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

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EDITORIAL

Human Charity versus Luxurious Alms.

Lincoln's "with charity for all" has had much quotational experience since he uttered it at Gettysburg, but none more degrading in its use, we should suppose, than for the advertisement of a charity ball.

+ +

Labor's Needs.

A magazine writer asks, "What can the government do for the laborer?" Just as an experiment, it might try the simple plan of giving him an opportunity to labor without paying an earth-lord for the privilege.

+ +

"Open Shop" and "Closed Shop."

The spectacle of the tin plate trust calling in the militia to maintain an "open shop," must be stimulating to the memories of surviving labor unionists who voted for the "closed shop" which that trust acquired for its owners from Congress through the protective tariff on tin plate a decade and a half ago.

+ +

Wave, Red Lanterns, Wave!

The "safe, sane and conservative" guardians of the country should wave their red lanterns across the path of "City Government by Commission," since Grand Junction voters, at the first election under their non-partisan charter, have elected a Socialist as Mayor. Of course, it will make no

difference to the "safes and sanes" that Mayor-elect Todd is well known in his own city and that the voters, who chose him because they preferred him, can get rid of him with their recall power if he is inefficient.

* *

Public Rights in Waters.

"Public rights in the waters of the State have mostly been seized by private interests without the smallest consideration for the real owners of the property," says a San Francisco daily paper. But who are the real owners? The present generation, according to that paper. In that case, what right has the State to interfere with water rights that have been sold or given away by previous generations? If each generation be the absolute owner of unappropriated water rights, and not a possessor for use and trustee for succeeding generations, how can this generation complain of what was done by earlier generations? Has not John Doe the same right to seize and hold public water rights as private property, that he and Peter Poe have to seize and hold as private property the value given to land by the industrial population? However, the discussion of water rights and of the water power trust is beneficial, for the discussion cannot be carried on without throwing upon the screen the words, "Land Value Taxation." Every effort to avoid that idea makes it plainer upon the screen.

* *

The Tariff Ring.

According to the newspapers, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe road is to be double-tracked from Chicago to San Francisco, and the papers say this means 7,000 miles of new rails—which probably means 3,500 miles of new track. That will cost how much for rails, exclusive of track bolts, plates, and spikes? It depends on the weight of the rails. For the tremendously heavy trains and for the fast modern trains a 100-pound rail should be used—100 pounds to the yard. True, lighter rails are used; true, also, accidents happen. It requires 176 tons of 100-pound rails to lay a mile of track. A Mexican or Canadian road can buy American rails for \$22 a ton, or lower. An American road must pay \$28 a ton for American rails, thanks to the protective tariff. So the protective tariff hold-up of American roads for American 100-pound rails is \$1,056 a mile, and for 3,500 miles—figure it for yourself. Since the protective tariff allows the railmakers to hold the American roads up in that way, the roads get even by holding up the buyers of railroad transportation. But why don't the private owners of our public highways protest

against that hold-up game when the tariff is "revised downwards"? Because those private owners base their rates for public transportation on the protective tariff rates. As a rule, their rates are equal to ocean rates from Europe, plus the tariff duty. So they can stand the hold-up on rails and other materials.

* *

A Phase of the Parliamentary Campaign.

In putting forward George Lansbury as their Parliamentary candidate for Bow and Bromley, London, the Trades and Labor Representation Committee describe him as a Socialist who "is in favor of the taxation of land values (both city and country), as the most effective means of collecting the increased values given by the presence of population and consequent industries." They add that "the private ownership of land values now gives the right to the owner to prevent the land from being put to its best uses—for the benefit of all the people; if all land were taxed on its value, created by the community for the benefit of the community, the land owners would not, as now, be sucking the very life-blood out of the inhabitants of Bow and Bromley." Mr. Lansbury will be remembered here as well as in England as one of the minority of the Royal Commission on the poor law, whose minority report, signed by Mr. Lansbury, the Dean of Norwich, Mr. Chandler and Mrs. Webb, has become a classic document.

* *

Insurance Thrift versus Legal Monopoly.

Life insurance organs are not exactly the place in which one would look for a defense of Lloyd George's scheme for making land monopolists at least divide with the people the value which the people give to their property. Since life insurance organs ought to represent large masses of thrifty people, they ought to be the very places in which to look for arguments in support of Lloyd George; but inasmuch as they are surrounded by life insurance rings, they usually stand by the rings and therefore become special pleaders for special privilege, no matter how or where it shows itself. The Life Insurance Independent appears, however, to be an exception. In a recent issue it makes a sensible and strong plea for thrift against monopoly as an object for exemption from taxation, taking Lloyd George's Budget for a text. Note this opening passage of the Independent's editorial in its October issue:

The British Budget, about which the whole British nation is now so violently convulsed, embodies certain principles of taxation which have important

bearings upon life insurance interests, and as what happens in England today may happen here tomorrow, some brief references to those hearings may not be superfluous. The Budget proposes to tax the unimproved value of urban land in a special and exceptional degree, on the theory that the owner contributes nothing to its value, which generally rises rapidly.

*

Following that luminous introduction, the Independent observes that while this new form of taxation would hit principally "the great land-owning Peers," "it so happens,—and here is where the rub comes in,—that many life insurance companies, friendly societies, and other thrift organizations have a large part of their funds invested in this same class of security, the profits from which would be likely to be diminished by the imposition of the proposed tax." Because that is so, a cry is raised, voiced by insurance journals, that "in taxing the unimproved value of land you tax thrift;" and against this view of the case the Independent registers a firm protest.

*

So right and clear is the Independent's protest that we quote it quite fully:

Land is a natural monopoly; the men who own it did not make it or put it there. Therefore to tax the owner would be to tax monopoly and not to tax labor or thrift. But suppose some life insurance company owned the freehold or had a mortgage on it, would that make any essential difference? Not a particle. It is the character of the property and not the circumstances of its ownership that determines whether it is a monopoly or not. If thrift happens to ally itself with monopoly, that is thrift's affair; it must pay the tax, not because it is thrift, but because it is, to the extent here shown, a monopolist. Its grievance is accidental, not fundamental. But suppose the present British government were to withdraw the land tax provisions of the Budget and substitute, say a tax of 2½ per cent upon the premium income of all the life companies, as is done in America. That would be a real tax on thrift and the only sort of tax which would justify the cry above mentioned. It should never be forgotten that taxing unimproved land values possesses this unique advantage, that while it swells the public revenue, it has secondary effects which react beneficially upon the general prosperity of the country. It means that all land will be put to use; that labor and capital will be employed, and increased wealth produced. Here it is that thrift will be recouped for whatever it may have lost through the tax on monopoly. An insurance policyholder is also a wage-earner. If a land-monopoly tax brings him better wages and security of employment he can well put up with lessened dividends or bonuses, as the case may be. It seems to us that the cry "Why Tax Thrift?" ought to be reserved for proper occasions, and not used to obscure fundamental issues upon the proper understanding of which the most momentous results may depend.

When sincere defenders of thrift come to see the radical difference between thrift and monopoly as clearly as the Life Insurance Independent does, Lloyd George's programme, with all that it implies, will be as popular everywhere as it seems now to be in Great Britain.

* *

The Wisdom of Young Hill.

At a conservation conference called in St. Paul by Gov. Eberhardt, because he had heard that if the State got the right sort of strangle hold on its water powers, they might be employed to cheapen manufactures and still maintain all the State institutions, and believed it, Louis W. Hill talked entertainingly of good roads and arid lands and better husbandry, quite in the vein of "Jim" Hill himself. Speaking of lands held by the Great Northern, he said he was opposed to letting speculators have them. If there was a profit in holding, he thought that Great Northern might as well have it as anybody; and while this railroad had lands to sell at any terms at all to actual settlers, it had none for the speculator. His reasons were good. He submitted that holding lands idle was of no benefit to the community, and that a higher tax on vacant lands would be a wholesome measure to prevent speculation by making it unprofitable—a proposition which, from that source, is not far from sensational. As Minnesota has a high respect for the opinions of the Hill family, the suggestion ought to carry weight. But will it?

* *

An Empire of Idle Land.

Colonel S. M. Owen, of Farm, Stock and Home (Minneapolis), the leading farmers' paper of the Northwest, makes, in the issue of October 15, a significant map of idle land. From this map it appears that all the land in the United States that is utilized for corn raising, is equal to the area of Montana and the west third of North Dakota; that all the land utilized for raising cotton and tobacco, equals an area no greater than that of Iowa; that the total area put to hay, rye and buckwheat is no greater than the area of South Dakota; that the eastern two-thirds of North Dakota corresponds in area to all the land that is put to winter wheat, while the area of Minnesota equals that of all the land that is put to oats and spring wheat; that all the land put to barley would cover only a bare third of Wisconsin; and that the remainder of that State together with the upper peninsula of Michigan is equal to all the land that is used to grow the lesser crops, the truck crops, and the fruit crops. Consequently

the land in the United States not used for crops is equal in area to most of Michigan and Wisconsin, all the Atlantic seaboard States, plus all the Gulf States, plus all of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, West Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, plus all the Rocky Mountain States south of Montana, and plus all the Pacific coast States. Much of this area is productively used, of course, for other than crop purposes—mining, manufacturing, and town and city purposes; and much of it has no known productive possibilities. But after the most liberal allowances, it is evident from Colonel Owen's map, that the area of unused productive land in the United States challenges the power of the most expansive imagination.

The figures upon the basis of which his map is drawn, Colonel Owen obtains from the latest reports of the Department of Agriculture, and this is his editorial comment: "These estimates and comparisons are made for the purpose of showing that all the acres tillable in the older States are not yet tilled, and that the time when hunger need crowd men to the wall is still very far away. So long as the tilled land can be massed together in an area less than one-sixth that of the entire country, the chance to gather sustenance from the soil is good, and the opportunity to till new fields amid the old is yet present. The land hunger that is urging men to stake their future on poor and untried lands exists, not because of a lack of land, but because the land already under ownership has too many idle, speculative acres. This map and its accompanying figures are specially commended to those who seem to think that the limit of production has been about reached in the theoretically tilled portions of the country, and are therefore vigorously and nervously promoting the extension of our tillable area, in the apparent belief that great haste in that direction is necessary to avoid dire disaster to consumers of farm products on the one hand and to "landless farmers" on the other—landless because there is too little land to equip every would-be farmer with an adequate farm, in popular estimation. Than expansion of tillable area, concentration would be a much sounder economic policy. Contracting area would inevitably lead to larger yields per acre from fewer acres, which, in turn, would lead to denser rural population with its inevitably lower per capita cost for maintenance of highways, bridges, schools, churches and other things, and enor-

mously reduce the transportation tax which both producer and consumer are compelled to pay now."

* *

A Significant Speech.

George L. Record, leader of the "New Idea" Republicans of New Jersey, made a remarkably significant speech at Passaic recently, which the Daily News, a Republican paper of that city, reported in full. It was especially significant with reference to the land question which, now convulsing the politics of Great Britain, is in evidence in many influential ways in the United States. Mr. Record characterized it as the most important of the four problems he discussed in his speech. "The fundamental defect of our civilization," he declared his opinion to be, "is the mistake of applying to land, which is the gift of the Creator, the same law of private property that we apply to things which man creates by labor." From this fundamental doctrine, Mr. Record went on to say that private property in land "enables one man to absorb without any return the earnings of those who directly or indirectly use the land thus owned;" that it "also operates to hold vast tracts of land out of use which, if opened to actual productive use and the idle and the underpaid labor of the country applied thereto, would result in a large increase in the total annual wealth of the country;" that the "coal trust has absorbed legal title to all the anthracite coal mines in Pennsylvania" and "a very small part of these mines only is worked;" that if "in time of panic and enforced idleness a lot of idle workers anxious to work and unable to find work, go upon this land, either to extract coal or to use the surface for the production of a crop thereon which would add to the wealth of the world and enable them to earn a living, the law steps in, brushes them off the land and compels them to stand in idleness and poverty and want in the very presence of the land which their enforced idle labor could utilize for the production of wealth that would satisfy all their wants." Most truly did Mr. Record conclude that "the utter imbecility of such a legal theory is apparent to any man who will give it the least thoughtful consideration." Turning to the moral aspects of the question he denounced the system as "the simplest and the baldest form of robbery known to the law;" as a system whereby "a few appropriate the earnings of the many," in effect compelling every industrious man "to fall among thieves and to submit to the robbery of a part of his earnings." His favorable allusion to the single tax

as a method of reform was unmistakable. The annual value of all land "should go," he said, "into the municipal treasury by every dictate of fair play, of common honesty and of the interest of humanity." Many there be who deny this, but none have ever buttressed their denials with good logic, good sense or moral principle.



THE BRITISH REVOLUTION.

History sometimes and in some ways repeats itself.



While the King's government of France was in desperate financial straits in the second half of the eighteenth century, and Necker's candid accounts had revealed to all France the fact that *the nobility paid no taxes on their lands*, Necker was harassed by the courtiers into resigning his office of finance minister in 1781, as five years before had been the great Turgot, forerunner of Henry George.

Another five years had gone by when the growing financial necessities of the government evoked the King's call for an "Assembly of Notables." This body, which had been convened occasionally by French kings in the emergencies of previous centuries, met in February, 1787. Calonne, the finance minister of the day, urged a *land tax*; but, composed as the assembly was of the great untaxed landowners of France, it rejected that fair way out of the nation's dilemma and in three months was dissolved, having accomplished nothing.

Necker's help being again invoked, he caused a convocation of the "States General"—nobles, clergy and commons. It had not been assembled before for nearly 200 years, and was assembled on this occasion in May, 1789. The commons insisted upon having all three classes meet as one body upon an equal footing. But the nobles insisted upon sitting as a separate body, with veto powers upon the action of the commons. Stubbornly set against consenting to *land taxation*, this land-owning oligarchy of France were determined to fasten the financial burdens of the government, as well as the burdens of their own incomes, upon the very livelihood of the common people; and in order to fortify themselves they asserted a power of *veto* which the commons could not concede and survive. "In the sweat of *your* faces shall *we* eat cake," was the spirit of the nobility's demand upon the commons.

Thereupon the commons organized as the "National Assembly," and the French Revolution was on.

Had the more democratic elements in that Revolution been more patient with developments after the work of the National Assembly began, a firm foundation for normal and just economic development might have been laid in France, and the Revolution been peaceful and triumphant instead of sanguinary and disappointing. But out of impatience came slaughter, and out of slaughter the "man on horseback" and an empire.

In all this there is a great historical lesson for Great Britain in her present historic hour.



Great Britain is in financial straits as France was. Lloyd George, the finance minister of the day, has revealed to all her people, as Necker did to the people of France, the fact that *the nobility pay no taxes on their lands*. If he has not been ousted from the ministry in consequence, as Necker was, that is only because the great landed interests have been unable to oust him.

With the co-operation of his official associates, Lloyd George has brought into the House of Commons a measure designed to place some of the burdens of taxation upon the landed interests. The line of demarcation is not so strictly drawn between noble and commoner by landed interests in Great Britain in these early years of the twentieth century as it was in France in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and Lloyd George has found abundant opposition in the House of Commons itself. But after half a year of patient and considerate Parliamentary procedure, his bill for *the taxation of land values* goes to the House of Lords for their perfunctory approval. Instead of approving perfunctorily, that body of great land owners untaxed, asserts the very *veto* power which the French nobles claimed so unhappily to France and so disastrously to themselves, a hundred and twenty years ago.

The British House of Lords has defiantly vetoed a finance bill of the Commons. The Commons have appealed to the country, and not only for the finance bill with its *land tax*, but also for authority to extinguish the plenary *veto* of the House of Lords. The British Revolution is on, and under circumstances extremely analogous to those in which the French Revolution began.

Whether this revolution in Great Britain shall be a peaceful and deeply effective one as that of France might have been, or an aborted one as was that of France in great degree, and possibly sanguinary as well, as that one was, may depend upon the clear thought and patient skill in statesmanship of British radicals. Measured by what

they seek, the specific demands of the Commons are trifles; but tested by the manifest laws of social progress, those demands are as a thoroughfare to a journey's end. Unwisdom and impatience by radicals at this crisis, might not only frustrate their own immediate purposes but indefinitely delay the fruition of their dearest hopes.

✦

Consider the specific issues before the British voters at the approaching election.

Superficial as they seem to be, and trifling as they in their concreteness would appear in this country, yet when reduced to their essentials as both sides in Great Britain regard them, they involve (1) the abolition of the House of Lords as hereditary law makers, and (2) the restoration of the land to the people.

If Liberal and Labor and Irish members of Parliament are elected in large number at the approaching elections, the plenary veto of the House of Lords will doubtless be abolished. How this will be done it would not be safe to predict too definitely; but the probabilities are that the House of Lords would be allowed hereafter only a suspensory veto—the power, that is, to return bills to the Commons without approval, thereby requiring the Commons to readopt or abandon them, but the bills to become law in case of re-adoption. The method of forcing this limitation of legislative power upon the Lords is “another story,” and we reserve it for another article upon this general subject.

It is easy to see, however, that if a suspensory veto were substituted for the present plenary one, the House of Lords would cease to be a legislative body altogether. What that would mean to democracy in Great Britain, is written almost as it were in an open book. It is written so plainly that the Lords who are to lose by it understand it well, whether the people who are to gain by it do or not.

It means home rule for Ireland in home affairs; and so for Scotland and Wales, and for England and her municipalities as well; for it is the plenary veto of the House of Lords alone that stands in the way of those advances. It means adult suffrage regardless of sex, just as in Australasia; for it is the plenary veto of the House of Lords alone that stands in the way of that reform in Great Britain. And it means abrogation of the privilege of a few Englishmen to make all the rest “trespassers in the land of their birth;” for it is the plenary veto of the House of Lords alone that maintains the enormous landed privileges in the British Isles.

And as with the power of the House of Lords in legislation if a suspensory veto is substituted for their plenary veto, so with British landed interests—whether landlord or capitalistic—if the land clauses of the Lloyd George Budget are injected into the British fiscal system under the circumstances that surround it.

Two radical factors enter into the budget controversy. For one, it rests upon the principle, not of *equal* taxation as American land taxes do, but of *equitable* taxation. It would tax land values, not because they are values, but because they measure the earnings of the community as distinguished from the earnings of individuals. It distinguishes earnings from privileges. Let this idea take root anywhere, and it will soon grow into a flourishing tree. The second radical factor in the George Budget is supplementary to the other. It is the valuation machinery provided for in the Budget for all the land of Great Britain, and for its revaluations as community growth and general improvement augment its value.

With that basis for land value taxation, secured in an election campaign so distinctly demanding that Britons shall no longer be “trespassers in the land of their birth,” the goal of the land for the people may soon be attained.

Should this measure up to all the just demands of radical democracy, the fighting will soon be over and peaceable developments be under way; should there still be capitalistic privileges to assail, those privileges would be at enormous disadvantage and the fighting ground for democracy be vastly improved.

✦

To Americans familiar with written constitutions, judicial usurpations, irresponsible political parties, and legislative anarchy so far as obedience of representatives to public opinion is concerned, the British revolution now on may be neither so clear nor so hopeful as the circumstances really warrant. But this also is “another story.”

✦ ✦ ✦

HENRY H. HARDINGE.*

Whoever has read any of our signed editorials bearing the name of Henry H. Hardinge as their writer (vol. ix, pp. 1084, 1133, 1229; x, pp. 125, 174, 267, 436, 918, 943, 1228; xi, p. 152; xii, p. 821) will have no difficulty in recalling them. They are distinguished by an individuality of style that leaves a lasting impression. From the earliest days of *The Public*, Mr. Hardinge

*A portrait of Mr. Hardinge goes with this issue of *The Public* as a supplement.

has been not only an occasional contributor to its columns, but a constant friend of its work. We are glad, therefore, to say something of his life and personality.

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The whole character of this man could not be better described in a single word, perhaps, than by calling him an inventor.

This word suggests a mind in which cold and calculating reason works in harmony with a rampant imagination. You can't conceive of Nature as your helper unless you dream, and you can't make her your servant unless you conform logically to natural laws.

Having dreamed without restraint, and reasoned rigidly, Mr. Hardinge has been a successful inventor.

And the qualities which have enabled him in his mechanical vocation to make conquests over physical nature, dominate his thought in his favorite avocation of solving social and political problems.

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Born on a farm in Canada about the time that some of us in Yankeeland were reading current newspaper reports of the battle of Gettysburg, Mr. Hardinge lived a Canadian country life until 1880. He began his education at a Canadian country school, and he confesses that he hasn't finished it yet. While still living in Canada he learned the machinists' trade, coming in 1888, at the age of 25, to Chicago, where he now carries on a profitable business, and, as he says, "talks single tax whenever the weather permits."

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Mr. Hardinge's specialty is tool making, that branch of mechanics in which special implements, requiring special ingenuity and skill of the maker, are produced for less skilled men to use by repetitional processes.

He is a tool maker in the highest sense. Tool making is a constructive science and a progressive art, to which there are no thinkable boundaries, and it is in this sense that Mr. Hardinge is a tool maker.

He has built practicable engines so small that you could weigh them on a letter scale, and others so large that a side-show giant could walk through the cylinder without bending his body or touching his head. He has bored a tiny hole lengthwise through a bar of steel of a diameter of only 75-ten thousandths of an inch, has then split the bar into three sections and having ground the hole with diamond dust so as to make it central,

round and true, has finally put the sections together again, thereby making a commercially perfect tube of a diameter equal to about three hairs of the human head. It may well be believed that work like this, for commercial purposes, requires extreme patience, exquisite precision, marvelous skill, and the ability incidentally to dream out and to work out both fairy-like and gigantic mechanical implements.

Only long experience as well as the temperament of scientist and artist combined could qualify for such work, and this experience Mr. Hardinge had. His mechanical career began thirty years ago, with the building of threshing machines for farmers; and during that thirty years he has run the gamut of mechanical training up to the production of implements, such as are alluded to above, for performing the most delicate of all known mechanical operations.

For ten years, in partnership with his brother, Mr. Hardinge conducted a watch-tool industry at Chicago, known still as Hardinge Brothers, whose products are familiar to watchmakers all over the world.

He has for the past 10 years been engaged, in collaboration with Robert Wiebking, an engraver, upon inventions calculated to revolutionize the manufacture of printers' types. This art, underlying what old printers liked to call "the art preservative of all arts," is peculiarly exacting. Of all the implements of the printer, types rank first for indispensability, perishability, and cost; and their production, delicate and difficult even in its secondary processes, demands microscopic accuracy in the primary work of matrix-making. Almost any one acquainted with printing may guess the difficulties of revolutionizing this industry by radical invention, but only a type founder thoroughly familiar with the art can have an adequate idea of the magnitude of the task, now accomplished by Mr. Hardinge and his collaborator, so many and varied were the nice technical problems involved and so intricate their relations to one another.

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Not long after coming to Chicago Mr. Hardinge made his debut as a debater.

It was at one of the famous dinners of the old Sunset Club. Edward Osgood Brown had given an exposition of the Henry George idea, which had then come under general discussion through the contest George had made in 1886 for Mayor of New York and in 1887 for Secretary of State. So many of the banquetters were try-

ing to be heard in answer to Mr. Brown (now ex-Judge Brown) that the rule requiring applicants for the floor to give their names upon being recognized by the chair, was strictly enforced. For a time the discussion ran against Judge Brown's position, and then a voice rang out clear and sharp: "Mr. Chairman!" The proprietor of the voice was duly recognized by the chair, whereupon he secured undivided attention by his unique compliance with the rule:

"H. H. Hardinge—single taxer—on deck!"

With this spell-binding introduction, Mr. Hardinge went on for the allotted time, replying to Judge Brown's critics in a concise, penetrating, forceful argument, marked with bursts of eloquence and unique in presentation, which made the occasion one to be remembered. He had brought to bear upon this social question the feeling and the reasoning which have made him not only a mechanic but a master mechanic—not only an artisan but a master of his art.

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The injustice of private monopoly of land was thrust upon Mr. Hardinge's attention when as a boy he was warned off the hillside above the whirlpool rapids at Niagara Falls, upon the occasion of a visit to the Falls while he lived in Canada. This was done by a policeman whose sole duty seemed to be to direct visitors to a gate in the fence, through which they could go down to the rapids free but must pay half a dollar to get back again. As Hardinge's only asset then was a return ticket to Toronto, he did not see the whirlpool rapids until thirty years after, and a sense of the unfairness of private monopoly of this natural wonder rankled him.

His resentment found logical expression in 1893, when a copy of Henry George's "Irish Land Question" fell into his hands. This systematized his protest for him, on broad principles, which his logical mind instantly recognized, adopted and comprehensively applied.

Describing his temperament himself with an allusion to his adoption of Henry George's views, Mr. Hardinge has recently said: "I have been a rebel for about twenty-five years—a methodical one for seventeen."

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One of the first to help organize the People's party in Illinois, Mr. Hardinge won second place at the election of 1894 as its candidate for State Senator in a four-sided contest. He was with the Independence League in 1908 on local issues, but against it and for Bryan on national issues.

Otherwise Mr. Hardinge has never been in politics, nor is he at all interested in party conflicts except as a necessary means to a larger end.

He is now varying his work at his business with lecturing under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association, of which Frederick H. Monroe of Palos Park, Illinois, is the manager. Mr. Hardinge is an extemporaneous speaker who sometimes does not catch his best swing, especially if he has no opposition to face, but who, when the occasion inspires him, seldom fails to carry conviction and arouse enthusiasm.

There is nothing of the conventional speaker about him. He thinks out loud and argues as he goes along. Always logical, mercilessly so, always good natured, frequently witty and eloquent, he is prolific also of illustrative ideas and has a happy faculty of lightly turning arguments one way and another and inside and out, so as to exhibit them thoroughly and subject them to one of the decisive tests of all argument—the saving sense of humor.

In economics Mr. Hardinge is a single taxer, and while neither a politician nor a religionist he is a fundamental democrat both in politics and in religion.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

"THE RETURN FROM ELBA."

Sioux City, Iowa, Dec. 6, 1909.

A newspaper correspondent of repute, who accompanied President Taft on his cross-country trip, informs the readers of a prominent weekly publication—I allude to Samuel G. Blythe and the Saturday Evening Post—that the Western country, personally friendly and well-disposed toward the President, has suspended judgment as to his administration, and is hoping against hope that it will prove satisfactory. Mr. Blythe admits that grave questions have arisen as to Mr. Taft's freedom from domination by selfish influences, but declares that the West still trusts in his ability to work out the problem of administering the nation's affairs in the interest of the entire people, as opposed to the interest of the predatory few.

What this distinguished correspondent says may be true of the far West; but it is not true of the middle West. Particularly is it untrue of Iowa. This storm center of insurgency is not in a state of suspended judgment touching Mr. Taft. It has made up its mind, and the conclusion reached is adverse to the President. The average Iowa farmer who voted for Taft has become convinced, in sorrow and regret, that Mr. Taft is the President of the old machine crowd of his party. In due season, when nominations for 1912 are to be made, the voice of Iowa and of other mid-Western States will be lifted in behalf of some other aspirant.

Theodore Roosevelt, in his personality and his policies, embodied the political ideas of the average man in the Missouri river valley. No man in our history captured their hearts and their imaginations as he did. It is beside the question to discuss whether the unbounded confidence reposed in him was justified by the facts of his public career, or to argue the soundness or unsoundness of his political philosophy. The truth remains that the farmers of this great region believed, or rather believe, that Roosevelt stood as a rock against the encroachments of privilege and greed; and that confidence, instead of being impaired, has been strengthened by the fact that his chosen successor, to all appearances, has gone over bodily to the opposition.

These people took Taft on Roosevelt's guaranty. That he was the man selected by Roosevelt to carry out the Rooseveltian policies was sufficient. They knew little or nothing about him personally. When he assumed office it was natural that they should watch with jealous eye to see if he would remain true to the Roosevelt principles; and they have been disappointed almost from the first day of his administration.

Confidence in Taft received its first jar when the newspapers announced that notorious anti-Rooseveltians were being made welcome at the White House. Then came the consciousness that ultra-conservatism of the corporation lawyer brand was to control in the councils of the cabinet. Following that swiftly was the news that Taft had been party to the re-election of Speaker Cannon, regarded in the mid-West as the head devil of the old machine oligarchy. By the time the special session of Congress met, public trust of Taft had already begun seriously to weaken.

Then came the tariff struggle. All through the long days of last summer there was a feeling that the President was letting his campaign promise of revision downward go by default, while he played golf. Hope flamed up a little when, toward the close of the debate, he proclaimed with a show of firmness that his pledge must be redeemed. But it died again when he accepted the pitiful compromise bill and tried to seduce Western Congressmen and Senators from their insurgent allegiance into voting for it. From that time on the mid-Western insurgents—who compose the bulk of their party hereabouts—have reckoned Taft as hopeless.

And if the tariff fiasco were not enough to destroy his popularity, the President himself furnished the material to complete the task. It came in his speeches during his tour. He started at Boston by praising Aldrich, leader of the tariff betrayal—Aldrich, who out here typifies everything that is repugnant to the Rooseveltian policies to which Taft was pledged. Coming West, the President seized an opportunity afforded him at Winona, Minn., to praise the only Minnesota Congressman who violated the party's tariff pledge, and virtually to read out of the party the Senators and Congressmen who stood steadfast.

That was the capsheaf. It ended forever any hope of Mr. Taft's being able to win back the confidence of those States which trust and approve the leadership of Cummins and Dolliver, Bristow and Mur-

dock, Clapp, Nelson and La Follette. The contumely which he heaped upon those men will be resented by their constituents to the last day of his public life.

Elsewhere on his trip Mr. Taft merely added to the unpopularity of his course and confirmed the judgment of condemnation which his Winona speech brought down upon him. He seized every occasion to hob-nob with the most offensive machine characters which his party can boast, and to disparage and ignore independent popular leaders. The impression he gave was that the old dollar-dominated regime of Mark Hanna had been restored in all its fullness, and that the day of Theodore Roosevelt was over. That is the view the middle West took of his course. It is a view, moreover, which cannot be eradicated by anything short of a miracle.

Now that he is back at Washington Mr. Taft has gone still further. He has written a letter to William Dudley Foulke of Indiana, which has been widely commented on in the middle West, belittling and denouncing the insurgent movement, scolding Mr. Foulke for allying himself with it, and bearing down hard on the old key of "party solidarity" and "submission to the will of the party majority."

The idea that this letter conveys to one acquainted with sentiment in these mid-Western States—States so essential to Republican national success—is that Mr. Taft is stupid. Inconceivable as it may seem, he has failed utterly to grasp the significance of the strength and militancy of the insurgent movement. If he understood it in the remotest degree, it is incomprehensible that he should openly flout it, even if he intended ultimately to crush it. The Foulke letter was the fatuous act of a man who does not know and who cannot learn what the rank and file are thinking about and talking about.

Washington correspondents report that the President is so highly pleased with his composition that he has shown it with pride to many of his callers. It is trite, perhaps, but nevertheless it is appropriate here to quote the old proverb that "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

Many minor causes have contributed to the undoing of Mr. Taft in the middle West. The Ballinger-Pinchot affair is a running sore. Insurgents believe that Mr. Ballinger intends handing over to land-grabbers as much of the public domain as he can, and to despoil the water-power resources of the country. They feel that Mr. Taft's quiescent attitude toward this cabineteer indicates that he is either in sympathy with his plans, or too dull and easy-going to checkmate him and get rid of him. The semi-official announcement that insurgent Senators are to be deprived of important patronage hurts the President and strengthens the Senators. The intimation that a "conservative" is to get the vacant place on the Federal supreme bench irritates. A thousand and one little things piled together make of themselves a mountain of distrust and aversion. The "Taft smile" even has become a subject of sardonic comment.

In a previous article in *The Public* (p. 942) I endeavored to emphasize the strength of the insurgent movement in the middle West, and to point out that, for various causes, it includes the vast majority of the Republican rank and file. These people are keenly alive to what is going on in national politics—more so than the people of any other section of the Union. To a great extent the press of this section is with them, fighting their battles and enlightening them as to the true significance of what is occurring daily at the nation's capital. They are not easily deceived. That they retain undiminished confidence in Roosevelt may argue, to some people, that the task of blinding their eyes is not an impossible one; but the fact is nevertheless true that they have not been deceived in Mr. Taft's intentions and alliances for a single moment since he was inaugurated.

Nothing short of a complete reversal of Mr. Taft's policies and a complete, open and public severance of his alliance with the machine element of his party, represented by Cannon and Aldrich, can win the middle West back to him. As matters stand now these people are awaiting with impatience the time when he can be supplanted with another. "The return from Elba" looms large in their imagination. The rank and file of the insurgents—probably not their leaders—hope that Roosevelt will be a candidate against Taft for the nomination in 1912. They cherish no resentment toward him for Taft's conduct. They feel that he, like themselves, bought a gold brick; and they ask nothing better than an opportunity to demonstrate at the polls their trust in him.

If Roosevelt is not a candidate the insurgents will find another one. They may have several. Beyond all peradventure the middle Western States in the next Republican national convention will cast their votes against the incumbent. If he should be nominated despite them, a political cataclysm may be expected. Once under way political revolutions move swiftly; and this insurgent movement, as Mr. Taft will ultimately learn to his sorrow, is terribly in earnest.

D. K. L.

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, December 7, 1909.

Congress.

The first regular session of the 61st Congress (p. 778) assembled on the 6th. And on the 7th the President's message was read.

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The Nicaraguan Situation.

Secretary Knox has taken a step with reference

to Nicaragua (p. 1163) which is reported from Washington to have won him, from the South American representatives there, the title of "Dictator and Lord High Executioner of Latin-America." This is due to the extraordinary document with which he has suspended diplomatic relations with Nicaragua. In transmitting passports on the 1st to Felipe Rodriguez, the Nicaraguan charge d'affaires, he wrote a long explanatory letter. From this letter one may gather the reasons for the warlike attitude of the Administration. Alluding to an international understanding made in 1907 between Central American republics to refrain from invasion of one another and to submit difficulties to arbitration instead of warfare, Secretary Knox's letter charges President Zelaya of Nicaragua with bad faith. It charges him also with overthrowing republican institutions except in name. Appeals to the United States have been made, the letter continues, by a majority of the Central American Republics, and now a great body of the Nicaraguan people appeal through revolution. It further charges that President Zelaya has killed two Americans who were officers in the revolutionary service, complains that the American Consulate at the Nicaraguan capital is menaced, and announces that—

from every point of view it has evidently become difficult for the United States further to delay more active response to the appeals so long made to its duty to its citizens, to its dignity, to Central America and to civilization. The government of the United States is convinced that the revolution represents the ideals and the will of a majority of the Nicaraguan people more faithfully than does the government of President Zelaya, and that its peaceable control is well-nigh as extensive as that hitherto so sternly attempted by the government at Managua. There is now added the fact, as officially reported from more than one quarter, that there are already indications of a rising in the western provinces in favor of a presidential candidate intimately associated with the old regime. In this it is easy to see new elements tending toward a condition of anarchy which leaves, at a given time, no definite responsible source to which the government of the United States could look for reparation for the killing of Messrs. Cannon and Groce, or, indeed, for the protection which must be assured American citizens and American interests in Nicaragua.

For these reasons diplomatic relations are severed by President Taft through Secretary Knox, but the Nicaraguan representative is assured of access to Secretary Knox in these terms:

Although your diplomatic quality is terminated, I shall be happy to receive you, as I shall be happy to receive the representative of the revolution, each as the unofficial channel of communication between the government of the United States and the de facto authorities to whom I look for the protection of American interests pending the establishment in Nicaragua of a government with which the United States can maintain diplomatic relations.

When Congress met on the 6th, Congressman Sulzer (Democrat) of New York introduced resolutions declaring it to be the duty of the United States to demand the arrest and punishment of President Zelaya for murdering Cannon and Groce, to exact an apology and damages, to use the army and navy as far as necessary, and to establish in Nicaragua a responsible government republican in form.

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President Zelaya was reported on the 4th from the Nicaraguan capital, Managua, to have asked the United States to send an investigating commission to Nicaragua, promising that he would resign if it should report against his administration.

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General Railroad Strike Imminent.

A railroad switchmen's strike, beginning in the Northwest last week, may be the forerunner of a general railroad strike, which is predicted in railroad circles, for a 10 per cent increase of wages to meet the increased cost of living. The switchmen's strike now in progress is for an increase of 6 cents an hour, and double pay for work during meal hours, holidays and Sundays. Large numbers of strike breakers have been contracted for by the railroads and shipped to the seat of the strike. The railroad officials report that the supply appears to be ample.

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The British Elections.

When the House of Lords had vetoed the land tax Budget on the 30th (p. 1160), the Prime Minister called a cabinet meeting which convened on the 1st. Immediately afterwards the House of Commons met and the Prime Minister gave formal notice that on the following day he would offer this resolution:

That the action of the House of Lords in refusing to enact into law the financial provisions made by this House for the year is a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the privileges of the House of Commons.

The sitting of the Commons on the 2nd, when this resolution came up, was exciting but brief. Mr. Asquith supported his resolution in what the dispatches describe as a speech in which he surpassed himself. He fortified his position with quotations from a speech of a year ago by the Tory leader, Mr. Balfour, in which Mr. Balfour had said: "It is the House of Commons, not the House of Lords, which settles uncontrolled our financial system. If the House of Lords could touch the money bills the whole executive machinery of the country would be brought to a standstill." After quoting other authorities to the same effect, Mr. Asquith closed his speech by saying:

We are living under a system of false balances

and loaded dice. When democracy voted for a Liberal government the dormant second chamber awoke from its slumbers and nullified the work of the House of Commons. We shall ask the House by this vote, and we shall ask the constituencies at the earliest possible moment, to declare that the organ, the voice of the free people of this country, is to be found in the accredited representatives of the nation.

Mr. Balfour in reply said he hoped the instances when the Lords would refer such a question as this Budget to the country would be most rare, but he hoped also that the Lords would never abandon the essential point of the controversy, which was whether the Lords in declaring that the constituencies should be consulted had gone beyond the functions which ought to be left to the second chamber, however rarely they might deem it proper to exercise them. No response was made in behalf of the Irish party, the Parliamentary members of which had for reasons peculiar to Irish politics, refrained from participating in the discussion and the vote. But Arthur Henderson, M. P., spoke for the Labor party, declaring that the continuance of the second chamber as constituted at present is absurd and logically indefensible; that the Lords, no longer content with their long record of obstruction and mutilation and destruction of legislation through which they had defrauded the people of many fruits of self-government, had become emboldened sufficiently to try their hand at usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons in regard to matters of finance. All the power that the Labor party possessed, he added, would be used to assist in securing an emphatic verdict from the country in the sense of the resolution presented by the Prime Minister. The vote for Mr. Asquith's resolution, quoted above, was 349 to 134.

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Meanwhile the National Liberal Federation had issued a manifesto concentrating the attention of the country upon the usurpation of the House of Lords. "If the present action of the Peers is not repudiated swiftly by the people," it says, "the rights and privileges won so dearly by our forefathers in the great struggles for freedom are all surrendered." The manifesto declares the Peers' power of veto must be restricted so that the last word on all legislation will rest with the House of Commons; that otherwise no Liberal ministry can again assume the responsibilities of office. "In the fight forced upon us," the manifesto continues, "the electors will have to decide whether they wish to govern themselves or be governed at second hand by a few hundred hereditary Peers, who have thrown the Constitution into the melting pot in order to shift the burden of taxation from wealth, land and liquor to food and the necessities of life."

According to London dispatches of the 1st, the advantages the Tories might have from triangular contests—Tory, Liberal, and Labor—have been nullified by the voluntary withdrawal of Labor candidates from districts where the Liberal party is the stronger and of Liberal candidates from those in which the Labor party is the stronger.

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The King signed an order on the 2nd, at the request of the cabinet, proroguing Parliament until January 17, 1910, and on the 3rd the King's speech, formal and colorless, was read to both houses in the Lords' chamber. The recess then began. An order of dissolution will probably be proclaimed late in December, and the elections will take place on different dates about the middle of January. When Parliament reassembles on the 17th of January, the House of Commons will be wholly composed of new or reelected members.

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Although the campaign has been long in progress in expectation of dissolution, it is now at fever heat everywhere. An enormous meeting, some 20,000 people, gathered on short notice at Trafalgar Square on the 4th—under the call of the National Democratic League. It was composed principally of workingmen and was addressed by Dr. Clifford, who is described as "the revered leader of the Free Church," and by Wm. P. Byles, M. P., and a score of other members of Parliament. There were over 50 speakers in all. The demonstration is described by the Tory press as one not to be belittled. In a speech at Manchester on the 6th, Winston Churchill pointed out that the imposition of a tariff would exclude imports which the Manchester canal was built to encourage, and instanced the quintupled value of the land in the vicinity since the canal was built as a justification for placing the increment tax in the Budget.

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Numerous instances of attempts by physical force suffragettes to break up Liberal meetings since the action of the Lords, are reported. Some of these attempts were directed at the Trafalgar Square meeting, but it was too large to be affected. At Southport, however, Winston Churchill's meeting was interrupted, as was Sir Edward Grey's at Leith. One of the London dispatches of the 4th, states that the suffragettes "have raised a big fund to oppose the Liberal candidates in every constituency."

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The immediate issue in the election could hardly be more clearly or correctly described than in the following extract from the "special" of T. P. O'Connor, M. P., in the Chicago Tribune of the 5th:

The proposals of the Budget still, of course, excite

both attention and controversy, but the Budget, from this time forward, sinks into a subsidiary position in comparison with the question of the House of Lords. To make the election turn on the Budget only would be exactly what the Tories and especially the House of Lords want, but is exactly what the Liberals are determined to prevent. For if the election turns on the Budget alone, and even if the Liberals, and, therefore, the Budget received the approval of a majority of the constituencies, the House of Lords could accept the situation with bland equanimity. They would then say that they had referred the Budget to the verdict of the people, that the people had given their verdict, and that they bowed to the verdict. But, as will be seen in a moment, that would leave undecided the far more momentous question behind the Budget—namely: whether the Lords had the right to interfere with the finances of the nation. Indeed, if that construction of the purpose and meaning of the general election were accepted by the Liberals, the election, whatever its verdict, would be a verdict for the Peers. For the right of the Peers to refer a Budget to the constituencies would mean that the House of Lords would be supreme in the Constitution. Every ministry has to pass its budget or die: every ministry has to bring a budget every year; and if, therefore, the House of Lords were entitled to hang up or reject a budget, then the House of Lords would have the fate of every ministry absolutely at its disposal. It would establish a single chamber system, and the single chamber would be the unrepresentative House of Lords and not the representative House of Commons.

NEWS NOTES

—William J. Calhoun of Chicago has been appointed minister to China, in place of Charles R. Crane (pp. 1009, 1016, 1018).

—The Reichstag, the Imperial German parliament (p. 1066), was opened at Berlin on the 30th by Kaiser Wilhelm in person.

—Henry L. Bliss will address the Chicago Single Tax Club on the 10th in Room 508, Schiller Building, his subject being "The Use and Abuse of Statistics."

—In the Gompers-Morrison-Mitchell case (p. 1162) the Supreme Court of the United States granted on the 6th, a writ of certiorari bringing the record up to that court for review.

—In a suit for damages, a blacklisted cotton mill operative, O. M. Rhodes, secured a verdict on the 5th, in the Richland county, South Carolina, Circuit Court, against the Granby Cotton Mills of Columbia, for \$10,000.

—The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education held its third annual convention at Milwaukee on the 3rd. George N. Carman, Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. Raymond Robins and Arthur D. Dean were among the principal speakers.

—A Henry George association was organized at Youngstown, Ohio, on the 27th, with Thomas Taylor for president, Singleton King for vice-president and Charles C. McGovern for secretary-treasurer. At a meeting on December 18th the New York system of

real estate appraisement, now adopted in Cleveland, will be discussed.

—It was authoritatively announced on the 2nd that J. Pierpont Morgan has bought the majority of the stock of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, the cash assets of which are \$462,000,000.

—Fighting on Mindanao in the Philippine Islands (p. 663) between the United States constabulary and the Moros and Sananos on the 28th, resulted in six American soldiers dead and one wounded. Reinforcements have been sent to the locality.

—The San Jose estate of 55,000 acres in the Island of Mindoro, Philippines, was bought on the 6th of the United States by E. L. Poole for \$367,000. It is part of the friar estates taken over by the United States from the Catholic church. Mr. Poole is understood in Manila to represent the Havemeyers.

—In an effort to better understand the industrial strike in his own country, which has lingered along since last summer (p. 951), King Gustaf of Sweden is reported to have spent the 4th, disguised as a stevedore, carrying sacks of coal from a lighter at the docks of Stockholm, in order to get from his working companions their points of view.

—Duke Karl Theodor of the Bavarian royal house, died on the 30th. Karl Theodor was notable among his compeers as being a professional man and a useful citizen. Having studied medicine and become an eye specialist, he established and maintained several private hospitals where the poor were treated free. He also did much to introduce sanitation into the homes of the mountaineers of Bavaria.

—Governor Deneen has refused to reinstate the Illinois sheriff from whom a mob seized a prisoner and lynched him at Cairo (p. 1120), saying that when "mob violence threatens the life of a prisoner in the custody of the sheriff, the law has charged the sheriff, under penalty of forfeiture of his office, to use the utmost human endeavor to protect the life of his prisoner. The law may be severe; whether severe or not, it must be enforced."

—The Illinois legislature was called by Governor Deneen on the 6th to meet in special session on the 14th, for the purpose of considering 24 distinct subjects, including a primary law (p. 612), a corrupt practice act, a deep waterway act (p. 538), a commission form of government for cities (pp. 538, 1045), protection of coal mines, subways for cities, a Chicago harbor plan, the income tax amendment to the Federal Constitution (p. 758), employers' liability, and occupational diseases.

—The New York Men's League for Woman Suffrage was organized as a State association in New York City on the 29th with George Foster Peabody as president. It starts with 150 members. Among the vice-presidents are Herbert Parsons, Wm. S. Bennett, Wm. M. Ivins, Wm. J. Schieffelin and John Mitchell. The executive committee consists of Oswald Garrison Villard, C. C. Burlingham, Charles H. Strong, Prof. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, Dr. Simon Elexnor, Prof. John Dewey and Max Eastman.

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We are many, the land is given us for inheritance,
—Ezekiel, xxxiii, 24.

PRESS OPINIONS

The British Issue.

The (London) Nation (radical Liberal), Nov. 13.—The democracy is to put its fortunes to the touch. If it wins, the path of social progress at last lies open before it. The democratisation of the suffrage by the inclusion of woman and the removal of artificial impediments to registration, the settlement of the educational controversy, the opening of the land to the people, the reform of the licensing laws, the relief of the poorer ratepayer, the humanisation of public assistance, the systematic provision against sickness, invalidity, and unemployment, will all enter the region in which measures can be discussed, not with a view to forcing them by violent agitation through the phalanx of hereditary legislators, but with a single eye to the course of social progress.

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Land Clauses of the British Budget.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.) Nov. 25.—The bitterness of the attack on the Lloyd-George budget is due almost wholly to the fact that the Liberals have dared to uncover a fresh source of direct taxation, consistent with the future maintenance of free trade in an era of increasing national expenditure, and that this fresh source, the land, is the most immediate economic interest of those who have been the traditional foes of free trade. . . . It is perfectly clear that these taxes are designed and shaped to enable the state to appropriate for its support what rightfully belongs to it, to wit, a reasonable percentage of that increase in the value of land which has been created not by the individual efforts of the land owner, but by the efforts, labors and growth of the surrounding community as a whole. This value is a social value created by society, and logically the whole of it belongs to society; but the Lloyd-George budget demands in the form of taxes only a small part of it. It is undeniable, however, that in Britain such taxes involve a class struggle, since class interests are more or less at stake. And all the privileged classes naturally rally around the class especially threatened.

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The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.) Nov. 25.—The time has come to end the veto power of an hereditary House on measures enacted by the representatives of the people. This power destroys popular government and the power is vested absolutely in land ownership, which fattens on values created by all the people while land owners do nothing. If the Lords can defeat the popular will, the people might as well not have a vote or their representatives a voice in the government. It is inconceivable that the people will submit to the defeat of their will. The House of Lords must go.

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(Springfield, Ill.) State Register (dem-Dem.) Nov. 27.—The conditions that exist in England which have led to the proposal in this bill of Lloyd-George, are

gradually assuming shape in this country, where trusts and their managers are absorbing the valuable natural resources and vast bodies of land. In England it is the aristocracy of birth which claims the earth and its God-given natural riches. In this country it is the aristocracy of the Almighty Dollar that is grabbing and combining to possess the land and its natural resources. It was these growing conditions that led Henry George, the seer of economic truth, to champion the fundamental principles of liberty, equality and democracy now so ably advocated by Tom Johnson and hundreds of other able men in this country. The time is coming when the aristocracy of trusts and combines in this country, the lords of the land and its resources, must submit—as the aristocracy of birth in England are now being forced to do—to an equitable division of the “unearned increment” with the state.

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The March of Georgism.

San Francisco Bulletin (ind.), Nov. 26.—Another method of scientific revenue-raising is the single tax, which has been gaining ground rapidly. According to a staff-correspondent of the New York Evening Post, more than 133 cities and communes, and five countries in the German Empire, have adopted the unearned increment tax on land values. Fifteen of these cities contain populations of more than 100,000 each, and among them are Hamburg with 800,000, Breslau, with half a million; Leipzig, Cologne and Frankfort-on-Main. Methods of determining the unearned increment, as well as the rates of the tax, differ in the various communities; but it is significant that Henry George's idea is being so generally adopted in Germany. There is, of course, active opposition to the tax from speculators in land values; but the government needs the money, so that protests avail little.

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Socialist Victories in Germany

The (New York) Nation (ind.), Nov. 25.—The extraordinary series of Socialist victories in Germany continues. Parliamentary and municipal elections show the same result. The tide runs much more strongly towards the Social-Democrats than any mere reference to the ordinary swing of the pendulum can explain. . . . No matter-of-course reaction, no local conditions, can explain what is taking on the proportions of an upheaval against the Government parties. Profound national discontent is voicing itself in Socialist votes—discontent with an Imperialism that is driven to tax the bread and salt and air of the working masses, discontent with the traditional Government policy of ruling with kaleidoscopic blocs cemented, while they last, by very frank bargaining and log-rolling methods. Moreover, there is deep dissatisfaction with the so-called “Liberal” factions which, in their susceptibility to court favor, and their exaggerated fear of Socialism, seem never to lose an opportunity of betraying the cause of constitutionalism and anti-feudalism, for which they profess to stand.

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Whose Brother Is He?

(Minneapolis) Farm, Stock and Home (agricul-

tural), Dec. 1.—By their friends ye shall know them. President Taft says: “The present tariff is the best tariff we ever had.” Cannon, Payne and Aldrich made it, and Tawney voted for it. Cannon, Payne, Aldrich and Tawney! They recall the doggeral of a few years ago, anent the Filipino: “He may be a brother of William H. Taft, but he ain't no brother o' mine.”

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A Republic Asleep.

The Commoner (Dem.), Nov. 19.—There was a time in our nation's history when encroachment upon the freedom of speech would have aroused immediate and unanimous protest, but the conflicts which were necessary to establish the right are long past, and those who took part in those contests are dead. The present generation came into these rights by inheritance, and seem to be as indifferent to the real value of the inheritance as the rich man's son is to the value of money which he received without having to put forth any labor to earn it. . . . The business methods of a corporation are proper subjects of discussion by employes as well as by customers, and a decree which deprives the laboring man of this right is a step toward industrial bondage. The dangers involved in the court's decision are so great that the laboring man ought not to be left to combat them alone. Every citizen interested in the preserving of our institutions ought to feel a personal concern in maintaining inviolate the right to think, and the right to speak. Not only free government, but civilization itself depends upon free speech as much as upon any other one thing for its very existence.

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Exposing Good Government.

The (San Francisco) Liberator (good government) Nov. 27.—The editor of “The Liberator” is in receipt of a letter from William Allen White of Kansas. In the course of his letter Mr. White slips in a sentence which we think is the magnetic needle of the future. He says: “I believe the work before us is, after all, rather the work of the exposé of good government than the exposé of bad government. It is affirmatively, rather than negatively that we must succeed. The stress should be laid upon educating the people.” The exposure of good government! We have been accustomed to the exposure of bad government. It was a necessary progress to show the people what was going on. Mr. White suggests that we adopt a new program now—the exposure of good government,—as a means of tempting the life of the people to follow that channel. . . . The exposure of good government means the opening of new forces and channels not yet seen, as well as telling the story of the best that is being done. There is a natural health of the body politic,—a natural condition of human beings living together. Notwithstanding all the evidence of disease in the body of democracy, the quickest and only permanent means of securing that health is to acknowledge its possibility and put our minds and energies to discover the positive social laws and forces that determine and maintain that social health. We differ at first as to what those laws are, but our first step is to shift the angle of our mind in the deliberate direction of their discovery. We now know the prob-

lem—we've had the Darius Green experience. It is time to enter upon the Orville Wright stage,—patient attention to expose the good government—right ideas that govern the association of human beings in society.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

DREAM OF THE HIVE-DWELLER.

For The Public.

A Voice came out of the night
Like song of Spirit free;
And thro' the gloom
Of the tenement room
A breath of the wind-swept sea:
"Come away to the pristine light
Of the surging opal wave;
O pent soul, roam
O'er the white sea foam,
From the Brick Hive's living grave.
"Renew thy childhood's dream
Where swift-winged sea-gulls nest;
Where fadeless flowers
Weave fairy bowers
O'er balmy isles of rest;
"Where choirs in swaying trees,
With feathered magic throats,
Vibrate the perfumed breeze
With wild harmonious notes;
"Fair lily, violet, rose,
Like verdant censers swing,
Cool, dewy water-grasses bring
The fevered mind repose;
"Where never more shall rule
Greed's gold-mad drunken band,
Or Vice promote a thriving school
To prostitute the land.
"Come, fly from the tumult din,
Where Mammon's chariots pour;
The child's young soul
Shall lose its goal
Mid the Million City's roar.
"Fly, fly from the murk and doom
Of the musty air-shaft damp,
Where Spirit doth consume
Like flame in a shattered lamp.
"Come away, come away!
From the hellish slums you've trod.
In Nature's shrine
Is Life's new wine—
Thy primal gift from God."

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

* * *

HOW HARDLY SHALL A RICH MAN.

Bolton Hall in the Independent.

The Kingdom of Hell is like a wealthy boy who wished to cut a fishing rod for himself, so

as to catch the minnows, but he was prevented lest he should wound his hands, because he was a millionaire's baby. But his father bought him a costly fishing rod.

Again, he wanted to feed the elephant, which was considered too menial for so rich a child, but instead he could only subscribe to the Zoological Garden Fund. The elephant was only "an Individual Case."

When the boy grew older he wished to work at something useful, but his papa said it was not necessary, and that he should Enjoy Life. So his papa gave him money, and bought him an automobile, and started him on the road.

The road was smooth and down grade all the way.

His father did not know that the road led down to Hell.

* * *

THE CAUSE OF CITY SLUMS.

From the Bulletin of the Committee on Congestion of Population in New York of August 23, 1909.

It is a vital necessity that land should be kept cheap in all American cities if they are to enforce the standards of light, space and privacy which are required to conserve the health of their citizens.

This problem is going to increase the difficulty because of the gambling instinct, sometimes called "real estate speculation."

Foreign countries have appreciated the need for restricting the use of land by the government, and have taken remarkable measures to ensure cheap land; while the history of real estate development in every American city is a marked indictment of our present failure to recognize this principle.

There is in fact a vicious needless circle being worked out in practically every American city. It is generally conceded that the presence of a large population on a limited area creates a demand for land. In response to this demand for land it increases in value. The increase in value demands that land should earn more, and so it is used more intensively,—that is, more people are crowded on to it. As a result of this crowding, the land acquires even a greater value and more people are crowded upon it.

* * *

ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY OF AN "EGREGIOUS LAND PRE- EMPTER."

Passages from the Address of William Kent at All Souls' Church, Chicago, October 10, 1909.

It seems to me that we must follow the drift, take the elements at hand into consideration and cast aside as unprofitable the attempt to grasp abstract perfection in reasoning. We must, however, have a working hypothesis, and each man

must have his own. All I can do is to state how things look to me.

First of all, the world is getting what we call "better" for men; in working toward better conditions we are going with the tide, whether we call it the trend of things or the purpose of the Almighty. I believe the growing spirit of democracy is back of this development, and is a larger part of this development.

Now, if we accept a belief in progressive democracy and in equalization of opportunity, which goes with it, it is easy for us to learn the tune, but extremely difficult to supply the words. In the attempt, we find honest confusion, resulting in endless discussion.

We read that men are entitled to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This sounds obvious, but if the state says to the soldier, "You shall go and get killed for the state," or to the murderer, "You shall hang as an example," it would appear that even life is not an inalienable privilege. As to liberty, every man is told what he may or may not do, and the doctrine of unrestrained liberty is anarchy and impossible. As to the pursuit of happiness, we must at times turn aside from the chase of that butterfly, lest we make a false step through the glass of our neighbor's hot-bed.

Freedom and slavery are of course relative terms. That amendment to the Constitution providing against "involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime," brings the question of how much of the world's work is voluntary, and how much involuntary work should be demanded for any specific breach of law or etiquette. Different times and climes have varied much in their estimates, and the newer ideals of penology are overthrowing all traditions. All of us in confessing to being miserable offenders are eligible candidates for the chain gang.

Pardon me for this array of platitudes. I merely wish to explain my own difficulties in endeavoring to provide a working scheme for just one person.

My ideal is that all of us together should aid in the task of making it easier for the average man to provide for himself and his family those necessities without which life cannot be sustained, so that with this foundation under him he may then obtain the opportunity for that breadth and depth of life that springs from the cultivation of the mind, and that happiness that comes from sympathy with and love for other men. This task must largely consist in tearing down those privileges that compel one man to divide his product unfairly with another. I cannot conceive that such developments can come except under democracy. A living democracy must show its life in its growth, not in radicalism of theory, for the utopia-makers have already pushed theory far beyond the possibilities of human nature as we know

it. The growth must come in constructive application of principles that are just, because they do not discriminate between men. "The Lord is no respecter of persons."

Taking up the questions of Privilege and Interference, we at once find two radically different points of view.

From the legal standpoint, all questioning of what are known as "vested rights," all radical attacks on what has been, constitute interference. Under this construction those vested rights, which have, for good or bad reasons, grown up among men, are sacred institutions, matters of course, and not to be defined by as malodorous a term as "special privilege."

From the popular point of view "special privilege" is a grant whereby a man or an association of men are put in position to extort from other men. From this standpoint the "interference" occurred at the time of the grant, and what the legal-minded call interference is merely an attempt to get back to a former status.

If we look back to the origin of these privileges, we shall often find that they were granted for a social purpose. The feudal war-lord was the protector of his clan in a time when war and pillage were the rule. Often we find that the privileges were taken by the strong, either by legislation or crude power, just because might made right. The commonest form of abused privileges is seen as those that have outlasted their usefulness and outgrown their cradle. A tariff based on war taxes is an example.

Roosevelt was considered by the people as the enemy of special privilege and his policies constructive and conservative. On the other hand, the vested interests considered him not only an unmitigated nuisance, but a man disregarding of right or law, the leader of busybodies and a "disturber of traffic."

Thus these policies were constructive or destructive, just as we happen to look at them. As a matter of fact, they are both—what is left of them—just as clearing land of trees for the purpose of raising corn is destructive of trees and productive of corn. It is a matter open for discussion whether in any given case there is more destruction or construction, the public welfare being considered. It happens that our people are nearly unanimous as to what they think of the sum total of those mooted policies.

To revert to what we consider needful for the growth of a democratic community, we find some things without which life cannot be sustained, and which therefore should be obtained at a minimum of effort.

Men must have light, air, water and an opportunity to get to the land for subsistence. The private, uncontrolled, perpetual ownership of land is a privilege that cuts across all these necessities. In farm lands, increasing values tend to give the

tenant farmer less of the product of his labor. In city real estate, increasing values not only increase rentals and drive the needy into smaller quarters, but also force the erection of buildings with the minimum provision for light and air. I do not believe that society has ever more radically interfered with men than by permitting an individual to fence off land and call it his own forever. Good public policy must shift up and down, between the ridiculous extreme now regarded as sacred, and the other extreme which would permit one man to invade his neighbor's turnip patch. The fox-hunting squire claims both privileges, and allows his tenant neither.

Whether under a bygone punitive system a man had his eyes put out or loses the light in a congested tenement; whether he has his air supply shut off by a noose or lack of ventilation, he can well claim interference. In a similar sense, if, though willing to work, he is unable to obtain food or shelter in an abounding world, some one or something is surely interfering.

In the same way we can describe certain forms of privilege. If society takes upon itself the right to lock up or strangle a man, it assumes a privilege. If society permits men to form undying associations to transact business and confers the right to an evasion of the utmost personal liability for debt, a privilege is granted; and when the right of eminent domain is conferred, there is privilege granted which confers a remarkably clear right to interfere with other men. When a community confers upon a person or a group the use of public property, so that he or they enjoy the necessarily monopolistic right to furnish such things as artificial light, transportation, transmission of freight or of information, it has granted a privilege. And in so far as these privileges cover matters of common necessity, and in so far as people are compelled to pay to the grantees such rates as the grantees may require, society has delegated its own greatest sovereign privilege to individual agencies—the right to tax. It is quite obvious that, starting from this end of the scale, we are not confused in our description of privilege and interference.

But if we begin with undue respect for tradition and consider land tenure as a matter of course, tenure uncontrolled and going to our "heirs and assigns forever," we easily follow along to uncontrolled grants to railroads, to municipal utility corporations, to water-power, to tariff and to subsidies, without considering them privileges; while every attempt toward regulation seems clearly an interference with vested rights or natural rights or plain rights, and the picture is reversed.

I make no claim to being a scholar in the vague science of economics, but it seems to me that the mother of the whole brood of privilege is the individual and practically uncontrolled and perpet-

ual tenure of land. As far as our country is concerned, we inherited this idea from England, where through centuries the sanctity of land owning was upheld and buttressed by land-owning lords, squires and judges—a privilege now for the first time being manfully assailed in England.

You will recall that in the days of Washington and Jefferson we shed some of the fond theories of the old country, but this remains with us, and for obvious practical reasons. A continent lay at our feet—there was too much land for anybody and everybody—and furthermore, it had to be chopped out and grubbed out and fought out. It took strong arms and strong hearts to subdue the wilderness, and those who did the task were entitled to great reward. But in land owning, the need of such encouragement is past, and there must be a change of status, if we are to have justice. High-priced land in cities results in congestion, in deprivation of light and air, and in some way or other, society has to make good every dollar received without an equivalent of service by the speculative or investing land owner.

There is a ranch in Mexico of upwards of ten million acres. The people living on that ranch cannot move off it, cannot buy an acre, and can lawfully do nothing but live at the pleasure of the owner, and starve if that should ever be his wish.

All of us have known useful people who have worked their hearts out in buying and paying for land upon which they must live at a price much of which represents speculative profits to non-producers.

And yet in the days of our pioneers such tenure seemed but a compensation for hardship and for risk. The fallacy lay in underestimating the duration of eternity as expressed in the declaration respecting "heirs and assigns forever."

This brings us to a most important factor in all economic discussion, *the element of risk*.

From betting to interest on money, from capital's demand for participation in profit to insurance rates, the factor of risk is always considered. It is strange that it is more neglected in the matter of wages than in any other computation. It would be too long a story to attempt a statement of why the soldier and the employe in a dangerous vocation are not rewarded for the chances they take. It would seem that life is cheaper than property.

Not only does economic theory justify large reward for large risk, but our sporting tendency applauds the man who conquers adversity and defies chance.

When we see how different forms of privilege are used to deprive men of the fruit of their labor, we are apt to cry-out for the installation of rights and the abolition of privilege. But no sure line can be drawn. There is no three-foot rule nor measuring tape, nor any process of trigonometrical

triangulation whereby we may distinguish privilege from right, except relatively.

Here is Theodore Roosevelt, who works for equality of opportunity, who is hated by many socialists, because he pushes ahead toward abolishing the handicaps of life and therefore postpones the great day when the "proletariat shall rise and destroy capitalism." Which words, full of sound and fury, signify nothing, because no one knows who is a proletariat or where we can draw a distinction between hideous capital and less noxious forms of private property. The words merely convey the idea that some one will shoot up some one else, with unknown results.

Roosevelt knows and feels that his course represents true conservatism as well as conservation, and the things he has done to curb greedy individualism, which is a form of anarchism, are socialistic; and yet so great is the pioneer spirit in Theodore Roosevelt, so greatly does he admire the results of this unrestrained individualism in its pioneer phases, that he sees nothing but the excrescences of socialism, and fails to name his own policies aright. Victor Berger of Milwaukee calls himself a socialist, and yet believes in the family as the unit of society, which belief necessitates a certain amount of private capital, if the parents are to hold the family together.

Theodore Roosevelt and Victor Berger would be nearly agreed, if they could drop their terminology and discuss what is for the benefit of the average man and of society.

Privilege may be right and necessary at one time and in one place, and oppressive and wrong in another. Every regulation of human conduct is interference, and the interference most bitterly complained of by the strong and greedy is the interference with their so-called right to monopolize necessities of life, so as to extort from other men an undue portion of the results of toil. They are really resenting interference with their own interference.

It further seems clear to me that so-called "vested rights" are only relative, and being conferred by society, supposedly for the benefit of society, they are properly revocable by society when they work against the general welfare. I fully expect to live to see a time when a Supreme Court will decide that all grants in perpetuity are impudent, abhorrent and contrary to public policy and therefore illegal, under some clause or other of our tortured constitution.

Both interference and privilege are exercised and permitted for the good of society. Any other theory is hostile to democracy and untenable.

That both are abused goes without saying, and that the abuses must be clearly understood and bravely fought down is also clear—else democracy must perish.

The end of the story is this: The public welfare demands altruism as its primal requisite.

Greed is the worst enemy of society. Our highest ethical ideals are the white corpuscles which must fight the disease germs in the social body; their most vigorous principle is unselfishness.

There can be no such thing as selfish honesty or honest selfishness, the terms are fundamentally antagonistic. The attempt to find more enlightened forms of selfishness is futile, because it is based on the hypothesis that selfishness is the motive power of the world. From far back of Socrates and down to Ferrer, the doctrine of selfishness is refuted by the willingness of men to make the ultimate sacrifice for their ideals.

For the life of the race altruism is vitally essential; for the worthy and comfortable life of the individual it is no less essential. Culture is dead without it, and without it life is blank.

Through the maze of doubt we find that the science of economics has greater need of experiencing religion (real religion) than real religion has of getting down to what is sometimes called "horse" or "common" sense. If we do not "love one another," if we are not patient with each other, we shall be guilty of economic waste in failing to co-operate. If we oppress each other, society has to pay the bill. If we hate each other, we shall commit the awful waste of preparing for war and going to war.

We have traveled a weary round of paradox and of uncertainty, yet of such paradox and uncertainty is constituted the world in which we live. The best we can do is to face it all with open mind, always remembering the other fellow, who, as part of society, is a part of ourselves. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is not only idealism, but is a statement of the only condition under which life is possible to a sizable soul.

From this end of the scale must we start our reasoning, and in view of this must we seek to adapt our theories of economics. In the teachings of Jesus there is infinitely more irrefutable political economy than in all the turgid library that has been produced in the attempt to create a system of human relationship based on mathematical tables and the doctrine of selfishness.

* * *

In attacking private ownership in land Leo Tolstoy, like Henry George and Henry George's predecessors, labors under the hopeless disadvantage of elaborating an argument in the validity of which every one acquiesces but whose conclusions hardly any one is willing to see enforced. The present order is a great iniquity. The present game is a bunco game. We all know it and most of us are clamoring for a change of rules which will give us a better show in the taking of tricks. But only when the majority are convinced that their last personal chance of a look-in is gone will they seriously consider abolishing the game and inaugurating a new one.—Life of Jan. 10, 1907.

BOOKS

YOUTH.

The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets. By Jane Addams (Hull House, Chicago), author of "Democracy and Social Ethics," "Newer Ideals of Peace," etc. Published by the Macmillan Company. 1909.

Characteristic in its gentle urgency, and replete with illustrative facts drawn from a vast human experience, these essays on the boys and girls, the young men and the young women, of American cities, are of exceptional value. The problem they present is whether the great civilizing force which our youth bring with them into the world shall be directed or misdirected, developed or dissipated.

One of the most illuminating chapters in the book is that which shows, most clearly shows, that much of the so-called crime among city youth comes not from criminal motives but from the natural spirit of adventure for which the youthful poor of our cities find such limited opportunities of expression.

What is needed is democracy adapted to modern conditions. "It is but too true," writes Miss Addams, "that democracy—'a people ruling'—the very name of which the Greeks considered so beautiful, no longer stirs the blood of the American youth, and that the real enthusiasm for self government must be found among the groups of young immigrants who bring over with every ship a new cargo of democratic aspirations. That many of these young men look for a consummation of these aspirations to a social order of the future in which the industrial system as well as government shall embody democratic relations, simply shows that the doctrine of democracy, like any other of the living faiths of men, is so essentially mystical that it continually demands new formulation." This keen and true observation is followed by a warning—which is none the less significant of danger ahead, for the deferential language in which it is expressed: "To fail to recognize it [democracy] in a new form, to call it hard names, to refuse to receive it, may mean to reject that which our fathers cherished and handed on as an inheritance not only to be preserved but also to be developed."

The wooden attitude of churchmen—we wish we could say some churchmen, but fear we must say many—toward the relation to life of spiritual impulses in the young, is pointedly illustrated by Miss Addams with this anecdote of a personal experience: "Of the dozens of young women who have begged me to make a connection for them between their dreams of social usefulness and their actual living, I recall one"—a college graduate of twenty-two—"of the many whom I had

sent back to her clergyman, returning with this remark: 'His only suggestion was that I should be responsible every Sunday for fresh flowers upon the altar' "!

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MEMORIES OF CHILDHOOD.

The Child You Used to Be. By Leonora Pease. With ten full page illustrations and other decorations by Lucy Fitch Perkins. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

Children's books and books reminiscent of childhood do not lend themselves readily to reviewing. Neither do illustrations. But the title of this book alone is enough to attract children of all ages; and if you look at the illustration opposite page 20, with its underlining from the text—"A group of young cannibals followed Granny around" (doughman cannibals to be explicit)—you will wish to see the other illustrations and read all the text. The author has charming insight into the heart of the child, and most felicitous child language with which to tell what she finds there. And curiously enough, the occasional obscurity of which a dull-witted reader may complain, seems to be caused by that reiterated use of pronouns which is the source of the obscurity so commonly found in children's speech when they attempt narrative. This is a book to be read by the grown and its tales told to the children as experiences of childhood,—natural, quaint, and full of the salt and the sweet of the beginnings of life.

* * *

"THE POWER OF THE PRIMEVAL."

The Lady of Big Shanty. By F. Berkley Smith, New York. Doubleday, Page & Co. Price, \$1.50.

The author, introduced by F. Hopkinson Smith as "a man who has passed many years of his life in the Adirondack woods," unquestionably gives to his book the charm and zest of his experience. The whole setting of the story, after it is plucked out of the luxurious environment of a New York banker's home, is the untamed wilderness with its mysterious silences where human souls, fleeing from the tumult of the world, may become acquainted with themselves. The characters and incidents of the narrative are highly entertaining, if we except the Lady of Big Shanty whose marital infidelities form too stale an episode to be interesting to readers who would like to be refreshed by a story of genuine conjugal devotion. However, the hallowing influences of fire and water produce a regenerating effect on the tempted affections of the banker's wife, and the story, with its fascinating pictures and life-giving breath of the north woods, closes as purely and happily as we could wish.

As for the "problems" involved we may take

our choice among them. The author makes none. But we who ride hobbies might go speeding after two or three shadowy outlines that we see lurking in the bushes.

A. L. M.

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A HAUNTED HOUSE STORY.

The House on the North Shore. By Marion Foster Washburne, author of "Family Secrets," etc. Illustrated by Walter J. and Maginal Wright Enright. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1909. Price, \$1.25 net.

A good young people's story with two excellent morals, neither of which, however, pushes itself into the current of the story, and both of which are as valuable for the "grown-ups" as for young folks. It is a mystery story, too, keeping the reader wondering from the time a haunted house comes into view in the first chapter until its explanation appears in the last. When every page has been read, the significance of the dedication to Luther Burbank may be comprehended.

* * *

"LITTLE SONGS FOR TWO."

Little Songs for Two. By Edmund Vance Cooke. Dodge Publishing Co., 220 East 23rd St., New York. Price, cloth, \$1.00.

This is a charming little book, as to paper and ink, as well as to its spirit. About each page winds a marginal design in colors. In the impulses which find expression in the poems so attractively set forth, passion is not wanting, but the songs mostly sing themselves to the lighter and tenderer melodies of affection, harmonized in many keys. Mr. Cooke beautifully suggests in the dedication which he invites his readers to make their own dedication to some loved one:

'Tis the spirit in which
The gift is rich
As the gifts of the Wise Ones were;
And we are not told
Whose gift was gold,
Or whose was the gift of myrrh.

ALICE THACHER POST.

* * *

SIX LITTLE LOVE-STORIES.

Just for Two. By May Stewart Cutting. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1909. Price, \$1.00.

Those who have read "Little Stories of Married Life" will perhaps be slightly disappointed in this collection of love stories. For while these are entertaining,—the first, "The Enchantment," being full of real fun,—distinction is lacking. Mary Stewart Cutting can do one thing well, and thereby she moves in good literary company; she can unobtrusively relate trivial acts to their mo-

tives and consequences so that her reader, though only "being amused" is conscious of the depths of life. This always saves from mere frivolity, and mere frivolity always palls. This Mrs. Cutting accomplished when she dealt with the manners and small adjustments of married life. This she has not accomplished in the present bookful of somewhat unusual and very readable light love stories.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

* * *

A "ROSEBUD GARDEN OF GIRLS."

A Court of Inquiry. By Grace Richmond. New York. Doubleday, Page & Company. Price, \$1.00.

"We four," declared the sceptic, "constitute a private court of inquiry into the condition of our friends," announces the frontispiece to this charming sketchy analysis of a group of characters that figure in a delightfully human way in the story. "We four" are the Skeptic, the Philosopher, the Gay Lady and the Author of the book, who is the hostess to a succession of girl visitors whose peculiarities excite wise and witty comments in the merry "Court of Inquiry."

Four years later the hostess herself becomes a visitor in the free harmonious home of the Skeptic and the Gay Lady, where she meets her dearest friend, the Philosopher. Here the Court of Inquiry is again set up over the marriages and husbands of the girls who have made the usual choice of contrasting characteristics that afford pleasing comment in the private "court." A cheerful book for a weary hour.

A. L. M.

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A GIFT BOOK.

Your Character. Written and Compiled by Elizabeth Towne and Catharine Strubles Twing. Published by Elizabeth Towne, Holyoke, Mass. Price, 75c.

A dainty and suggestive birthday or holiday gift, comprising 12 books in one, artistically bound, and packed in a white box banded with gold. Each of the twelve parts is devoted to a delineation of character for those born under a corresponding sign of the zodiac, and this is followed by a separate chapter of advice as to cultivation and unfoldment of the better traits of character. The gems, colors, flowers, companions, etc., related to each sign are given with a page for autographs of friends born in the same month. In every "sign" there are quotations of great helpful thoughts from famous writers born under its reign, and these range from Emanuel Swedenborg down to the modern minds that are seeking to give a little uplift to human life. The whole forms a unique little gift that may afford amusement as well as inspiration for more than a passing hour.

A. L. M.

KARL MARX, THE FRIEND.

The Marx He Knew. By John Spargo. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1909. Price, 50 cents.

To all disciples of Karl Marx these personal recollections of their revered teacher will be most grateful. The memories of an old shoemaker, Hans Fritzsche, a fellow townsboy and a life-long friend and follower of "Karl" are given in a few pages of conversation with the "Young Comrade." The path of the great Socialist from brilliant youth to able manhood and efficient leadership is paralleled by the road from luxury and esteem to poverty and persecution, while always the narrator has concern with the man rather than his cause.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Story of the Negro. The Rise of the Race from Slavery. By Booker T. Washington. Two volumes. Published by Doubleday, Page & Company. 1909.

—Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson. With annotations. Edited by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes. Vol. I—1820 to 1824; vol. II—1824 to 1832. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. 1909. Price \$1.75 net per volume.

—The People's Law, or Popular Participation in Law-Making. From Ancient Folk-Moot to Modern Referendum. A study in the Evolution of Democracy and Direct Legislation. By Charles Sumner Lobingier, Ph. D., LL. M., with an Introduction by George Elliot Howard. Published by the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth avenue, New York. 1909. Price, \$4.00.

✦ ✦ ✦

"Why, Aunt Rachel, how did you get your gown torn and your hat knocked all out of shape?"

"Been buying my Christmas presents early, child. Drat the newspapers!"—Chicago Tribune.

WHAT I WANT.

I presume that at least one-half of The Public readers are so imbued with its usefulness as an educator that they would gladly make an effort in its behalf. And it is my purpose to center the attention of such well-wishers on the easy means of effective help.

All there is to it is to charge your mind with "subscriptions," and at all proper times ask your friends to join us.

The Public has enough enthusiastic friends to increase its subscription list geometrically, if these friends can be energized.

530 Walnut St.,
Cincinnati, Ohio
November 27, 1909.

PAMPHLETS

Pulpit Paragraphs.

That the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Pekin, Ill., receives good spiritual nourishment at the hands of its pastor, the Rev. William James Leach, these "Pulpit Paragraphs" demonstrate. They preach simple, honest, democratic Christianity, with homely illustration and concrete application. The little exegesis of the book of Amos shows how the Scriptures should be read. "About Pigs" and "Billiken" are built upon the true religion of the common life.

PERIODICALS

In the Forum (New York) for November, Bolton Hall criticises organized charities for fostering what they profess to relieve, and as darkening "the understanding of the giver as well as the receiver."

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"The Secrets of the Schluesselburg," the most terrible political prison of Russia, abandoned four years ago but filled with prisoners again with the despotic reaction, is alone enough to make McClure's (New York) for December intensely interesting.

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Budkavlen (The Message), published in Filopstad, Sweden, is a journal of social ethics and economic reform, edited by Johan Hansson, which has the unique feature of a department for the expression of any kind of opinion for the insertion of which the contributor is willing to pay a cent a line.

✦

In the American Federationist (Washington) for December, the opinions of the judges of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, including Judge Shepard's dissenting opinion, delivered in the Gompers-Morrison-Mitchell case, are printed in full,

Daniel Kiefer.

as is President Gompers' report (embodying the same subject) to the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto.

✦

A poem of extraordinary pathos and power from the pen of Helen Keller, "The Song of the Stone Wall," appears in the Century (New York) for December, in which also appear the beginning chapters of Modjeska's Memoirs, and a touch of life in Curacao by Charles Johnson Post, with character illustrations by himself, under the title of "A Little Paradise in the Dutch West Indies."

✦

The Bulletins of the International Labor Office (quarterly, 8s per annum) published by the Labour Representation Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd (Trade Union), 3 New Road, Woolwich, London, of which No. 4 of vol. II, and No. 1 of vol. III are before us, form an invaluable periodical compendium, universal in scope, of department orders, parliamentary decrees, resolutions of voluntary congresses, and bibliography, on labor subjects.

✦

A. N. Holcombe's story of "The Growth of Democracy in Germany," and the Rev. Elliot White's "Recent Episode in the Battle Against the Russianization of America," are the articles in the December Twentieth Century (5 Park Square, Boston) that will probably interest our readers most. The "News of Fundamental Democratic and Economic Advance," is an especially valuable feature of this new magazine. It includes the news of the month regarding direct legislation, conservation, proportional representation, public ownership, municipal progress, woman's progress, and cooperative movements.

✦

Eastern readers who imagine that the Atlantic coast monopolizes the publication of good magazine literature, will be surprised if not gratified if they turn the leaves of the Pacific Monthly (Portland, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles,) for December, an issue which is as inviting in typography and illustration as any magazine in the American list, and "makes good" in its material besides. The cover

picture need make no apologies to any competitor. It is a typical sunset scene on Puget Sound, from the shadow of towering pines on the shore. The whole magazine is characteristic of the Pacific region.

✦

Charlotte Perkins Gilman is a courageous as well as clever woman. She has started out to create a magazine all by herself. The first number of The Forerunner (The Charlton Company, 67 Wall street, New York. \$1.00 a year) bears date of November, and like all the issues promised for the future, it was written—editorials, stories, poetry and advertisements, yes, advertisements—written wholly by Mrs. Gilman. And it is worth taking just to read those advertisements; they will give you ideas as to how you may lessen your daily labor and increase your pleasures. As for the rest of the matter—no one else could have done it so well.

A. T. P.

✦ ✦ ✦

"What's doing in the way of amusements?" asks the newcomer of the old inhabitant of Hades.

"Baseball game every afternoon." answers the old inhabitant.

"Baseball? You don't mean it! That's great. I was a fan from 'way back on earth. On the square, do you have baseball every day?"

"Sure thing."

"By ginger! This place suits me. Baseball! Say, this can't be hell, then."

"Yes, it is. The home team always loses."—Life.

✦ ✦ ✦

The managing editor wheeled his chair around and pushed a button in the wall. The person wanted entered.

"Here," said the editor, "are a number of directions from outsiders as to the best way to run a newspaper. See that they are all carried out."

And the office-boy, gathering them all into a large waste basket, did so.—Green Bag.

✦ ✦ ✦

A British working-man stopped a fashionably dressed clubman in a West End street and asked for a light for his pipe. The man-about-town condescendingly supplied him with a match. "Thank yer."

Women's Trade Union League of Chicago

PUBLIC MEETING

Sunday, December 12, 3 P. M.

Federation Hall, 275 La Salle St.
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Speaker: Mr. Frank J. Hayes, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, on "The Legislation Called for by the Cherry disaster, and demanded by the United Mine Workers of Illinois."

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"Well," retorted the worker as he picked up his bag of tools, "yer might have been perlite enuf to tell a lie, same as I did."—London Labour Leader.

+ + +

A witty woman has coined the word "muncheon" to describe one of Horace Fletcher's feasts.—Good Housekeeping.

+ + +

Suffragette; "What is a party without women?"
Mere Man (flippantly): "A stag party."
Suffragette: "Exactly. And what, sir, would this

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nation be without women but stagnation?"—The Christian Register.

✦ ✦ ✦

Some time ago there was a flood in British Columbia. An old fellow who had lost nearly everything he possessed was sitting on the roof of his house as it floated along when a boat approached.

"Hello, John!"

"Hello, Dave!"

"Are your fowls all washed away, John?"

"Yes, but the ducks can swim," replied the old man.

"Apple-trees gone?"

"Well, they said the crop would be a failure, anyhow."

"I see the flood's away above your window."

"That's all right, Dave. Them winders needed washin', anyhow."—Pearson's Weekly.

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