

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

Tightening the Coils.

On the surface there seems to be little connection between the proceedings at Washington against the New York World for seditious libel, and the proceedings there against the American Federationist for what we shall have to distinguish as a labor libel. Yet the two are intimately related. Each is a different phase of a tendency toward usurpation of power. In the Federationist case (p. 61), the proceedings tend to destroy freedom of the press by remitting questions of its abuse to the arbitrary determination of injunction judges, thereby destroying the American principle that in libel cases juries shall decide all the issues—publication, libelous character, publishers' motives and justifiableness of publication. In the World case, the proceedings tend to subject publishers all over the United States to trial in the District of Columbia.



The proceedings against the World are therefore of vastly greater moment to the people of the United States than any question regarding graft in connection with the Isthmian canal, important as some of those questions are. For these proceedings are a menace to the general freedom of the press. They are a greater menace than was the sedition law of 1798, for which the Federalist party was responsible and which drove it from power.

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Tightening the Coils.....	73
The Indiana Senatorship.....	75
National Schools for National Service.....	75
La Follette's	75
President-Elect Taft and Private Property.....	75
Weeding a Chicago Garden.....	76
George C. Sikes for City Council.....	76
Another Despotic Business Charter.....	76
The Economic Character of Soil-Fertility (Max Hirsch)	77
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Concerning Education—The Submerged Tenth (Scott Nearing)	80
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
The First Reform (W. A. Hunter).....	80
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
Earthquake Rescues	81
Turkish-Austrian Question Settled.....	82
Cuban Autonomy	82
Monopoly of Water Power.....	82
Oregon Senatorial Election.....	82
Illinois Politics	83
The Chicago Socialists	84
The Traction Situation in Cleveland.....	84
Union Label Strike.....	84
News Notes	85
Press Opinions	87
RELATED THINGS:	
The Crucified (Jos. Fitzpatrick)	89
The Regenerate Ego	89
The Gompers-Case Usurpation (J. G. Maguire).....	89
Wayside Fruits of Abnormal Civilization.....	90
BOOKS:	
The Law of the Breath.....	92
Gillette's Industrial Solution.....	93
Books Received	93
Periodicals	93

That old sedition law made it a crime to publish libels upon the President or Congress, and under it editors were tried, convicted and imprisoned. The trials were in the Federal courts in their own States. Yet the people, realizing the danger of bridling the press in its exposures of and comments upon the central government, realizing that it were better that officials be subject even to libels than that the people's liberties be quietly undermined by means which the press dared not expose nor denounce, rose in indignation against the sedition law. But the sedition law was mild in comparison with these proceedings against the *New York World*. They go farther toward despotism than the despotic old Federalists ever dreamed of going.

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Not only does the Federal government take jurisdiction of libels by making them subject to Federal indictment—which was all that the sedition law of 1798 undertook to do—but by making them triable at Washington, though they be published in the most remote part of the Union, it goes the further length of centralizing the power of the Federal government over the press of the whole country.

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Consider the matter. The District of Columbia is the only place, other than Territories not yet advanced to Statehood, in which offenses not distinctly Federal may be tried in the Federal courts. In the District of Columbia, all phases of the law are within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts; whereas, in the States, the Federal courts have no jurisdiction over cases not involving the authority of the Federal Constitution. A Federal court in Illinois cannot try a criminal libel case, because questions of libel within a State are exclusively of State concern. But in the District of Columbia, the Federal court may try a case of criminal libel, because the District of Columbia is not within any State. The Federal courts there combine the jurisdiction which in a State is divided between State and Federal courts. So long, then, as a person within the District of Columbia commits a crime of any kind against the peace and order of the District, it is entirely right that he be tried there. Consequently, an indictment against Mr. Gompers might be right enough; for his offense, if it was an offense, was committed within the District of Columbia. The question in his case is not one of territorial jurisdiction; it is a question of government by injunction. But the question in Mr. Pulitzer's case is one of territorial jurisdic-

tion. His offense, if it was an offense, was an offense against his State. Possibly it may be conceded that he might be indicted in the District of Columbia for sending a libelous publication into that jurisdiction, on the principle that one State may indict the resident of another for sending a libelous publication over its borders. But the State which indicts under those circumstances cannot try the offender unless he comes voluntarily into its jurisdiction. It cannot bring him there against his will. So in the case of Mr. Pulitzer. If the courts of the District of Columbia may indict him, they cannot compel his attendance without thereby establishing a precedent for subjecting every publisher in the land to liability to transportation to Washington for trial for any utterance that gives offense to Federal officials.

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To concede the lawful power of the District of Columbia to bring witnesses from a State into its courts by subpoena, or to bring any alleged offender from a State before its courts by warrant, is to concede that all judicial power, over all persons throughout the United States, resides in the courts of the District of Columbia, provided some subtle interpretation of the law enables them to say that the alleged offense was committed in the District constructively. It is therefore to concede that the rest of the United States is, in respect of the most important safeguards of personal liberty, subject to the District of Columbia. This alone would be a dangerous concession, but there lurks within it a greater danger. For the proceedings against the *World* are for sedition—for libeling Federal officials as such. Let this sort of proceeding take root in a little district controlled by the President and a small and irresponsible coterie in Congress, with power in the courts of the district to grab an alleged offender anywhere in the Union, and unauthorized criticism of the President, his official associates and his policies would be too dangerous for any but reckless and irresponsible libelers or exceptionally sturdy patriots to risk.

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We trust that Mr. Pulitzer may at the outset contest the authority of the courts of the District of Columbia to drag him before their bar. Charles A. Dana of the *Sun* did this in President Grant's day of unsavory memory, and did it successfully. Judge Blatchford decided that the courts of the District of Columbia had no long and strong arm with which to sweep this country in the interest of despotism as the long and the

strong arm of the Czar sweeps Russia. We trust that Mr. Pulitzer will contest this question, and we wish him the success that Mr. Dana had. It is a vastly more important question than his exposure of the Isthmian canal conspiracy out of which it has grown, and it offers Mr. Pulitzer an infinitely more responsible and more exalted place as a champion of our traditional liberties.

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The Indiana Senatorship.

While it is to be regretted that John W. Kern, whose speech at Chicago during the Presidential campaign (vol. xi, pp. 602, 613, 769) stamped him unmistakably as a democratic Democrat, is not to represent his State in the United States Senate, the choice of Benjamin F. Shively as Democratic candidate is ample assurance that the Senatorial election in Indiana is not to be reactionary. Mr. Shively has long held a conspicuous place in the front rank of democratic Democrats.

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National Schools for National Service. 7

The movement for establishing a national school for the education of consuls is the beginning of what may prove to be a valuable innovation—valuable in more ways and to a greater extent than its promoters probably imagine. We have a West Point and an Annapolis for the education of official man-killers; why not a consular school for the education of officials whose business it is or should be to promote international commerce and friendship? The man-killer schools pay wages to their pupils, on condition that as graduates they shall serve in the army or navy for a given period; why not a similar investment in the education of peacemakers?

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It would be socialistic, of course. Not socialism, maybe; but socialistic. But what of that? Are not the West Point and the Annapolis academies socialistic except for their man-killing purposes? Are not our public schools and State colleges socialistic? Are not our postoffice department, our agricultural department, and our commerce and labor department, with all their incidents of money orders, experiment stations, and so on—are not these socialistic? Nor do these fill out the socialistic list by any means. It is too late in this country to object to any innovation as socialistic. We have already gone too far in socialistic directions, sometimes wisely and sometimes not, to permit ourselves to say that any-

thing otherwise good must be rejected because it is socialistic.

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The proposed consular school would be a good thing on its own merits. We could well go further and provide for the education of all subordinate public servants in the same way. We say subordinate because public service demands two kinds of officials. One kind are legislative and administrative officials, who control general policies and should come directly from the people; the other are bureau officials whose business it is to execute in detail, as experts, the policies which their elected superiors order to be executed. Why not educate all these subordinates, then, as we educate our army and navy officers, and as it is now proposed that we educate our representatives to foreign countries?

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La Follette's.

There is hopeful significance in the publication by such a man as Senator La Follette of such a periodical as La Follette's magazine. We have had periodicals of democratic Democracy; but La Follette's is the first that may be unreservedly and truly called democratic Republican. The breath of fundamental democracy has been breathed into its nostrils by a man who stands today for the kind of Republicanism that Abraham Lincoln stood for in the sixties.

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President-elect Taft and Private Property.

The President-elect, Mr. Taft, predicts a severe test of "the institution of private property;" and urges the lawyers of the country to work out the best plan to preserve it as far as possible, while at the same time preventing "the harmful use of private property in big corporations." He regards "the institution of private property" as having, "next to that of personal liberty, had more to do with the progress of civilization than any other institution;" but thinks present conditions require statutory regulations of "the use of private property wherever it is represented in combinations of capital." All this and more, in a speech before the Augusta (Ga.) Bar Association on the 11th.

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Was Mr. Taft right? That depends upon what he meant by the institution of private property. Negro slaves were in bondage once under the institution of private property. White Saxons were once enthralled by the institution of private prop-

erty. Russian serfs were claimed as appurtenant to the land under the institution of private property. Tax farming privileges were once secured by the institution of private property. Does Mr. Taft include these subjects of ownership when he speaks of private property as contributing to the progress of civilization?

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Evidently not, for he makes the institution of private property secondary to personal liberty as a promoter of civilization; and ownership of these kinds were assuredly incompatible with personal liberty. But isn't ownership of our modern special privileges, created by law, just as incompatible with personal liberty? and ought not this to be excluded from the category of commodities under the institution of private property? Isn't monopoly of the planet incompatible with personal liberty, and ought not that to be excluded from the category of commodities under the institution of private property?

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The soundness of what Mr. Taft said when he extolled the institution of private property depends upon what he includes. If he includes property in what the owner gets by mere force of law, regardless of justice, then civilization has been and always will be retarded, not promoted, to the extent of the effect of private property in such things. But if he includes only those products that are produced by the owner, or got by him in free and fair and untrammelled exchange from others with what he himself has produced, then all that Mr. Taft says is true. Private property in individual earnings, received on the basis of "the square deal," is an institution which, so far from being only second to personal liberty as a promoter of civilization, is indeed an essential element in any rational conception of personal liberty.

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Weeding a Chicago Garden.

The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago has adopted tactics suitable to the times. Time was when Chicago aldermen who menaced the interests of the city, were coarse in their methods and disreputable in their associations. If they grew rich in office, it was through nefarious transactions coming within the condemnation of good people, and under the penalties of the criminal law if proved. But after the Municipal Voters' League had largely displaced these ugly "gray wolves" with a pack of "business hounds," some of the latter began to fatten up by means of

transactions which, however reprehensible at bottom, are not generally condemned upon their face. Some new method was necessary, therefore, to meet new and respectable menaces to public interests, and for long the Voters' League was at a loss. But it seems now to have hit upon the right thing. It has addressed a series of questions to aldermen intending to run for re-election, among the questions being inquiries as to any financial interest of these aldermen in the securities of public utilities corporations. The League judiciously disclaimed any intention of intimating that aldermen with such personal interests might not be perfectly true to public interests, but suggested that the facts ought to be known so that their constituents might judge for themselves. The effect has been in some respects rather curious. Some aldermen not of the "gray wolf" class have changed their intentions as to running for re-election, and decided to get out of the race. They might have done this more gracefully by also answering the questions; but doubtless they have the right to disentangle their own embarrassments in their own way so long as they keep out of office. The Municipal Voters' League is to be congratulated upon its tactics—so gentle yet so effective.

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George C. Sikes for City Council.

If the people of the Thirty-fifth ward of Chicago really care for their own public interests, they will put down the political machines of both parties in that ward this year—the Roger Sullivan Democratic machine at the municipal primaries in February, and the Mayor Busse Republican machine at the municipal election in April—by nominating and electing George C. Sikes as alderman. Mr. Sikes has a record in public life in Chicago that would make his election a guarantee of alert and skillful service under all circumstances, and of good government so far as his official action could effect it. The Sullivan machine will prevent his nomination if possible; but it will not be possible if the good government Democrats of the ward take the trouble to express themselves at the primaries.

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Another Despotic "Business Charter."

The proposed charter for the city of Boston is of the despotic type of commission government, like that of Galveston, in contradistinction to the democratic type like that of Des Moines and the one proposed for Berkeley. It is another example of the old method of making democracy seem a fail-

ure in cities, by depriving the cities of democratic control. The Boston charter is a "business" man's charter, drawn upon hard and fast "business" lines.

* * *

THE ECONOMIC CHARACTER OF SOIL-FERTILITY.

The article from the pen of Professor John R. Commons, entitled "The Single Tax in Theory and Practice" (vol. x, p. 1205), presents in a most seductive way a theory regarding the economic character of soil fertility which I believe to be as novel to most single taxers as it is to me. I recognize the validity of the author's claim, that his theory, if it could be sustained, would remove much opposition to the imposition of the single tax, and I therefore approached its consideration with a considerable bias in its favor. Nevertheless, and in spite also of the ability with which its distinguished author presents it, I have come to seriously doubt the soundness of the theory, and venture to formulate my reasons.

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Professor Commons' theory is that soil-fertility constitutes no element in economic land value, but is the result of individual labor and abstinence; that is, that it is capital as truly as are machines, buildings and other improvements on land. The deduction from this theory, which represents its practical value, is that agricultural land should logically be taxed on the value which it would have if its fertility were exhausted; and, of course, if no improvements had been placed upon it.

The main reasoning in support of the theory is as follows:

The essential characteristic of capital, such as a steam engine, is that its value gradually passes into its products, and that it must be repaired, maintained and renewed out of the value of its products. All this is equally true of soil-fertility. Its value goes into the crop and would gradually disappear unless maintained by the application of fertilizers. Moreover, the value of land—apart from site-value—is simply the value of the labor and capital required for clearing it; that is, it is only a capital value, and economically, therefore, it is capital.

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The analogy between steam-engines and soil-fertility, upon which the first of those arguments rests, seems to me erroneous. For the natural fertility of the soil needs neither "repair" nor "renewal," if it is "maintained" by an adequate application of fertilizers, in such uses of the soil

in which fertilizers are at all necessary for the maintenance of fertility. That is, by merely maintaining it, fertility lasts forever. Can it be said of a steam-engine or any other form of man-made capital, that by merely maintaining it, it will last forever? Theoretically it may be held that by maintenance and renewal in parts, such eternal life may be given to a steam-engine, but economically it is impossible. This is clearly stated by Professor Commons; but he has overlooked that this eternal life, denied to a steam-engine, is an attribute of soil-fertility in the conditions stated.

As is correctly stated by the author, ultimately the whole virtue of a steam-engine, plus the value of its maintenance and renewals, passes into its products. But the facts set out in the foregoing paragraph point to the conclusion that no such complete absorption takes place where soil-fertility is concerned. This becomes quite clear when the following facts are considered. The application of fertilizers to soils of great fertility is not only unnecessary for many years after they are taken into cultivation, but generally is harmful. A period may, however, arise when the product would decline, unless fertilizers were applied. The application of fertilizers then maintains the product at the old rate, which, however, is more and frequently many times the quantity and value of the product which, with an equal application of fertilizers, may be obtained from the least fertile soils in use; that is, no further absorption of natural fertility takes place. The fertilizer (maintenance) added to the soil is absorbed by the product, but no further part of the natural fertility of the soil is so absorbed. In this sense fertility is an "indestructible" quality of the soil.

Moreover, while it is true that cultivation tends to diminish fertility, this is not true of other uses of soil-fertility. One important one, for instance, is that of raising and fattening sheep and growing wool. The grasses upon which the sheep feed are the product of the fertility of the soil, and therefore sheep and wool are such products. Yet the longer sheep graze over the soil the greater becomes its fertility. The product of fertility returns more fertility to the soil than it absorbs. Is there any form of capital, generally accepted as such, which similarly increases in amount or value in the course of its use in production?

Furthermore, all the generally admitted forms of capital not only disappear in their products, but disappear gradually whether they give forth products or not. They all decay even when unused. To all of them attaches the instability which is the sign of man's work. But, differing

from capital, soil-fertility neither diminishes nor decays when unused, and in many cases even increases.

One other feature must be considered. Soil fertility depends not upon one, but upon two factors; one chemical and inherent in the soil, the other rain or snow fall, and exterior to it. Land in an arid region, though possessing all the chemical elements of great fertility, is nevertheless unproductive, when the same land in a well-watered region would yield products of great value. Cultivation, far from exhausting this external element of fertility, may tend to increase it. Superficially it may appear that the value arising from this source is site-value. The slightest consideration, however, will show that this is not the case. For site-value is a social product, arising from the concentration of population, whereas the moisture element of fertility is as much a natural product as the chemical composition of the soil itself.

This leads to the final difference between a steam-engine and what it stands for, and soil-fertility. The former is the product of labor applied to land. On the other hand, the fertility of the soil is not a product of labor, but a gift of nature. Soils differ in fertility, just as steam-engines differ in productivity. But there are these further differences. All users of steam-engines can obtain the use of the most productive engines. But not all users of land can obtain the use of the most fertile soils,—just because steam-engines are man-made and therefore can be economically multiplied indefinitely, while fertile soils are not man-made and economically cannot be multiplied indefinitely. A monopoly character, therefore, adheres to more fertile soils, just as it adheres to more advantageously situated land, whereas no such monopoly attaches to even the most productive steam-engines. And just as the monopoly character of more advantageous sites expresses itself in land values, so does the monopoly character of more fertile soils.

That fertility and advantage of position combine in the production of land value may be easily seen from the following facts. Marginal land, admitted by Professor Commons to have no value, is the most advantageous land which at any time is open to rent-free use. It is, however, quite clear that advantage in use must arise from the combination of two factors, situation and fertility. Land of inferior situation, but possessing superior fertility, may be precisely as advantageous in use as land of inferior fertility but of superior situation. The true margin of cultivation, therefore, is land open to rent-free use, the combined fertility and situa-

tion of which make it more advantageous in use than other rent-free land. It follows that any land of like situation and superior fertility than marginal land must have a rental value; that is, that fertility is an element in the value of land.

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Professor Commons indicates that he applies his theory to mineral land no less than to arable land, and logically he must so apply it, and to natural forests as well. For just as fertility would gradually disappear under some forms of cultivation, unless maintained by the application of fertilizers, so a natural forest disappears as the trees are felled, unless replanting is carried on *pari passu* with the felling. That such a replanted forest is capital no one will deny; but it does not follow that the natural forest is or was capital, or that its value is capital value. For such natural forest is a gift of nature, having no cost of production. Land bearing such a forest, say of hickory or walnut trees, is of infinitely greater value than land in the same relative situation to markets—that is, having the same site-value—which bears no timber or which bears timber fit only for firewood. This additional value, not being due to either labor or abstinence, adheres in the land, and is of the same nature as site-value and should be taxed the same as site-value.

In the foregoing cases the expenditure of labor and capital can prevent the exhaustion of fertility by adding new fertility. It is, however, very different as regards mineral deposits. Neither labor nor capital can restore these deposits. More even than chemical fertility or forest growths are they a vanishing quantity and value. Therefore, Professor Commons was right in subjecting them to his theory also. For, if the theory were valid as to the former kinds of fertility, it would apply even more strongly to fertility in minerals. Are mineral deposits capital; are they or their value due to labor and abstinence? Here are two tracts of land lying side by side. ● On the surface both are alike, worthless scrub land of no value. But, it is discovered that underneath the surface of one of these is lodged a rich deposit of silver ore. At once this tract becomes of immense value, not on account of the small expenditure of labor and capital incurred in making the discovery, but on account of the value of the mineral which the land covers. This value, therefore, cannot be capital value, but is of the same nature as site value—i. e., an advantage adhering to the use of a particular plot of land.

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If, as I think I have shown, the value of min-

eral deposits and natural forests is land value and not capital value, in spite of the fact that this value must gradually disappear as the deposit or forest is worked—that is, that the value of the deposit or forest merges in that of its product—it must be quite clear that this characteristic is not confined to capital, but adheres to some forms of land value as well. It follows that the value of soil fertility may also be land value and not capital value, in spite of the fact that in certain circumstances it merges in the value of its products, and that other characteristics must determine its economic classification. These other characteristics I have already set out and have shown that they point clearly to the conclusion that natural soil-fertility produces land value and not in any way capital value.

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Permit me now to deal with the second of Professor Commons' arguments—namely, that apart from site-value land has no greater value than that of the labor and capital required to clear it; that is, it has only capital value. This statement seems to me entirely erroneous.

In the western district of Victoria, Australia, there are two adjoining tracts of land widely different in fertility. One, composed of a deep, volcanic soil, has for many years been used for the production of potatoes and onions, and brings an annual rental per acre of from \$8 to \$25 and sells at from \$150 to \$500 an acre. The other, consisting of a thin crust of soil overlaying heavy clay, had been used for grazing sheep till a few years ago, when it was discovered that by the application of fertilizers it might be made to yield satisfactory crops of wheat. This latter land sells at from \$12 to \$25 an acre, according to its distance from a railroad station. Both these tracts were originally open prairie, without trees, and therefore caused, acre for acre, a like expenditure of labor and capital to fit them for cultivation. Both are equidistant from their main market—Melbourne—and both have similar facilities for reaching it. The wide difference in their value, therefore, cannot be due to a difference in expenditure to fit them for cultivation; nor can it be due to differences in site-value. It can only be due to their difference in fertility, for that is the only feature in which they differ. I therefore must conclude that, apart from site-value, land may have a greater—and a much greater—value than that of the labor and capital expended to fit it for its use.

Let me give another example. The Government of Victoria six years ago drained a swamp (Moe Swamp) at an expenditure of \$52 an acre. It sold

the land to settlers at \$57—that is, the cost of draining plus the adopted price for all Crown lands. The present value of this land varies from \$140 an acre for the poorest, to \$275 for the richest, the land being of great fertility. This swamp land is surrounded by low hills, which also are cultivated, and the value of which varies from \$37 to \$50 an acre. This hill land is in every respect of the same site-value as the swamp land; its cost of clearing was much greater than that of the swamp land apart from the cost of draining the latter, for it was heavily timbered. Yet, even when the cost of draining is deducted, the swamp land is of very much greater value than the hilly land, and of much greater value than its cost of clearing, draining, etc. Why? Again the answer must be, on account of its greater fertility. This again proves that, apart from site-value, more fertile land may have a value in excess of the expenditure of labor and capital necessary to fit it for use; that this excess-value is due to excess of fertility, and that excess of fertility over marginal fertility produces, not capital value, but land value.

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This, then, is the conclusion to which I must come. Marginal fertility, like marginal situation, produces no value. Excess of fertility over marginal fertility produces a value in the same way as every excess of advantage of situation over marginal situation produces a value. Both these values attach to land, are land values, and differ in almost every respect from capital value. To differentiate between these two component parts of land value when imposing taxation upon land value, therefore, is neither feasible nor just.

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Permit me now to state my conception of the practical consequences which would flow from the acceptance of Professor Commons' proposal. This proposal is to treat agricultural land as mere situation and to value it for taxation as if "the fertility of the soil were exhausted." Now take two farms having the same advantage of situation, but one of which yields twice the product of the other for every unit of labor and capital, inclusive of fertilizers, employed. I could point to much greater differences, arising purely from differing soil-fertility, but this will serve. According to the plan proposed, both farms would pay the same land-value tax per acre, yet one farmer without any more expenditure of labor and capital, would have twice the value of product to pay it from than the other. This being so, the unearned ad-

vantage which this farmer derives from the greater fertility of his land would be increased through unfair taxation. For, after payment of the tax by both, his net product would be more than twice as great as that of his neighbor, though it was only twice as great before payment of tax.

Consequently the difference in the capital value of these two lots of land would also be increased by this method of taxation, a result not consonant with the objects of the single tax as I understand it, nor with any conception of justice.

MAX HIRSCH.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CONCERNING EDUCATION—THE SUBMERGED TENTH.

Philadelphia, Jan. 16.—An educational tremor, a quiver of intellectual excitement, ran through the staid Quaker city on the 13th, and the next morning the papers rejoiced in another periodic awakening to civic duty. The Academy of Music was filled with three thousand people who listened for two hours to a series of strong, direct appeals for the establishment of a better school system.

The remarks were timely and to the point. In the first place it appeared that nearly a thousand children were waiting patiently on the doorstep of the Philadelphia school system for a chance to get into schools; that more than three thousand children were attending school in rented buildings and nearly fifteen thousand children were on part time—getting half an education; that for 14 children who were in the elementary schools, there was one in the high schools; and that the school buildings were unsatisfactory and the school teachers overloaded with students. Particular attention was drawn to a slaughter house, alias stable, alias school house, recently secured for educational purposes.

In the second place it appears that these conditions were not typically American, but were distinctively Philadelphian. Of ten leading cities in the United States, Philadelphia stood tenth in the proportion of children in the upper grades; ninth in the value of school property per pupil; and well down the list in items of school expenditure, and number of pupils per teacher. Not only were the Philadelphia schools defective, but they came very near being most defective. Philadelphia formed the educational submerged tenth.

And the remedy? More money for the schools—four million dollars now, and more soon to follow! A decent seat, in a decent school, for every child! God speed, City of Brotherly Love; the journey is long but the purpose is noble. It cannot but lead to ultimate success.

SCOTT NEARING.

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It is the action of an uninstructed person to reproach others for his own misfortunes; of one entering upon instruction, to reproach himself; and of one perfectly instructed, to reproach neither others nor himself.—Epictetus.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE FIRST REFORM.

Berkeley, Cal., Dec. 31.—When President Cleveland issued his tariff reform message, Henry George, in common with many others, hailed it, not without reason, as the herald of a great movement which of its own momentum would quickly develop and lead to greater things, and thought that from tariff reform an advance would be made to free trade and that eventually the culmination would be found in the taxation of land values. Before his death, however, he witnessed the tariff reform agitation adroitly diverted, lose its force by diffusion, and practically cease to exist as an issue.

So it must and will ever be, as long as the people leave the governing power to their so-called representatives. By war or other opportune incidents of the times, a reform movement can be too easily diverted and stifled before it has accomplished any practical results. It is and will be very difficult to accomplish much in the way of economic reform until a greater measure of political freedom is achieved. The mere vote for representatives does not constitute political liberty; it is but a step towards it. Not until the people can control both legislation and their servants the legislators, will political freedom be established. As long as desired legislation can be blocked by an individual or a number of representatives, as by the Speaker of the House, or by the Senate in the United States, or by the House of Lords in Great Britain, reformers will be beating their heads against a stone wall instead of uniting to remove the wall. Even President Roosevelt appealed to and urged Congress in vain for child labor legislation and direct election of Senators. He was coolly ignored and snubbed by his own party in Congress.

What is the lesson to reformers? Surely this:—“The people must rule,” by direct legislation, and not relegate their power to any party or so-called representatives. Even were representatives anxious to ascertain and carry out the will of their constituents, the present system would be quite inadequate and clumsy. Where there are several issues the voter has often to choose the most important issue, and vote for the candidate or party that represents his views on that one issue, regardless of the attitude on other issues. In 1900 a voter opposed to both the occupation of the Philippines and to free silver, had to sacrifice his views on one issue and vote for the Presidential candidate or party representing his views on the other issue, instead of being able to record his vote on both issues separately, as he would under direct legislation.

The quickest and surest way to economic reform is to first secure political freedom. Let all reformers unite to establish a “government of, by and for the people” by means of direct legislation. When that is once established, as it can be very quickly if reformers would unite, it will be comparatively easy to secure other reforms. For one vote for any other reform, ten can be secured for direct legislation. The one reform on which all reformers are likely to coalesce is direct legislation, as it is the

door to all other reforms. That Oregon under direct legislation rejected the single tax and woman suffrage amendments is no argument against direct legislation. It is better that reforms be turned down by the people than by politicians. Under direct legislation reform becomes merely a matter of the education of the masses instead of one of overcoming political chicanery and the selfish prejudice of privilege-influenced legislators.

Direct legislation—the initiative and referendum—must be established in municipal government and extended as quickly as feasible to the State and Federal governments, as it is in Switzerland, before this Republic can become a true democracy.

Let reformers unite to "take the first step first." Their favorite reforms will not suffer, but on the contrary be expedited by this policy.

W. A. HUNTER.

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, January 19, 1909.

Earthquake Rescues.

A boy who, with his two sisters, had been buried under the ruins of their home in Messina (p. 62) for nineteen days, wormed his way out on the 15th and showed the rescue-workers how to reach his sisters, who were brought out alive. They had been in a cellar in absolute darkness, but had found there a few onions, and wine, water and oil. The bodies of Arthur S. Cheney, the American consul at Messina, and his wife, were recovered from the ruins of the consulate on the 15th, by American sailors from the battleship Illinois (p. 35). Henry R. Chamberlain, writing under date of January 5 to the Chicago Tribune, thus describes the character and condition of the ruins of Messina, making it clearer why survivors and rescuers have encountered such enormous difficulties:

Messina, like most Sicilian and Southern Italian towns, was of tremendously solid construction. There usually was a facing of brick or stone and behind this a wall of rubble—a mixture of mortar and small stones—of enormous thickness. Three feet of this material was nothing unusual. The forces which nature brought to bear upon this construction eight days ago show in the result that the buildings might well have been made of sand in the same quantities and held together between surfaces of cardboard. This explains why the ruins of Messina make such an enormous mass. The buildings averaged four or five stories in height and the scrap heaps that remain are at least two stories

above the street level, including the material in the roadway itself. Another peculiarity struck me at once. An earthquake has usually some general direction—north and south, east and west, or between these points. Not so this convulsion. Debris fell in all directions, invariably into the street unless the front walls failed to give way in whatever direction the buildings faced. It was a vertical motion; apparently that is the most destructive. A horizontal shaking loosened everything, then a violent tossing throughout sent the whole construction to the ground. . . . I saw several dragged back from death covered with that everlasting mantle of white dust which made them look like living, moving plaster figures. Hundreds must have been literally smothered in it.

Mr. Chamberlain describes the rescue parties as crying constantly as they worked: "Is any one there? Is any one there?"

The story of Guisepppe Cutroneo, the first survivor of the earthquake to reach the United States, is very vivid. He arrived in Jersey City as a steerage passenger on the *Re d'Italia* from Palermo, on the 13th. Urged by his brother, who had come to the ship to meet him, and aided by interpreters, he was persuaded to tell his story, which is thus given in the *Chicago Inter Ocean*:

"I left my home early on the morning of the earthquake," he said, "to get a train for Milazzo. The train was to leave at 4 o'clock. At 4:15 o'clock I sat in the train. It was almost time to start. There was a great noise."

Cutroneo broke off and lifted his arms appealingly to his brother, saying: "I would like to tell, but it is foolish to say so little when it would take a greatly educated man a year to give the right idea."

"The car turned over on its side and moved up and down like a ship on the sea in a storm. Then the station building fell down on us. I thought I was killed. But I fought with everything my hands touched. Pretty soon, I found myself climbing through the window of the car. There had been nearly a hundred people with me in the train. I saw none of them.

"I got out and ran toward my home. Sometimes I found fallen houses in my way in the street. Sometimes the street was closed, and I turned and ran this way and that, looking for a way. Everywhere there were people, all crazy like myself—men, women, children; some with clothes, many with none. Almost all had cut faces or bodies, and many were crawling along on the ground with broken arms and legs, screaming.

"At last I found my house. The walls were still there. There were police guards in the street even then. I would go in. They say, 'No, you will be killed.'

"I tell them my wife, with the baby which is not yet born, she is there. My boy Florino, my boy Catonio, my little Madeline, who is barely old enough to walk—she, too, is in that house.

"They turn away the face, but they do not let me in. There are sixty other families in the house.

"For a day and a half I run up and down the

streets trying to get into the house, trying to find my wife and my children, looking along the water front, looking in the face of every child, of every woman.

"One came to me and said: 'A ship, the Regina Margherita, sails for Palermo. Hopeless I go. My clothes, they are in rags. I have had no food, so that I am not able to move around longer. I go aboard the ship to Palermo.

"On the ship are many living and 200 dead. In Palermo the people are very good to me. One, a Baron, comes upon me in the street and asks me what he can do. 'Give me money to go to America. All here is gone.' He put his hand in his pocket and gave me \$38. I shall never go back to Italy. I was here a little while seven years ago. I should have stayed. It is all."

His brother led him away. Both were weeping.

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Turkish-Austrian Question Settled.

The Turkish government (vol. xi, p. 923) has accepted from Austria-Hungary an offer of \$10,800,000 indemnity for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (vol. xi, pp. 660, 686, 758, 901), thus removing, according to the Associated Press dispatches, the possibility of the dreaded "war in the Balkans." In addition to paying the indemnity, Austria abandons her rights in Novi-Bazar, in which she has maintained a military force since the treaty of Berlin, though the little district has been civilly administered by Turkey (vol. xi, p. 660). Austria further agrees to the abrogation of certain old privileges over the Albanian Catholics, and other questions have been satisfactorily adjusted. Serbia is reported as dissatisfied with the settlement, an enlarged Servian nation, formed of the allied states of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, having been hoped for by the Serbs.

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Cuban Autonomy.

The new Cuban Congress (vol. xi, pp. 802, 900) met on the 13th to pass on credentials of members, and on the 18th to elect permanent officers. Martin Morua Delgado, the colored leader, was unanimously elected president of the Senate. This office, however, is mainly honorary, the dispatches say, as Vice President Zayas doubtless will preside at all the sessions. In the House of Representatives Colonel Orestes Ferrera, a prominent military leader in the last revolution, was elected president almost unanimously. The inauguration of President José Miguel Gomez and Vice-President Alfredo Zayas will take place on the 28th, when the American provisional government will withdraw.

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Monopoly of Water Power.

In a veto message on the 15th President Roosevelt specifically condemned the improvident granting of water power to private corporations. The vetoed bill was House bill No. 17,707, which

authorized William H. Standish to construct a dam across James River in Stone County, Mo., and divert part of its waters through a tunnel for electric power. "My reasons for not signing the bill," the President says, "are that it gives the grantee a valuable privilege which by its very nature is monopolistic and does not contain the conditions essential to public interest." Discussing the case of the Desplaines River in Illinois, as an example, he proceeded:

The great corporations are acting with foresight, singleness of purpose and vigor to control the water powers of the country. They pay no attention to State boundaries and are not interested in the Constitutional law affecting navigable streams. It is significant that they are opposing the control of water power on the Desplaines River by the State of Illinois with equal vigor and like arguments to those with which they oppose the national government pursuing the policy I advocate. Their attitude is the same with reference to their projects upon the mountain streams of the West, where the jurisdiction of the Federal government as the owner of the public lands and national forests is not open to question. . . . The people of the country are threatened by a monopoly far more powerful, because in far closer touch with their domestic and industrial life, than anything known to our experience. A single generation will see the exhaustion of our natural resources of oil and gas, and such a rise in the price of coal, as will make the price of electrically transmitted water power a controlling factor in transportation, in manufacturing and in household lighting and heating. . . . No grant of this kind should be made except as it provides for a fee to secure title to the people and for termination of the grant or privilege at a definite time. I will sign no bill granting a privilege of this character which does not contain the substance of these conditions. I consider myself bound, as far as exercise of my executive power will allow, to do for the people, in prevention of monopoly of their resources, what I believe they would do for themselves, if they were in a position to act.

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Oregon Senatorial Election.

The two houses of the Oregon legislature met in separate session on the 19th to vote for United States Senator. The occasion was of extraordinary interest and importance, owing to the peculiar laws of Oregon in this respect—laws growing out of the right of direct legislation reserved by Constitutional amendment to the people of that State.

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One of those laws authorizes an alternative statement to be signed by candidates for the legislature. One of these, known as "Statement No. 1," pledges the candidate, if elected, to vote, regardless of all party considerations, for the person for United States Senator whom a majority of voters shall have designated for that office at the polls; the other, known as "Statement No. 2," is a

declaration by the candidate for the legislature that, if elected, he will not be bound by the popular choice for United States Senator, but will vote for his party candidate. He is at liberty to make no pledge at all. The object of this law is to enable the people themselves to choose their Federal Senators. In the absence of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, no State can either elect Senators by popular vote or compel the legislature to elect the persons chosen by the people. By these pledges, therefore, it was intended to impose a moral responsibility upon members of the legislature.

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At the election last Fall (vol xi, p. 250), a clear majority of the legislative candidates elected had pledged themselves by "Statement No. 1" to vote for the popular choice as indicated at the election, and the popular choice so indicated was Governor George E. Chamberlain. But Governor Chamberlain is a Democrat, whereas a large majority of the members of the legislature are Republicans. That a Republican legislature should elect a Democrat as Senator, was gall and wormwood to party leaders, and efforts have been under way to defeat the popular choice by re-electing Senator Fulton, a Republican. President Roosevelt is understood as having advised against this policy, characterizing it as calculated to stigmatize the party for bad faith. But the campaign managers of the President-elect are understood to have opposed the election of Mr. Chamberlain, and to favor the choice of a Republican, basing their contention upon the principle of party responsibility.

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To meet the opposition to Chamberlain, the Republican advocates of his election, gave public notice on the 17th that they would invoke the "recall" against every legislator who, having signed "Statement No. 1" in the campaign, should vote against Chamberlain at the Senatorial election. The "recall" is another peculiarity of the Oregon Constitution. It enables the constituents of any elected official, upon petition signed by a fixed number of them, to hold a special election for the purpose of recalling him and filling his unexpired term with another person.

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The threat to invoke the "recall" was effective. The dispatches of the 17th reported a "dampening effect on the friends of Fulton," in consequence of it, and on the 19th Chamberlain received 19 votes in the upper House and 34 in the lower, while all Republican candidates received 11 in the upper and 26 in the lower.

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Illinois Politics

Since last week's report on the political situa-

tion in Illinois (pp. 49, 56), Governor Deneen and his associates on the Republican ticket have been formally declared to have been elected. The proceedings were without sensational features.

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On the 13th the Senate met the House in accordance with its resolution of the 12th and witnessed the proclamation of the vote of November 3. The inauguration was set for the 18th. A notice of contest in behalf of Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate, was served, while the two Houses were together. As soon as the clerk of the lower House began reading it, the Lieutenant Governor directed the Senators to return to the Senate chamber, and they left in a body while the notice of contest was still being read. The notice asked for a recount of the ballots cast at the gubernatorial election, on the ground that 15,000 unnaturalized citizens voted for Charles S. Deneen; that 15,000 persons who were not citizens of the State of Illinois at the time of the election did also; and that 20,000 votes cast for Adlai E. Stevenson were counted for Deneen. Following these general statements were specifications by counties and voting precincts.

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Governor Deneen was inaugurated on the 18th.

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Meanwhile the fight waged against Governor Deneen by the combination of Busse-Lorimer Republicans and Roger Sullivan Democrats has suffered no abatement. It has, however, taken on a less hostile form personally. The plans of the bi-partisan combination are now reported by Republican papers as contemplating the election of Governor Deneen to the Federal Senate, whether he will or no. While this proposal is nominally not unfriendly to Governor Deneen but the reverse, its object is understood to be the accomplishment of the underlying purpose of the bi-partisan combination through the accession of young Oglesby, the lieutenant governor, to the gubernatorial chair. To this end Congressman Lorimer is said to have abandoned his own Senatorial aspirations in favor of his enemy, Governor Deneen. Senator Hopkins, a candidate for re-election whose success was regarded as assured before the legislature met, appears to be baffled by the situation. He hurried from Washington to Springfield on the 16th to secure a Senatorial caucus of Republicans. Governor Deneen and his supporters were willing enough to co-operate with him in this, and Deneen's leading supporter, Morton D. Hull, chairman of the lower House Republican caucus, offered to join the Republican chairman in the upper House in a call for the 18th; but Senator Dunlap, chairman of the Republican caucus of the upper House, refused to join.

On the 19th the two houses separately voted for Senator with the following aggregate result:

Hopkins, Republican	87
Foss, Republican	25
Mason, Republican	6
Shurtleff, Republican	3
Stringer, Democrat	76

The number necessary to elect is 103.

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The Chicago Socialists.

At their city convention on the 17th the Socialist party of Chicago nominated municipal candidates and adopted a municipal platform. The head of the ticket is W. E. Rodriguez for city treasurer. The platform, briefly declaring allegiance to the international Socialist movement, asserts that—

In this country there exist ample means to supply all the material wants and social necessities of the people; that destitution, poverty and misery and the endless chain of anxiety and suffering in our midst is unnecessary; that the nineteenth century solved the struggle of the race with nature in the effort to produce in sufficient quantities to satisfy all material wants, and that the great problem of the present time is one of distribution.

The platform then proceeds:

We recognize that a full realization of our object will require the political conquest of the State and the national governments, but that important steps may and ought to be taken by local socialistic measures, tending to our ultimate aim.

1. We therefore propose, that this city shall immediately provide and furnish sufficient food to all school children each day.

2. That relief be furnished to the aged and unemployed.

3. That all work by contract be abolished, and direct employment by the city be substituted therefor under an eight-hour day and the union scale of wages.

4. That all franchises be revoked as soon as possible.

5. That the Board of Education be elected by the people.

6. That the retail liquor traffic be municipalized.

7. That adequate natatoriums, playgrounds and public halls be furnished.

8. That every effort be made to secure a charter convention to be elected by the people of this city.

9. That provision be made for woman suffrage in all city elections.

10. That free medical attendance be established.

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The Traction Situation in Cleveland.

The receivers in the Cleveland traction controversy (p. 60) have taken steps to secure authority to raise the rates of street-car fare above the present rate of three cents with no charge for transfers. On the 10th they made public a letter they had written to Mayor Johnson on the 4th, in which they sum up the situation as outlined by

them in the body of the letter in detail, by saying that it is the judgment of the receivers that the various questions involved "resolve themselves into a single one," namely:

At what rate of fare can passengers be carried on the lines of the present system of street railways with such service as is necessary to meet the needs of the people? The reports of the Municipal Traction Company from April 27 to November 12, and the report of the receivers, giving the results of their operation during the last eighteen days of November, make it clear that a 3-cent rate of fare will not pay the cost of adequate service. Unless the service be cut down to such a degree that it will fall far short of accommodating the people, an immediate increase in the rate of fare must be made. If an increase be made under existing conditions and without some action on the part of the City Council, there would appear to be no course open to the receivers other than to apply to the court for permission and authority to establish such rates of fare as are authorized by existing franchises on the several lines. The receivers would be forced into this position with the utmost reluctance, as it necessarily involves much confusion and inconvenience to the public.

The receivers refuse to charge a penny for transfers, saying it would not yield enough, although Mayor Johnson expresses the opinion that such a charge would tide over the temporary shortage.

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On the 13th the receivers applied to the City Council for authority to make a uniform increase of fare—temporarily, at 5 cents with six tickets for a quarter—the permission to be revocable on ten days' notice. The application was referred to committee of the whole, to include all the Councilmen, the Board of Public Service, the Mayor, the Vice Mayor, the City Solicitor and the City Clerk. A public meeting of this committee was called by its chairman, Alderman Koch, for the 19th.

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A Union Label Strike.

What organized workingmen regard as a combination of employers to suppress the label which distinguishes goods made by organized labor, manifested itself in the hatters' trade recently and a strike has resulted.

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The Associated Hat Manufacturers voted to discontinue the use of the union label. They explain that this was done because a hatters' union violated an agreement with the Guyer Hat Company of Philadelphia, a member of the manufacturers' association. They say that the Guyer worked under Philadelphia conditions and wages, but the national union of hatters demanded Boston conditions; that this raised a dispute which, under an agreement between the national association and the national union, should have been

decided by the boards of the two, the discontented men remaining meanwhile at work; but that, although the dispute was referred to the national organizations, the Guyer men nevertheless went out on strike. It was for this breach of agreement, say the manufacturers, that their association has unanimously voted to abandon the union label. But the union leaders declare that this is really another step on the part of organized employers to put organized labor at a disadvantage.

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Accordingly a general strike of hatters has been called. It began on the 15th. Press dispatches from hat-factory towns—including those of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut—indicate that the strike instructions are generally obeyed, and that there are no signs of disorder.

NEWS NOTES

—Luther Laffin Mills, an eminent Chicago lawyer, died of paralysis on the 18th, at the age of 60 years.

—Keir Hardie, leader of the Labor party in the British Parliament (p. 63), spoke at Carnegie Hall, New York, on the 12th.

—United States Senator Stone was chosen for re-election by the Democrats in the Missouri legislature at their caucus on the 18th.

—Theodore E. Burton, Congressman from Cleveland, was formally elected United States Senator (p. 40) on the 13th at a joint session of the legislature of Ohio.

—Through an explosion of fire damp in the Auka coal mine near Veszprem, Hungary, on the 14th, 240 men were entombed—some of them being later rescued alive.

—Reed Smoot, the Mormon leader, was unanimously nominated on the 18th by the Republican caucus of the Utah legislature for re-election as United States Senator.

—Charles J. Hughes, Jr., Democrat, was elected United States Senator from Colorado on the 19th, by the two houses of the legislature in separate session, to succeed Senator Teller.

—Elihu Root was the unanimous choice for United States Senator of the caucus of Republican members of the New York legislature held at Albany on the 18th. He will succeed Senator Platt.

—Albert B. Cummins, Republican, was elected United States Senator from Iowa on the 19th by the two houses of the legislature in separate session, his aggregate vote being 112 to 40 for Claude R. Porter, Democrat.

—In a head-on collision between a west-bound passenger train and an east-bound freight on the Denver and Rio Grande railroad twenty-two miles from Glenwood Springs, Colo., on the 15th, twenty-one persons were killed, and thirty injured.

—A Men's Equal Suffrage League was formed at Chicago on the 12th, with an annual membership fee

of \$1. The officers are: T. C. MacMillan, president; George E. Cole, vice-president; J. J. Forstall, secretary, and Charles B. Wakeley, treasurer.

—The Russian Vice-Admiral, Sinovi Petrovich Rojestvensky, is dead. It was Admiral Rojestvensky who, during the Russian-Japanese war, led a Russian fleet from the Baltic to the Far East, only to meet annihilation in the battle of the Sea of Japan, May 27-28, 1905 (vol. viii, pp. 135, 150).

—Benjamin F. Shively received the Senatorial nomination of the Democratic legislative caucus of Indiana on the 14th. There were twenty ballots. On the first Mr. Kern was in the lead; on the twentieth the vote stood: Shively 42, Kern 35, Lamb 4, Menzies 1, Maas 1—a majority of 1 over all.

—Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo, spoke on the 17th to an audience that crowded Handel Hall, Chicago, his subject being votes for women. He demanded the suffrage for all, not as an ultimate achievement but as a means for securing political and economic liberty. Jane Addams presided.

—The construction company which built the Iroquois theater in Chicago has settled with the representatives of a large number of persons injured in the destruction of the building by fire (vol. vii, p. 388; vol. ix, p. 913) five years ago. The company pays \$30,000. The suits against the theater managers are still pending.

—Abbott Lawrence Lowell, professor of the science of government at Harvard University since 1900, has been elected by the Harvard corporation to succeed President Charles W. Elliot (vol. x, pp. 1034, 1083; vol. xi, p. 458) as President of the university when the latter shall retire pursuant to his resignation, next May.

—The London Daily Chronicle announces a conference at Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, to be held February 8th under the auspices of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, of which Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., is chairman, for the purpose of promoting the movement for inserting a land value tax in the next Ministerial budget.

—In consequence of representations made to the State Department at Washington by the Japanese ambassador regarding anti-Japanese measures now pending in the California legislature, President Roosevelt asked the Governor of California on the 19th by wire to take steps to prevent such legislation until a letter from the President, mailed on the 19th, reaches him. The Governor promptly notified the President of compliance with the request.

—The judgment against the Waters-Pierce Oil Company of St. Louis (p. 15), part of the Standard Oil trust, which was imposed by the Texas courts (vol. ix, p. 994; vol. x, p. 229), ousting that company from the State of Texas, and fining it \$1,623,000, for violation of the Texas anti-trust laws, was affirmed on the 18th by the Supreme Court of the United States.

—Action in obedience to the Illinois law requiring full publication of tax assessments on site values and improvement values separately, was taken by the Cook County Commissioners on the 18th. They voted \$50,000 for the purpose. This was done only after mandamus proceedings instituted by Henry M.

Ashton as attorney for Dominick J. Lavin, a taxpayer, had been sustained by Judge Mack.

—During the Russian year just ended, according to statistics published in St. Petersburg on the 14th, 1,957 persons were sentenced to death in the Empire and 782 executed. The largest number of executions were in Warsaw and Kiev, being more than 150 in each place, and in Yekaterinoslav 100 were put to death (p. 37). Sixty-three newspapers were suppressed in the Empire, and others fined \$53,000.

—Charles S. Cameron, president of the Tube City Railroad Company of Pittsburg, who has been on trial for several days (p. 14) charged with conspiracy and misdemeanor in attempting to bribe former City Councilman William A. Martin in connection with the passage of an ordinance granting a franchise to the Tube City railroad, was found guilty on the 12th. The jury was out fifteen minutes.

—A debate between Bolton Hall, of New York, in support of Individualism, and Arthur M. Lewis in support of Socialism, is to come off at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on the 24th, at half past nine in the morning. Mr. Hall is well known throughout the country as an advocate of the single tax; Mr. Lewis is a leading exponent of socialism, who speaks every Sunday morning to large audiences at the Garrick.

—The central committee of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party (vol. x, p. 973), in session at Paris, announced on the 13th that, after a full inquiry, Azef, the head of the fighting organization of the party, has been convicted as being the paid agent of the secret police. It is understood that Azef received a salary of \$7,400 from the secret police, according to the committee, and authority to participate in all plots except those against the Czar or Premier Stolypin, which he undertook to smother at their inception.

—Emma Goldman (vol. xi, p. 800), who was announced to lecture in San Francisco, and Dr. Reitman, her lecture agent, were arrested on the 15th charged with conspiracy to incite a riot, the conspiracy consisting in the announced lecture course. They were held in \$1,000 bail, which neither gave, and both were in jail, according to latest dispatches. Miss Goldman, while in a cell on the 15th, received word of the death of her father at Rochester, New York.

—The Court of Appeals of New York decided on the 13th, in a test case, that the railroad employers' liability act, passed by the legislature in 1906, is Constitutional. The railroads had bitterly opposed the law as unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment, because it discriminates against railroad corporations. It holds railroads liable for damages sustained by an employe through the negligence of another employe. In this case an electrician in the employ of the New York Central was killed on a viaduct by a train, the engineer having failed to blow his whistle and the watchman to give a signal.

—At the Lick Branch colliery near Bluefield, W. Va., owned by the Pocahontas Collieries Co., an explosion caused the death of fifty miners on one of the last days in December. Again on the 12th another explosion caused the death of from eighty to a hundred men. This second explosion was the

most terrific that has ever occurred in this region, but it is by no means the only one. At the West Fork mine, also owned by the Pocahontas Company, seventy-five men were entombed by an explosion in October, 1906, and all but one, and also some of those attempting to rescue, perished (vol. ix, p. 657).

—The miners union of Butte, Mont., adopted resolutions on the 16th with reference to the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case (pp. 1, 10) in which they declare the "miners' union, in harmony with the forces of progress, a higher humanity" and as going on record "in the name of right, justice, liberty, and human brotherhood" "as holding the decision of Judge Wright in utter contempt." Whereupon they "reiterate the statement of Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell that the Buck Stove and Range Company of St. Louis is unfair to organized labor," and exclaim "in the words of Patrick Henry, 'If that be treason, make the most of it.'"

—An action for damages by former President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners, against former Governor Peabody for false imprisonment at Telluride under Governor Peabody's orders as military commander (vol. vii, p. 216), was adversely decided by the Supreme Court of the United States on the 18th. In the opinion of the court by Justice Holmes it is said: "When it comes to a decision by the head of the state upon a matter involving its life, the ordinary rights of individuals must yield to what he deems the necessities of the moment. Public danger warrants the substitution of executive process for judicial process."

—Mrs. Emily P. Collins, who organized in 1848, in a country town of New York, the first local woman suffrage association ever formed, observed her 95th birthday on the 11th at her home at Quincy, Mass. Mrs. Collins is the daughter of a Revolutionary soldier. She was active in the anti-slavery movement, and during the Civil War she served as a volunteer nurse with the Union army. According to the Boston Herald, at the age of seventy she took entire charge of the Hartford Examiner during the absence of the editor-in-chief. Mrs. Collins is not only a woman of ability with a remarkable record of usefulness; she is a woman of the broadest sympathies, and a fundamental democrat.

—It was reported from Washington on the 16th that the Department of Justice had summoned the heads of the New York World and Brooklyn Eagle news bureaus in Washington, William Smith news-dealer, and the Washington News Company, to appear before the District of Columbia grand jury on the 19th to give such information as they possess concerning the publication of charges that President Roosevelt, Mr. Taft or their relatives were pecuniarily interested in the sale of the Panama Canal to the United States (vol. xi, pp. 913, 919). It was believed that proceedings are under way to indict Joseph Pulitzer, in conformity with President Roosevelt's hint in his Panama Canal message, for seditious libel.

—A rush for land for cultivation was reported from Cardiff, Wales, on the 15th. The dispatches stated that 500 unemployed men had seized part of the huge hunting preserve of the Marquis of Bute,

and were in possession despite a court order for their ejection, and were preparing to cultivate the land. The authorities were in conference with the Marquis, urging him not to molest the men. In this appeal many of the aristocracy joined, fearing adverse legislation over their landed interests should a bloody fight follow an attempt to drive away the invaders. Other members of the aristocracy, however, urged the Marquis to expel the invaders, even if troops had to be called out. They feared that if the trespassers were successful their example would be followed by thousands of other unemployed throughout the United Kingdom, and the entering wedge be driven for the ultimate parceling out of vast preserves. Many of the invaders slept in the sheds on the Marquis's estate all night. Those who had left returned again in the morning and entered the premises as though they held title. They say they will resist any attempt at ejection.

PRESS OPINIONS

Classifying Burton.

Puck (New York), Jan. 13.—Burton of Ohio will fit nicely in the United States Senate. He belongs there. Temperamentally, he is a Senator already. He demonstrated that when he served as the candidate of private monopoly and special privilege for Mayor of Cleveland.

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Catching On.

The New York Age (Negro), Jan. 7.—This next decade for us must be one not of idle ease but hard work. Throughout this country we must fit ourselves in industrial school and college, we must get business and property, we must fight consumption and rid ourselves of our lazy and vicious drones. Against the future day of greater values and a fully settled country in the South and West, we must buy land and keep on buying land. In the East we must buy homes now, we must go into business now.

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Value of the "Recall."

The Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Jan. 9.—The recall or imperative mandate is a necessary part of the system of direct legislation. For in South Dakota, when the people initiated a direct primary law, the legislature refused to pass an act carrying out the popular will and there was no method by which it could be compelled to act or punished for its contumacy. If the recall had been in effect, its members could have been whipped into line under threat to recall them and hold another election. As it was, the people were compelled to wait two years and defeat such members as came up for re-election.

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Economic Absorption.

The (New York) World (Dem.), Dec. 10.—The great fortune, possibly \$50,000,000, left by Mary Goodwin Pinkney represents the increase and multiplication during a little more than half a century

of \$40,000 invested in a Harlem farm. This woman millionaire was in no sense a producer of wealth. Her name is not associated with any of the great manufactories or business enterprises on which our national industrial greatness is founded. No steel or cotton mills stand as monuments to her, or mercantile houses such as H. B. Claflin and A. T. Stewart erected in a life-time of labor. Such memorials as she leaves are dwellings and apartment-houses. She simply sat still while an army of toilers poured tribute into her lap.

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The Tillman Affair.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (ind. Dem.), January 12.—Most candid men will say after reading Mr. Tillman's defense of himself against the charges brought by President Roosevelt that it is sufficient. It shows beyond any peradventure that the South Carolinian was guilty of no breach of law or of honor. He undeniably did commit a breach of propriety and he might very justly be censured for this by the Senate, as it censured him once before in the case where he made a personal assault on Senator McLaurin. But his offending was by no means what Mr. Roosevelt sought to have the public believe it.

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The Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (ind.), January 11.—No matter what may be the opinion of Tillman as a Senator, he resents with all the power at his command the President's attempt to impair his integrity in the transaction, and, we think, successfully. He attributes the President's remarkable conduct to malice engendered by certain things that have happened, and it seems not unreasonable that he should do so. Considering the man with whom he is dealing, his disregard of courtesy and of Constitutional limits, his stretching of truth to compass his own ends, we are of the opinion on hasty examination of his reply, that Senator Tillman does not come out of the argument second best. His motives seem to have been honest and his conduct honorable.

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The (New York) Nation (ind.), January 14.—Granting all that was alleged against the Senator, his action was in violation of no law. It was an impropriety, not a crime. The land he was trying to buy was not government land. There was no question of "dummy entries," or of obtaining more than the law allows to one person. Moreover, in endeavoring to secure an act to compel the land-grant company to sell its holdings at \$2.50 an acre, Senator Tillman distinctly notified the agents, at the time, that he was acting solely in the general interest, independent of his own decision, later, to buy or not to buy. In all this, there was doubtless a lack of caution and delicate regard for his public position, on Senator Tillman's part, but no dishonesty. The sole moral question remaining is whether he had sought to deceive the Senate when he asserted that he had not "undertaken" to buy any land in the West. . . . He admits that he was somewhat "disingenuous," but denies that he had any intention to deceive. The most favorable view of his case is that he does not emerge without blame; though he

certainly does not deserve to be pilloried as a criminal.

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Culture Measurement for Teachers.

The Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Jan. 14.—Competent critics, both native and foreign, have declared that the Chicago Art Institute is "the greatest art school in the country." This is worth bearing in mind in view of Superintendent Cooley's astonishing complaint to the Board of Education. He says that the Art Institute is so informal in its marking system that the public-school teachers, seeking credits there for promotion to a higher salary rank, have a scandalously easy time of it. You can't accurately measure, says Mr. Cooley, the value of the work they do. Sometimes one wishes that Mr. Cooley's name began with D. The transformation might furnish a certain philosophic breadth of view. Chicago's superintendent of schools is a great systematizer, keen on tightening up the loose, unbusiness like ends, but he is not primarily the inspirational head of the public schools. His condemnation of the Art Institute is only another illustration of a cast of mind with which we have grown familiar. For among the few really inspiring features of this rigid promotional system has been the work open to the teachers at the Art Institute. Within its beautiful walls these rather hard-pressed young women—bent, of course, on scandalously easy climbing—have had a breath of another world where red tape ceased to trouble and markings were at rest. The military drill of the classroom was thrown off and the ease, the freedom and the stimulus of the atelier took its place. Public-school teachers coming from homes where the aesthetic element was limited and distorted have gained—must have gained—a revision of values worth much to their work. That none of this is capable of yardstick measurement does not destroy its worth. It is to be hoped that the Board of Education will be exceedingly slow to sever this alliance between the public school system and the "greatest art school in the country."

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Farmers and Statistics,

(New York) Journal of Commerce (financial), Dec. 15.—Secretary Wilson of the Agricultural Department, in his annual report, displays his customary enthusiasm over the immense "value" of the country's farm products. . . . But in considering the imposing figures we need to keep in mind the distinction between abundance and statistical value, in which there are two important factors, quantity and price, neither of which should be lost sight of. According to the Secretary's report, "the farm value of all farm products of 1908 reaches the most extraordinary total in the Nation's history, \$7,778,000,000." This exceeds the value of the products of 1907 by \$290,000,000, and, taking the figures of the census year 1899 at 100 as a standard of comparison, the value for 1903 was 125, for 1904 131, for 1905 134, for 1906 143, for 1907 159 and for 1908 165. This looks like a progressive increase reaching 65 per cent in nine years, but it comes mainly from advancing prices instead of increasing abundance of production. In a growing country increased production is to be expected to keep pace

at least with the growth in population, but to be an evidence of general well-being it must be an increase in quantity of those things that contribute to well being instead of in cost to those who obtain them, for they must be paid for in the products of some kind of labor. The figures of the report show that. . . . Compared with the average of the last five years the quantity shows an increase of only one-fifth of one per cent, while the "value" is higher by 32 per cent. Of course this means a higher cost of living in one of the most important factors of that cost. . . . We must remember that the general well being is promoted by abundance and a fair distribution of its fruits, and not by high values shown in figures.

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Lower Taxes and More Revenue.

Cincinnati Post (ind.), Nov. 18.—Modern-urban life demands greater and greater expenditures. Cities have to do more things than formerly. So do nations. Collective activities are more and more important and expensive year by year. Where are the taxes coming from to meet these burdens? Must we abandon modern city activities and return to the old-fashioned, every-one-for-himself plan of city life? The negative to the latter question and the answer to the former may be found in a better system of taxation. In every great city the great corporations, controlling assessments, have evaded taxation. The Teachers' Federation of Chicago, by a very cursory examination, found many millions of values in that city left off the tax rolls—enough to pay the arrears of teachers' salaries, which was what they were looking for. Absolutely fair taxation on the present basis would no doubt put New York City on Easy street—for the present. But the great mass of values still left practically untouched are those which are the most righteous objects of taxation because created, not by their owners, but by the public at large. These are the values of public service corporation franchises, and site values. New York is piling up the most costly and lofty buildings ever erected in the history of the race. And yet, the value of practically none of these skyscrapers is equal to that of the ground on which it stands. An acre in lower Broadway is as valuable as a county in an agricultural region, however rich. And all this site value might be taken in taxation without injustice, and without adding a cent of burden to productive activity. It would be a mere shifting of values from the pockets of landlords who have not created them, to the treasury of the people who have created them. Moreover, it would discourage the man who does not improve, and by forcing the improvement of all lands tend to lower rents and take the pressure off business. There is a way for all our cities to avoid bankruptcy. It is merely the taking for the people of that which the people have created.

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An Englishman, witnessing his first baseball game, was struck by a hot one off the bat. On coming to, he asked, faintly: "What was it?"

"A foul," they told him, "only a foul!"

"My word!" he exclaimed, "I thought it was a mule."—Boston Evening Transcript.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE CRUCIFIED.

For The Public.

I stood 'mid temples for the dead;
A marble cross was there;
Christ's Image hung with drooping head,
And thorn-crowned matted hair.

Before the tomb some simple flowers
A bashful child did strew;
A woman bent with Life's last hours
Knelt in the evening dew.

Anxious I mourned about my soul,
And o'er my neighbor's sins;
And wondered who would reach the goal
That after death begins.

It seemed then Christ thus spoke to me:
"Brother, why linger here?
Too long the World, with curious awe,
Hath mourned about 'My bier.

"Safely the bones of dead men sleep
'Neath costly carved tomb.
Who comforts living slaves that weep,
Poisoned by hovel's gloom?"

"Ill, true religion is defined
By narrow creedal plan.
My active Spirit's ne'er confined
In temples built by man!

"Full well ye build Me dome and spire,
Soothing the sensuous eye;
While brothers crushed by Greed's desire,
Think it a boon to die.

"Seek Me where wolves of commerce drive
Youth, age, to vice and care;
Where paupers breed and masters thrive—
The Living Christ is there!

"Seek Me within yon City's roar
Where proud ones scourge Me still;
Ah! well a Savior's blood might pour
For slaves ground in that mill!

"Aye, e'en the infant's tender mind,
The home ordained to bless,
The Mammon Moloch, sordid, blind,
Into that mill doth press.

"The heaven-sent prayers of selfish souls
Attain to little worth;
In the mad race for Mammon's goals
They lose e'en Heaven on earth.

"Thy Kigdom come, Thy will be done;
Messiah, send us power!
They pray; then rob and starve some son
Of God, each working hour.

"Again I stagger 'neath Greed's Cross,
Where famished brothers fail;

I share their choice of paupers' dross,
Vile lodging house, or jail.

"The aged, crippled, sick, insane,
Pass on, a ghastly throng!
Toil's limbs as grist for social gain
Stand crucifixion long!

"That Mammon-worshippers have ease,
The meek must plundered be;
But as they do to least of these,
They do it unto Me."

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

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THE REGENERATE EGO.

From "The Ideal Life," Published by J. R. Cross,
P. O. Box 744, Houston, Texas.

My coat is no part of me, neither is my hand nor my entire body. I am a separate entity from my body, as much so as from my coat, and to the extent to which I realize this fact and with wisdom govern my actions accordingly, is my life a success. My brain is the tool and my environment the material, but I am the workman. My greatness is not to be measured by my worldly success, but by the use which I make of the tools and material at my command. Hence the greater a man becomes, the greater is his indifference to the estimation in which he is held by others. To the man who is truly great, the ambitions of life, matters of birth, wealth, power, social standing and intellect and worth of character even, sink in utter insignificance in comparison with what the "inward man" really is.

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THE GOMPERS-CASE USURPATION.

Full Text of an Opinion by James G. Maguire, of San Francisco, Former Judge and Member of Congress, and Now a Leading Member of the San Francisco Bar. Written for and Published in the San Francisco Star of January 2.

The decision of Judge Wright, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, in the Gompers contempt case, is the most far-reaching step yet taken to undermine and destroy the freedom of speech and of the press, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. Primarily it is intended to curb the growing power of organized labor, if not to destroy the labor movement; but it cannot be limited to that purpose. If finally upheld, it must ultimately lead to the general censorship of speech and of the press. If a court may, by injunction or otherwise, determine, in advance, what subjects may or may not be discussed, or what may or may not be said in a labor paper, why may it not, in like manner, abridge the freedom of all other publications? The fact that judges, nearly all of whom are appointed, through influences unfriendly to labor, and are out of sympathy with

the labor movement, may deem it inexpedient or undesirable to abridge the freedom of other publications, is no answer to the proposition that the assumption of power to do so in any case, places the entire press of the country at the mercy of an irresponsible power, as great and as arbitrary as the Russian censorship, to be exercised at will. If the courts can enjoin the publication of any statement in "The Federationist," they can certainly enjoin the publication of the same statement in any other paper; and, if they can enjoin the publication of one statement, or the discussion of one subject, their power extends to all statements and to all subjects.

The truth or falsity of the enjoined statement is wholly immaterial and is not considered by the court, either in granting the injunction or in determining the guilt of the publisher when cited for contempt of court. The publication, contrary to the injunction, constitutes the crime, though the statement may be, as in the Gompers case, absolutely true.

The Constitution of the United States provides that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," but Judge Wright says that this provision does not guarantee the right of anybody to print or publish anything; that it is a mere inhibition upon the direct action of Congress, but leaves Congress free to create courts with power to abridge such freedom, by writs having the force of statutory laws. This is arrant nonsense and neither deserves nor needs discussion.

But, says Judge Wright, the defendants are charged with having conspired among themselves and with others to make the publication in question, for the purpose of injuring the property (the business) of the Buck Stove Company, and that, as the publication was but an incidental overt act in execution of the conspiracy, the court had a right to enjoin it, although an individual, not conspiring with others, might not be subject to such injunction. This involves the absurdity of holding that an individual citizen may lawfully and rightfully publish an article in a newspaper, which it would be unlawful for several persons, having the same object in view, to publish in the same newspaper.

What property of the Buck Stove Company were the defendants seeking to injure by the enjoined publication? Its business, of course. And how were they attempting to injure its business? By inducing the members and friends of organized labor to withdraw their patronage from the company during its controversy with the unions. But the Buck Stove Company has no property right in the patronage of its customers. If there is any property right in such patronage, it belongs to the customers and not to the company with which they may, at any time, choose to deal, and may be withdrawn by them at will, either with or without

reason. What possible property, or property right, of the company can be injured by requesting a customer to transfer his patronage to another? None. Yet an injunction can be issued in such cases, only to prevent injury to property or property rights of the complainant.

Another argument of Judge Wright is that the enjoined publication was, and was intended to be, an interference with interstate commerce, and was therefore a criminal act in execution of the alleged conspiracy. How did, or could, the publication interfere with or obstruct interstate commerce, assuming, although we deny, that it might be properly enjoined upon that ground? If every person in every State of the Union should, as a direct result of the publication, refuse to purchase any stove or other article manufactured by the Buck Stove Company, that fact would not in the least interfere with interstate commerce. The company would still be perfectly free to ship their wares into every State in the Union. They might find no purchasers in any of the States, but that is a matter entirely beyond the scope of the interstate commerce laws, and beyond the jurisdiction of the Federal Government itself.

Judge Wright, as a further basis for his decision, appeals to the higher law of necessity, "the argument of tyrants." He contends that, if such injunctions cannot be issued and enforced, there is no adequate protection to the citizen against false and libelous publications injurious to his business. Of course he does not find that anything published by the defendants was false or libelous. It was manifestly true, and its truth or falsity was legally immaterial in the contempt proceeding. It was true that the Buck Stove Company had been placed upon the "unfair list" of the American Federation of Labor, and it was true that members of the Federation "do not patronize" the company. These were the enjoined publications, for publishing which they were found guilty of contempt of court.

Injunction is not, and never can be, a remedy for libel or slander, but, if it were desirable to adopt such a remedy, the judicial department of the Federal Government has never been commissioned to legislate upon the subject.

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WAYSIDE FRUITS OF ABNORMAL CIVILIZATION.

P. J. O'Regan in the *New Zealand Times*.

Some few months ago a good ship was crossing the trackless sea to the south of New Zealand. Furrowing the freezing sea through the deep Cimmerian blackness of an Antarctic night, she struck a rock—one of the rugged sentry-posts of the least hospitable of the inhospitable Auckland Islands. Some of the sailors were soon engulfed in the watery waste, but thirteen survivors, clam-

bering into the rigging, thence groped to some towering rocks, and there they shivered till daylight. Day broke. It was an awful prospect! Of the sturdy ship even the wreck had gone from view, and there the castaways stood, some of them bootless and hatless, and all of them scantily clad, their bodies wincing under the biting lash of the blast—the breath of the icy spectres that guard the polar waste! Above them the shriek of the hungry sea-birds, around them the grunt of the angry waves, and beyond the limitless, bellowing ocean—all joining, as it were, in an awful chorus of death! Here surely was inevitable death! Men cast away on that lonely island, with little clothing, less food, with no roof to cover them, and the bare chance of lighting a fire! Yet these castaways lived, and when rescued some months later, were found to be in good health. Cast away in the heart of a great city they might have starved in the midst of plenty, as men actually do. But, there, where the “struggle for existence” was something more than the theory of some sleek professor of economics, these men lived.

How can we explain this paradox? How is it that men reduced to such terrible straits were able to conquer nature in her most niggard mood, and win from her food and raiment?

I reply that these men lived because they were able to apply their sturdy limbs and muscles to land without having first to come to terms with anyone calling himself the “owner.” The case of these survivors of the wrecked *Dundonald* is really a lesson in political economy if we can but read it aright. The land was poor and ungenerous, but it offered a site for the rude huts they planned, and no landlord barred the way. They were able to gather firewood without encountering warning posters that “trespassers will be prosecuted.” They sought roots and gathered them as they sought fish from the sea—without the inhuman toll of rent. They went hunting, not in shooting leggings nor accompanied by fancy dogs, but with the icicles clattering on their grizzled beards, as from rock to rock they followed the fluttering fledglings, and so they secured meat. They had neither gridirons nor ovens, but the meat they caught was sweeter to them than that for which the rent-ridden Wellington worker pays eightpence a pound. Later on they made needles from wingbones and boat ribs from scrub trees, and soon they fashioned the framework of the frail coracle which clothed in scant canvas torn from the rigging as they left the ship, bore them safely to the larger island where they found a food depot, and thus these brave fellows saved their lives. Probably when they reached civilization again the first thing they remarked was a signboard on which was displayed these words: “We sell the earth”; “this land for sale”; “now

is your time to buy shares in the Boodle Syndicate,” or something equally characteristic!

Given the natural opportunity to apply itself to land, labor needs no protection. Nature may be lavish here, niggard there, but she is ever sufficiently responsive to human labor to give abundance to the worker. Given freedom of access to land, and labor is really lord. The finest type of man who ever walked was the digger of the early days. Yet he was intrinsically no better than the poor bedraggled wharf “hand,” who hangs about for a job and listens listlessly to the declamation of some mob orator. He was a fine type of man, because he was free to “peg out his claim” without having to come to terms with some corpulent idler who “owned” the land which the Creator has supplied, rent free to all who are willing to work. I listen at the Queen’s statue to some hoarse harangue, and hear some well-fed critic mutter, “Nonsense.” Yes, my friend, but there is nonsense talked everywhere, even in Parliament. Do you dare to think that the willing hand that is forced to be idle should not strike against the wrong that robs it? You tell me there are loafers in the crowd—“wasters,” you call them. Perhaps there are, but some of them are honest men—heroes—if they got the chance. And even the worst of men have the right to work! It is a right that antedates Parliaments. The State has not created the right. It is the God-given gift of the poorest, the weakest and the lowliest. How dare you sneer at these unfortunate men who are robbed of their rights!

Men profess to be puzzled with the problem of want amid increasing plenty. New Zealand wants millions more of people. Yet we are told there is no room for immigrants! The finest assets the nation can have are men and women. The man with a large family belongs to the best white race league that was ever planned—he is the captain of the best garrison of his country’s defenders. Yet such is “the struggle for existence” caused by a cursed land system that there appears no room for people, and men dread the choicest of all blessings—children!

Yet, in spite of the babel of clattering theories, the cause of all this lies stinking beneath our nostrils. It is traceable to the private appropriation of rent. The masses of the people pay the bulk of the national taxation indirectly, and directly they pay an ever-increasing tax to the ground landlord. There is depression in the flax industry, and Gradgrind and Co. tell us that wages are too high. They forget to tell us that every ton of fibre yields £10 to the landlord for “royalty.” Butter is dear, and various causes are assigned. But the one patent cause is dear land. Let us ask Gradgrind and Co. how butter can be cheap if the land that grows it costs from £35 to £40 per acre? The cost of building is high, and we are

told that it is all due to the excessive wages. A lie I say; the largest item in the cost of building is the cost of building-sites. The building trades laborer gets 1s 1d per hour; the carpenter gets 1s 4d per hour, when he works. Dare Gradgrind say these workers should get less? What about the profits of land-sharks who threaten to ride over us in their motor-cars? Why not be honest enough to trace the evil to its cause? How does the man who gets a shilling an hour these winter months exist? How can he raise a family in civilized decency while the wealth he produces is pilfered from him by a cruel heathenish indefensible land system which not even those who profit by it dare defend?

As I write I have before me a circular. Why it was sent me I know not. It tells of the valuations of the borough of Miramar. Here they are:

1898	30,000
1904	386,000
1908	800,000
1912.....	Have you a share in this?

I say we should all have a share in it. What is more in accordance with morality and common sense than that these enormous values have been made by the whole people? These land-monopolists could not appropriate all this public property were it not for the mob at whom they laugh as they fleece them. Gradgrind and Co. tell us that "money is very tight" just now, but what they really should say is that money is locked up through over-speculation in land. Money locked up in land is made to perpetrate a double wrong—it is so much withdrawn from production, and it is used to tie up land and place it beyond the reach of those who would gladly use it if they could.

The remedy for all this is very simple, very effective, and easy of application. We could collect all this community-created wealth for the people without engaging a single additional valuer, without adding one penny to the cost of government. All we need do is simply increase our land-tax until we relax the baneful grip of the speculator, and thus open all the monopolized land to labor. The fight may be long and hard, but the fight is for justice and truth and so we may gather fresh inspiration to preach a holy war against the system that huddles innocence in unsightly slums, that robs honest toil of its fruits, that makes the masses of men mean and servile.

When the forces men have harnessed,
And have trained to do their will,
Ought to leave no homeless people,
And no hungry mouths to fill.

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"What is this peculiar key on your typewriter? I never saw it on any before." "Hist! My own invention. Whenever you can't spell a word, you press this key and it makes a blur."—Boston Transcript.

BOOKS

THE LAW OF THE BREATH.

The Law of the Rhythmic Breath: Teaching the generation, conservation and control of Vital Force. By Ella Adella Fletcher, author of "The Woman Beautiful," "The Philosophy of Rest." R. F. Fenno & Co., New York. Price, \$1.00.

The author has given to the reading public what Julian Hawthorne pronounces "an epoch-making book," adding that it is a book for profound and earnest study, and that no one can fathom its meaning in one reading nor in a score of readings.

With such a verdict the ordinary reviewer, with limited time and space, may well hesitate in the attempt to give in a brief notice a just estimate of such a work, which in itself indicates a profound investigation and trial of the philosophy and practice that it unfolds in a singularly clear and convincing manner. Very few writers of the "occult" school have succeeded in giving a rational and satisfying explanation of the Yoga system of alternate breathing, which is shown to be a return to the unperverted order of nature, rather than an arbitrary method imposed by ancient authority.

The whole philosophy revolves about that central and eternal Principle of Good which constitutes the inspiration and the common bond of all philosophies and religions that have endured the tests of time and use. The unfamiliar student along these lines may be discouraged by the Sanscrit terms, that might be translated into simple English with a possible gain in power for many. We find ourselves too often separated by technicalities too rigorously observed. What is needed is a universal language that will bring the real, vital spirit of all religions into greater harmony, and reconcile in outer relations that which is more or less interiorly divined by all.

But it is the vital truths underlying the system of correspondences which Miss Fletcher unfolds that hold the reader's attention. While the magic power of right breathing is clearly set forth, it is after all the virtue of right thinking which is insisted upon as the saving grace of life. Thought and will power, under the divine influence of the great Central Cause, are the regenerative forces of being, and inasmuch as "The Law of the Rhythmic Breath" lends its assistance to these spiritual powers, it is to be studied with that openness of mind which suffers no truth to be barred out by ignorance and prejudice. As Miss Fletcher says:

Humanity is just rousing itself to a realization of the depths of degradation to which the mad pursuit of material things as the be-all and end-all of existence is carrying the race. And it is waves of spiritual vibration, generated by lofty aspirations in the

silence, which are thus stirring the public conscience as never before. From this leaven are rising insistent demands for ethical standards of conduct governing all human relations, and the time has come when these demands can never be silenced till the principle of the universal brotherhood of man passes from theory into vigorous practice, purifying every branch of government—municipal and national—and elevating all the activities and relations of life. . . . The world has grown old trying to punish crime out of existence. But it can never be lessened until the leaven of spiritual thought reaches the masses, and the basic truth that wholesome, joyous thinking makes happy, healthful people is universally known.

The author of "The Law of Rhythmic Breath" believes that this "basic truth" is a living principle of the philosophy which she unfolds with a clearness and reasonableness that is satisfactory to any candid seeker after the buried wisdom of the ancients. It is no new-born theory seeking credulous converts, but is older than Christianity, with which in its highest uses it ably co-operates.

To quote again from Mr. Hawthorne, this book may be regarded as "a most important and authoritative contribution to occult science."

A. L. M.

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GILLETTE'S INDUSTRIAL SOLUTION.

Gillette's Industrial Solution: World Corporation. An account of the evolution of the existing social system, together with a presentation of an entirely new remedy for the evils it exhibits. With illustrations and index. By Melvin L. Severy, author of "Gillette's Social Redemption," "The Darrow Enigma," etc. Published by the Ball Publishing Company, Boston. Price, \$1.50; postage, 25 cents.

The "industrial solution" to which this volume and its predecessor, "Gillette's Social Redemption," lead up by gradual approaches, is a "World Corporation Investment Company." The immediate purpose of the organization is to accumulate gilt-edge securities by outright purchase; its ultimate object to acquire the wealth of the world as it is produced. Since the wealth producers of the world are to be the stockholders, the wealth of the world will by this expedient be made the property of its producers. Part of the mechanism for this business method of wealth socialization is a Holdings Company. The plan is in principle not unlike that of the steel trust, but with an altruistic as distinguished from a plutocratic purpose.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Annual Report of the Director of the Mint. For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1908. Published by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
—Never-Told Tales. By Wm. J. Robinson, M. D.,

Editor of the American Journal of Urology, The Critic and Guide, and Therapeutic Medicine. Published by The Altrurians, 12 Mount Morris Park, West, New York. 1909. Price, \$1.00.

—Lincoln the Citizen and Lincoln the President. By Henry C. Whitney. Edited by Marion Mills Miller, Litt. D. (Princeton), Editor of the Centenary Edition of the Life and Works of Abraham Lincoln. Two Volumes. Published by The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 1908. Price \$2.50 net, per set.

PERIODICALS

The story of the Steel trust is told by John Moody in the January Moody's (New York), and Byron W. Holt writes in the same number, deductively, on the folly of protection.

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The January "Land Values" (London) is full of optimistic matter relative to the prospects for a land value tax in the next British budget, and to the greatly improved political outlook over there.

+

"The Commoner's Cause" (John H. Meyer, 2588 Seegar Ave., Cincinnati, 20 cents per annum) is a four-page monthly, now in its fourth number, which furnishes sound thought and apt expression for those who realize the awful social conditions of our time and suspect the cause.

+

A full report of the fourteenth anniversary of Fairhope (vol. xi, p. 922) appears in The Fairhope Courier for January 8th, including the speeches at the anniversary dinner, presided over by Mrs. Lydia J. M. Comings and participated in by E. B. Gaston, Mayor Greeno, Judge Smith, Rev. E. R. Clarkson, H. F. Ring, Dr. Leigh-Jones, Daniel Kiefer and Joseph Fels.

+

Reports of the Atlantic City meetings (vol xi, p. 922) appear in the issue of Charities and the Commons (New York) for January 9. They are midway between the crude rapid-fire reports of the daily papers at the time of the meetings, and the full reports which are yet to appear with official authentication—midway in character rather than in time. For these reports are carefully prepared condensations, made without haste and yet expeditiously and in literary form. Prof. Daniels of the University of Wisconsin reports the Economic Association, and Profs. Ross and Commons, of the same university, report respectively the Sociological Society and the Association for Labor Legislation. The Statistical Association is reported by C. W. Doten, and Prof. Fetter of Cornell writes an introductory report for all.

+

La Follette's Weekly Magazine (Madison, Wis.), of which Senator La Follette is editor and proprietor, and Herbert Quick is associate editor, with Frederick W. Mackenzie as managing editor, is now in its second issue. Typographically the second is

sue is an improvement over the first, and editorially it confirms the satisfactory impression which the first must have made upon all democrats with a little "d" who saw it. Many must have missed it, for the sale seems to have been enormous. All the news stands were sold out of it almost as soon as it came. The department on "Woman and Education," edited by Mrs. La Follette and Caroline L. Hunt, should gratify all women, and men, too, who are weary of the frivolous of which women's departments in periodicals usually consist. The principal special article of the first number was by Lincoln Steffens—a characteristically philosophical yet lively discussion of "The Mind of a State." That of the second number is by William Allen White on "The Kansas Fight." We trust that the editors will in time wean the paper of its irritating typographical style in one particular, borrowed from an affectation of Collier's—the style of breaking off articles arbitrarily for continuation on a page farther along.

+ + +

"Now, young gentlemen," said the professor of

moral philosophy in winding up his little talk to the class, "you understand, do you not, what I mean when I use the term 'ethical and intellectual aristocracy'?"

"Yes, sir," answered the young man with the bad eye; "it means being great and good, in your mind."
—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

Mr. Makinbrakes was doing his best to respond to a toast at a banquet.

"If I had known I was going to be called on to make a speech," he said, "Mr. Toastmaster and—gentlemen, I wouldn't have come. I don't quite mean that, either, but I—would have kept away, although—"

Here he paused a moment, mopped his brow with his napkin, and resumed:

"As I remarked a moment ago, if I had known I was going to be called upon to respond to the—the toast which the Toastmaster has kindly—or rather which has been forced upon—that is to say, which I am honored, of course, in being asked

A Gospel of St. Paul

We select the following from many other letters of which it is an impressive example, to add to the letters already published from Bolton Hall and Dr. Dillard.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., December 31, 1908—"The Public" is certainly a power for good. It reads like a gospel of St. Paul, in that it appeals earnestly and sincerely to men and women to think, feel and act true. ¶ And it never abates its plea. It keeps on appealing, and "crowding 'em hard." ¶ I have seen nothing like it in this or any other land. Other papers are good, but they do not stand on as solid a base. They are grounded in policies, and policies are not so substantial as "The Public's" fundamental democracy.

R. L. THOMPSON

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For description of "Labor and Neighbor" see elsewhere in this PUBLIC.

to respond to, why, in that case, of course, which is quite different from being—and then, as I was about to say, what can any man say that is new on the question of the ethical—er—uplift, which forms the toast of the subject, or perhaps I should say the subject of the toast, when so many other eloquent speakers—so many eloquent speakers, I mean, have presented the familiar and—er—well known ideas that you have heard so often—or which probably you have not heard, and that reminds me, gentlemen—and Mr. Toastmaster—of a

little story of the—of the man who—but as the hour is growing late, I will not detain you any longer. Again, gentlemen, I thank you.”

The applause as Mr. Makinbrakes sat down was terrific.—Chicago Tribune.

† † †

“The office should seek the man,” remarked the idealist.

“Perhaps,” answered Senator Sorghum; “but an office doesn’t get much encouragement in prowling

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+ + +

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