

MAY 7 1909

The Public

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

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Vol. XII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1909.

No. 579

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898 at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879

EDITORIAL

The British Budget.

Inadequate and unintelligent as are the cable reports on the features of the British budget which they vaguely describe as socialistic and revolutionary, it is possible to infer somewhat of their significance, as we have tried to do this week in our News Narrative department. The howls of the reactionary press, as well as the expressions of editorial satisfaction which the cable reports quote from the progressive press, such papers as the London News and the London Chronicle, would be pretty conclusive evidence in themselves that Asquith and Lloyd-George have not disappointed the reasonable expectations of their progressive friends. The advocates of land value taxation, at any rate, appear from the meager reports that reach us to have no reason to complain. Assuming these reports to have been correctly interpreted in our news columns, at least three broad concessions have been made to the movement for the taxation of those fundamentally social values.



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Some tax seems to have been laid upon the value of natural mineral deposits; and whether it be little or not, is a matter of minor consideration. As it is levied upon the theory that this species of property is common property, the rest is, as Henry George used to say, only "a matter of keeping on." The same thing is true of the small tax of a half penny in the pound sterling of the capitalized un-

improved value of all land (one cent in 480 cents), and of the 20 per cent tax on future increases of value. This would be by far the most important official proposal for the taxation of land values that has ever been made.

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Even the small tax of one cent in 480 of present capital value (about 2/10 of one per cent) would make it very difficult for the big English landlords to hold their great domains out of use while English workingmen suffer for want of work. It must be remembered that the land tax in Great Britain has heretofore been so small that even this half penny in the pound of capital value would come with a shock to the land monopolist. And when in addition he learns that of any increase in capital value the government will take one-fifth every year, the shock will seem to him like a fatality. Should these provisions be adopted and maintained, the half penny tax annually on present capital values of land, and the 20 per cent tax annually on future augmentations of capital values, would in themselves nearly destroy land monopoly evils; and the almost certain increase of both taxes would soon make that destruction complete. One necessary step in the procedure, provided for in the budget,—the Imperial appraisement of land values, or as Joseph Fels describes it, a "national separate assessment,"—in itself carries the principle of land value taxation into the taxbooks of the Empire.

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Unless we have misread the cable reports, the British budget fully warrants all the hysterics of the Tory press and justifies the satisfaction of the progressive press. For in that case the economic revolution has indeed begun in Great Britain. We shall await detailed reports with much interest.

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Insurance against Taxation.

In England there has been extensive insurance recently against loss from changes in taxation. The general principle was introduced over here, it will be remembered, in connection with the presidential election. Policies were taken out against business losses from the election of Bryan. As a business venture the policyholders insured against the wrong calamity. If their insurance policies had covered losses from Taft's election, they would have been in fine financial feather now. But that kind of insurance, when it got over to our side of the water, was in truth merely a cover for election gambling, and, worse still, for influencing

the election corruptly in the false guise of legitimate insurance. We fear that if the custom of insurance against loss by changes in the tax laws were once to obtain in the United States, it would be diverted to extremely evil purposes. As the consumer could not very well be insured against losses from higher prices through taxation, the insurance would furnish a financial refuge only for speculators who thrive upon high taxation—the protected "producers," for instance. Consequently insurance would be a mere consolidating scheme against reductions in plunderous taxation and in support of higher rates. It would establish an almost invincible financial mechanism for corruptly maintaining systems of Big Business plunderation in the name of taxes and under the guise of insurance.

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Scholastic Protectionists.

It is "up to" the college professors who disputed Byron Holt's statement of a couple of weeks ago at Columbia University, that the economic professors in our universities are shackled by financial interests, to answer a few questions now propounded by him. At the meeting of the Free Trade League at Boston last week, Mr. Holt repeated his Columbia statement, and after quoting the denials of his professional critics, and their assertions that economic professors who have lost their chairs were victims, not of hostility to their independence in teaching, but of their own inefficiency as teachers, he said:

Did Prof. H. C. Adams lose his position at Cornell because of inefficiency or for any other well-founded reason other than that his views on public questions did not meet the approval of Henry W. Sage and other patrons of Cornell? Has he not since, in Michigan University, and in the government service, shown remarkable ability and efficiency?

Was Prof. John R. Commons forced out of Syracuse University for inability, inefficiency, or other proper reason? Has he not since demonstrated great ability and efficiency?

Did Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews "resign" the presidency of Brown University because of inability or inefficiency, or because his views on the money question differed from those of the financial powers behind the college? Has he not always been a model college officer, so far as learning, discipline, and conduct are concerned?

Did Edward A. Ross leave Stanford University because he was not an able and efficient teacher, or because he taught doctrines not in accord with the views of Mrs. Leland Stanford?

Was Prof. William G. Sumner of Yale forced out of the chair of political economy and into a minor position as a teacher of an insignificant branch of sociology because of inability, inefficiency, or for any other sound reason? Was there any connection between this degradation of the most capable, most

honest, and most popular professor of Yale, and the fact that President Hadley could not obtain large contributions from W. C. Whitney, Chauncey Depew, and other rich men while Professor Sumner was teaching scientific economic truths to Yale's students?

Similar questions might be asked concerning many other well-known cases of professors who have lost their positions for teaching plain truths, and of others who have gotten and retained professorial positions because they were willing to bow before Baal and to teach false doctrines.

Is it not clearly evident to all intelligent and impartial men acquainted with the facts, that our colleges have ceased to fulfill their proper functions? Have not our founts of knowledge been poisoned at their sources? Can they live on the "graft" of tariff trusts and other special and harmful privileges without being tainted and contaminated?

* *

Professor Seligman's Gymnastical Economics.

Professor Seligman's defense of the protection professors in our universities was completely answered at the Free Trade League in Boston on the 30th. Mr. Seligman had said that modern economists are closer to the business world and more inclined to sympathize with producers than with consumers, for which reason they were more practical and more often protectionists than economic professors formerly were. This is not *political economy*; it is plutocratic economy. Here in brief was Mr. Holt's reply:

Calling a dog's tail a leg does not make it one. Changing the viewpoint does not alter the fact. Water does not run up hill when I stand on my head. It is a fundamental fact in economics that production exists because of consumption, and not that consumption exists because of production. We do not wear clothes simply because they are produced; we produce them because we want to wear them. If there were no demand for clothes there would be none produced. Economically considered, it is the business of producers to make clothes as cheaply as possible. It is their function to serve consumers. It is absurd to attempt to teach political economy as a science, after reversing the natural order of things. As well attempt to teach physics on the assumption that gravity works backward.

* *

Economic Progress in New York.

Corporation influence is reported to have maintained its sway in the New York legislature up to the hour of the final adjournment, which took place last week. But along with whatever corporate corruption there may have been, at least one good measure has gone through. We refer to the requirement that the cost of new subway construction shall fall upon the land of New York in proportion to the resulting increase in its value. The present subway has increased the value of New

York city land (vol. xi, p. 746) to an amount equal to twice the cost of the subway. And the end is not yet, for that land will go on increasing in value as would not have been possible but for the subway. Out of this striking municipal object lesson comes now the law, which the Governor and the Mayor are expected to sign, that will enable the city to place the cost of future subways where it ought to be placed—upon those whose property the subway construction increases in value. Along the line of this policy lies the true course for the municipalization of all social utilities.

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Another New York law is entirely in harmony with the policy indicated by thus making the site owners of New York city pay for subway construction in proportion to the consequent increase in the value of their land. This is the Constitutional amendment (p. 338) which withdraws from the category of public indebtedness, all bonds for self-supporting municipal utilities. The amendment was adopted by the previous legislature; it was adopted a second time, as the provisions relative to Constitutional amendments in New York demand, by the present legislature; and now, also as the amending clause requires, it goes to the people for adoption. Its adoption is regarded as a certainty. When adopted it will enable the city of New York to pledge its credit for the construction of self-supporting public utilities without reference to the present indebtedness for that purpose; it will, in other words, adequately extend the debt limit for purposes of constructing subways, etc. Consequently the city will be at liberty to construct upon its own credit, and to own the subways it is now contemplating; and in addition, under the authority first stated above, to cancel that indebtedness gradually from the increase in land values caused by the subway construction.

* *

Political "Heckling."

District Attorney Jerome of New York is to be credited with a political innovation of exceptional value. He appeared upon the Cooper Union platform last Sunday, at the regular meeting of the People's Institute which crowds that large hall every Sunday night, to ask permission to report to the public through them at a special meeting upon the conduct of his office, and to answer frankly every question that may be asked from the audience. At first the audience, which evidently were strongly hostile, were disinclined even to allow Mr. Jerome to make his request for a future hearing. Some of them remained unreconciled to

the end. But the plea for fair play, made by the president, Charles Sprague Smith, soon secured a respectful hearing for Mr. Jerome. The press reports of a disturbance were sensationaly exaggerated. Although there was a brief conflict of hisses and applause, of protests against and demands for a hearing, and the police were upon the point of removing two or three persons, there was no serious disturbance; and Professor Smith, insisting upon fair play, very quickly secured the necessary order. Mr. Jerome thereupon made a brief speech, so tactful and effective, that the audience voted 1,500 to 6, to fix a date for giving him a hearing and a "heckling."



We speak of this as a valuable innovation, because we believe that if the People's Institute gives Mr. Jerome a respectful hearing and a thorough "heckling," it will start a universal custom. Any candidate or official in New York whom the Institute may thereafter invite to appear before it and submit to a like ordeal, will stay away at the peril of his election. Nor is the custom likely to confine itself to New York. Once established there, it may be expected to spread over the whole country, operating with marked effect everywhere in the promotion of intelligent voting and faithful official service. "Heckling" has long been common and useful in England. It should be made so here; and Mr. Jerome's proposed innovation bids fair to produce that result. In this event further glory will have been added to the glorious civic history of Peter Cooper's old Hall of the Union.



One of the Modern Devices of the Master Class.

The animus of the Manufacturers' Association of Illinois is pretty well exposed by themselves when they petition against reforming the antiquated conspiracy laws of the State. Under these laws the identical conduct of an individual which would be punishable only as a misdemeanor if the indictment charged the conduct itself, is punishable as a felony if the indictment charges it as the result of a conspiracy of two or more persons. Yet the Manufacturers' Association opposes a bill which would make conspiracy no greater as a crime than the crime aimed at or accomplished. Under the present law, also, men can be convicted of the crime of conspiracy for doing in concert, and in no unlawful way, what would be no crime if done in the same way by an individual. Yet the Manufacturers' Association opposes the bill which would provide that no combination of one or more persons shall be criminal if its object and method

would not be criminal on the part of one person. The animus thus exposed is the plutocratic animus. This employers' association wants to hold the criminal law over the employe class in such manner as to make united action by employes criminal, although their object be in itself legally innocent and the means they adopt be in themselves not unlawful. An employers' association which takes this stand is to that extent essentially of criminal mind itself; but lacking the courage of defiant criminals, it sneakingly tries to turn the law into a weapon for accomplishing its unfair purpose.



Public Funds Diverted to Private Use.

One of the familiar spots in Chicago is known as the "Portland Block." Within a few days its title has changed hands under circumstances in which the private improvements were not considered and their value did not enter into the price. Nothing but the value of the bare site was considered. Yet the property—93 feet by 120, or about a quarter of an acre—fetched a round million dollars. That is to say, the annual value, the ground rent, of that little spot of God's footstool, is about \$50,000, or at the rate of about \$200,000 per acre per year. Now, what gives it this value? The people, all the people, of Chicago. And there is still another point. Just 20 years ago the same property sold for \$600,000—\$400,000 less than recently. That implies that its revenue-producing power has increased in twenty years from about \$30,000 to about \$50,000 a year. This is an increase of ground-rent of about \$20,000 a year. What has done it? The growth of Chicago during those twenty years. Does Chicago get it? What a question! Would Chicago be on the verge of bankruptcy if the additions in value which it gives to its own site went into its own treasury instead of into the private pockets of its Big Business land grabbers and tax dodgers?



Taxation of Insurance.

The process of smashing your nose to spite your face is curiously exemplified in the efforts of over-taxed people to place taxation where it rebounds and hits themselves. This effect is inevitable when debtor communities tax lenders. Until debts already contracted mature, lenders do have to bear the tax; but as soon as these debts have matured, the lenders shift the tax to borrowers, just as manufacturers, storekeepers, importers and so on, do with taxes on their goods. The latter do it in prices, while the former do it in some form or other

of interest on loans. Precisely in line with this sort of "kicking gun" in the way of taxation, is the custom of taxing insurance companies. When you tax insurance companies you don't get your taxes from the companies; you get them from policy holders. Yet this taxation of insurance is common. It is reported that from 1 to 5 per cent is added to insurance premiums for taxation. Some of the insurance companies are calling the attention of policy holders to it in a circular which makes perfectly true statements. It urges that "the policy holder pays this tax," that "the burden goes over to the policy holder because taxation cost is one of the costs of insurance that must be provided for in the premium charge;" that such a tax "is wrong in principle" because "it is a tax on a process of trade, not a tax on property or profits;" that "it is illogical" because "so far as the insurance taxed is on property it is a double tax," and "so far as the insurance is on life, limb or health, elements are being taxed which are not properly taxable at all;" that "it is a discriminating tax" because "it applies to the prudent only and its proceeds go to lessen the taxes of those who are not prudent;" that "it is unjust" because "it taxes men who are trying to save taxable values from destruction, or to save dependents from want." This circular adds, genuinely enough, the following appeal:

While insurance companies regret that these taxes are levied, experience shows that they cannot dissuade legislative bodies from causing them to be levied. Legislative bodies consider the representations of insurance companies as intended to help them to make money. They do not study the matter far enough to see that the burden to be lifted is a burden upon the policy-holders. Those who insure are very numerous. They are influential because they represent the best of our citizenship. Legislative bodies would listen to their representations. The companies will do what they can to lift this burden. Will not policy-holders do what they can? All that is said in that circular applies as well to every form of indirect taxation as to this particular indirect method of taxing the holders of insurance policies. It applies to taxes on houses, on furniture, on farming, on manufacturing, on importing,—to every tax which the circular so aptly describes as "a tax on a process of trade." There are very few taxes to which it does not apply, for most taxes are on some process or other of trade. Income taxes are not, but income taxes are difficult to levy, and utterly unfair because they fall alike upon earned incomes and unearned incomes—upon the living a man makes himself, and the living he somehow extorts from others. The only large taxes which fall solely upon unearned incomes and

cannot be shifted over upon somebody else are the ad valorem taxes which a man pays for so much of the planet as he monopolizes.

* * *

PHILOSOPHY ADRIFT.

Social conditions are too glaringly out of joint to admit of tolerance or justification; and popular remedies are not succeeding to any appreciable extent. Earnest reformers are at their wits' end for new and more potent devices to meet the world's dire need. Yet among the multitude of philosophers of all grades who have tried to solve these pressing problems, scarcely any reach the fundamental solvent.

Losing sight of the unity of truth, society saviours aim to accomplish the salvation of society from poverty and its attendant misery by partial and one-sided remedies, just as some of the converts to the primitive church substituted the fanciful mysticism of their prior associations for the simple morality of the Nazarene.

An instance of special interest and importance may be found in a new book on philosophy by Prof. Eucken of Jena. For an honest, frank, and impressive indication of the loose conjectural qualities of modern philosophic thought, observe this quotation:

We feel with increasing distress the wide interval between the varied and important work to be done at the circumference of life and the complete emptiness of the center. When we take an inside view of life we find that a life of mere bustling routine preponderates, that men struggle and boost and strive to outdo one another, that unlimited ambition and vanity are characteristic of individuals, that they are always running to and fro and pressing forward, or feverishly exerting all their powers. But throughout it all we come upon nothing that gives any real value to life, and nothing spiritually elevating. Hence, we do not find any meaning or value in life, but in the end a single huge show in which culture is reduced to a burlesque. Any one who thinks it all over and reflects upon the difference between the enormous labor that has been expended and the accompanying gain to the essentials of life, must either be driven to complete negation and despair, or must seek new ways of guaranteeing a value to life and liberating man from the sway of the petty human. But this will force men to resume the quest for inner connections.

Prof. Eucken thus clearly describes the mental attitude of many thinkers towards the existing Babel of human life and its grave problems. Never were there so many divergent views ostensibly tending to the common object of making "the crooked straight and the rough places plain." John Graham Brooks says he has counted upwards

of 80 different panaceas for human ills. But how many would bear intelligent and honest criticism? how many touch the radical cause or causes of the serious social wrongs that must be righted before humanity can live a rational human life?

Prof. Eucken is intensely earnest in his desire to solve the problems of the day; but he, too, is looking beyond the matter-of-fact in life to certain—or rather, uncertain, “inner connections” for the satisfaction of his anxiety. In this he is but in line with the trend of psychological thought that marks much of the literature of our time.



Thinker and worker alike seem dazed by the mad rush for wealth on the one hand and the persistent poverty on the other. That minds prone to abstract thinking should seek relief for these social evils in theories more or less abstract, based more or less upon reason, is not to be wondered at. Much of the philosophic thought of the past has been simply an exhibition of intellectual dexterity in handling abstractions that have been of little or no value to human progress. But the problems which now press for recognition and solution arise out of the actual every-day experience of mankind. Our impressions of them do not come from abstract mental processes, however ingenious they might possibly be, but from experiences that admit of no denial.

In the impressive language of the author of “Progress and Poverty”—

This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our time. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social and political difficulties that perplex the world, and with which statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain. From it come the clouds that overhang the future of the most progressive and self-reliant nations. It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization and which not to answer is to be destroyed. So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The tower leans from its foundations and every new story but hastens the final catastrophe. To educate men who must be condemned to poverty, is but to make them restive; to base on a state of most glaring inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal, is to stand a pyramid on its apex.

In these wretched conditions, earnest thinkers grow sick of all material things and look for help beyond. Some are even coming to doubt the power of reason to understand and solve our social difficulties. One writer of considerable note goes

so far as to sneer at logic as something that could be safely dispensed with in our inquiries after truth. This is but the reaction from the disappointment that has come to us from material progress—with its common experiences of social confusion and disorder. From this fact-life men have turned wearily to the vague, mysterious and unknown. But if ever poverty is to be abolished it must be by matter of fact means.



Why should we look up to the clouds of speculation and theory for that which lies beneath our feet? Is not the earth the source of all material wealth? Where else, then, should the poor go for satisfaction of their needs? If they cannot get there that which will relieve their poverty, it is not because the wealth is not there. Nature is ever waiting at the call of labor to bless mankind with more than enough to satisfy all their wants.

Why then are many out of work and why do some starve? Here is the vital question for philosophers, philanthropists and reformers. What hinders millions of needy men and women from satisfying their needs? It is a plain, straightforward question, and it would seem as though its true answer should suggest an obvious remedy.

Those millions are not willingly idle. The lazy are the exception and not the rule. If, then, the earth is the source of all wealth, and men are willing to avail themselves of her bounty by honest labor, why should poverty keep pace with our growing civilization? There can be but one answer: they are *prevented* from using natural opportunities.

Who or what prevents them? There is but one answer to that question: monopoly prevents them by arbitrarily appropriating those opportunities and operating them exclusively for the benefit of the monopolist or not operating them adequately or at all.

It is plain then that in the *land* and in the land *only*, lies the primary solution of all social problems. Deeply imbedded in this is the living root of the great Upas tree of monopoly that overshadows and poisons our social life, and if we would destroy this dreadful thing we must cease lopping off its outer branches, and strike at the root.

With few exceptions, philosophers and philanthropists have not even attempted to strike at this root. They have been looking up instead of down for the solution that they crush beneath their feet daily. They have ever been and still are, deaf to the call of the land—the call to those who

are weary and heavy laden, the call to *rest*, rest for the weary little children in our factories, rest for the haggard and hopeless victims of the sweatshop, rest for the thousands who tramp the streets in the vain search for an opportunity to earn a bit of bread for wife and children, rest for millions of industrial slaves who toil hopelessly on, early and late, from year's end to year's end, for a bare living, while the monopolist whose privileges bring them to this misery lives in luxury and ease.

If our popular philanthropists and benefactors could but open their ears to this call of the land, we should hear no more of soup kitchens nor charity organizations. Even Dr. Horace Fletcher would find it unnecessary to teach the poor how to gnaw their way out of poverty, and all other well-meant plans to mitigate the privations of the poor would themselves have to go a-begging.

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But will this call find many responsive hearers, or will it be as with that of the Nazarene who had to say in sorrow, "Many are called but few are chosen"? Must we continue to repeat the impressive phrase with which he often, if not invariably, supplemented his discourses, "*He that hath ears to hear, let him hear?*"

*

Other calls besides that of the land distract the minds of men. Its gentle pleading is drowned in the insane clamor of the stock market, in the loud clangor of the trumpet and drum of militarism, in the unreasoning tumult of politics, in the rattle and clash of machinery, when the dazed and tired brain lags and droops under the long, weary hours of toil.

For many other reasons the truth about the land falls upon deaf ears. Only in ears already attuned to this simple tone may it find a ready response. It was thus with the teaching of the Nazarene. Only in the "good ground"—that is, "the good and honest heart"—did the seed of truth take root and fructify. Where personal gain is the supreme object this call will have no charm; for, however just the truth may seem, present conditions make its realization appear remote. Where a bare living is all that is possessed or in prospect, the fear that to go further would be to fare worse, would probably stifle discontent and the desire for better conditions.

But there are among this class of toilers some honest and earnest souls to whom the appeal of justice will always be irresistibly sweet. They will listen to the good news and then carry it as

evangelists of liberty to other honest and good hearts ready to receive it and to work for it.

†

It remains but to note the extreme simplicity of the method by which the land, now the instrument mainly used by monopoly to rob and enslave mankind, may be freed from this unnatural control and made the natural means for man's deliverance from poverty and its attendant evils.

All social disorder comes from the violation of Nature's beneficent laws. To ensure social well-being we must "cease to do evil and learn to do well." This is just as applicable to communities as to individuals, and the assembling of men and women into groups or communities carries with it obligations which cannot be neglected or violated with safety to the personal liberty or the social well-being of the whole.

Consider for a moment.

The necessities of communal life begin with its foundation and keep pace with its growth. Roads, water, lighting, and all other requisites of village, town, or city, must be provided for the comfort and safety of the inhabitants. This cannot be done without expense, and how may this be met with the least inconvenience to all concerned? This is the crucial question on which hangs the present and future well-being of these people.

Is there any provision made by Nature for that contingency? Let us see. From the very beginning of this communal institution two striking facts run together in parallel lines—namely, increase of population and increase of land values. All intelligent sociologists admit this. Even Andrew Carnegie, monopolist as he is, admits this. Taking it for granted are we not justified in claiming that this constantly growing land value, which augments naturally from the increase of population, is *Nature's provision* for the expenses entailed by social organization?

That the returns from this increase would be amply sufficient to cover all reasonable expense is demonstrated plainly by the rapid and enormous rise in the land values of the best locations in any city. Single taxers have furnished phenomenal instances of this fact in New York and other large cities, over and over again, and it is not necessary to repeat them here. So overwhelmingly abundant is this provision for municipal needs that nothing short of inexcusable extravagance or wholesale robbery by a corrupt city government could possibly render it insufficient.

With this law in force, the taxing of any of the products of labor would be unnecessary. This ex-

emption in itself would be a large step towards industrial freedom. The laborer would retain all he produced, for the assessment of all land at its true value would open up natural opportunities to labor by making it unprofitable to hold land out of use. Speculation in land would die a natural death and the world would thus be delivered from its greatest obstacle to material progress. Industry on all hands would be stimulated as never before; and under the reign of justice, spiritual advancement would become possible. And the fear of want being removed, the feverish desire for excessive wealth would decline. Poverty and its evils, including charity, would cease, for there would need be none who could not realize Agur's prayer: "Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with food convenient for me."

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But none of this can be brought about by futile attempts to divorce the material from the spiritual. The highest ethical ideas animate this land movement. Its inspiring principle is justice, its ultimate object the complete freedom of the human race. Viewed even from Prof. Eucken's moral standpoint the spirituality in this movement must be obvious.

The prevailing tendency to push to extremes analysis and differentiation in the consideration of all subjects may in the end reduce the various constituent ideas to a monistic basis. It is difficult even at this stage of psychological thought to mark a dividing line between the material and the spiritual.

More than half a century ago, Mary Somerville wrote her splendid work, "The Connection of the Physical Sciences," in which she arranged and unified science as then known. With the skill of an inspired artist she blended the so-called branches of scientific knowledge so that the old dividing lines were lost in a wonderful picture of nature as a stupendous unit, a coherent and indivisible whole, in which the constituent elements acted and reacted upon each other in the evolution of phenomena. Could this unifying plan be adapted to the various problems which arise out of the relation of human beings to the universe and each other, the task of the truth seeker might be much easier, pleasanter and more successful than it has been under the control and direction of an antiquated scholasticism.

But no matter what changes may evolve in the realm of thought, the eternal spirit of justice as expressed in the golden rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," will continue in its sublime simplicity to be the

only way to human progress and happiness. This is the spirit that animates the movement for free land. It makes it the hope of the world, for only with free access to natural opportunities in land can there be free men.

EDMUND CORKILL.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

IRRIGATION GRAFT IN TEXAS.

El Paso, Tex., April 25.

In this city and valley, under the New Mexico-Texas irrigation project, is afforded an excellent illustration of the way in which the United States government, through the reclamation service, enriches private individuals at the expense of the community, and the community that is to come.

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The government has started work on the Elephant Butte dam, at Engle, N. M., under which project the Rincon and Mesilla valleys in New Mexico, the El Paso valley in Texas and the Juarez and Guadalupe valleys in old Mexico will be irrigated. The reclamation service in this, as in other projects, advances the money for the building of the dam and the main canals, the money to be paid back to the government by assessment on the land after the farmers get it under cultivation.

In this case the cost per acre will be \$40, to pay for the dam, which will cost \$7,000,000. The \$40 will be paid by the farmers in ten years at the rate of \$4 per acre per year. Ostensibly the farmer who farms the land will have to pay only the \$40 per acre for his water right. In fact he will pay double and in many cases triple this amount. The bulk of the payment will go to the speculator.

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Before the big irrigation dam was mentioned the land in this valley was worth on the average not over \$10 per acre. It was for the most part desert land and most of it could be had for a song. The minute the government decided to build the dam, however, the land took a big jump forward. Options were secured on nearly all of it by the speculators, and the price advanced immediately from \$10 to \$25 per acre. It continued to go up. Now it cannot be touched for less than \$50 per acre. And before the dam is finished it will reach \$75 and \$100 per acre. The increase in population and demand may send it still higher.

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The men who secured the options and who still hold 9-10 of the land in the valley have no intention of farming it. They will not pay the government a cent for the building of the dam.

The man who finally buys a small strip of land and farms it will pay his \$40 per acre to the government and in addition he will pay the speculator before he can touch it.

It is a simple problem in mathematics to determine just what the farmer, the man who puts the land to use, will have to pay. The difference be-

tween the value of the land before the dam was mentioned (\$10) and the value of the land before the water is turned on (\$75) is \$65, stated very conservatively—and that is the price the farmer must pay in addition to his \$40 to the reclamation service for the building of the entire project.

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It is clear that under this system of the government the man who tills the soil will not be benefited except as he overcomes almost insurmountable obstacles. It will cost him over \$100 per acre before he can get at the land and he will have a tremendous job to make the land pay him. He must face crop failures and he must experiment in new territory with new crops and perhaps will become wholly discouraged and drop the burden.

Yet there are many farmers who believe a tax on land values would be a burden on the farmer.

If land values were taxed in the El Paso valley the tax would not be one-third what the speculator is demanding, for the land tax would drop with the burden on city property and other valuable objective sites to commerce and business.

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The forestallers are growing rich in this neighborhood, as well as in all of the other irrigation centers. As mentioned above they secured options on practically all of the land. These they are holding or selling to buy other tracts from the Mexican population in sections later included under the project. More than one of these speculators will become millionaires—and without putting a cent's worth of improvements on the land.

It is notorious that no attempt is being made by the big land owners to clear or cultivate any of the land here, which is retarding the growth of the city and valley. The government has already finished the canals and it is possible even now to farm and farm successfully. Yet through the entire valley there is found a cultivated tract very rarely as compared with the idle acres.

The speculators are holding the land with the idea of letting go of it as soon as the dam is finished. This is an open secret among them. One of the prominent dealers has told me that he expects to see the value advance to a higher figure just before the dam is finished than after the water is turned on. This is expected for the reason that buyers will seize it beforehand without realizing the great burden they will assume when they pay their \$40 to the reclamation service.

A crude attempt of the government to prevent the speculator from enriching himself at the expense of the farmer is made by a ruling of the reclamation service that no one holder may have more than 160 acres of land after the project is completed. Of course, this is putting the cart before the horse. At the present time, when the increase in value is greatest, one man may own the entire valley if he has the money to gobble it up. There is no one in El Paso who would attempt to hold over 160 acres after the dam is completed and pay \$40 an acre for doing it.

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This is not the only species of graft that is

utilized as a result of the policy of the government in reclamation projects. An instance is afforded in this valley in the building of bridges. A dozen or more men bought up an island under the project for speculative purposes, paying \$9 an acre for the land. The island contains over 12,000 acres. In the present shape it is inaccessible and for that reason the former holders let loose. Immediately the purchasers, who are men of prominence and some of them office holders, induced the county of El Paso to build a bridge to the island. The people of the city are paying 90 per cent of the cost of the bridge and the people of the county the remainder. The bridge will make the land worth at least \$30 per acre. Thus the county will put a gigantic sum into the pockets of the forestallers. There is now no demand for the bridge because the island is not inhabited.

Trolley lines and roads to favorite tracts furnish other means of collecting revenue from the worker of the land for the benefit of the worker of the farmer.

WILLIAM HOFFMAN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ANOTHER CLERGYMAN ON THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY.

That the church stands condemned today, as it has many times before at critical historical periods, is indubitable. The plea usually made on behalf of the church in times past as well as to-day is in the nature of what lawyers call "confession and avoidance." Such is the nature of the plea advanced by a clergyman in The Public of March 19, 1909 (p. 269), and it betrays the very moral astigmatism and spiritual dry-rot for which the social reformers of all ages have condemned the church.

The blameworthiness alleged against the church is not, as the writer referred to seems to think, that the church does not "champion the cause of some specific reform or reforms, and prove the necessity of each member taking hold thereof and fighting therefor"; but it is that the church is not a leader but a timid and reluctant follower in the moral and spiritual movements which the various and specific reforms connote. The charge is that this timidity and time-serving spirit of the church and its ministers, this fearfulness respecting any thorough going and radical analysis of existing conditions and of the various reforms and remedies proposed, this waiting till it shall be prudentially safe and even materially profitable to take sides in the eternal struggle for human freedom and social justice, is a practical abdication of the divine authority and the world-redeeming mission which is the church's sole *raison d'être*.

True, the church may have some strong points despite this evidence of weakness. It may, for example, be highly respectable, or materially prosperous, or an excellent spiritual anodyne for disturbed consciences. But such excellences do not commend it to men and women afire with moral passion in times that "try men's souls." They are not the excellence and strength we look for when what is needed is leadership, the voice of authority, the dy-

namic power of ethical ideality and purpose. The reformers hold, and history amply justifies them in holding, that it is as true of churches as of individuals, that—

" 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
When for the truth he ought to die."



To the plea that "when it is seen that there is one remedy and only one remedy for any given evil, only one way of righting a given wrong, then it will be time for the church to preach that reform," the reformer very properly replies that it is precisely then when there is no necessity for the church to preach it; the remedy will then have been applied, the wrong will have been righted without the assistance of the church, and without any thanks to it also.

If the church has any function whatever, in a world of wrong and right, of falsehood and truth, it is that of an organized social conscience. And this implies not only the recognition that wrong and falsehood exist but also what the wrong and the falsehood consist of, what makes them wrong and false, and why they should be rejected by the wise and the right and the truth chosen.

To merely say to mankind "wrong and falsehood exist," without pointing out what and where they are, is to utter a merest platitude. To say to men "you are free now to find out for yourselves the best way to get rid of evil and the best or better thing to substitute for it," is to utter a mere abstraction and give forth words devoid of ethical meaning. It is precisely such phrase making which is the curse of our pulpits today and which has caused the breach which exists between the social reformers and the church, and is alienating from religion in its organized form the great body of the working classes who most keenly suffer the wrongs of the exploited under our existing industrial and political systems.



Not so spoke the great prophets of religion. They shrank not from pointing out what was specifically wrong, nor from announcing the specific remedy.

No one will accuse Amos, or Micah, or Isaiah, or Jeremiah, or John the Baptist, or Jesus, or Paul, or Bernard, or Augustine, or Savonarola, or Knox, or Wesley, or Theodore Parker of a lack of definiteness regarding what is black and what is white, or what made it black or white, or what must be done to abolish the one and to establish the other.

They spoke to individuals but they also spoke to the collectivity. They recognized the necessity not merely of individual cleansing but also of national regeneration and reform. They advocated not glittering generalities but specific measures by which the reforms of their times were to be brought about. They waited not till one remedy was clearly seen, but flung themselves into the fight as advocates and partisans of methods and measures that were not yet clearly recognized. They took upon themselves the work of moral and spiritual pioneers through a social wilderness to blaze the trails which later generations made the broad highways of religious and social orthodoxy. Their reckless zeal in such directions made them the religious heroes of later genera-

tions, but it made them the feared and hated and persecuted and martyred "undesirables" of the smug respectability, the enthroned powers, the Pharisaic legalists, the spiritually deaf and blind religious leaders and organizations of their own times.

Their inspired moral passion shames the timid conservatism of their modern priestly successors who are content to stand as mere "guide-posts" pointing to the safely guarded and well-beaten highways of use and wont.



The fault of the majority of modern pulpiteers is not so much that they do not espouse the cause of this or that social "ism," but that they have no fundamental social philosophy, no adequate knowledge of the laws and forces of social development which are operating today, on which to base any teaching of social ethics that has direct bearing on existing conditions and standards; no spiritual vision of a social "ought"; no social idea or ideal of sufficient power to inspire them or their congregations with the moral passion which will dare every peril in order to accomplish its end, which is the permanent uplift and betterment of the whole of humanity. It does not recognize the existence in economic conditions of an environment that must be changed before humanity as a whole, or even as individuals, can rise out of present degradation into the fullness of the stature of a perfect or even a nobler manhood. This widely prevalent ignorance it is which is responsible for the timidity of our ministers and churches.

The common saying "God hates a coward" may not be true; but it is greatly to be hoped, for the sake of the divine character, that it is true. A preacher cannot justly be condemned for not espousing, let us say, socialism. He may have arrived at a different conclusion as to the nature of existing evils and their remedy. But, if he is convinced that the analysis of social disease and sin which socialism makes is correct, and its remedy the true one, then he holds his peace at his soul's peril and at the peril of his efficiency as a religious and ethical teacher.

I say "as a religious and ethical teacher" advisedly; because I grant it is not his function to be, as preacher, an advocate of party politics. He is not required to say "vote thus or so, or for this or that person for political office"; but what ethical and religious content he finds in his socialistic, or single-tax or any other philosophy, what message affecting the bodies, minds and souls of men, women and children comes to him out of that philosophy, that he not only may preach but, as the spokesman for God, is required to preach.

And if he fails to do so because people may leave his church, or because his income will suffer, or because it involves the sacrifice of family comforts or the sweets of friendship or popularity, or because, forsooth, it may curtail his influence, he is an unfaithful steward who wraps his Lord's talent in a napkin and buries it in the earth; a lighted spiritual candle put under a very materialistic and prudential bushel.



It is quite true that the vastness and complexities of sociological science and the philosophy of history

lay a heavier burden of work on the modern preacher than his prophetic prototypes ever had to assume. He may not be blameworthy if, in some of these respects, he is ignorant; but he certainly is blameworthy if he is content to remain in ignorance of matters touching so nearly and affecting so disastrously the material, mental and spiritual welfare of human beings as do the conditions and methods and laws of our industrial society.

The article in *The Public* which calls forth this reply says: "The minister of any church neglects his duty when he refrains from condemning the sins which are seriously injuring society. But he is . . . out of his sphere when he defines the remedy." This is precisely the crux of the whole matter. If the quotation means anything it means that as "a cure of souls" the minister may and should say "This thou shalt not do," but he may not and should not say "This thou shalt do." But to admit this is simply to surrender the whole significance of vital Christianity, the whole purport of the teachings of Jesus and of Paul, and to revert back to the legalism and the ineffective negations of priesthood and Pharisaism.

Furthermore, how shall one know to condemn sins unless he knows also what is the essence of the sin and how to cure it by the removal of the cause? And if he knows not how to cast out the cause, of what avail is his condemnation? And if he does know how to cast it out but refrains from prescribing the cure, is not his sick patient the victim of spiritual neglect and culpable cowardice?

Is not the very proper procedure, in either case, for the friends and lovers of the patient to discharge such a spiritual physician and to bid him "hunt some other job"?

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But again, and finally, referring to the last quotation from the article, it is not so much today the "sins which are injuring society" that call for treatment, as it is the sins of society which are injuring individuals.

And one of these social sins, and the one into which our ministers and churches are most prone to fall, is precisely the individualistic philosophy and attitude which the article in question exemplifies. And it is for this kind of analysis, which places the responsibility for existing evils upon individual members, and for this kind of prescription, which seeks the cure in individual reformation rather than in the making of a more wholesome social environment, that the church is condemned and deserted by those who know that economic relations are at the basis of all the woe as well as all the weal of humanity, and that out of these relations must come the new ethics, the new religion, the new revelations of God's will to men.

LEWIS J. DUNCAN.

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The soul's dark cottage, batter'd and decay'd,
Lets in new light through chinks that Time hath
made:

Stronger by weakness, wiser men become
As they draw near to their eternal home,
Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view
That stand upon the threshold of the new.

—Edmund Waller.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL REFORM.*

Detroit, Mich., April 17, 1909.

I read the Rev. Mr. Hoeck's article in *The Public* of March 19, and I heartily approve of it.

As you know, I am an earnest advocate of the Single Tax and take every proper and suitable opportunity to present it, but I have never preached it from my pulpit, nor would I ever do so.

The pulpit is the place to deal with principles, not policies; motives, not methods. Its business is to arouse the conscience of men to actual sin and moral evil, and to inspire to righteousness. But its business is not to deal with economic, political or industrial methods and policies.

As a citizen I have a perfect right to deal with such subjects and I do so without fear or favor. But when I am in the pulpit, I have to deal with higher and deeper things than either methods or policies.

If the pulpit is to fulfill its highest function and exert its greatest power, it must confine itself carefully to those questions of principle and motive about which there can be no dispute. It is not a question of being afraid to speak the truth; it is simply a question of what kind of truth we ought to deal with.

If any clergyman sets up a single tax church or a socialistic church, he is certainly departing from his mission as a messenger and minister of Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ, by confining himself rigorously to the religion of principle and motive and appealing directly to the conscience, has given more impulse to industrial, economic, social and every other sort of reform than all the reformers put together that ever existed since his day. And his ministers must follow in his footsteps. As citizens, however, they have the right to exercise their judgment, and forward such policies and methods as recommend themselves to their judgment.

CHAS. D. WILLIAMS.

*A portion of a letter written by the Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Protestant-Episcopal Bishop of Michigan, to Daniel Klefer; published in these columns with the consent of Bishop Williams.

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, May 4, 1909.

The British Budget.

Probably no national budget ever excited more expectant interest long in advance than did the British budget (p. 391) which Lloyd-George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, presented to the Commons on the 29th, in a four hours' speech, as

the united proposal of the Asquith ministry, which is now in control of the government. It was looked forward to by radicals and conservatives alike, and the world over as well as in Great Britain, for its probable significance with reference to cleavages between the progressive and the reactionary forces in British politics in respect of questions that are of world-wide concern. Yet it is almost impossible to determine from the reports of the 30th in any one American newspaper, just what the significance of this budget may be. We shall probably get no clear conception until the British papers come. A reasonable guess may be made, however, upon the basis of a comparison of several different cable reports.

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From such a comparison we infer that the budget is strongly progressive in its general tendency, and markedly so in many particulars. Among the less important details, of which the cable reports make most, are an automobile tax, an increased whisky and tobacco tax, a tax on stock exchange transactions, and an increase of the liquor license tax. The legacy and succession taxes are heavily increased, as is also the income tax; but the increase in income taxes is to fall only upon incomes that are unearned, unless they are \$15,000 or more. This purpose to inaugurate a policy of exempting earnings is further emphasized by the refusal to add anything to the tax on tea and sugar; while the corresponding policy of taxing unearned wealth more and more heavily is disclosed by provisions for land value taxation. In the latter respect the best hopes of the land value taxationists seem to have been realized. For the budget is reported to provide for a tax of a half penny in the pound on the capitalized value of land, irrespective of its improvements; and an additional 20 per cent upon the future increase in land values. To provide a basis for this land value tax an Imperial appraisement of land values is to be made immediately. Benefits accruing to owners from the termination of leases are to be taxed 10 per cent, and there are indications in the reports of a special land value tax on mineral deposits.

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The fiscal necessity for these taxation increases is afforded principally by demand for a stronger navy, and by the provisions (vol. xi, pp. 444, 584) for old age pensions. To the latter appropriations is added an appropriation of \$500,000 for government labor exchanges, and government insurance against loss of employment.

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Vacant Land Cultivation in England.

The work of the English Vacant Land Cultivation Society (p. 363) has been so successful during the past season—its first—that it is appealing

to the public for further co-operation. In a circular letter sent to the press the secretary, Mr. Joseph Fels, thus cogently states just what co-operation is needed:

From land-owners or their agents we solicit the loan of unused and vacant plots of land, no matter where, in the metropolis or country. We agree to deliver up such lands within seven days whenever called upon to do so by the owners or their agents.

From seedsman, growers, and merchants we solicit seeds and plants, hoes, shovels, spades and rakes for the use of our cultivators.

From bait-stable proprietors we ask contributions of manure and street sweepings.

From those able and willing to subscribe money in large or small amounts we solicit donations, on the assurance that none will go in usual charity, but to provide opportunity for the heads of poor families to grow their own food by their own work, without any stigma attaching to them of receiving alms.

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The Tariff in Congress.

On the 30th the Senate finance committee's substitute for the Payne tariff (p. 419) bill's maximum and minimum rates, was reported into the Senate by the chairman of the committee, Senator Aldrich. This substitute puts in effect after March 31, 1910, a maximum provision for an additional 25 per cent ad valorem on all of the rates of the Senate bill, and then gives to the President the power to apply the minimum rates to any country or section of a country by proclamation. It provides for a duty of 5 cents on coffee and 10 cents on tea imported from countries to which the maximum rates are applied. The section also gives the President the power to employ a tariff commission for the purpose of gathering information only. The Senate's retaliatory provision is practically a reversal of that originally placed in the Payne bill. Instead of the maximum rates applying automatically against a country which discriminates in its tariff laws against the products of the United States, the finance committee's substitute makes the maximum rates applicable to all countries after March 31, 1910, and then gives the President the power to apply the minimum rates to those countries which give the United States equal concessions with other countries. But the President must, in his proclamation, declare that the country which is favored with the minimum rates does not impose any terms or restrictions, either in the way of tariff rates or trade or other regulations, directly or indirectly, upon the sale or importation into that country of any product of the United States. This, in effect, is the requirement which was in the House bill. In addition, the Senate provision requires that a country, in order to receive the minimum rates of the American tariff, cannot impose any export bounty or prohibition upon the exportation of any article to the United States which unduly discriminates against

The Public

the products of this country. The latter provision was not made in the House bill. It is not thought that it will affect Brazil because of the export tax placed by that country on coffee, but it is expected that it will affect those countries which impose an import tax on a raw material which is used for manufacturing in this country. The new provision would make the maximum rates applicable to any colony or political subdivision of a country which has the right to adopt and enforce tariff legislation. The conditions imposed by the new section are applicable to the products of a country whether imported directly or indirectly from that country. Coffee and tea are the only articles of the free list upon which a maximum duty is applied.

* *

A Philippine Independence Amendment.

A proposed amendment to the Philippine tariff clause (p. 393) of the pending Payne tariff bill (v. 419) was spoken to on the 20th, in the United States Senate, by Senator Wm. A. Stone. The amendment reads as follows:

That it is hereby declared not to be the policy and purpose of the United States to maintain permanent sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, but to exercise authority in and over said Islands only so long as it may be necessary, in the opinion of the Congress and the President of the United States, not to exceed fifteen years from and after the passage of this act, to organize and establish a native Government capable of maintaining public order in said Islands, and until such international agreements shall have been made between the United States and foreign countries as will insure the independence of the Islands, and the people therof. Upon the organization of such native government, the organization of which shall be upon such terms and conditions as shall be prescribed by the United States, all authority, civil and military, of the United States, except as may be otherwise agreed upon between the government of the United States and the Government of the Philippine Islands, shall be withdrawn from said Islands; and hereafter and until the provisions of this Section shall be altered, amended or repealed, all articles of whatever kind, being wholly the growth and product of the Philippine Islands, shall be admitted into the United States free of duty; and agricultural implements of all kinds, cotton and cotton manufacturers of all kinds, books and publications of all kinds and machinery for use in manufactures of all kinds, being wholly the growth and product of the United States, shall be admitted into the Philippine Islands free of duty: Provided, That this section shall not be in force and effect nor become operative until the existing legislative authority of the Philippine Islands shall by joint resolution, duly enacted, consent to and approve the same. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this section are hereby repealed.

Discussion is promised on this amendment. It is believed that if the Philippine Islands are once admitted within the tariff wall of the United States, for which the Payne bill is intended to pre-

pare the way, without some such declaration, the peaceable attainment of independence will be made difficult. The Philippine Assembly recognizes this, and has made earnest protest to Congress.

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Railroads and Coal-Land Ownership.

The United States Supreme Court handed down through Justice White on the 3d, Justice Harlan dissenting, a decision upholding the constitutionality of that clause in the Hepburn railroad rate bill (vol. ix, p. 321) by which railroads and carriers are prohibited from dealing in the commodities they carry (vol. ix, p. 180); but declaring that the government's interpretation of the clause under which it was endeavoring to compel the railroads to part with their coal lands, was a false one. The decision announces, according to the Chicago Record-Herald's report, that the "commodities clause" does not mean that a railroad company may not own stock in another company which controls coal mines the product of which the railroad company transports to market; nor does it mean that if such a railroad company owns its mines direct, it cannot transport their product, provided it first parts with it before it becomes interstate traffic. The effect of this decision makes it possible for the railroads to do by indirection what they cannot do directly—namely, own coal mines and transport the products therefrom. In order to do this, however, it becomes necessary for a railroad company either to organize a subsidiary company which shall be the legal owner of the mines, or in the event of the railroad company's owning its mines direct, then it will become necessary for it to dispose in good faith of the output of the mines before it transports the same.

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Coal Mine Peace.

The controversy between the coal operators and their employes (p. 375) was settled on the 29th for another period of three years—until March 31, 1912. With the exception of five added stipulations suggested by the miners the agreement is identical with the one signed in New York three years ago. The Mine Workers' Union is not officially recognized, the members of the miners' committee simply signing the agreement "on behalf of the representatives of the anthracite mine workers."

* *

The National Peace Congress.

The second National Peace Congress (p. 420) opened in Chicago on Monday, the 3d. A preliminary meeting for the benefit of the school teachers of the city was held on Saturday afternoon, the 1st, and on Sunday further preliminary meetings and peace services and sermons called out large audiences. The meetings of Monday, Tues-

day and Wednesday were arranged for Orchestra Hall, the Fine Arts Building, and Mandel Hall at the University of Chicago, in many cases proceeding simultaneously. Especially notable addresses were delivered on Monday evening by Professor Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, on "Independence vs. Interdependence of Nations;" by Rev. H. T. Kealing, a Negro educator from Peabody College, Nashville, on "Racial Progress Towards Universal Peace;" and by President David Starr Jordan, of Stanford University, on "The Biology of War." Dr. Jordan addressed himself to the human deteriorations brought about by war, rather than to its moral and sentimental aspects. "Read," he said—

the dreary record of the glory of France, the slaughter at Waterloo, the wretched failure of Moscow, the miserable deeds of Sedan, the waste of Algiers, the poison of Madagascar, the crimes of Indo-China, the hideous results of barrack vice and its entail of disease and sterility, and you will understand the "Man of the Hoe." The man who is left, the man whom glory cannot use, becomes the father of the future men of France. As the long horn aboriginal type reappears in a neglected or abused herd of high bred cattle, so comes forth the aboriginal man, the "Man of the Hoe," in a wasted race of men.

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The United States Storm-Swept.

From the 29th to the 2d the greater part of the area of the United States was swept by a congeries of related storms which did vast damage and caused serious loss of life. Chicago was one of the first localities to suffer. Many houses, especially to the south of the city, were wrecked. In Colorado, Nebraska and Kansas there was heavy snow. As the storms swept into the South they added cyclones to their fury. Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi and Georgia seem to have suffered most severely. Whole villages were swept away. The total of the known dead reaches at least 250.

* *

Order Being Restored In Turkey.

The Young Turks have proceeded sternly with those found guilty of conspiracy in connection with the recent uprising against constitutionalism (p. 418). The military court on the 29th condemned about 250 persons to death. Nadir Pasha, the second ennuch of the palace, who was held peculiarly responsible for the whole revolutionary movement, was hanged at dawn on the Galata bridge. On the 30th Tewfik Pasha, who had been named Grand Vizier a fortnight before by the late Sultan at the time of the uprising, but who seems to have held a neutral position, acting at the behest of the Committee of Union and Progress succeeded in forming a new ministry. This ministry, however, lacking cohesion and being regard-

ed by many as too closely allied to the old order, resigned on the 3d.



The latest reports from the regions of the fanatical massacres of Christians indicate that the Young Turks have the situation well in hand, and are producing conditions of better order.

NEWS NOTES

—The black plague is reported as spreading at Messina, induced by the intolerable conditions of the earthquake-stricken city (p. 180).

—Dr. Manuel Amador, first President of the Republic of Panama (p. 61), died on the 2nd. At the last presidential election, Dr. Amador declined renomination.

—Olive Logan, well-known as a lecturer and author in the United States in the sixties and seventies, died in poverty in an asylum in England on the 27th, aged just seventy years.

—President Samuel Dickie, of Albion College, Mich., and Mayor David S. Rose of Milwaukee, debated the prohibition question in Chicago, on the 30th, to an audience that overflowed the Auditorium.

—Joseph W. Babcock, for fourteen years member of Congress from Wisconsin, and for many years chairman of the Republican National Committee, died at his home in Washington on the 27th, at the age of fifty-nine.

—The commission appointed by Mr. Giolitti, the Italian Premier, to inquire into the question of granting votes to women at the elections of administrative bodies in Italy, is prepared to present a favorable report, according to a cable dispatch of the 1st (vol. ix., pp. 586, 1140).

—James W. Van Cleve whose resignation as president of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance was reported last week (p. 420), announces that he will not again be a candidate for the presidency of the National Association of Manufacturers, an office which he has held for three years.

—The Congress of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance (p. 419) closed its session in London on the 1st. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was re-elected president. The Alliance adopted the following motto: "In essentials unity, in nonessentials liberty, in all things charity."

—That the disabilities of Jews in Russia had caused a powerful body of foreign Jewish financiers to boycott Russian securities, was stated by Count Witte when speaking on the budget before the Council of the Empire on the 28th. He stated further that the Russian debt had risen to \$5,900,000,000, an increase of \$1,450,000,000 in five years.

—Socialist and labor demonstrations scheduled for May day occurred without disorder except at Buenos Ayres, Argentina, and at Detroit, Michigan. At Buenos Ayres there was fighting between mobs and police, with a record of twelve killed and a hundred wounded. At Detroit the refusal of the police to permit red flags to be carried by Italian socialists

produced rioting, in which the flags were confiscated, but no one appears to have been seriously injured.

—Queen Wilhelmina of Holland and the Prince of the Netherlands had a daughter born to them on the 30th. The advent of the little princess has been hailed with great joy by all Holland, as a direct heir in the house of Orange-Nassau nullifies the danger of the absorption of Holland by Germany for lack of Dutch succession. The little girl has been named Juliana Louise Emma Marie Wilhelmina.

—The lower house of the Missouri legislature passed on the 3rd the drastic Speer bill with an emergency clause. This bill prohibits railroads from charging more for State than interstate passengers. It is designed to prevent railroads from offering a competing rate where other lines may handle the same passengers, and charging a greater amount when there can be no competition. The bill exempts commutation and excursion tickets.

—Cipriano Castro has left Paris (p. 420) for Spain. It is reported that he intends to bring a suit against the French government for his expulsion from the Island of Martinique. Since the government has the power to expel foreigners at its discretion, Mr. Castro's action for damages will be based on the fact that he was forcibly placed aboard a ship at Martinique and compelled to return to France without being given the option of choosing his destination.

—A strike of Lake seamen, marine firemen, cooks and stewards, or more correctly their refusal to ship on boats controlled by the Lake Carriers' Association, began on the 1st. The Lake Seamen's union is anxious to have a peaceable strike, and they announce that they will defend no striker who resorts to violence. The right to organize, objection to a sweeping blacklisting power given by the Carriers' Association to all its captains and engineers, and a twelve hour watch, seem to be the objective points in the strike.

—Louis F. Post is to speak in Minneapolis before the department of economics at the University of Minnesota, at 10:40, Saturday morning the 8th on "Socialism, Natural and Artificial." At 12:30 on the same day he will address the Saturday Lunch Club at Dayton's Tea room on the "Present Problems of Democracy." On Sunday morning he will address the congregation of the First Unitarian Society at their church, 8th and Mary place, the subject being "A Non-Ecclesiastical Confession of Religious Faith." On Sunday afternoon at 4:30 he will speak at Pillsbury Settlement House on "Socialism, Natural and Artificial." Sunday night he will occupy the pulpit of the Oak Park Congregational Church, Rev. L. C. Talmage, minister, James avenue and 6th avenue, North.

—A two and a half cent rate basis for passenger fares was put into effect on the 1st, by the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway management for Missouri and Arkansas, with three cents for fares paid on trains. The Rock Island and Burlington roads are expected to adopt the same course. This is a result of the decision of Judge McPherson on April 17th (p. 396). So strong is the feeling in Missouri in regard to the recent decisions of the Federal Judges Smith McPherson (p. 396) and John F. Phillips (p. 420), that Congressman Arthur P. Murphy of Missouri intro-

duced into the lower house of Congress on the 3rd a resolution looking to an investigation into the conduct of these judges in the litigation between the State and the railroad companies over the maximum freight law and the two-cent passenger law.

PRESS OPINIONS

Anti-Woman Suffrage Women.

The Fulton Democrat (Lewistown, Ill.), April 21.—Mrs. Humphry Ward, the great English writer, is at the head of an aristocratic group of English women who are opposing woman suffrage in that country. They are holding public meetings in which their brilliant speeches and admirable methods simply prove that women are admirably fitted to have the franchise and take part in politics. It is the joke of all the great papers that these women are proving themselves in the wrong.

+ +

The Folly of Dreadnought-Building.

The Toronto (Ont.) Weekly Sun, April 21.—When one is so well qualified to judge as Mr. Carnegie says that only a spark is needed to plunge England and Germany into war, the situation, to say the least, is critical. What is there to cause war? Militarism wants it. To the rest of both nations and to the world, as it shares their interests, what could it be but a fearful curse and set-back? Yet dire experience shows that the intriguing and mischief-making few may prevail over the manifest interests of the many, and that without any just or intelligible cause of war, war there may be. The utterly untenable and irritating claim of England to the empire of the seas is a standing affront to the other nations and a constant provocation of the feeling which prepares for war. The race in the building of Dreadnoughts has reached a phase almost ludicrous, especially when we consider the rapid progress of naval invention and the possibility that something still more destructive may any day turn up. To the uninitiated it would seem that the concentration of the naval force in a few monsters would rather be against the interest of the power which, like England, has the most numerous points to defend. What could a Dreadnought on guard at Liverpool or Plymouth do for the protection of Halifax, Vancouver or Sydney?

+ +

Land Grab or Land Fraud, Which?

The Boisé (Idaho) Citizen (ind.), April 16.—Is the State of Idaho to be robbed or is it to be made a party to the fleecing of some unwary Eastern financiers? The question is pertinent relative to the proposed lease to Gaylord W. Thompson of 8,000 acres of alleged iron land in northern Idaho. In his exuberance over the prospects that are before him, Mr. Thompson breaks out into a public interview in which he makes the claim that the land in question is the largest iron ore body in the world and that prospectors have uncovered the ore at a depth of five or six feet all over the 8,000 acres. He further states that he is delighted that the State

mining inspector is to pass upon the quality of the land before the lease is signed. For if the State's expert paints as glowing a picture of the land as does Thompson, why, then there will be no trouble in organizing a company of Pittsburg capitalists to work it and Mr. Thompson becomes at once a millionaire. This gives rise to two important questions; If the land is as rich as Mr. Thompson claims why should it be leased to him for a pittance? and if it is not what he claims it to be, why should the State put its approval upon the property, knowing that Mr. Thompson intends to make use of such approval for the purpose of floating stock in a company to be organized to exploit the land?

* *

Has Mr. Van Cleave Destroyed the Boycott?

The St. Louis Mirror (Ind.), April 29.—Mr. James W. Van Cleave has resigned as president of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance. We read in a press dispatch that "the change comes about through antagonism shown to Van Cleave by manufacturers over the country after his fight against Gompers, Mitchell and other labor leaders." From this it is fair to infer that Mr. Van Cleave's "victory over the boycott" has been no victory at all, that the decision against the boycott really advertises the boycott and makes it more effective than even the "we don't patronize" list in the American Federationist. If Mr. Van Cleave has "shattered the Labor Trust," as was claimed, it is queer that the manufacturer beneficiaries should be against one who had done so much for them. One thing no one can deny to Mr. Van Cleave. That is courage. But of what value is his courage if he must now quit his fight when, if there be any truth in the theory that hard times are bad for Union Labor, Unionism should be weaker than ever since 1893? Why the "antagonism" to Van Cleave among those he tried to serve? Perhaps the manufacturers are beginning to discover that bad business is traceable to other causes than the ability of unions to keep up wage-scales. Perhaps Mr. Van Cleave is getting ready to get something from President Taft, whom he helped to elect. Perhaps some of the protected manufacturers don't like Mr. Van Cleave because he favored a revision of the tariff—in which respect I must say again that he is courageous. Very strange, this Van Cleave resignation, at this time. Who shall pluck out the heart of this mystery?

* *

A Novel Tariff Doctrine.

Farm, Stock and Home (Minneapolis) (agr.), May 1.—It is decidedly a novel tariff doctrine that was presented recently by Congressman Gillett, of Massachusetts. His preaching was to the effect that tariff should be laid heavily upon the necessities of life—tea, coffee, sugar, shoes, clothing and the like—so that the mass of people would realize that they are paying taxes for the support of the government; that the extraordinary and rapidly growing expenses of the government are paid out of the pockets of the people and not absorbed from the atmosphere, as seems to be the common belief, judging by the general indifference to the expenditures. The theory is that if the people know they are paying the fiddler there will be less dancing at the gilded car-

nival of national extravagance, that the people "won't stand for it," and so on. As a confession that the tariff tax is paid unconsciously this is unique and convincing; but if Mr. Gillett thinks that the only effect of his method of placing tariff taxes will be to make the people scan expenditures by the government he is very much mistaken. The day that the people are made familiar with the character of the tariff tax, are made to see that they not only pay the tax, but three or four profits on it besides, and pay ten times the tax in the way of higher prices for home-made goods, made higher by the tariff protection to those who make them—on that day the funeral bell of the system will begin to toll. The long lease of tariff's life in this country is due to the ignorance of people regarding its real character. Mr. Gillett—doubtless unconsciously—would educate the people, an extremely illogical thing for a high tariff advocate to do; something that Congress is not likely to let him do.

* *

Taft in the Hour of His Exaltation.

El Renacimiento (Manila, P. I.), Mar. 4. (Summary of translation of leading editorial.)—In commenting to-day upon President Taft in the hour of his exaltation, we do not need to introduce him to the Filipino people; they already know him intimately. We wish it were possible for us, too, to join in the enthusiasm and rejoicing of the American people, but between this great man and ourselves there exists and will always exist a fundamental difference of opinion in regard to this country. For him the present generation is a generation of children, incapable of assuming the responsibilities of self government; and this point of view we can never accept. Yet we recognize the power that lies in his hands. Yesterday merely the chief adviser in Philippine affairs, he is to-day the arbiter of our destinies; with a stroke of the pen he can fulfill or destroy the hopes of the people. Let us not do injustice to the affection which Taft has publicly expressed for these islands. Shortly after his election it is reported on good authority that he said, "I am glad to have been elected President for the sake of what I can do for the Philippines; I can never forget my first love." Not in vain, apparently, have these islands served as the ladder by which Taft has climbed to giddy heights! These words, if they are not merely ironical, are most flattering. But unfortunately his methods are fatal. President Taft, with the avowed purpose of helping the Filipinos, will encourage the introduction into this country of large capital which will buy up and exploit everything cut here worth having; and the inevitable result will be the complete domination of American commercial interests. When that day comes, of what benefit will be all this policy of education, this long preparation for self government, except to make servitude more intolerable?

* * *

"I hope you came out of that horse trade with a clear conscience."

"Yes," answered Si Simling; "but it kind o' worries me. My conscience is so unusually clear that I can't he'p feelin' I must o' got the wust o' the trade"—Washington Star.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

BEYOND THE BARS.

For The Public.

Within my cell are singing sounds—a robin's call, afar.

Within this gloom are glories white—a light of sun or star.

Within this death-hole breathes the air of clover-fields ahum.

What rare and radiant riches to the prisoned spirit come!

Within my cell glows ruddy wine—distilled of vineyards dear.

Within this fear are lance and shield—what valor gives me cheer.

Within defeat pride will not yield—a rebel heritage. And youth is armed with years forgot, to crush the force of age.

Within my cell stands liberty—with many a flag of joy.

Within this death is freedom born—its tyrant to destroy.

Within this hush the bugles blow—to stir the hearts of men.

And still I muse, in chains that chafe: "Will there be prisons then?"

GEO. E. BOWEN.

* * *

COBDEN'S "INTERNATIONAL COMMON LAW OF THE ALMIGHTY."

Portions of an Address Delivered by Byron W. Holt at Columbia University, New York, April 24, as
Reported in the New York Evening Post.

Either science, that is, division of labor, co-operation, and free trade, is wrong; or protection is wrong. If economic science is right, there is no sound reason for protection in this country at this time.

And there is no political reason either. Not only does this country produce most cheaply the things most essential for self-defense in case of war, but it also produces the necessities of life, comfort, and happiness more cheaply than they can be produced anywhere else, all things considered. This is by virtue of its unrivaled natural resources, and in spite of tariff-restricted trade with foreign countries. Our country is such a giant among nations, with such enormous natural strength, that it can overcome many artificial handicaps in production.

There is no argument for protection in this country at this time that is not clearly unsound and illogical, when carefully and coolly analyzed. All is sophistry of the cheapest and flimsiest sort

—that is, to trained minds. As, however, protection sophistry can be made plausible to untrained minds, our protected interests and their agents have become adepts in propagating the false theories and cunning deceptions that have caused our millions of consumers to vote money out of their pockets and into the pockets of the tariff-favored few. . . .

Although protection does none of the things that it is credited with doing, and although it nearly always works backward and does the reverse of that which its friends claim that it does, yet, in actual practice, it has so deluded men's minds and so obscured their reasoning faculties that even college professors, with all of their scientific acumen, have been, of late years, as a rule, unable to reach any but compromise conclusions as to the effects of protection. Most of them are strongly inclined to teach their students that, while in theory "protection" may be unsound, yet in practice it operates in some mysterious way to increase wealth, to raise wages, to diversify industry, to encourage manufacturers, to furnish work, to give us home markets, to provide revenue, to promote prosperity, and generally to make practically everybody comfortable and happy without burdening anybody in particular.

Of course, the inability of many professors to reason clearly and to draw definite conclusions as to the workings of protection is not due to any lack of mental clearness and vigor. This inability is a result of protection environment and of natural selection and special fitness. For years our colleges were out of harmony and touch with our political practices. When they were teaching free trade, our house was divided against itself. It was, of course, easier for the professors to change their teachings than for our people to change their practices. The selfish protected interests established and maintained harmony by retiring some professors, by pensioning others, and especially by a more careful selection of instructors. Outspoken free traders have been for years practically debarred from positions as teachers in our colleges. Some colleges, in fact, shut their doors to able men who hold even the mild "Iowa idea" and who do not keep it carefully concealed. . . . But few of them are now teaching free trade heresy. The steady pressure which has been so persistently applied has proven effective. Professor Sumner is the greatest heretic left—the greatest thorn in the protectionists' seats of learning. He expresses himself as follows:

Protectionism seems to me to deserve only contempt and scorn, satire and ridicule. It is such an arrant piece of economic quackery, and it masquerades under such an affectation of learning and philosophy that it ought to be treated as other quackeries are treated. . . . Protectionism arouses my moral indignation. It is a subtle, cruel, and unjust invasion of one man's rights by another. It is done

by force of law. It is at the same time a social abuse, an economic blunder and a political evil.

Undoubtedly the world would still be flat and the sun would still be traveling around us, if there had been sufficient commercial reasons for maintaining the old order of things. Apparently it would have been easier to have kept the majority of men in astronomical than in political darkness. One is as easy as the other when commercialism and privilege hold the reins of government. Bastiat says, in his "Sophisms of Protectionism":

The world is not sufficiently conscious of the influence exercised over it by sophistry. When might ceases to be right, and the government of mere strength is dethroned, sophistry transfers the empire to cunning and subtlety. It would be difficult to determine which of the two tyrannies is most injurious to mankind.

But the economic progress and commercial development of the country have now advanced to the point where the same commercial interests which have influenced the professors to suppress the teaching of free trade are beginning to realize that the markets of the world are within their grasp, if they can get their materials under natural prices and conditions. They are becoming restless under the artificial restraints of protection and are casting aside all former fear of not being able to stand unassisted on the most advantageous industrial site on earth. Our economic professors are now in real danger of being left in the very humiliating and ridiculous position of being on record in foolish and unsatisfactory economic declarations, or in quibbles, straddles, or evasions, while the business men have passed on to surer and wiser ground.

Far-seeing captains of industry, like Andrew Carnegie and James J. Hill, have reached the conclusion that this great country is handicapped by too much protection, and that it will the more quickly and certainly attain its destiny—the commercial supremacy of the world—if it lowers, or removes, its tariff bars. The increase in the cost of living since 1897, due in part to the Dingley tariff and its big brood of cormorant trusts, is rapidly creating dissatisfaction and discontent among our professional and clerical men. Even voteless woman is talking against tariff-taxed homes, food, and clothing. Soon there will be but a small minority to support and defend "protection." It is fortunate for the protected interests that they are now in almost supreme control of the commanding positions at Washington and that the people of this country have no opportunity to vote directly on the tariff question.



Is any man afraid of change? Why what can take place without change? What then is more pleasing or more suitable to the universal nature?—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

A PRAYER FOR LANDLORDS.

From Land Values, of London and Glasgow, for April.

On March 1st Sir John Benn asked the Prime Minister whether his attention had been directed to a prayer in the Liturgy of Edward VI. (Parker Society, Vol. XIV., p. 458), dealing with the equitable disposition of land within the country, and whether he would consider the advisability of issuing Letters of Business to Convocation recommending the restoration of this supplication to the revised edition of the Prayer-book.

Mr. Asquith: "My hon. friend has, I think, done a public service by drawing attention to this remarkable prayer—(hear, hear, and laughter)—but I doubt if any advantage would be gained by my taking the steps he suggests."

In reply to a further question by Sir Gilbert Parker, the Premier said he believed the prayer was the composition of Archbishop Cranmer.

Mr. Delany: "Would the right hon. gentleman recommend this prayer to the attention of those Irish landlords who asked twenty-seven years' purchase from their tenants?" (Laughter.)

Mr. H. C. Lea: "As the landlords are past praying for, would the right hon. gentleman suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that taxation would be a more efficacious way of dealing with them?" (Laughter.)

We are indebted to Mr. J. Dundas White, M.P., for the copy of that prayer, and for the accompanying remarks, which explain the circumstances in which it was published and used.

The prayer reads as follows:

The earth is Thine (O Lord), and all that is contained therein; notwithstanding Thou hast given the possession thereof unto the children of men, to pass over the time of their short pilgrimage in this vale of misery; we heartily pray Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds, pastures, and dwelling places of the earth, that they, remembering themselves to be Thy tenants, may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so let them out to other, that the inhabitants thereof may both be able to pay the rents, and also honestly to live, to nourish their families, and to relieve the poor: give them grace also to consider, that they are but strangers and pilgrims in this world, having here no dwelling place, but seeking one to come; that they, remembering the short continuance of their life, may be content with that that is sufficient, and not join house to house, nor couple land to land, to the impoverishment of other, but so behave themselves in letting out their tene- ments, lands, and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling places: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

This prayer, which has marginal references to the various portions of Scripture quoted in it, is one of "Sundry Godly Prayers for Divers Pur- poses" given in "A Prymmer or boke of private

prayer nedeful to be used of al faythfull Christianes, which boke is auctorysed and set fourth by the Kinges Maiestie, to be taughte, learned, redde, and used of al hys lovyng subjectes." It was published in London in 1553, and the above is taken from the reprint of it, referred to by Sir John Benn, at p. 458 of a volume of Liturgies, &c., of Edward VI., published by the Parker Society at Cambridge in 1843. The copy of the original "Prymmer" from which the reprint was made is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

I may add that this appears to be the earliest recorded use of the term "rack" in relation to rent, being of an earlier date than any of the passages quoted as regards this in the Oxford English Dictionary. The metaphor was probably taken from the well-known instrument of torture, and the term "rack-rent" soon became part of the language.

* * *

THE GOOSE AND THE GANDER.

M. Blatchford in the London Clarion.

ACT I.

Sauce for the Goose.

SCENE I.—BOARD-ROOM OF THE JOLTUM AND JOGGLETON RAILWAY COMPANY. Bald-headed directors sitting round a long table, in an advanced state of drowsiness.

THE CHAIRMAN (LORD SMASHMEUP, glaring at MR. DOUBLECHIN, the General Manager, through gold rimmed eyeglasses): Now, Mr. Doublechin, what is this preposterous claim you have to lay before the Board?

GENERAL MANAGER: Why, my lord, it is a demand on the part of the men for—er—more wages, and—er—shorter hours.

FIERY DIRECTOR (With military air and a red nose): What infernal cheek! (Other directors chime in with his well-feigned indignation, disgust, and astonishment.)

CHAIRMAN (In tones of haughty injury): On what possible grounds is this—this impudent and extravagant request formulated?

GENERAL MANAGER (With a contemptuous smile): Mainly, my lord, for purely sentimental reasons. They appear to suppose that as they are overworked and underpaid, life is scarcely worth living.

FIERY DIRECTOR (With a snort of scorn): Oh, damn it, you know, we can't listen to such rot as that! (Murmurs of "Hear, hear!" "Not likely!" from the other directors.)

CHAIRMAN (Indignantly): Really, gentlemen, I am at a loss to understand what the working classes are coming to. Why, I understand that very few of our men work more than fourteen hours a day; and hardly any of them get less than sixteen shillings a week. Do they expect to be petted and pampered like—like—lap-

dogs? Do they expect to wallow in lazy luxury at the expense of the shareholders of the company, who are quietly putting up with a beggarly seven per cent? Gentlemen, such conduct can't be tolerated. You will tell them, Mr. Doublechin, that their preposterous request is refused.

FIERY DIRECTOR (*Noisily*): Yes, hang it, and tell 'em to—to go to the devil. (*Approving cries of "Quite right!" "Dash it!" "Decidedly!" etc., from the other directors. The Manager bows and retires, the Board adjourns to luncheon on whitebait, chicken, champagne and cigars, as the scene closes.*)

*

SCENE II.—GENERAL MANAGER'S PRIVATE OFFICE. *Manager seated at table.*

CLERK (*Announces*): Mr. Slowgo to see you, sir, on behalf of the men. (*Enter heavy person with thick beard like bottle-brush on chin, rest of face slightly in want of shaving. He is attired in a prehistoric frock-coat, and an Early-English top hat.*)

GENERAL MANAGER (*Haughtily*): Now, sir, my time is very valuable. Say what you have to say as briefly as possible. Now, what do you want?

SLOWGO: Yes. Well, I am deputed to see you on behalf of the servants of the Joltum and Joggl—

GENERAL MANAGER (*Interrupting*): Oh, indeed? And who are *you*? And by what right are you here?

SLOWGO (*With some warmth*): I, sir, am the general secretary of the Conglomerated Society of Railway Ticket Punchers, and I have to lay before you a—

GENERAL MANAGER (*Rising and ringing bell*): That will do, sir, that will do. I don't know you or your society, and I don't want to. If our servants have any grievance, they must submit it to us themselves; the company positively decline to recognize any paid agitators or mischief-makers whatever. (*To clerk, who answers bell*): Smithson, show this person out. (*Slowgo, breathing heavily, gets his top hat well down over his ample ears as the curtain falls to slow music suggestive of Britons never being slaves.*)

*

ACT II.

Sauce for the Gander.

SCENE I.—GENERAL MANAGER'S OFFICE. MR. DOUBLECHIN, reading daily paper and smoking a cigar. The tramping of many feet and the murmur of many voices heard without. (*Enter elderly clerk, in great excitement.*)

GENERAL MANAGER (*Testily*): Now then, Smithson, what do you want, and what is that row in the yard?

SMITHSON (*Nervously*): Well, sir, it's the men, sir. Come to see you in person, sir. There's hundreds of 'em, sir.

GENERAL MANAGER: Eh! Oh, well, let them send in a deputation, and tell the others to go back to work instantly.

SMITHSON: Beg pardon, sir, but they won't, sir. They say, sir, you said they must make their complaints in person, sir, and they've come to do it, sir. The yard's crammed, sir, the traffic's stopped, and—

GENERAL MANAGER (*Fiercely*): Oh, that's it, hey! Confound the fellows. I'll make an example of the ringleaders. The idle, impudent dogs!

(*Exit in a towering rage as scene closes.*)



SCENE II.—THE STATION YARD, crammed with guards, porters, shunters, ticket clerks, signal-men, and dray-drivers.

GENERAL MANAGER (*Angrily mounting wagon*): Now, then, my men, what is the meaning of all this?

MEN (*In chorus*): We've come to complain to the company about our grievances, since you won't have any truck with Slowgo, our general secretary. That's what we've come for.

GENERAL MANAGER: Well, I instructed you to send a deputation to see me. Why didn't you do it?

MEN (*Again in noisy chorus*): What! To be snapped at for coming? You wanted to deal with us personally. Well, here we are.

GENERAL MANAGER (*Not seeing what else to do*): Oh! Ah! Yes. Very well, then. Now, what is it?

SLOWGO (*General Secretary of the Conglomerated Society of Railway Ticket Punchers, disguised as a one-armed shunter, steps forward. Points finger at General Manager*): All right, sir, who are you, and by what right are you here?

GENERAL MANAGER (*Glaring through eyeglasses*): Who am I? Why, confound your impudence, I am the General Manager of the Joltum and Joggleton Railway Company, and am deputed by the company to—

SLOWGO: That's enough. We've nothing to do with you.

MEN: Ah! That's so. Chuck it. We arn't havin' any o' that.

GENERAL MANAGER (*Sparks flashing through his eyeglasses*): Why, you infernal, impudent scamps. I'm the—

SLOWGO (*With a leer*): Close your face and hop it. We don't want you. The company wouldn't recognize our general secretary, and we won't recognize their general manager. See?

GENERAL MANAGER (*Fuming with rage and*

fury): Oh! You can't be such fools as to think the directors will meet to—

SLOWGO: We don't want the directors; we won't see the directors. Hey, lads?

GENERAL CHORUS OF MEN: Not likely! Directors be jiggered. Etc.

GENERAL MANAGER (*Gulping wildly, perspiration and blue spots breaking out all over him*): You won't see the—why, what the devil and all his imps do you—

SLOWGO (*Jeeringly*): We're the servants of the company, and we've come here to lay our complaints before the shareholders of the company. And we'll stop here till you fetch 'em. Hey, men?

MEN: Ah! That's what. We don't want no truck with paid officials and mischief-makers; it's the company we wants.

TABLEAU! BLUE FIRE! SHRIEKING WHISTLES!

(*GENERAL MANAGER comes undone in seventeen places, falls fainting into the arms of his clerk, and is fanned by a telegraph messenger on right. SLOWGO, on left, tears off his false nose and whiskers, scrambles into his prehistoric frock coat, and strikes an attitude with one hand on his false front, the other waving his Early-English top hat. Group of Railway men in wagon in center, waving the banner of the Conglomerated Society of Railway Ticket Punchers, as the curtain falls, to the soothing strains of "We Won't Go Home Till Morning."*)

AUDIENCE (*As they go out*): Well, that there Slowgo isn't such a fool as what he looks, seemingly; and anyhow, what's sauce for the goose ought to be good enough for the gander.

BOOKS

THE HOME.

Home Problems from a New Standpoint. By Caroline L. Hunt. Published by Whitcomb and Barrows, Boston. Price \$1 net.

More life for woman, and more for man; more for the household employe; more physical vigor for all, more beauty, and more joy in mere living. Such are the objects for which the author of these essays reaches out in behalf of an over-drudged civilization.

Most of her suggestions are beyond the environment of the great mass of the overworked and underpaid; but within their present limitations they are rich in common sense. For example: "Simplification in manner of life, in dress, and in house furnishings may bring the greatest of all material beauties—that of the human form. One of the most melancholy sights in the world is that of a sallow, wizened lady, befrizzled and befurbed,

lowed. When that same woman is set down amid the bric-a-brac which has helped to wear her out, the sight becomes pathetic as well as melancholy. One cannot help wondering what the effect would be if such a woman should wear plain gowns and dispose of the bric-a-brac, and spend the time saved in lying out in the fresh air, and the saved money on egg-nogs and cream and cocoa and other easily digested fattening foods."

If, however, so many of the suggestions of the book are among the impossibles or unthinkables to those masses of men and women who are driven continually by the lash of invisible whips in the hands of invisible overseers, this is not from ignorance or indifference on the author's part. "No one pretends," she acknowledges, "that incomes are proportioned to desert, to need, or even to men's capacity for using them for the public good." But as to this fact she significantly observes, that "the average person," though he has little control over distributive processes, can at any rate "give moral support to the specialist who is trying to think out a fairer means of distribution."

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TOYNBEE'S LITERARY FRAGMENTS

Toynbee's Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England. By the late Arnold Toynbee. New edition. Together with a Reminiscence by Lord Milner. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta. Price, \$1.00.

The famous young founder of Toynbee Hall, whose life spanned only the period from 1852 to 1883, left behind him a collection of unpublished addresses, notes and fragments which are here presented in a second edition a quarter of a century after his death, with a prefatory note by his widow, and the appreciative personal address by his closest friend, Lord Milner, delivered at Toynbee Hall in 1894.

The essence of the Industrial Revolution, as Toynbee conceived it, is "the substitution of competition for the mediæval regulation which had previously controlled the production and distribution of wealth." Out of this revolutionary change came, in his view, "the growth of two great systems of thought—economic science and socialism."

The work is naturally enough marked by the superficiality of the altruistic economic thought of Toynbee's time; and this is emphasized, probably, by the enthusiasm, he is credited by Lord Milner with putting into every kind of reform which "seemed to him to make to the right end." But the book is alive with human feeling and rich in industrial history, vividly told. There is much to indicate, also, that Toynbee felt, as seer or poet, fundamental truths which he blurred in his economic thinking. An example is his plea, in

the chapter on Ricardo, for "the right of all to equal opportunities of development, according to their nature."

PAMPHLETS

Rapid Transit and Land Values

John Martin's pamphlet on Rapid Transit in New York (Committee on Congestion of Population, 165 Broadway, New York; 5 cents) goes to the core of the rapid transit question in its business aspects. Referring to the City Club's showing (See Public, vol. xi, p. 746) "that while the cost of the entire subway, without equipment, from the Battery to Spuyten Duyvil, was but \$43,000,000, the rise in land values in Manhattan from 135th street to the Spuyten Duyvil, and in the Bronx, due to the subway, after allowing generously for the full normal increase from general causes, was \$80,500,000 up to 1907." Mr. Martin rightly says: "Our city has been strangely blind to the modern mode of paying for costly transportation lines. Steam railways have long shown how to do it. When the traffic won't pay for the line the increase of land values created will fill the deficit. All but one of the transcontinental railways has been paid for in part by grants of lands, which, valueless before the line was built, enriched the railway treasures within a few years of construction. Suburban trolley systems are often joined to schemes of real estate development to ensure dividends on the trolley lines. The Hudson companies in New York have united vast land and development enterprises to their tunnel building to make it pay." The pamphlet then goes on to show how the principle here involved can be applied to the construction of transportation lines and the reduction of fares.

PERIODICALS

"The Patriarch's Progeny" in Everybody's (New York) for May, is a charming mosaic by Harris Dickson of that patriarchal Southern life which is now passing. Quite unconsciously, however, the author arouses doubts of the perfect accuracy of his conclusion that the inferiority of the six hundred typically dependent Negro tenants was due to any "greater gifts" with which "the Almighty had endowed" their young patriarch. The "greater gifts" appear pretty plainly to have been a landed inheritance for which he gets \$225.00 a year for each twenty acres from his ebony cotton raisers, and it would be hard to trace the title to that from him back to the Almighty. It has been said that the chattel slavery that ended with emancipation only gave way to a serf slavery governed by landlordism, and this interesting picture of patriarchal life goes far to prove it. Another of Everybody's stories of this month, "The Fires of Youth," by Charles Buxton Going, has a moral of value to others of us than engineers, the profession from which the materials are obtained.

+

In his May paper on the changing of the old order,

in the American Magazine (New York)—a series marked by deeper social insight than his light pen-touches may imply to all readers—William Allen White tells us that this nation lives under a government not of laws and a written Constitution, but of a growing public sentiment, "as evanescent as the waves and as resistless as the wind." An observation so comprehensively true—for it is true, not only of this nation but of the world—seems hardly warranted by the superficial facts marshalled in support of it; but it must be remembered that it is from the surface toward the center that social changes go. From movements such as that for civil service reform, to the coming ones which shall go deeper down into the social causes that gave an impulse to that superficial movement—even to the ultimate cause—is only a matter of keeping on. And that we shall keep on, though with ebb and flow, the true optimist has no doubt. Though the expressions of

public sentiment be "as evanescent as the waves," its life principle is indeed "as resistless as the wind."



Mr. Parker's story of "Cleveland's Estimate of His Contemporaries" (p. 300), in McClure's (New York) for May, holds its interest as the personal story of an intimate friend of an eminent historical character. It is incidentally characteristic of the class to which the narrator has long been attached, in its rather free and easy use of imputations which the same class resent when applied to themselves, as where it alludes to maintaining the "national honor" on the money issue, and in the full spirit of political pharisaism. The Western Democrats that Mr. Parker saw in 1907, who regarded Bryan as "inevitable, not because the party wanted him," but because "it hoped to get rid of him," may be recognized without photographs. Some of them are now

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basking in the sunshine of Federal favor. But Mr. Parker ought to be shrewd enough as an observer of affairs to know that an inevitable nomination which the politicians of a party oppose, is essentially a people's nomination. The people of a party may be baffled by politicians, but both politicians and people cannot be baffled by any of the ordinary forces of party politics.

* * *

"So your son Josh is going to law school?"

"Yes," answered Farmer Corntosel; "but he don't pay no 'tention whatever to his books. I guess

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maybe he's goin' to be one o' these here unwritten lawyers."—Washington Star.

* * *

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calmly ate on. Three-year-old Mary, dancing with excitement, exclaimed:

"Tell him to 'scow,' Wobbie, tell him to 'scow'!"—*The Delineator.*

* * *

"Dey ain't no use," said Brother Williams, "ter try ter git money we'en you ain't at de gittin' place; an' de trouble is—de jingle er it is so confusin'! Hit's lak' de rattle er a rattlesnake—you dunno whar an'

what time ter jump! Hit's trouble ter git money, an' trouble ter keep it. Dey despise you ef you ain't got it, an' ef so be you has, dey'll despise you ef you don't give it away!"—*Atlanta Constitution.*

* * *

"Ah, Elsie, it is fine to be married to an officer—such a beautiful uniform, and so many decorations!"

"Yes, and, besides that, he'll have a band at his funeral."—*Wahre Jacob.*

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