitting the first and greatest step to be taken in making Chicago the city beautiful of the world, by utilizing for park and boulevard purposes every foot of lake shore from the Indiana State line, to the Wisconsin boundary.

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The legislative investigating committee consists of Representatives B. M. Chipfield (chairman), David E. Shanahan, John L. Flannigen, Fred Erickson, T. H. Riley, R. E. Wilson, and Senators

Lewis C. Ball, C. P. Gardner, W. O. Potter and Frank W. Burton.

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Report of Land Grabbing in Alaska.

The following dispatch from Denver, under date of August 12, was published in the Chicago Examiner (Hearst) on the 13th:

Scores of the wealthiest men in the United States from New York to the Pacific coast are to be arrested by special agents of the General Land Office, who have unearthed the greatest land grabbing scandal ever brought to light in America. It is claimed that 75 per cent of the coal entries made in Alaska prior to May 28, 1908, are fraudulent and that some of the greatest financial men as well as railroads and other corporations have resorted to a new trick in securing dummy entries. Men from the slums of Seattle, Butte, Denver and Chicago were approached by lawyers, who signed or allowed their attorneys to sign applications for coal lands in Alaska, which were turned over to the coal barons. Those accused are attempting to cover up, it is claimed, and political, social and financial pressure has been brought to bear on the government officials to stay prosecution. Investigations will be begun by the government next month in Seattle and hearings will be held in at least fifteen cities in the United States, extending from coast to coast. Commissioner Dennett expressed the conviction that at least 500 fraudulent entries comprising 300,000 acres of land will be canceled. Secretary Richard A. Ballinger of the Interior Department and Commissioner Dennett have evidence tending to show that 300 entries have been fraudulently made through dummies living in Seattle, Butte, Chicago, Denver, New York and other cities. The investigation has been under way for four years. All coal entries in Alaska have been under suspension during the past four years pending the outcome of the investigation. It is necessary to begin action soon because in some of the cases the statute of limitations will make prosecution impossible next spring. Several of the best men under the direction of M. D. McEniry, chief of the field division of Colorado, have been hurried to Alaska to secure further evidence. Several railroad companies owned in New York, Boston and Philadelphia are now attempting to delay prosecution, hoping to secure favorable legislation during the next session of Congress. Six large coal corporations are involved.

General press dispatches of the 15th allude to the above with this statement:

The Interior Department makes no denial of the fact that hundreds of coal land cases in Alaska are awaiting the attention of the land office on suspicion of fraud. In fact, there is a firm belief in the Department that fully 75 per cent of the entries now pending there will be canceled on the ground that "dummies" have been used and because of illegal efforts of individuals to combine. Three hundred and fifty land office agents and inspectors are now scattered over the country, taking depositions and arranging to compel the land grabbers to let go.

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The British Land Question.

Parliament still drags on with its all night

sessions discussing the financial bill (p. 779), the Tory members filibustering for delay, and the Ministers unable to agree to a strict closure—two or three of them threatening to resign if the others force it. But a modification of the House rules has been secured which enables the chairman to place some limitations upon the obstructionists. Consequently, Lloyd-George is making steady progress.

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In his cable letter of the 14th, appearing in the Chicago Tribune of the 15th, T. P. O'Connor, M. P., says that Lloyd-George—

and the other Liberal ministers have builded better than they knew in the land clauses of the Budget, which have made an appeal to the popular imagination, to hopes, true or false, but certainly magnificent, and, above all, to the long pent anger of the masses against the ground landlords in the towns, who have treated the industrious storekeepers so harshly. The result is that the land clauses of the budget are received with an outburst of popular enthusiasm, as if Lloyd-George preached a new evangel of humanity. This enthusiasm has been maintained by a feverishly active campaign in the country, every cabinet minister going on the stump and making the land clauses their sole topic. Lloyd-George's own speeches and Winston Churchill's even more fiery harangues have lashed democracy into a fury. This campaign is greatly assisted by the incredibly stupid speeches of the dukes and other great landlords, who cause equal indignation, scorn, and defiance by bewailing their poverty and threatening to cut off their charities to the hospitals and the old work people. Finally the Liberals are enormously assisted by the division in the Tory ranks which Lord Northcliffe's attacks [Northcliffe owns the London Times] on Balfour and the other Tory leaders reveal. The protectionists have looked on, silent, suspicious, and almost openly rebellious, while Balfour has detracted from tariff reform [protection] by making his attack on the budget wholly negative. In private caucuses, the protectionists bitterly protest against this policy and demand tariff reform as the first plank in the Tory platform and as a distinct and openly avowed alternative to Lloyd-George's budget.

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In connection with this great Parliamentary contest, there is being widely circulated and liberally signed throughout Great Britain, the following commendation of the pending financial bill by business men:

The finance bill now being discussed in Parliament offers an important measure of freedom to the business men of the country. They have long felt and expressed the desire for relief from the growing burden of rates on business premises, factories, machinery and dwelling houses. To secure this, even in the slightest degree, a new basis of assessment is necessary, and by providing for the valuation of land apart from the improvements made by private companies or individuals, the bill furnishes this basis.

So far from inflicting any burden on enterprise or

industry a rate or tax on the value of land would afford them stimulus and encouragement. Production of raw materials and buildings, which, after all, is an essential preliminary of manufactures and commerce, requires the use of land in sufficient quantity and on fair terms. This is denied to it by our system of land tenure.

Even a moderate rate or tax on the value of all land, whether used or held idle, would incline the owners to meet the offers of those who desire to develop it. In this way, such a tax would benefit the landowners themselves, and by increasing production would contribute to the prosperity of all classes in the country. We, therefore, commend this policy to business men in the hope that they will consider it in relation to their business interests, and support the demand for a consistent and uniform valuation and tax.

* *

Crete Desires to Transfer Allegiance From Turkey to Greece.

With the ascendancy of the Young Turks and the breaking up of old relationships in the Ottoman Empire, the island of Crete (vol. ix, 491) in the eastern Mediterranean near Greece, has strained again at the leash which has held her under the suzerainty of Turkey (with one brief interval) for 240 years. Geographical situation and racial relationship lead Crete to desire incorporation into the Kingdom of Greece, and for seventy years the island has been practically in insurrection. Greece would welcome Crete into her autonomy, but the four Great Powers, Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy, have guaranteed Turkish sovereignty, and Greece is not strong enough to defy them. In October of last year the Cretans reaffirmed their kinship with Greece, but Turkish sovereignty continued to prevail. On July 27 the troops of the protecting Powers were withdrawn, with the idea, apparently, that regenerated Turkey was equal to coping with the local situation. But disorders ensued, and on the 16th, after the Cretan cabinet had resigned, a provisional administrative committee took the oath of allegiance to the King and Kingdom of Greece.

* *

Steel Trust War on Labor Unions.

A carefully planned crusade against labor unions by the United States Steel Corporation has for several days been in progress in Pittsburg, but reports of it are only beginning to dribble through the press. The Associated Press report of the 15th, as it appeared in the Chicago Tribune of the 16th, made this reference to the matter:

The United States Steel Corporation has begun the process of eliminating from its mills all those with pronounced union tendencies, who might with reason be suspected of scattering seeds of unionism among the other workmen. Many skilled workmen employed by the Corporation have been discharged recently from employment in the mills, where they

had long worked, and on inquiring the cause for their discharge they were told that they talked too much or too loudly. In most of the cases of those thus discharged they found on inquiring for work at other plants of the Steel Corporation that there was no work for them, a blacklist having apparently been prepared.

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The Labor Trouble at McKee's Rocks.

Reports of rioting went out through the news dispatches of the 11th from the Pressed Steel Company's plant (p. 728) at McKee's Rocks, in Western Pennsylvania. The strikers had received information that strike-breakers were being rushed to the works and that the company intended to start the plant no matter what might result from violence to persons or property. It seems that the plant had not started, notwithstanding the assurances of officers of the company that it would be started several days ago. When the news of the coming of strike-breakers reached the strikers the latter are reported to have taken possession of all street cars running in the neighborhood of the plant and refused to permit any man not a striker to ride. The State troopers are reported by the dispatches to have been "forced to fire volley after volley over the heads of the strikers, who threw stones in return." At least a dozen persons are said to have been struck with missiles and three wounded by glancing bullets. Scores were clubbed by the troopers, who rode into the crowd on the gallop. Evictions of strikers from company houses began on the 12th, but the sheriff, after expelling seven families, refused to remove any more household goods, offering to protect the company's agents but demanding that they remove the goods themselves. As the company insisted that this was the sheriff's work he stopped further evictions. On the 15th, according to Pittsburg news dispatches, the strikers massed to prevent strike-breakers being taken into the works and fired on a steamboat doing duty as a ferry. The boat was driven out into the stream, say these dispatches, and—

the strikers took possession of the company wharf. The full force of State troopers rode into the crowd, swinging their maces on the heads of the men. Shots were fired by the strikers and the troopers then began firing with their service revolvers. The strikers retreated toward the river, followed by the troopers, who spurred their horses until hundreds were forced into the river to escape being run down. When the mob was dispersed 280 strikebreakers, enlisted in Philadelphia, Chester and Newark, were taken into the works. The steamer then went upstream to the city wharf, where more men were taken on board. The steamer Steel Queen also is loaded with men who will go into the works to-morrow. Altogether there are now 1,000 men ready to be taken into the plant. They are nearly all Americans. The boats carrying the men to the plant are mounted with gatling guns and the company officials say these will be used if the strikers continue their

efforts to prevent men being landed. The company asserts it has 1,200 men at work, while the strikers place the number at 400. The company says that cars will be turned out Wednesday.

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In the course of a calm judicial review of the causes of this strike, in *The Survey* for August 7, Paul U. Kellogg attributes it to "the rigorous, logical extreme to which the employing company carried out what they conceive to be progressive policies in multiple production." During the period of hard times, Mr. Kellogg continues—

they established a track system by which even a crude working force practically drives itself in turning out cars, and a pooling system of payment which keeps the labor cost per car within a fixed charge to the company and which unloads the hazards of lost time and mistakes in construction largely upon the men. Apart from the vagrant charges of graft and abuse by foremen, which have been given more than their share of publicity, the strike has been over a sweeping reduction in wages (as against 1907) which the men laid up to this new system. Their grievances crystallized in the charge that they had no means of knowing what was coming to them on pay day, and that when they complained about it they were given neither rate nor redress. For, along with their modern operating policies, the company . . . will not tolerate petitions or meet with representatives of the men, and they refuse to arbitrate.

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Averted Street Car Strike in Chicago.

An adjustment of terms of employment between the street car companies of Chicago and their conductors and motormen was effected on the 13th, which is regarded as having given a marked impetus to the principles of industrial conciliation and collective bargaining.

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The men had applied for higher wages, on the ground that the rates allowed—a maximum of 27 cents an hour—were insufficient to meet the increased cost of living. They asked for a maximum of 30 cents an hour. Preparations were immediately made by the companies to meet a strike. Employment agencies in Boston, Kansas City and other points throughout the country, offered strike breakers on short notice; and the power houses which have been abandoned since the companies have contracted to get all their power from the Commonwealth-Edison Company, were put into shape for accommodating imported workers in a body. Contracts for 5,000 strike breakers from one agency alone were reported on the 4th as having been made.

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A referendum vote of the employes was taken on the 5th, the polls closing at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 6th. It was the heaviest vote ever polled

in a similar situation, and resulted in an overwhelming majority for a strike should the wages demands be disallowed. The announcement of this result was followed by a conference between representatives of the companies, of the men, and of the city, which began on the 8th. The companies were slow at making concessions, but after continuous negotiations a compromise was effected on the 13th.

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Under this compromise following are the terms:

Employes who have already served one year or more at the maximum of 27 cents an hour, to have 28 cents for the year from August 1, 1909; 29 for the following year, and 30 for thereafter.

Those who have as yet served less than a year at the minimum of 23 cents an hour, to have 23 cents till the end of their first six months' of service; 25 cents for their next six months, 27 cents for their second year, and 30 thereafter.

New employes to have 23 cents an hour for the first six months, 24 for the second, 25 for the second year, 26 for the third year and 27 thereafter to the end of the settlement agreement.

This collective bargain is to be in force from August 1, 1909, to February 1, 1913. It was to have been for three years, but as that would have brought its expiration to the beginning of a Presidential election, it was changed to three and a half.

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In the negotiations the companies were represented by John M. Roach and Thomas E. Mitten, the employes by M. C. Buckley, B. A. Carter, and William Quinlan, and the city by Walter L. Fisher. Mr. Fisher, who is credited with having brought the controversy to a peaceable termination, was reported on the 14th as saying that—

the people of Chicago owe a large debt of gratitude not only to the presidents of both companies but to the representatives of the employes, for the fair manner in which they have handled this entire controversy. We all believe that it means the beginning of an era of good feeling all around and of an improved service to the public which this will promote.

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Although the compromise was effected, it was only tentative; for the representatives of the men were to submit it to them for approval before final agreement. This having been done informally, further negotiations were asked for on the 15th in behalf of the men. They were suspicious, for they saw nothing in the arrangement to prevent the companies from gradually substituting new men for old ones. Inasmuch as the increased pay is only for the old employes, the companies could thereby avoid any substantial increase of pay. New men would have to serve through a probationary period of three years and a half before becoming entitled to the maximum of 30 cents an hour, and none of them would rise beyond 27

cents, the present maximum, during the life of the compromise agreement.

* *

The Cleveland Traction Question.

At the second meeting of the committee of the whole of the Cleveland city government (p. 776), held on the 10th, President Andrews of the traction company submitted a statement specifying the amendments to the Baker ordinance required by the company. There were 60 in all. Answering questions from Mayor Johnson he said that the company could not be bound by "the gentlemen's agreement." He also rejected the clause in the Baker ordinance providing that if any safeguard for the city were invalidated by the courts the proposed franchise should be wholly invalid. He agreed to accept Judge Tayler as sole arbitrator in fixing the values of the present traction property. This was at the afternoon meeting.

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At the evening meeting of the same day the committee of the whole refused to concede 36 of the 60 changes proposed by the company, but agreed to the other 24. Both sides tentatively agreed to urge Judge Tayler to act as arbitrator on valuation. The Council (four Republican members dissenting) adopted a statement explaining its position as to the proposed changes, centering upon the points of valuation, rate of fare, suburban contracts, passes for employes, time of purchase of the franchise by a third party, character of arbitration, value of pavements at the end of the grant, and provisions against allowing the franchise to continue if safeguards in behalf of the city are invalidated.

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On the question of valuation of present property the council insists that it shall be made before referendum on the franchise, and suggests that it be made before the passage of the ordinance. by immediate arbitration by Judge Tayler and that after the determination of value the rate of fare be fixed. Upon the question of protection of Forest City stockholders the council remits the question to negotiation between The Cleveland Railway Co., The Forest City and The Municipal Traction Co., and expresses its willingness to sanction any agreement reached by the companies. On the subject of the city's safeguards the council "insists that the rights reserved to the city shall be as valid as the rights granted to the company, and suggests that while some of the provisions enumerated in the Baker ordinance may be eliminated until some other mode is suggested of making the city as safe as the company, the council will adhere to the general idea involved in the Baker ordinance, whereby invalidity of one of the fundamental reserved rights shall make the

entire ordinance invalid." The council refused to withdraw its demand that the city may nominate a purchaser at the end of four years, as proposed by the Baker ordinance, instead of 10 as proposed by the Tayler ordinance.

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At an adjourned meeting on the 11th the company replied to the foregoing statement with a statement amounting to a refusal to make any concessions on the 36 points out of the company's 60 on which the council had taken issue.

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Another meeting, held on the 13th, gave indications of a better outlook. At that meeting adjustments were tentatively agreed to which left only 9 principal points out of the 60 to settle. Seven are as follows: The legal safeguards; suburban contracts; the East Cleveland contention; the license provision; passes for employes; limitations upon the selection of arbitrators; the value of pavements at the end of the grant. After the determination of these questions, the remaining two, namely, valuation and rate of fare, will probably be determined, valuation by immediate arbitration, and rate of fare by agreement after the determination of the value.

* *

A Newspaper Boycott.

From mail advices it appears that a great deal of popular indignation has been aroused in Los Angeles by the refusal of the local daily newspapers to advertise or report lectures by Frederick W. Peabody, of Boston, in opposition to Christian Science. According to our advices of the 11th—

All of the daily press positively refused to print advertisements or news of the lectures, except that the Times published a report of the last one. At one of the lectures the facts were presented to the audience and resulted in a storm of indignation. The meeting resolved itself into one of protest. Ministers, doctors and even newspapermen present forcibly denounced the attitude of the press. Condemnatory resolutions were adopted by a unanimous rising vote and sent to all the papers of the city, but they were buried with the rest of the communications. Many persons sympathetically inclined toward Christian Science entered protests, declaring that its truths cannot be harmed by fair discussion.

There appears to have been no other reason for suppressing advertisements and news reports than a fear of the papers that it would lose them the patronage of Christian Scientists.

NEWS NOTES

—The bill for a constitution for a federation of the South African colonies (p. 637) passed its sec-

ond reading unanimously in the British House of Commons on the 16th.

—Central Japan suffered a severe earthquake shock on the 14th. On the following day the injured were numbered at 82, and the dead at 30.

—Los Angeles has followed the example of Boston (p. 604) and under the auspices of the City Club has laid out a program for each year, with the climax of "Los Angeles 1915."

—The Alabama Senate, on the 10th, followed the example of the House (p. 758) by adopting the income tax amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The vote stood 28 to 0.

—Samuel R. Van Sant of Minnesota was elected commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic on the 12th at Salt Lake City, over Judge William A. Ketcham of Indiana by a vote of 587 to 156.

—Col. Albert A. Pope, the pioneer bicycle manufacturer of the United States, and well known as one of the first advocates of the good roads system, died at his summer home in Cohasset, Mass., on the 10th at the age of 66.

—Madarlal Dhinagri, the East Indian student who was condemned to death on the 23rd for the murder of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William H. C. Wyllie and Dr. Calas Lalcaica in London on July 1, was hanged in Pentonville prison on the 17th.

—Justice Isaac N. Mills, of the New York Supreme Court, decided on the 12th, after an extended hearing, that Harry K. Thaw, acquitted of the murder of Stanford White on the ground of insanity (vol. x, p. 58), and ever since confined in an asylum for the criminal insane, is still insane, and remanded him to the asylum.

—Mayor Busse has appointed as chief of police of Chicago, to succeed George M. Shippy, who has resigned, Le Roy T. Steward, the present superintendent of city delivery in the Chicago postoffice, who has been in the Chicago postal service continuously since 1894. He was an officer of the Illinois National guard from 1879 to 1898.

—The Swedish general strike, reported last week (p. 781), has been breaking. An Associated Press dispatch of the 12th stated that out of a total of 460,000 workmen engaged in industries in Sweden, exclusive of agriculture and the railroad service, 285,762 were on strike, but small groups of these men were continually returning to their labors.

—At the Maryland Democratic convention on the 11th a candidate for State Comptroller was nominated, and a platform adopted which favors the suffrage amendment to the State constitution to be voted on this fall, which in effect disfranchises illiterate Negroes, the creation of a public utilities commission applicable to all public service corporations, and a pure food law.

—The new little Shah of Persia, put in the place of his unsatisfactory father by the Nationalist party (pp. 710, 732), makes a pathetic figure in current history. His pictures show him as a slight, sad little boy, hardly looking his eleven years. He protested against being taken from his refugee father and mother; and he is reported now as sitting in loneliness in his palace at Teheran, weeping con-

stantly for his mother, as any other homesick little boy might do.

—The observance of the 275th anniversary of the discovery of Wisconsin began at the Kellogg public library in Green Bay on the 10th. A bronze tablet commemorating the successive location at the site of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway depot of the French fort, St. Francis; the British fort, Edward Augustus, and the American fort, Howard, was unveiled on the 11th.

—Mr. Wu Tingfang (vol. xi, 556), appointed as Chinese Minister to the United States for the second time in September, 1907 (vol. x, p. 613), has been recalled to China. He is to be succeeded by Chang Yin Tang, who is said also to be a progressive in Chinese politics. He is said to have seen diplomatic service in India, England, Tibet and the United States, but not to speak English fluently.

—The Republic of Ecuador (lying under the equator on the west coast of South America) is celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the first movement of its people to secure independence from Spanish rule, with an exposition, opened at Guayaquil on the 10th, when the exhibits of France, Peru and Chile were ready for inspection, and that of the United States was to be ready in a week.

—The Rev. Dr. Hiram W. Thomas, founder of the People's Church of Chicago after expulsion from the Methodist ministry for heresy, died at De Funiak Springs, Florida, on the 12th at the age of 77. Dr. Thomas was a pulpit orator of exceptional ability and a man of charming personality. He was as courageous in his political as in his religious convictions, having taken pronounced ground against the American destruction of the Philippine Republic and the kindred British invasion of the Boer Republic.

—The National Women's Trade Union League has issued a call for a conference to be held in Chicago beginning Monday, September 27. The interstate conferences of 1907 and 1908 (vol. xi, pp. 495, 636) held simultaneously in Boston, New York and Chicago, were so successful and brought about such good practical results that it is hoped to make this National Convention in Chicago an even greater landmark in the cause of the organized working women. Delegates are expected from women's trade unions in Great Britain, France and Germany.

—Lloyd-George, the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, who is fighting for land reform so valiantly, has lost his sister by death—a sister, writes T. P. O'Connor, "whom he loved deeply, their common lives stretching back to the times when he and she plotted to keep the auctioneers from their poverty-stricken home and were both glad to share one egg on Sunday mornings as the solitary luxury of the week when they were children." His "favorite daughter" died, adds Mr. O'Connor, "just before his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer."

—The military defense crisis in Denmark has passed. As already reported (p. 541) the parliamentary elections on May 25 left the ministry, which had favored expenditures for greater land defenses, just short of a majority, and their resignations followed. In the elections the Socialists and Radicals had stood for complete disarmament as a step

toward universal peace; and a middle ground party, under former Prime Minister Christensen, had stood for moderate land defenses. A new ministry was formed on the 16th, under the premiership of Count Holstein-Ledreborg, and with Mr. J. C. Christensen as Minister of War and Marine, and the ex-Premier Mr. N. T. Neergard, as Minister of Finance. With one other exception the other ministers retain their places. This indicates that the program of the middle-ground party has been adopted.

—Martial law at Fort William, Ontario, was declared on the 12th in connection with a labor strike. About 1,000 freight handlers of the Canadian Pacific Railway, principally Greeks, Hungarians and Italians, who had been on strike for a week, were enraged by the arrival of special Canadian Pacific police from Winnipeg, and 300 of them engaged in pitched battle with the police on the 12th around the Canadian Pacific freight sheds. Two dozen men were injured. At the city hall the mayor was arranging a settlement, Canadian Pacific officials having consented to grant the demands of the men for an increased scale of wages. The agreement had just been approved when the report was telephoned in that rioting was in progress. The railway officials then notified the Mayor that they would now fight the strike. Under the advice of the Mayor, the strikers decided on the 15th to resume work on the 16th under an arbitration agreement.

PRESS OPINIONS

One of the Blessings of Protection.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), August 7.—The ultimate consumer will realize the blessedness of him who expects nothing.

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The Water Power Trust.

Denver Daily News (Dem.), August 12.—The remedy for the power trust is a tax levied on natural opportunities, without regard to whether those opportunities are in use or not. With such a tax in effect, no one would claim title to the power of a stream unless he were ready to use it, and the formation of a trust would be impossible. Trusts depend on privilege, in this case on privilege in natural resources. No organization of the dimensions of a power trust ever did or ever can make as good use of natural opportunities as the smaller, more specialized concern, which is adapted closely to local conditions. Give the two an equal show, and the independent concern will smash the trust, five times out of six. And the tax which prevents the cheap hogging of unused opportunities would provide the equal show. The thing the power trust needs to fear is not a beneficent despot, but a sane, rational scheme of taxation which will make it impossible to hold power sites without using them.

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The Police Sweat Box.

The (St. Louis) Mirror.—The police of every big city torture prisoners to extort information from them to be used against themselves or others. The

police say they do these things only to the professional criminal. The answer is not good. The police have no right to abuse a man or woman who is a criminal. Even the criminal has rights. He cannot be deprived of life, liberty or property except by due process of law. He cannot be compelled to testify against himself. In England, when a policeman arrests a man, he warns the prisoner that anything he may say will be used against him. This is supposed to be a freer country than England, yet, as soon as a man is arrested here, he is subjected to an inquisition under threats and often to the accompaniment of kicks and cuffs. The police have no authority to question under torture or otherwise. The only authority to question rests in the court in which the prisoner is tried. The police proceed upon a theory the exact opposite of that of the law. They believe every man guilty until he is proven innocent. They punish him without trial. They act as judge, jury and executioner. And they are the more ruthless the more helpless the person falling into their hands.

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The Cleveland Traction Referendum.

The Peoria Star (Ind.), August 7.—Johnson has made a brave and manly fight. . . . He had a right to expect that the public would support him, but in this he was bitterly disappointed. All great reformers have suffered a like experience. The people begin by shouting, "Hosannah," and end by yelling, "Crucify him," for now, as aforesaid, at every great popular uprising, the priests and scribes and Pharisees mingle with the mob and shout, "Not this man but Barabbas," although they know that Barabbas is a thief and a robber.

†

The (Dubuque) Telegraph-Herald (Ind. Dem.), August 9.—It appears that while Mayor Johnson did not get the loaf he fought for, he and the people of Cleveland have secured a great deal. The fight was not lost. A fight for the right never is lost, no matter how complete the rout may appear to be. No man who ever set out to wage a fight in behalf of the people against privilege-seeking wealth ever had such bitter opposition and so much to contend with as has Johnson. . . . He has given not only his time and his undoubted great talents and his money to the services of the people, but he has given the best years of his life, and his sole reward is the consciousness of having done his duty.

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The Lincoln (Neb.) Daily Courier (Ind.), August 10.—Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland lost his fight for 3 cent fares in that city, but his name will become immortal as a vigorous opponent of special privilege, while his successful adversaries will be buried in the dust of oblivion. Mayor Johnson made a gallant fight against unlimited wealth, but he is greater in defeat than his opponents in victory, because he was fighting for a righteous principle.

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Chicago Examiner (Hearst), August 16.—Tom Johnson won a victory in the Cleveland street railroad fight last week, although he lost at the polls.

This sounds paradoxical. Nevertheless the special election brought him and his people promised relief from the traction magnates. . . . Johnson deserves his victory. He has agitated the three-cent fare idea for years. To defeat him on one occasion the Constitution of the State of Ohio was suspended. He has fought the politicians, the money powers and the press of his community with unwavering fidelity, and at last his patience, his courage and his persistence have won for his people a substantial part of their just demands.

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The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), August 12.—The advocates of municipal ownership will be only briefly downcast by the result of the referendum in Cleveland last week. . . . It is now up to the other side to move. The Cleveland Street Railway Company will have to propose a programme. As matters look now, it seems impossible for the railway company to settle the question on any basis not indorsed by the Johnsonians. In the referendum fight, the monopolists burned their bridges behind them. They advocated a three-cent fare for all the lines in the city. They only seemed to desire that Mayor Johnson shouldn't get the credit of establishing that basis of fare. Mayor Tom says that the defeat only gets out of the way some questions that would have proved troublesome when he shall run for mayor again this fall.

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A Typical Source of Power.

Chicago Examiner (Hearst), August 13.—A myth is shaping itself in the imagination of Washington that Mr. Aldrich is a miraculous man—a Cagliostro, Metternich and Mazarin rolled into one. It is being whispered that this extraordinary feat of charging and routing, not merely "an army in position," but a whole country with its mind made up is due to the incomparable "ability" of the Senator from Rhode Island . . . Mr. Aldrich is not a great man; he belongs to a very ordinary type. He rules, not in virtue of his personal qualities, but because of his representative character. He represents, not the good people of Rhode Island, but the close communion of American plutocracy. And because he is the accepted spokesman of the privileged interests, he has more power than all the elected representatives of all the unprivileged interests. The situation is heavy with ominous suggestion. The time is at hand when the people must find some new and more effective method of political action against the solid front of Privilege.

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British Land Question.

Puck (ind.), August 11.—The stone wall which one may see through in the event of there being a hole big enough has been deftly duplicated in England lately by the row over the budget. The budget provides for a stiff tax on land values. The House of Lords will reject the land-tax proposals if they are sent to it. The members of the House of Lords, or the noble families which they represent, own most of the unoccupied land in the British Isles. While London is an appalling spectacle of congested population and destitution, land which would help more than anything else to solve England's grim problem

of the unemployed is being held out of use, miles and miles of it, for the private pleasures of the nobility; estates, hunting-preserves, what not. The House of Lords may reject the land-tax this time, and next time also, but so long as England has three or four men to every available square foot of land whereon to put them to work out their own industrial salvation, England will have its problem of the unemployed, its discontent, and its growing demoralization. When land over there is so gravely essential to the welfare of the nation, it is fair to say that Lord Thisorthat should be made to pay a pretty penny into the British treasury for the privilege of keeping it out of use in order to chase deer or foxes there when London "bores" him. England will have to make a choice some of these days. It must exist for the breeding of deer, foxes, lords and grouse, or for the breeding of Englishmen.

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Lloyd-George's Land Tax Speech.

The Westminster Gazette (Lib.), July 31.—We are quite willing, if the other side will let us, to conduct the argument for the budget on the plane of pure reason and political economy; but, really, after the language they have used themselves, there is more than a little absurdity in their complaints this morning about the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech at Limehouse. Mr. Lloyd-George has had to listen for weeks while he has been accused of applying force and fraud and every other nefarious practice to the finances of the nation, . . . but when he retorts upon his assailants, carries the war into their camp, and speaks with the same vigor in defense of his proposals as they do in attack, then they call heaven to witness the crudity of his methods.

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London Daily Chronicle (Lib.), July 31.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his fighting speech at Limehouse last night, went straight to the root of the matter. . . . The loudest outcry is raised against the land taxes. The outcry is natural enough. Privilege is never surrendered without a struggle. Landowners have been suffered for so long to grow rich by unearned increment that they naturally raise a hubbub when the state begins to claim a percentage. But this does not make the action of the state unjust or oppressive. The justice of these new taxes was well illustrated by the series of concrete cases given by Mr. Lloyd-George last night. The growth, the enterprise, the expenditure of the community drop win falls into the lap of landowners.

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Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury (Lib.), July 31.—Mr. Lloyd-George has a way of putting things that is very inconvenient for his political opponents. . . . Speak where he may, there is never any difficulty in finding examples of the great increase in the value of land through the extension of great towns. At Limehouse he is able to point to land between the Thames and the river Lea, where not long ago there were hundreds of acres of vacant land, not very useful even for agricultural purposes, that have now become immensely valuable as a great center of

trade. It will be difficult to persuade people in the East-end of London that it would be iniquitous to levy some tax upon this unearned increment in the value of a swamp.

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Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury (Lib.), August 3.—Undoubtedly Mr. Lloyd-George has given a severe shock to his political opponents by his speech at Limehouse, and Mr. Churchill turns the incident to good effect. It is perfectly true that Tory critics of the budget have let themselves go, if we may use that expression, in denouncing the budget. They have not put any restraint upon their tongues, but have hurled epithets at the Chancellor of the Exchequer with unrestrained freedom that amounts to license. Mr. Churchill reminds them that they have not scrupled to use such words as fraud, folly, robbery, plunder, spoliation and treachery. We are not sure that Mr. Balfour himself has not used all these words and others, such as madness, lunacy and similar expressions. This, as Mr. Churchill says, was all very well so long as the condemnation was levelled at Mr. Lloyd-George and his budget; but when the Chancellor of the Exchequer turns upon his assailants and uses some of their own words to denounce the system that they uphold and defend, all the violent critics of Mr. Lloyd-George are shocked at the way in which he trounces them in their own style. Can it be, Mr. Churchill asks, that they are thus shocked and indignant because they have no reply ready to the awkward arguments that Mr. Lloyd-George has used? However this may be, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's arguments have not been answered, and we doubt whether they will be.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE MILLIONAIRE.

The gold that with the sunlight lies
 In bursting heaps at dawn,
 The silver smiling from the skies
 At night, to walk upon,
 The diamonds gleaming in the dew,
 He never saw, he never knew.

He got some gold, dug from the mud,
 Some silver, crushed with stones;
 But the gold was red with dead men's blood,
 The silver black with groans;
 And when he died he moaned aloud,
 "They'll make no pocket in my shroud."

—Joaquin Miller.

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GOLDEN RULE COMMON SENSE.

An Address Delivered by Fred Kohler, Chief of Police of Cleveland, Ohio, at the Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police at Buffalo, June 16, 1909.

To answer the many inquiries concerning the motive for the adoption and the conditions resulting from our application of the common sense, or

so-called "golden rule" policy, of making and not making arrests in Cleveland, it will be necessary for me to repeat portions of the address delivered at the Convention of Chiefs of Police, at Detroit, Mich., June 3d, 1908.*

The Conception.

For a great many years in Cleveland, practically always, certainly throughout the period of my twenty years' service on the force, the police had done as the police do everywhere with drunks and disorderly persons, petty thieves, bad boys and small offenders generally—we ran them in. It was the custom in Cleveland; it is still the custom of practically the whole police world. And customs—ground as they are into the very fibre of men's minds—are hard to break. But we have broken the custom of the world and the ages in Cleveland.

For many years I had given confused study and some not very enlightening observation to the numerous arrests made for minor offenses. I couldn't see that these wholesale arrests did any good. The number of them did not diminish; it increased. And I found not only that the arrests did not produce good results; they did harm. They brought disgrace, humiliation and suffering to countless innocent persons in no way responsible for the acts of a thoughtless, careless, mischievous, or even, if you will, a malicious first offender.

I found daily at police stations relatives and friends in tears seeking the release of some prisoner, who, when I inquired, proved to be not so very, very bad. In Police Court next day I saw old and feeble parents, weeping wives with crying babies in their arms, and very often other children clinging at their sides—all there to witness the degradation of those they loved. And what was the result? A hasty trial, and since the offense was usually trivial, the prisoner was discharged. Good! But all that suffering was in vain. Sometimes it was worse than vain. Again, sometimes the offender was fined. That was a "result," but who paid? The weeping mother and children—they were robbed of the necessaries of life, and the only gain was a few paltry dollars paid into the City Treasury. Was there one particle of real good accomplished by this process? Watching it all as I did, day after day, I answer "no," and I say now, emphatically, "no."

Now, questioning these unfortunates, it struck me that most of them did what they did through thoughtlessness, natural passion, or in the spirit of frolic or mischief. It seemed to me that this should be understood. It didn't seem at first to be the policeman's duty to study the cases and to use discretion. There was a misunderstanding all around. And, gentlemen, misunderstanding is injustice.

*See The Public of June 12, 1908, pages 244 and 254; and of June 26, 1908, page 293.

Then I remembered that all persons are not arrested who commit minor offenses and even felonies. Many escape detection or are not exposed. Their escape did not hurt them nor society; it was an advantage.

Now, I finally concluded, that it was our duty not to help these unfortunates on their downward course, but to save them. It seemed to me it was up to the police to learn to know the difference between a thief, and a mischievous man or boy. And why not? Of all men, who is so able to judge whether an arrest is necessary as the policeman?

Upon these observations and thoughts my policy was formed. Firm in the belief that some remedy was necessary, I decided to go forward with my Common Sense Plan. I determined to have my policemen use their best human instincts. I proposed that they should exercise the discretion which the judges do not always exercise.

As a step, then, in the right direction, might not a wider interpretation be given to an officer's duty, so that, by his kindly efforts as first and final judge of first offenders, the stream that is now so steadily flowing in the direction of the jail and penitentiary might be diverted into channels of worthy and useful citizenship? Of course it might; and that is my answer as to the motive.

With all these facts and data ever before me, and recognizing the evil embodied therein, and the benefit that would be derived in a change of policy, I personally met with each division of our department, and in an informal way we considered just how far this policy should be carried. We first realized that to make it a success, a kindly feeling would be essential to its official administration. Then every violation of the law or ordinance was carefully gone over from every point of view. And finally we determined that the following considerations should govern our actions:

First, Juveniles were never to be placed in prison. They were to be taken home, or the parents sent for and the child turned over to them for parental correction.

Second, The members of the force were to use their kindly efforts in easing the friction and ill-temper between man and man, wherever and whenever it made itself manifest.

Third, That the best policeman is the one who manages the offender with the least show or display of authority.

Fourth, That some men fall through some unfortunate circumstances and are not criminal at heart, and should be treated accordingly, in which case the best results might be accomplished with a well applied reprimand.

Fifth, Officers should have sufficient evidence of a competent character to secure conviction, before even considering the imprisonment of a person on any charge whatever.

Sixth, Any apparent violators who were not

known to be of good character and reputation were to be accompanied to the precinct station, where the matter would be carefully inquired into by the officer in charge, and the proper action, as specified by the Common Sense Policy, taken.

On January 1st, 1908, the policy went into effect.* Immediately gratifying results were shown; and now, after the 17 months' of severe test that the policy has received in this city, there need be no hesitancy in claiming a great improvement in the performance of police work. True, it was a radical departure from time-worn methods, almost revolutionary; but still it is in harmony with the general accepted theory that the greatest aim of the law was the prevention of crime, the correction and reformation—not the vindictive punishment of the offender.

Some daily papers (through a misunderstanding of the policy) attempted to lead the public to believe that this policy applied to all violators of the laws, which is a clear misrepresentation of real object and intent. We have never catered to crime or criminals, and never will; and our new policy of making or not making arrests never included criminals or habitual offenders. The difficulties formerly experienced from the many technicalities of the law, and in getting sufficient evidence to convict, has been almost entirely eliminated under this new system, for the reason that the members of the department have had more time to devote to felony cases, and to the prosecution of professional criminals and habitual offenders.

Other publicity agents, seeing that many "feature" stories never came to light, have opposed us. But we have felt that it was a gain to have saved so many persons from the embarrassment resulting from the unwise exploitation of their misfortune.

I am a firm believer in publicity (the exposure of criminal method and misrepresentation, always excepted), and I believe that the more publicity that can be given the police and the methods of Police Court procedure in the disposal of real criminals and suspected thieves who make their living by swindling the public, the better it will be for the community. I appreciate criticism; honest criticism does good.

A further argument has been made, that the policy places too much authority in the hands of the police officer. I will answer that by reminding you that the Judge and Court officials always have the last guess. If the police officer has exceeded his authority, the matter can easily be adjusted then.

We have no interest or concern in the snarls and lampoons aimed at us by pettifoggers, unscrupulous politicians, criminologists or philosophers of no experience with the real criminal and who reach their conclusions by theory only.

*See The Public of January 4, 1908, p. 941.

Some little opposition has been also felt from the hired help of some of the private corporations, who have found that they could not use this department to their private interests or advantages, and who themselves neglect to properly protect their private rights, thus preventing crime.

The result obtained since the application of the policy, is our defense.

Now, let us carefully consider the results obtained by this policy. For the year 1908, our records show a reduction of 20,333 arrests, or 66.8 per cent compared with 1907, when the total was 30,418. In our total of 10,085 for 1908, arrests to the number of just one thousand were made for felonies, with less crime and less property stolen, as against 938 for the year 1907. Is this not to be considered to be a favorable result for the Golden Rule Policy? Would it have been better to go on increasing the number of arrests of minor violators, and not have the necessary time for the apprehension of felons or procuring of necessary evidence to convict them? Don't you think it was better to devote more time to the habitual criminal, and the more serious violators against the law, as we have done?

Let us go further and see what was accomplished after the first year, and after the members of the department (who were in sympathy with the movement and gave it their hearty co-operation) had become accustomed to this policy. The table shows arrests made each month:

Total Arrests—	Under the Old and General Custom.		Golden Rule Policy.	
	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.
January	2,285	2,158	911	591
February	2,016	2,267	829	391
March	2,480	2,711	939	483
April	2,801	2,434	907	427
May	2,675	2,781	888	366
	12,207	12,291	4,474	2,258
June	2,766	2,503	882	
July	2,843	2,900	1,010	
August	2,749	2,898	1,015	
September	2,919	2,610	707	
October	2,770	2,351	704	
November	2,700	2,530	619	
December	2,732	2,435	674	
Totals	31,736	30,418	10,085	

May, 1909, shows the smallest number of arrests since the policy was introduced. This is the least number of persons arrested in any month during the past twenty-five years, and arrests had been increasing each year. In this total of 366 arrests for the month of May, there are included 57 arrests for felonies. That in itself is conclusive evidence that our policy is not for the benefit of criminals. In summing up these felonies, we have simply taken the bare arrests. We have not added other subsequent charges against the same culprit, even though we have found that he had committed other felonies before being caught. During the month of May, 1907, under the old custom, there were 1651 arrests for intoxication. In May, 1908, under the Golden Rule Policy, there were 324 arrests; and in May, 1909, 47 for that cause.

Can you imagine anyone being injured by this? Don't the figures show that a great good must have been done?

Meanwhile we have entirely done away with the blackmailing, professional bondsmen, who have made money out of the unfortunates placed in prison, before the proper inquiry into their cases, which is general under the old plan. Under this system, graft, blackmail and extortion is impossible. The citizens and public generally, as well as the courts and public press, know exactly what they can expect, providing they comply with the rules laid down, which are well known.

It is seldom now that you will see old and feeble parents, or weeping wives with crying babies in their arms and other children clinging at their sides, at any of our police stations or Police Court. This degradation and humiliation has been spared our people. They have been saved by our policemen who are now doing real work. And, again, you will not find so many people interested in persons arrested, perjuring themselves in Police Court in their behalf, and so piling crime on crime.

Since the inception of the Golden Rule or Common Sense Policy, taking as a basis the number of arrests made during the year 1907 under the old custom, we have saved on an average about 1800 persons per month from Police and Police Court records, and that means a saving of "second offenders."

Not only the police, but Police Court officials also, who are interested in their work, and not playing politics or catering to the criminal class, are given more time to investigate cases of a more serious nature; and arresting officers are seldom insulted in Police Court.

As to money, during the year 1908 we made 10,085 arrests which cost the City and County, in witness and juror fees alone, approximately \$52,000.00. Figuring that under the old custom of making arrests, we would have at least made as many arrests as the year previous (30,418), you can see what we have saved the city and county in actual money, in witness and juror fees alone, which is only a small item when you take into consideration the money paid out by persons in jeopardy, to professional bondsmen, police court lawyers, loss of time from work of the principal and witnesses, and hundreds of other things that I need not mention here.

As I predicted, the shyster police court lawyer, and the tricky pretending politicians, together with the blackmailing bondsmen, have been loud in their protests against the Golden Rule Policy, because it has deprived them of their source of revenue and political following, but we are about free from them now.

The spirit of the policy is to make every member of the Police Force the kindly adviser of the

public generally, and to give every one a trial and a chance to explain, before being put behind prison bars. We only put them in prison when a further penalty is necessary. We believe that "A little prevention is better than any cure."

To say the Golden Rule Policy has proven a success, is putting it mildly. Its results have been even beyond my expectations. The policy has not only decreased the number of arrests, but has increased the number of arrests of real criminals. It has resulted in driving from the city practically all those whose livelihood depends upon swindling and robbing, and those who remain are under such close observation that it is almost impossible for them to operate successfully. Complaints have reduced accordingly, and there has been less real crime and property stolen than in many previous years.

We now experience "crimeless" and "arrestless" days. It is the result of our work in trying to make better citizens of petty offenders. It is the ideal condition at which we are aiming, and we are fast reaching the goal. We have encouraged and not discouraged men. We have been consistent; we have insisted on the police exercising all the powers conferred upon them by law, instead of allowing a political judge to make votes by discharging prisoners, and blackmailers to extort money from them. All that sort of business has about ceased.

We have discarded artificiality. We have acted sensibly and reasonably, and declined to take advantage of the predictions of inexperienced rich and poor. We do our own thinking, with no effort to accord with the belief or disbelief of anyone; but we court everybody's criticism or suggestion. We have placed ourselves in a position to make the supposed offenders, their relatives and friends, *our friends*, instead of our enemies. This policy will put the American policeman in the position he should occupy. He is *first and best judge*, although we have found that "*he who hopes to improve the world must first look to be reprov'd.*"

I might say that this Golden Rule or Common Sense Policy has been carried through with few or no mistakes, nor has a single member of this department had suit brought against him, or been threatened with the same in his official capacity—a record heretofore unknown.

A year ago I informed you that I believed my policy would succeed. Now I assure you that it is a success, and that many other persons believe in it. We cannot create an earthly paradise, for there will be violations of law until the end of time, even as there were such violations at the very beginning of the existence of the human race. But never in our time in the City of Cleveland will we go back to the old system of throwing human beings carelessly into jail, as has heretofore been the custom the world over.

Police repression has accomplished great things for the City of Cleveland and its population, and all without any new legislation; nor would any new legislation be necessary to carry this policy into general effect throughout the United States

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LLOYD-GEORGE ON THE LAND QUESTION IN BRITISH POLITICS.

Principal Parts of the Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Limehouse, as Reported by the London Times of July 31, 1909.

A few months ago a meeting was held not far from this hall, in the heart of the city of London, demanding that the Government should launch out and run into enormous expenditure on the navy. That meeting ended up with a resolution promising that those who passed that resolution would give financial support to the Government in their undertaking. There have been two or three meetings held in the city of London since (laughter and cheers), attended by the same class of people, but not ending up with a resolution promising to pay. (Laughter.) On the contrary, we are spending the money, but they won't pay. (Laughter.) What has happened since to alter their tone? Simply that we have sent in the bill. (Laughter and cheers.) We started our four Dreadnoughts. They cost eight millions of money. We promised them four more; they cost another eight millions. Somebody has got to pay, and these gentlemen say, "Perfectly true; somebody has got to pay, but we would rather that the somebody were somebody else." (Laughter.) And then they say, "It is not so much the Dreadnoughts we object to, it is the old age pensions." (Hear, hear.) If they object to pensions, why did they promise them? (Cheers.) They won elections on the strength of their promises. It is true they never carried them out. (Laughter.) But they say, "When we promised pensions we meant pensions at the expense of the people for whom they were provided. We simply meant to bring in a bill to compel workmen to contribute to their own pensions." (Laughter.) If that is what they meant, why did they not say so? (Cheers.)

We propose to do more than raise pensions. We are raising money to provide against the evils and the sufferings that follow from unemployment. (Cheers.) We are raising money for the purpose of assisting our great friendly societies to provide for the sick and the widows and orphans. We are providing money to enable us to develop the resources of our own land. (Cheers.) I do not believe any fair-minded man would challenge the justice and the fairness of the objects which we have in view in raising this money.

But there are some of them who say that the taxes themselves are unjust, unfair, unequal, oppressive—notably so the land taxes. (Laughter.) They are engaged, not merely in the House of Commons, but outside the House of Commons, in assailing these taxes with a concentrated and a sustained ferocity which will not allow even a comma to escape with its life. (“Good” and laughter.)

Well, now let us examine it. I do not want you to consider merely abstract principles. I want to invite your attention to a number of concrete cases and fair samples to show you how these concrete illustrations—how our budget proposals work.

Let us take first of all the tax on undeveloped land and on increment.

Not far from here not so many years ago, between the Lea and the Thames, you had hundreds of acres of land which was not very useful even for agricultural purposes. In the main it was a sodden marsh. The commerce and the trade of London increased under free trade (loud cheers), the tonnage of your shipping went up by hundreds of thousands of tons and by millions, labor was attracted from all parts of the country to help with all this trade and business done here. What happened? There was no housing accommodation. This part of London became overcrowded and the population overflowed. That was the opportunity of the owners of the marsh. All that land became valuable building land, and land which used to be rented at £2 or £3 an acre has been selling within the last few years at £2,000 an acre, £3,000 an acre, £6,000 an acre, £8,000 an acre. Who created that increment? (Cheers.) Who made that golden swamp? (More cheers.) Was it the landlord? (Cries of “No.”) Was it his energy? Was it his brains (laughter and cheers), his forethought? It was purely the combined efforts of all the people engaged in the trade and commerce of that part of London—the trader, the merchant, the shipowner, the dock laborer, the workman—everybody except the landlord. (Cheers.)

Now you follow that transaction. The land worth £2 or £3 an acre ran up to thousands. During the time it was ripening the landlord was paying his rates and his taxes not even on £2 or £3 an acre. It was agricultural land, and because it was agricultural land a munificent Tory Government (laughter) voted a sum of two millions to pay half the rates of those poor distressed landlords. (Laughter, and cries of “Shame.”) You and I had to pay taxes in order to enable those landlords to pay half their rates on agricultural land, while it was going up every year by hundreds of pounds from your efforts and the efforts of your neighbors. Well, now that is coming to an end. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

On the walls of Mr. Balfour’s meeting last Fri-

day were the words, “We protest against fraud and folly.” (Laughter.) So do I. (Great cheering.) These things I am going to tell you of have only been possible up to the present through the fraud of the few and the folly of the million. (Cheers.) In future those landlords will have to contribute to the taxation of the country on the basis of the real value (more cheers) only one-halfpenny in the pound! (Laughter.) And that is what all the howling is about.

But there’s another little tax called the increment tax. For the future what will happen? We mean to value all the land in the kingdom (Cheers), and if land goes up in the future through the efforts of the community the community will get 20 per cent of that increment. (Cheers.) What a misfortune it is that there was not a Chancellor of the Exchequer who did this 30 years ago. (Cheers and cries of “Better late than never.”) Only 30 years ago, and we should now have an abundant revenue from this source. (Cheers.)

Let me give you a few more cases. Take a case like Golder’s-green and other cases of a similar kind where the value of land has gone up in the course, perhaps, of a couple of years through a new tramway or a new railway being opened. Golder’s-green is a case in point. A few years ago there was a plot of land there which was sold at £160. Last year I went and opened a tube railway there. What was the result? That very piece of land has been sold at £2,100 (“Shame”); £160 before the railway was opened—before I went there (laughter); £2,100 now. So I am entitled to 20 per cent on that. (Laughter.)

Now there are many cases where landlords take advantage of the exigencies of commerce and of industry—take advantage of the needs of municipalities and even of national needs and of the monopoly which they have got in land in a particular neighbourhood in order to demand extortionate prices. Take the very well-known case of the Duke of Northumberland (hear, hear), when a county council wanted to buy a small plot of land as a site for a school to train the children who in due course would become the men laboring on his property. The rent was quite an insignificant thing; his contribution to the rates—I forget—I think on the basis of 30s. an acre. What did he demand for it for a school? £900 an acre. (“Hear, hear.” and “Shame.”) Well, all we say is this,—if it is worth £900, let him pay taxes on £900. (Cheers.)

Take the town of Bootle, a town created very much in the same way as these towns in the east of London—purely, by the commerce of Bootle. In 1879 the rates of Bootle were £9,000 a year—the ground-rents were £10,000—so that the landlord was receiving more from the industry of the community than all the rates derived by the municipality for the benefit of the town. In 1900

the rates were £94,000 a year—for improving the place, constructing roads, laying out parks, and extending lighting and so on. But the ground landlord was receiving in ground-rents £100,000. It is time that he should pay for all this value. (Cheers.)

A case was given me from Richmond which is very interesting. The Town Council of Richmond recently built some workmen's cottages under a housing scheme. The land appeared on the rate-book as of the value of £4, and being agricultural (laughter) the landlord only paid half the rates, and you and I paid the rest for him. (Laughter.) It is situated on the extreme edge of the borough, therefore it is not very accessible, and the town council thought they would get it cheap. (Laughter.) But they did not know their landlord. They had to pay £2,000 an acre for it. ("Shame.") The result is that instead of having a good housing scheme with plenty of gardens, of open space, plenty of breathing space, plenty of room for the workmen at the end of their days, 40 cottages had to be crowded on the two acres. If the land had been valued at its true value that landlord would have been at any rate contributing his fair share of the public revenue, and it is just conceivable that he might have been driven to sell at a more reasonable price.

Now, I do not want to weary you with these cases. (Cries of "Go on!") I could give you many. I am a member of a Welsh county council, and landlords even in Wales are not more reasonable. (Laughter.) The police committee the other day wanted a site for a police station. Well, you might have imagined that if a landlord sold land cheaply for anything it would have been for a police station. (Laughter.) The housing of the working classes—that is a different matter. (Laughter.) But a police station means security to property. (Laughter and cheers.) Not at all. They demanded for a piece of land which was contributing 2s. a year to the rates £2,500 an acre! All we say is, "If the land is as valuable as all that, let it have the same value on the assessment book (cheers) as it seems to possess in the auction room." (Cheers.)

There is no end to these cases. There was a case at Greenock the other day. The Admiralty wanted a torpedo range. Here was an opportunity for patriotism! (Laughter.) These are the men who want an efficient navy to protect our shores, and the Admiralty state that one element in efficiency is straight shooting, and say "We want a range for practice for torpedoes on the west of Scotland." There was a piece of land there. It was rated at something like £11 2s. a year. They went to the landlord, and it was sold to the nation for £27,225. And these are the gentlemen who accuse us of robbery and spoliation! (Cheers.)

What we say is this—"In future you must pay one-halfpenny in the pound on the real value of

your land. In addition to that if the value goes up, not owing to your efforts—though if you spend money on improving it we will give you credit for it—but if it goes up owing to the industry and the energy of the people living in that locality, one-fifth of that increment shall in future be taken as a toll by the state." (Cheers.)

But they ask, "Why should you tax this increment on landlords and not on other classes of the community?" They say, "You are taxing the landlord because the value of his property is going up through the growth of population with the increased prosperity of the community, and does not the value of a doctor's business go up in the same way?" Ha! fancy comparing themselves for a moment!

What is the landlord's increment? Who is the landlord? The landlord is a gentleman—I have not a word to say about him in his personal capacity—who does not earn his wealth. He does not even take the trouble to receive his wealth. (Laughter.) He has a host of agents and clerks that receive for him. He does not even take the trouble to spend his wealth. He has a host of people around him to do the actual spending for him. He never sees it until he comes to enjoy it. His sole function, his chief pride is stately consumption of wealth produced by others. (Cheers.)

What about the doctor's income? How does the doctor earn his income? The doctor is a man who visits our homes when they are darkened with the shadow of death; his skill, his trained courage, his genius bring hope out of the grip of despair, win life out of the fangs of the Great Destroyer. (Cheers.) All blessings upon him and his divine art of healing that mends bruised bodies and anxious hearts. (Cheers.) To compare the reward which he gets for that labor with the wealth which pours into the pockets of the landlord purely owing to the possession of his monopoly is a piece of insolence which no intelligent community will tolerate. (Cheers.)

So much for the halfpenny tax and the unearned increment. Now I come to the reversion tax? What is the reversion tax? You have got a system in this country which is not tolerated in any other country in the world, except, I believe, Turkey (laughter)—the system whereby landlords take advantage of the fact that they have got complete control over the land. They let it to you for a term of years. You improve the building but at the end of 60, 70, 80, or 90 years it passes away to the pockets of that man who never spent a penny upon it. Well, that is the system, and the landlords come to us in the House of Commons and they say: "If you go on taxing reversions we will grant no more leases." Isn't that horrible? (Loud laughter.) No more leases, no more kindly landlords. (Laughter.) With all their rich and good fare, with all their retinue of good fairies ready always to receive

(laughter)—ground-rents, fees, premiums, fines, reversions—no more, never again. (Laughter.) They will not do it. You cannot persuade them. (Laughter.) They won't have it. (Renewed laughter.) The landlord has threatened us that if we proceed with the budget he will take his sack (loud laughter) clean away from the cupboard, and the grain which we all are grinding to our best to fill his sack will go into our own. Oh! I cannot believe it. There is a limit even to the wrath of an outraged landlord. We must really appease them; we must offer some sacrifice to them. Supposing we offer the House of Lords to them. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Unless I am wearying you (loud cries of "No, no"), I have got just one other land tax, and that is a tax on royalties. The landlords are receiving eight millions a year by way of royalties. What for? They never deposited the coal there. (Laughter.) It was not they who planted these great granite rocks in Wales, who laid the foundations of the mountains. Was it the landlord? (Laughter.) And yet he, by some divine right, demands—for merely the right for men to risk their lives in hewing these rocks—eight millions a year!

Take any coalfield. I went down to a coalfield the other day (cheers), and they pointed out to me many collieries there. They said: "You see that colliery there. The first man who went there spent a quarter of a million in sinking shafts, in driving mains and levels. He never got coal. The second man who came spent £100,000—and he failed. The third man came along and he got the coal." But what was the landlord doing in the meantime? The first man failed; but the landlord got his royalties, the landlord got his dead-rents. The second man failed, but the landlord got his royalties. These capitalists put their money in. When the scheme failed, what did the landlord put in? He simply put in the bailiffs. (Loud laughter.) The capitalist risks at any rate the whole of his money; the engineer puts his brains in, the miner risks his life. (Hear, hear.) Have you been down a coal mine? (Cries of "Yes.") Then you know. I was telling you I went down the other day. We sank down into a pit half a mile deep. We then walked underneath the mountain and we did about three-quarters of a mile with rock and shale above us. The earth seemed to be straining—around us and above us—to crush us in. You could see the pit-props bent and twisted and sundered until you saw their fibres split. Sometimes they give way, and then there is mutilation and death. Often a spark ignites, the whole pit is deluged in fire, and the breath of life is scorched out of hundreds of breasts by the consuming fire. In the very next colliery to the one I descended, just three years ago 300 people lost their lives in that way; and yet when the Prime Minister and I knock at the door of these great landlords and say to them:

"Here, you know these poor fellows who have been digging up royalties at the risk of their lives, some of them are old, they have survived the perils of their trade, they are broken, they can earn no more. Won't you give something towards keeping them out of the workhouse?" they scowl at you. We say, "Only a ha'penny, just a copper." They say, "You thieves." And they turn their dogs on to us, and every day you can hear their bark. (Loud laughter and cheers.)

If this is an indication of the view taken by these great landlords of their responsibility to the people who, at the risk of life, create their wealth, then I say their day of reckoning is at hand. (Loud cheers.)

The ownership of land is not merely an enjoyment, it is a stewardship. (Cheers.) It has been reckoned as such in the past, and if they cease to discharge their functions, the security and defense of the country, looking after the broken in their villages and neighborhoods,—then those functions which are part of the traditional duties attached to the ownership of land and which have given to it its title—if they cease to discharge those functions, the time will come to reconsider the conditions under which land is held in this country. (Loud cheers.) No country, however rich, can permanently afford to have quartered upon its revenue a class which declines to do the duty which it was called upon to perform. (Hear, hear.)

They protest against taxation of the land, and they do so by saying: "You are burdening the community; you are putting burdens upon the people which they cannot bear." Ah! they are not thinking of themselves. (Laughter.) Noble souls! (Laughter.) It is not the great dukes they are feeling for, it is the market gardener (laughter), it is the builder, and it was, until recently, the small holder. (Hear, hear.) In every debate in the House of Commons they said: "We are not worrying for ourselves. We can afford it with our broad acres; but just think of the little man who has only got a few acres!" We were so impressed with this tearful appeal that at last we said, "We will leave him out." (Cheers.) And I almost expected to see Mr. Pretymann jump over the table and say, "Fall on my neck and embrace me." (Loud laughter.) Instead of that, he stiffened up, his face wreathed with anger, and he said, "The budget is more unjust than ever." (Laughter and cheers.)

Why should I put burdens on the people? I am one of the children of the people. (Loud and prolonged cheering, and a voice, "Bravo, David; stand by the people and they will stand by you.") I was brought up amongst them. I know their trials; and God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxiety which they bear with such patience and fortitude. (Cheers.) When the Prime Minister did me the honor of inviting me

to take charge of the national exchequer (A voice. "He knew what he was about," and laughter) at a time of great difficulty, I made up my mind, in framing the budget which was in front of me, that at any rate no cupboard should be bared (loud cheers), no lot would be harder to bear. (Cheers.) By that test, I challenge them to judge the budget. (Loud and long-continued cheers.)

BOOKS

CRIMES AND CRIMINALS.

True Detective Stories. By A. L. Drummond, former Chief of the U. S. Secret Service. Illustrations by Louis F. Grant. Published by G. W. Dillingham Company, New York. Price, \$1.50.

Detective fiction has a fascination for most readers. Even those who affect contempt for this kind of literature unless it bears the signature of a detective fictionist of high degree like Poe or Gaborieau, are not perfect proof against the tales of almost any old sleuth.

But detective fiction is altogether different from detective reality. It is as unreal as any other game with a dummy adversary. When the author controls the circumstances of the pursuit, he can indeed raise excitement to fever pitch and gratify expectations in the outcome; but after all it is fiction, fiction, fiction.

In Drummond's true stories of detective work, there is no effort to make the excitement greater in any story than it was in the actual experience of which the story is a record. Nor does the detective always win. As it is in real life, and not as it is in detective fiction, the pursued in these stories escape when circumstances are favorable, and the pursuer loses his quarry when in hard luck. But the stories are quite as interesting for all that, and ever so much more satisfactory as glimpses of underworld civilization.

The author's preface tells of his sensations in going back in mind over the road of a long and busy life to recall the events that make up his collection of stories. Not to him alone, however, do the stories revive curious memories of a long ago. Many of the persons who figure in them have long since died—officials, criminals, lawyers, witnesses, judges; but some are left to indulge in the reminiscent recreations of old age. To more than one of these survivors, Mr. Drummond's unexaggerated little histories of skilful professional crime and acute secret service operations, will ring up the curtain on a moving picture of real dramas in which they themselves played real parts a generation or two ago.

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As a mark is not set up for the sake of missing the aim, so neither does the nature of evil exist in the world.—Epictetus.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Mors et Victoria.** Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York and Bombay. Price, \$1.20 net.

—**The Book of the Farmers' Republic: The Strength of Union, the Vitality of Individuality.** Not copyrighted; not patented. Published by Pioneers of the Farmers' Republic, Somerville, N. J.

—**A Review of the Resources and Industries of Washington.** Published under authority of the Legislature for Gratuitous Distribution by the Bureau of Statistics, Agriculture and Immigration. 1909. Public Printer, Olympia, Washington.

—**First Annual Report of the City of Des Moines (under the "Des Moines Plan").** Compiled by the auditor under the direction of the superintendent of the Department of Accounts and Finance. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1909.

—**Capital. A Critique of Political Economy.** By Karl Marx. Volume III. **The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole.** Edited by Frederick Engels. Translated from the First German Edition by Ernest Untermann. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Company. 1909.

The Ethics of Progress; or, The Theory and the Practice by Which Civilization Proceeds. By Charles F. Dole, author of "The Spirit of Democracy," the Ingersoll Lecture of 1906 on "Immortality" at Harvard University, etc. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. Price \$1.50 net.

PAMPHLETS

"The Quantity of Money."

In a pamphlet bearing this title, Henry Rawie (Harrison Building, Columbus, Ohio) makes a further elaboration of the economic principles set forth in his "Distribution," reviewed in *The Public* at page 1147 of the tenth volume.

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A Fairhope School.

A prospectus of the "Comings Memorial College of Organic Education" for boys and girls at Fairhope, Alabama, under the principalship of Mrs. M. L. Johnson, unfolds an interesting plan for stimulating the development of childhood through self-prompted creative ability.

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An Economic Ritual.

Bearing the imprint of the Pathfinder Publishing Company (District of Columbia) there lies upon our table an attractive economic ritual with this title: "Digest of the Natural Laws of Society for use of the Academy of the People's Commonwealth." In spirit and form the influence of the Masonic ritual is obvious, and in substance the economics are what Henry George popularized. To those who like the secret society idea of inculcating doctrines and drilling members in their understanding and use, this pamphlet should prove of marked service.

PERIODICALS

W. T. Stead describes for the August Review of Reviews (New York) the fiscal fight in Great Britain; and Frederic Austen Ogg describes the analogous one in Germany.

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Tolstoy's thrilling protest against Russian executions—"I Cannot Keep Silent" is its title—is published in the August Arena (5 Park Square, Boston), for which it was expressly translated from the Russian by W. G. Hastings and Felix Newton.

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An extremely sensible discussion of propagandist methods appears in the May-June number of the Single Tax Review (New York) over the signature of Benjamin Doblin. Besides Mr. Doblin's many specific suggestions, he makes a generalization of the utmost importance, not only to single taxers but to all propagandists, namely, the supreme necessity of observing two primary distinctions: propaganda for education and propaganda for legislation—the philosophy in its ideal aspects, and the practical steps toward its realization.

+ + +

"I once heard William Dean Howells deliver a Fourth of July oration in Maine. The orator preceding him had boasted a good deal. Mr. Howells showed that some of the man's boasts were even implausible.

"He said that these spread-eagle boasters deserved the rebuke that the little child administered to the cackling hen that had just laid an egg. The

child, angered by the hen's continuous cawk-cawk-cawk-cawk-cawk, shook his finger at her and said:

"You flnk you're smart. But Dod made dat egg. You touldn't help but lay it!"—Washington Star.

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It is related that when Stevenson was told of the death of Matthew Arnold he paused, then said, dubiously, "He won't like God!"—Argonaut.

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A short man with the remains of a "jag" wandered into the Midland hotel in Kansas City, and asked for a typewriter's studio. He lived in Kansas, and had been winning bets on the football games. He wanted to stay another week, but his wife expected him home, so he was in search of a typewriter to send home a letter to serve as an apology for his non-appearance.

"Kansas City, this date," he muttered to the typewritist.

"I have that."

"My dear wife."

"Yes."

"Very important business will require my presence in Osawatomie for a few days—"

"Let's see," interrupted the typist; "how do you spell that Osawatomie?"

"Spell it yourself. It's your typewriter."

"I can't."

"Can't spell Osawatomie?" he asked in disgust.

"No."

"Then I'll go to Fort Scott."—Wm. Marion Reedy in St. Louis Mirror.

+ + +

It is absurd to say that we moderns are given up to the pursuit of pleasure. If we were willing to put

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forth any part of the effort implied in pursuit, we should be cultivating finer sensibilities, for the sake of the greater pleasure yielded by these. But nothing will induce us to do that. In point of fact, the pursuit of pleasure is our particular aversion. Rather than take any trouble in the matter, we content ourselves with such rudimentary joys as savages find

consolation in, because these are obvious and at hand. It would be a lucky thing for art if we were indeed given up to the pursuit of pleasure.
—Ramsey Benson, in *Life*.

* * *

First Vestryman: "Yes, sir, we must use every honorable means to reduce the mortgage on our church."

Second Vestryman: "You don't mean to tell me that all the dishonorable means have been exhausted!"—Puck.

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