

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Roosevelt.

And now shall we have Roosevelt following in the "feet steps" of Taft?

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Oh, Those Muckrakers!

Pittsburg is pestered with a "muckraking" grand jury. It has exposed some of the secrets of the success of a "whole raft" of her citizens who have been "winning out" by "doing things."

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Back Out of the Wild.

An unusual opportunity for congratulating Mr. Roosevelt upon his common sense is offered by the Vatican incident. He might have made one of his lusus naturæ sensations, but he didn't. Whether scared into it or not—and his being scared is about the last thing to occur even to the liveliest imagination—Mr. Roosevelt acted with judgment and dignity.

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In Egypt he did neither. In his speech at the Cairo university he was not even patriotic. An American ex-President who addresses a university in a British province aspiring to independence, in such terms as to evoke criticism from democratic Liberals in England and applause from the Tories there, is not a first class object for American pride.

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Unless Mr. Roosevelt makes his Vatican conduct

his standard, or calls off his press agents and shuts his teeth tight until he embarks for home, we shall all be likely to find him out. A few speeches in Great Britain in the undemocratic tone of his Cairo speech, would hardly leave him so much as a patch of his much vaunted democracy. For in Great Britain the Tories are called Tory, Radicals are radical, and Liberals are liberal; and none of them will be slow to put the appropriate label upon Mr. Roosevelt if he lets them sample him.

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However, if it is true that Gov. Harmon has been booked by Roger Sullivan et al. for the Democratic nomination for President three years hence, what's the matter with Mr. Roosevelt for re-election—if nothing better turns up?

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"The Fourth Estate."

If the common mind is fairly reflected by newspapers—which may be doubted, however—one of its peculiarities is noticeable in connection with newspaper criticisms of "The Fourth Estate," that intensely interesting and highly significant play for which the public is indebted to Joseph Medill Patterson and Harriet Ford. This play deals with circumstances that make newspapers deceivers instead of enlighteners of public opinion. Some of the most subtle of those circumstances, all the more dangerous for their subtlety, cannot be dramatized. It was therefore necessary for the authors to suggest broadly what in real life finds no such broad expression. An instance is the sensational bribery of a managing editor by a bribed Federal judge. But newspapers have taken that scene in all its rawness, literally. The bribetaking and bribe-giving judge consequently seems to them as only one of the rare instances of a "good man gone wrong," or the still rarer one of "a bad man found out." The play really strikes deeper than that. Its lesson is, not that Federal judges are personally corrupt and go to plutocratic mansions to take raw bribes for making unjust decisions. Neither is it that they bribe spying reporters to keep still. What it evidently aims to warn the public of, is that in ways so subtle that no spy can detect them, because there is little or nothing tangibly corrupt to detect, public officials and newspapers are controlled by plutocratic interests. The undramatic method by which the rich plebeian owner of the newspaper in this play is reached by the interests, through social ambitions of his wife and daughter and his own itch to sit in the cozy corners of an exclusive club, comes closer to the purpose than does the dramatic

exposure of a crooked judge. The point of the play is, not that newspapers are debauched in a particular way, certainly not in a raw way, by the interests, but that in one way and another the interests do debauch them. Small blame to newspaper writers if they are so keenly conscious of the truth this play dramatizes as to give that truth a wide margin when they write about the play.

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Look Out for the Undertow!

Above the din about "plenty of cheap land in this country," there have risen now and then and here and there still small voices in contradiction. One of these mild contradictions, quite unobtrusive, has come through the public land office statistics. But now a contradiction comes from William C. Brown, the president of the New York Central railway lines; and his is a voice to carry weight when it imparts this message. Mr. Brown contradicted the notion of an abundance of cheap land, in a speech at the annual dinner last fall of the Railway Business Association in New York, and we find it in a pamphlet published by Mr. Brown himself. From this pamphlet we quote:

At the close of the Civil War in 1865, the States of Iowa, Minnesota and Nebraska would have furnished a quarter section of government land to every veteran mustered out of the military service of the nation. Great States and Territories with their wealth of primeval forest and virgin soil, lay waiting to be peopled. Today all this is changed. The day of "free land for free men" is past. No longer can the homestead be had for the asking. The frontier, like the Indian, has become a tradition—an interesting item in the nation's history. Almost the last county of the last State or Territory where cultivation is possible has been settled. Temporarily the tide of emigration is setting up into Western Canada, but this limited territory will soon be filled. Occasionally an Indian reservation is opened for settlement, and tens of thousands of eager settlers gather on the borders waiting the word that sends them like a flood sweeping over the land, realizing that our once apparently inexhaustible public domain is gone forever.

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Forever! Does Mr. Brown think that the people of this country, when they once realize the great damning fact which he already realizes, will submit to disinheritance forever? Does he suppose that when they know, as he declares he does, that Lord Macaulay's pessimistic prophecy about this country has come true, they will continue to play in the degrading role of trespassers in the land of their birth? He evidently does not. For he foresees the once westward tide of migration setting back in a great human undertow toward the East

and settling in "turbulent, dangerous eddies and whirlpools about the great centers of population."

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What Mr. Brown speaks of as foreseeing has already come to pass. The undertow is flowing, the eddies are forming. But does he expect American civilization to rise up out of that undertow, and American institutions to stand the test which as Macaulay implied would sweep them away—does Mr. Brown really expect this escape of civilization through any such fragile eel-traps as he proposes setting in the undertow? How, though it multiply productive power far beyond his liberal anticipations, can industrial education serve the ends of our civilization, if the industrially educated but disinherited must buy or borrow or rent their industrial opportunities in a market where the opportunities rise in value at a greater rate than industrial skill moves forward? There is only one way to check that undertow, whether you have industrial education or not, and that is to conserve the rights of the industrious, though in doing so you have to abolish the privileges of their exploiters.

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A Suggestion as to Elastic Currency.

In a recent speech now printed in pamphlet form President Nash of the Corn Exchange Bank of New York, one of the financial institutions that does not hobnob with the plutocratic banks in their exploitation schemes, proposed a plan for securing an elastic currency. His plan contemplates the use of Clearing House loan certificates as the currency basis whenever currency is needed in an emergency. He would confine the certificates applicable to that use to a few representative centers, and establish a bureau of United States Currency to issue currency upon the security of the certificates and upon such terms as would insure its prompt return and redemption when the emergency was over.

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The probable popular objections to this proposal are not likely to occur to a man whose whole experience and study regarding finance are likely to have been unconsciously influenced by the lending rather than the borrowing motive. It is not remarkable therefore that Mr. Nash should expect the people to "recognize immediately the validity of such a currency obtained in such a way." Doubtless they would recognize its validity in the sense of security. But would they recognize it in the sense of fairness between little borrowers and big lenders? Wouldn't they fear that the bu-

caners of finance would oppose the scheme unless there was loot in it for them? And wouldn't that fear be reasonable, if this money-coining privilege were confined not only to one interest, the banking interest, but also to that interest as concentrated at a few financial centers? The popular weakness of all currency schemes emanating from or centering within banking circles is the popular feeling, with much to warrant it notwithstanding its vagaries, that banking circles have come to be predatory rings.

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Myra Kelly and Charles Sprague Smith.

Two deaths that occurred last week, one of a man and the other of a woman, have taken from the democratic movement in the United States two influences which on different though parallel lines have contributed much to its progress. With her charming school room stories Myra Kelly gave new emphasis to the democratic idea in literature; and Charles Sprague Smith, with his work in building up the People's Institute, made democracy more assertive in practical policies than he had found it.

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Municipal Efficiency with Democracy.

Since the movement for the commission form of government for municipalities has gone as far as it has, the words below, from the inaugural message of Mayor Cullum of Duluth, a conservative Democrat elected as a non-partisan, should be carefully considered not only in Duluth but in all cities contemplating new charters. Few though they are, those words tell the whole story regarding the character and usefulness of this municipal reform, and tell it right. Mayor Cullum said:

In the discussion of the desirability of a "commission form of government" for the city of Duluth it should be borne in mind that the phrase has come to have almost as many meanings and interpretations as there are persons using the expression. A commission form of government which contemplates only the centralization of authority in the hands of five men is not, in my opinion, what most of the people want who advocate such a form of municipal government. They do not want to withdraw power and responsibility further from the people than it is under our present form of government, nor do they want government by the few. Such a commission form of government, in my opinion, would mean an oligarchy, with all the potential disadvantages and curses which have always become associated with the history of every oligarchy of the past. What the people want, in my opinion, is the centralization of responsibility and authority purely for the purpose of increased efficiency; but they are not willing to gain the efficiency at the expense of popular control. The people, therefore, are willing to give the power to the few,

provided they retain to themselves the power which is involved in the use of such methods as the initiative, referendum and recall. The initiative and referendum will retain for the people substantial control over legislative acts of the commission; the recall will retain for the people substantial control over the officials. An investigation of the efforts that have been made by other municipalities to adopt the commission form of government will disclose that, as a rule the people have adopted it when it has contained initiative, referendum and recall provisions and have rejected it when such provisions were not included.

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Quite as pointed and true was Mayor Cullum's reference to municipal revenues in the same message:

The subject of taxation is always worthy of consideration. I believe a valuable investigation is now being made by Lawson Purdy, the tax expert, under the direction of Mayor Gaynor of New York, and shall watch for his report with confidence that it will indicate to all municipal officials everywhere a better way to assess valuations and collect taxes. The whole tendency of thought of those who are best qualified on the subject in recent years has been to equalize the burden of taxation, and in doing this to transfer the burden more and more to the land values, and less and less to such personal property values as the rich can hide from the tax gatherer but the poor cannot. I therefore am heartily in sympathy with the effort you are making to secure a fair revaluation of real estate values in this city, and shall promote such policy with whatever means pertain to my office.

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About the Rockefeller Foundation.

A better general understanding of the character of the proposed Rockefeller Foundation would be had, if the absurd notion did not prevail that Mr. Rockefeller intends turning over to it money already obtained by him. Of course he can not turn over anything of the kind. What he can turn over and will turn over if his plan goes through, is paper titles to special privileges of one kind and another—titles empowering the Foundation thereafter, as they empower him now, to exact tribute from year to year of the future earnings of persons who do future work. The important question, therefore, is not whether Mr. Rockefeller has "got his money" for the endowment honestly or not. That question cuts no figure in the matter. The important question is how its current income is to be got from year to year by the Foundation in the future. If it is to be got from special privileges perpetuated through this Foundation, the scheme is a bad one.

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Neither does this scheme depend for its merits upon Mr. Rockefeller's good faith. No matter

how genuine he may be in creating the endowment, its result if carried out, would be to vitalize special privilege in a most subtle and effective way. Given a Federal corporation, with perpetual existence and exemption from taxes, which is endowed with paper titles to special privileges through which for all time it can levy tribute upon workers as they work and dispense gratuities at the will of trustees financially interested in maintaining special privilege, and you create a social monster. This is what Congress is asked to do.

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A Course in Journalism.

An excellent course in preparation for journalism is offered by the State University of Illinois. It lacks one essential, however. But this could be supplied through apprenticeship to a private detective agency—the more degraded the agency the better the experience for the study in hand with reference to getting a journalistic job and keeping it.

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History plus Prophecy.

Nearly a year ago Edwin G. Cooley resigned (vol. xii, p. 220) as superintendent of the Chicago public schools. To prevent this the inner circle of the plutocratic exploitative Commercial Club had done all in its power, but circumstances were against them. Into Mr. Cooley's place, therefore, there came a woman, Ella Flag Young, who in much less than a year has by her leadership policies put an end to the demoralization in the teaching force which drivership policies had for years provoked. But now the inner circle of the Commercial Club has employed Mr. Cooley for a year to investigate and report upon the methods of industrial and commercial education in Europe. So much is history.

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Now for prophecy. Should Mr. Cooley's report advocate plans for industrial education which suit the exploitative spirit of the Commercial Club's inner circle, the Commercial Club will offer his plans to the Board of Education for adoption. Of this purpose the inner circle (which includes steel trust, beef trust, traction trust, banking bosses, etc.) makes no secret. It is part of the announced plan. But another part of that plan is not so frankly disclosed. Not only will the Commercial Club, inspired by its inner circle, offer Mr. Cooley's report on industrial education next year to the school board for adoption, but it will at the same time offer Mr. Cooley himself as superintendent of schools. And if the returns of the

municipal election next spring are favorable to the inner circle's plans and harmonious with its pre-election bargainings, both offers, like a monarch's invitation, will be in the nature of a command. But prophecies of this kind are not always realized, even as pre-election bargains are not always carried out.

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The Proposed Income Tax Amendment.

Regarding the income tax, there is this to be said. It is a kind of tax which, if honestly enforced, falls alike upon the man who earns his income and the man who does not—upon workers and parasites, upon producers of wealth and beneficiaries of special privilege. It is a kind of tax that cannot be honestly enforced, and the burden of unfair enforcement falls most heavily upon scrupulous citizens. It is a tax which, therefore, cannot upon its own merits, be ethically defended. But it is a direct tax, and, as has been sensibly said, the worst direct tax is better than the best indirect tax. Moreover, the clearing of the way constitutionally for the income tax, may open the door for fiscal progress along that line, in consequence of which indirect Federal taxation may come to be wholly abolished, and the best kind of direct taxation be permitted to take its place.

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The Star of Federal Empire.

The significance of the three Supreme Court decisions noted in News Narrative this week is probably more serious than most readers will at first infer.

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Perhaps the least serious of the three is that which nullifies the Arkansas law penalizing inter-State railroads for furnishing insufficient cars. Inter-State railroads are national in character; and at any rate, this decision is hardly more advanced in the direction of imperialism than numerous preceding decisions. It is an old story.

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But the decision which nullifies the Nebraska elevator switch law is another matter. Elevators, be it known, are storage and loading places for grain. If for railroad shipments they may be placed nowhere but upon railroad land, railroads can monopolize all grain-shipping terminals. The same thing is true if, though they be placed off railroad land, the railroad may connect them with switches or maroon them, as it pleases. It was to check this monopolizing power of the railroads, by putting all Nebraska elevators upon an even

footing, that the Nebraska law compelling railroads upon demand to connect any grain elevator with a switch was enacted. Its nullification by the Supreme Court restores the whip hand to the railroads over the farmers.

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Serious, however, as that decision is in political significance, the decision relative to correspondence schools, the most innocent-looking of the three, is probably much more serious. It lays the foundation, if it is what it appears upon the face of the telegraphic reports to be, for an assumption by the Federal government of complete jurisdiction over nearly every kind of business. If a correspondence school having correspondence pupils in other States than its own is therefore engaged in inter-State commerce within the meaning of the Federal Constitution, it is difficult to think of a business that might not fall under Federal jurisdiction. Even a village grocery business crosses State lines to get its stock and to sell its truck. A more sweeping yet less sensational basis for imperializing business regulations than this correspondence school decision, as the Washington dispatches report it, could hardly be desired by the most ardent of American imperializers.

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AMERICA'S FREE TRADE EXPERIMENT.

The Federal Constitution contains a clause which is little understood, yet in far reaching consequences is not matched by any other provision in that instrument. The clause is this: "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress." Simply interpreted, the substance of that clause may be put into these words: "There shall be no tariffs between the States of this Union."

Very few Americans realize what an important influence this provision has had upon the maintenance of the Union of the States. It is the real ligament which binds them together. It is this more than any other influence that is responsible for America's industrial and commercial greatness.

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Commerce is trade. "Business" is production

and exchange—that is all legitimate business is or can be,—and production on its present scale is impossible without trade.

Trade! the foundation of civilization! the beginning of all progress!

Make it universal by making it free, and the death knell of war will be sounded! Most of the quarrels of men and of nations are the result of misunderstandings and the lack of common interests. Trade will make interests universal, interwoven and inextricable.

War is impossible between our States today because of the vital mutual interests resultant from free trade. We simply cannot afford to fight, and our common interests destroy also such desire. Our several States stand today the highest example and most forceful demonstration of the power of trade to harmonize the tempers, interests and desires of men. Their free intercourse is the greatest experiment in free trade in the history of the world, and their practice proves the theory sound.

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The so called higher wages of this country are due to the higher productiveness of labor and to labor unions; not to foolish, wasteful, and worse than useless tariffs.

To complete this circle of ever widening beneficence we need not only free trade, but free production. All products come from land, but so surely as land is monopolized and vast areas of it held out of use for speculation, just so long shall we be hampered as a nation, as an industrial quantity, and our progress will always be threatened by prospective commercial adversity.

One little clause in the same Constitution (a companion piece to the other) would solve the problem—a simple provision like the other. Let us add it: "There shall be no tariffs between the States of this Union; *neither shall taxes be levied upon any product of labor for any purpose.*" Just thirteen words. But if they were embodied in that instrument, they would work a revolution—social, economic, political and moral.

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To the statement, "I do not see it," as a response to the above assertion, let us say that you cannot see anything unless you look at it. This is true of a great waterfall, a great picture, a great building, a great man, and—a great idea.

Stop taxing industry for the support of government. Tax monopoly only; it is the child of government. Why should not the child do something for the parent when it is old enough—and

monopoly is very old and very strong. Government supports monopoly; labor supports itself. Just leave labor alone. Stop taxing it; that's all, and that's enough.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SECOND ELECTION UNDER THE DES MOINES PLAN.

Des Moines, Ia., Apr. 4.

The second municipal election in Des Moines under the new "Plan" occurred March 28th.

At the primaries there had been only 24 candidates, against 40 at last election. Three out of the four old commissioners were re-elected, throwing out John L. Hamery, commissioner of public safety, who had won the enmity of the city traction company during a former administration by his detecting them in giving a bribe, and the hatred of the vice trusts during his recent term, by his vigorous prosecution and abolition of the red light district.

The new Mayor, Prof. James R. Hanna, a municipal ownership man, won out by a narrow margin of sixteen votes over Mayor Mathis.

John MacVicar, a former municipal ownership mayor, of whom much was expected two years ago (but who completely reversed himself after he was elected commissioner), with Schramm, his coadjutor or "me too," was re-elected by a large majority.

The other two men, Ash and Roe, were also believed to be corporation candidates. They had no platform but that political platitude "a square deal for every man"; however, they are young enough to respond to better influences, and Mayor Hanna may contrive a majority to obstruct some bad legislation.

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In the recent campaign every trivial question was paraded, while the real one pertaining to the street car franchise, was dodged by all but the three municipal ownership men, two of whom did not sift through the primaries.

One of these, L. J. Kasson, is a single taxer. The other, A. D. Pugh, a socialist, and an astute lawyer, had, months ago, drawn up an ordinance which, among other things, provided that "no franchise or right for the use of the streets, alleys and public places of said city for street railway purposes shall be granted, renewed or extended by said city," and that the rights, if any, claimed by the street car company should be speedily and finally determined; it further arranged details for the assumption and maintenance by the city of the street car business. A petition of 2,100 names was secured to have this ordinance put to vote under the referendum feature of the Des Moines Plan, which was upheld by Judge Howe and the Supreme Court of Iowa as a proper delegation of legislative authority to the people of the city. Mr. Pugh took care in drawing up the instrument that "every step in the proceedings was legislative and beyond the power of the judiciary to supervise and superintend. That if the ordinance was beyond the power of the city it would be void

if passed and the judicial power could then be invoked."

Well, the Traction Company brought suit. Then Judge Howe claimed that the city had no power to pass such an ordinance, because the city had no express statutory authority for acquiring and operating street railways. That the duties of the city clerk in verifying the signatures to the petition were judicial, and the action of the council in submitting it to vote was also judicial and could be reviewed by the courts. The court held the whole legislative proceedings and enjoined the Clerk and Council from proceeding further with the ordinance. Mr. Pugh cites three important cases where this judicial enjoining of city councils was decided illegal by Supreme Courts. *Des Moines Gas Company vs. Des Moines* (44 Iowa, 505), *Albright vs. Fisher* (164 Missouri, 56; 64 S. W., 106), and *State ex rel. Rose vs. Superior Court* (105 Wis., 651; 81 N. W., 1046). But, strange to say, in these cases, the power enjoined was corporation power, while the parties trying to enjoin were only the people through their elected officials. It makes a difference on whose foot the shoe is. The amusing part of the judicial contention is that while it takes express statutory authority to permit a city to resume the ownership of its own streets and operate the street car business, it needs no express statutory authority whatever to compel it to go on granting continuous franchises to street car corporations forever!

An interesting feature of this judicial opinion by Judge Howe is that his judicial opinion (1,023 lines) was printed in all the four newspapers of Des Moines as advertising matter at 25 cents a line, with 17 lines devoted to ridicule of supposed socialist views and a plain insinuation that such an ordinance "would work great injury to plaintiff, and nothing short of the charity of the law can prevent one from believing that it was so intended."

Today, the street car company has gone back to straight five-cent fares after years of 6 for 25 cts!

LONA INGHAM ROBINSON.

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, April 5, 1910.

Egyptian Nationalists Protest Against Mr. Roosevelt's Support of the English Protectorate.

Resentment against Mr. Roosevelt's assertions that Egypt was not ready for self-government, in his speech before the University of Cairo on the 28th (p. 297), was not only indicated by a written protest sent to Mr. Roosevelt by the Nationalist leaders, but also found popular expression on the

day following Mr. Roosevelt's University speech, in the marching of a mob of Nationalists to Mr. Roosevelt's hotel. Mr. Roosevelt did not happen to be within, but the mob was unaware of the fact, and for half an hour crowded the streets, crying: "Bas Roosevelt!" "Vive Egypt!" "Down with liars!" "Long live liberty! We demand a constitution! Long live independence!" The leaders would first shout a phrase like the cheer of leaders at an American football game; then the mob would repeat the cry passionately. The mob finally marched down the street, wheeled and returned to repeat the demonstration, with its ranks augmented by Cairo ragamuffins; then departed to disperse. At an evening meeting of protest, Ali Kamel, brother of the founder of the Egyptian Nationalist party, said:

It is surprising that Roosevelt opposes the grant of a constitution for Egypt, because he comes from a free country. The secret must lie in the fact that he is of Dutch descent, as the Dutch are well known as oppressors of their colonies.

The Cairo organ of the Nationalists, the *Alshaab*, has suggested that flatterers and English paid agents supplied Mr. Roosevelt with his information, and adds:

We expected Col. Roosevelt to give us a lesson in liberty, his country having suffered tyranny from England similar to that wherefrom we are suffering. But he declined to be anything but an advocate of British occupation.

In England the Radical papers of the 30th criticized Mr. Roosevelt's speech severely, but the Tory papers applauded it. One of the latter, the *Times*, through its Cairo correspondent, said that although it is not likely Col. Roosevelt's address will have much effect in Egypt, it was heartily welcomed there by the British and French and all those natives who have large interests which would be affected by a change in the system of government. "It is hoped," added the correspondent, "that it may help to convince the United States and the continent that British occupation is the only guarantee of order and financial stability."

† †

Roosevelt in Rome.

Soon after arriving in Rome, Mr. Roosevelt himself publicly announced the breaking off of diplomatic overtures for an audience with the Pope. He inferred from the correspondence that the Papal authorities conditioned the audience upon his refraining from addressing the Methodist mission at Rome. Former Vice-President Fairbanks had offended in this way and was consequently denied an audience. We give the correspondence with reference to Mr. Roosevelt, as Mr. Roosevelt has given it to the newspapers, and verbatim as they reported it. While at Cairo Mr. Roosevelt received the following message from the

American ambassador at Rome, J. G. A. Leishman, dated March 23:

Mgr. Kennedy, rector of the American Catholic College, in reply to an inquiry which I caused to be made, requests that the following communication be transmitted to you! "The Holy Father will be delighted to grant an audience to Mr. Roosevelt on April 5, and hopes that nothing will arise to prevent it, such as the much regretted incident which made the reception of Mr. Fairbanks impossible."

Replying to Mr. Leishman on March 25, Mr. Roosevelt said:

Please present the following to Mgr. Kennedy: "It would be a real pleasure to me to be presented to the Holy Father, for whom I entertain high respect, both personally and as the head of a great church. I fully recognize his entire right to receive or not receive whomsoever he chooses, for any reason that seems good to him, and if he does not receive me I shall not for a moment question the propriety of his action. On the other hand, I in turn must decline to make any stipulations or submit to any conditions which in any way would limit my freedom of conduct. I trust that on April 5 he will find it convenient to receive me."

On March 28 Mr. Roosevelt at Cairo received a cablegram from Mr. Leishman, giving a message from Mgr. Kennedy, which concluded by saying:

His Holiness would be much pleased to grant an audience to Mr. Roosevelt, for whom he entertains high esteem, both personally and as the former President of the United States. His Holiness recognizes Mr. Roosevelt's entire right to full freedom of conduct. On the other hand, in view of the circumstances for which neither His Holiness nor Mr. Roosevelt is responsible, an audience could not take place except on the understanding expressed in the former message.

The following day Mr. Roosevelt sent another message to the American ambassador, saying:

The proposed presentation is, of course, now impossible.

Through an editorial message to the Outlook from Rome on the 3d, Mr. Roosevelt issued an appeal on the subject to the American people in which he said:

I am sure that the great majority of my fellow citizens, Catholics quite as much as Protestants, will feel that I acted in the only way possible for an American to act, and because of this very fact I most earnestly hope that the incident will be treated in a matter of course way as merely personal, and, above all, as not warranting the slightest exhibition of rancor or bitterness. . . . Bitter comment and criticism, acrimonious attack and defense are not only profitless but harmful, and to seize upon such an incident as this as an occasion for controversy would be wholly indefensible and should be frowned upon by Catholics and Protestants alike and all good Americans.

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The British Parliament.

When Mr. Asquith moved on the 29th that the

House of Commons go into committee of the whole to consider the Ministerial resolutions abolishing the absolute veto of the House of Lords (p. 297), he traced the course of events culminating in the Lords' interference with the Budget of 1909, and declared that under the circumstances the general elections of last winter had given the House of Commons express authority to bring that state of things to an end. The King's veto, he said, was as dead as Queen Anne, and the absolute veto of the Lords must follow before the road is cleared for the advent of a full grown and unfettered democracy. Mr. Balfour, the Tory leader, characterized the resolutions as "the most absurd experiment in constitution making upon which any government ever embarked," and intimated that if they became a law, the Tories would promptly repeal it when they returned to power. Mr. Redmond, leader of the Irish progressives, congratulated Mr. Asquith upon the substance of his resolutions, and said they would be supported heartily by himself and his friends. Winston Churchill, now the Home Secretary, closed his speech on the Lords' veto on the floor of the Commons on the 31st in a manner which is regarded as highly significant, coming from a cabinet minister. He declared that when the veto resolutions were disposed of in the Commons, the Ministry would advance with the Budget, regardless of the consequences. Unless the House of Commons carried the Budget, it was idle, he said, to look to the King or to the country to carry the veto bill; but he predicted that at the proper time and under the proper circumstances the Ministry would succeed in carrying both the veto and the Budget to the steps of the throne. "The time for action," he concluded, "has arrived. Since the Lords have used their veto to affront the prerogative of the Crown, and have invaded the rights of the Commons, it has become necessary that the Crown and the Commons, acting together, should restore the balance of the Constitution and restrict forever the veto power of the House of Lords."

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Meanwhile a Tory motion to amend the resolutions (offered by Sir Robert Finlay), was defeated on the 4th by 357 to 251—a majority of 106 in an attendance of 608 out of a total membership of 670. The Finlay amendment as reported by cable declared that "a strong and efficient second chamber is necessary and that the Commons are willing to consider proposals for the reform of the present second chamber, but decline to proceed with proposals that would destroy the usefulness of any second chamber and thus remove the only safeguard against any great changes being made by the Government of the day without the consent and against the wishes of a majority of the electors." After the Finlay amendment had been rejected by

the large majority noted above, the motion of Mr. Asquith to go into committee of the whole on the veto resolutions was adopted without division. April 14 had already been fixed for the conclusion of the committee stages on the passage of the resolutions, and on the 6th, by a majority of 84, closure rules for the committee were adopted.

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The United States and Liberia.

It will be remembered that the United States sent out a commission of investigation to Liberia a year ago (vol. xii, pp. 395, 492) in response to an appeal from that disorganized little Negro republic on the west coast of Africa (vol. xi, p. 203). Newspaper anticipations of the report of the Commission appeared in the American press in January, but the report was not transmitted to Congress by the President until the 25th of March. The Chicago Inter Ocean describes the Commission as objecting to any co-operation between Great Britain and the United States for the reform of the disorders of Liberia. The Commission makes the following recommendations:

(1) That the United States extend its aid to Liberia in the prompt settlement of its boundary disputes.

(2) That the United States enable Liberia to refund its debt by assuming as a guarantee for the payment of obligations under such an arrangement, the control and collection of Liberian customs.

(3) That the United States lend its assistance to the reform of the internal finances.

(4) That this nation aid in organizing and drilling a competent constabulary or frontier police.

(5) That the United States establish and maintain a research station there.

(6) That the United States reopen the question of establishing a coaling station in Liberia.

The Commission calls attention to the fact that the Liberians have never resorted to revolution. Also, Liberia is not bankrupt. Her troubles are external, rather than internal—coming from the pressure of neighboring English and French spheres of influence.

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Following close upon the heels of this tardy transmission to Congress of the Commission's report, with the consequent publicity of its recommendations as to American intervention, has come news in regard to the lining up of American warships on the Liberian coast. The dispatches in regard to their flight across the Atlantic assume an American protectorate. Since the 31st dispatches have been coming from Liberia by the way of Liverpool, to the effect that the Liberians are having trouble with the natives, and that assistance offered by a German gunboat has been indignantly rejected by the Liberians. Berlin reports state that the disturbances are slight, but that the situation as revealed by the refusal of Ger-

man assistance, is such that a United States protectorate in Liberia may be regarded "as good as settled."

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Significant Supreme Court Decisions.

Three decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States, made on the 4th, are of serious political importance. One of them nullified as unconstitutional the statute of Nebraska requiring railroads to build switches to all grain elevators along their tracks upon request. This was held to be a taking of property without compensation. Another nullified as unconstitutional the Arkansas statute imposing penalties upon inter-State railroads for failure to supply sufficient cars for inter-State traffic. The third decides that the business of a correspondence school with pupils in various States is inter-State commerce and therefore subject to Federal regulation.

+ +

Prospective Coal Strike.

The agreement between the bituminous coal miners and mine operators having expired on the 31st, and a joint conference having dissolved without reaching a new agreement, the special convention of the United Mine Workers of North America, in session at Cincinnati, adjourned on the 29th. Several points of disagreement were involved, but a concession of an increase in wages of 5 cents a ton on pick-mine-screen coal, with proportionate advances for other methods of mining and for outside labor, is made a pre-requisite to negotiations on the other questions. If this is conceded, there will be no strike pending further negotiations; but if this concession is denied, the miners will not return to work after the expiration of their contract. That was the situation on the 29th, and no change has taken place since, except that on April 1st, their contract having expired the day before, the organized coal miners of the bituminous fields did not return to work.

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Socialism in the Milwaukee Election.

On the eve of the Milwaukee election of the 5th, it was predicted by Socialists that their candidate for Mayor, Emil Seidl, would be elected, and reported by Republicans that the contest would be between Mr. Seidl and their own candidate, Dr. Beffel. Early in the campaign the election of the Democratic candidate, V. J. Schoenecker, was considered certain. The election resulted in the choice of Mr. Seidl (Socialist) for Mayor and a strong Socialist majority for the Council. Victor Berger, a Socialist of national reputation, is an alderman at large. The plurality for Mayor-elect Seidl was 8,000 over the Democratic candidate and 16,000 over the Republican.

NEWS NOTES

—A "World's Fair" is to be opened at Brussels on the 23d.

—An agreement on customs tariffs between Canada and the United States was made public on the 29th.

—The late Mayor Pingree's brother and successor in business at Detroit, Frank C. Pingree, died on the 2d at the age of 62.

—For the approaching Parliamentary elections in France (p. 297) twenty women are candidates in the 20 districts of Paris.

—David J. Brewer, a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who died on the 26th, was buried at Leavenworth, Kansas, on the 2d.

—The advocates of women's suffrage in Massachusetts lost their annual fight in the lower branch of the legislature on the 31st. The vote was 47 to 148.

—Mayor Gaynor of New York has ordered the strict enforcement of the city ordinance against sales of fireworks in that city from June 10 to July 10.

—A great storm on the Japanese coast on March 13 brought about the destruction of as many as eighty-four fishing vessels, and the death of eleven hundred men.

—The maximum and minimum clause of the Aldrich tariff law of the United States went into effect on the 1st, and President Taft issued a proclamation accordingly.

—Charles Sprague Smith, founder and manager of the People's Institute of New York, the public meetings of which at Cooper Union are of national renown, died suddenly of pneumonia on the 30th at the age of 57.

—An offer by the Philadelphia traction company to end the strike (p. 253) by taking back strikers who apply individually, so long as vacancies exist, was rejected by the local union by unanimous vote at a meeting on the 4th.

—Alexander Agassiz, son of the revered naturalist, Louis Agassiz, and himself a man of large scientific attainments as well as financial ability, died on the steamer Adriatic, bound from Southampton to New York, on the 28th, in his 75th year.

—Tom L. Johnson was reported by the Cleveland Press of the 4th as having improved in health after his rest in London and as having gone to Bournemouth, a popular watering place and winter health resort on the south coast of England.

—A bill to give the Russian Douma power over the little autonomous Grand-duchy of Finland (p. 179) was introduced in the Douma on the 30th. The opposition leaders urged immediate rejection, claiming that such a move was in violation of the Finnish constitution.

—Catherine Helen Spence, whose name is identified with the subject of electoral reform, died at Adelaide, South Australia, on the 3d at the age of 84. Born at Melrose, Scotland, she lived in South Australia over 70 years. She had been president of the Effective Voting League of South Australia

and vice president of the National Council of Women. In 1893 she traveled through the United States lecturing.

—A national mass meeting of farmers will be held at the Coliseum, St. Louis, May 2 to 8 next, under the auspices of the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America and the American Society of Equity. The convention manager is John Grady, 523 Commercial Building, St. Louis.

—George H. Williams, Attorney-General in President Grant's cabinet, Senator from Oregon during the reconstruction period, Chief Justice of the Territory of Oregon at thirty and Mayor of Portland after his eightieth year, a man of highest rank as a lawyer of the old professional school, died at Portland on the 4th at the age of 87.

—The "golden rule" policy of Chief Kohler (p. 61) of Cleveland continues to decrease the police arrests in that city. For the first three months of 1908 there were 2,679 arrests; for the first three months of 1909 arrests were brought down to 1,405; and the record of the first three months of the current year shows only 1,283 arrests. Chief Kohler calls his police stations "moral hospitals."

—At a taxation conference at Sedalia, Mo., on the 23d under the auspices of the Missouri Municipal League, the following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the chairman of the conference to draft a plan for securing the necessary reforms of the present tax system and report the same to an adjourned meeting of this conference, to be called by the president of the Missouri Municipal League at an early date."

—The Greek government has been for several months terrorized and dominated by a Military League (vol. xii, p. 1095) which has at times nearly forced the King's abdication. The League has now dissolved and the country is once more under constitutional government. As a condition to the dissolution of the League the King has promised to create a revisionist body for the purpose of revising certain non-fundamental clauses of the constitution.

—Edwin G. Cooley, who resigned a year ago (vol. xii, p. 220) as superintendent of public schools at Chicago in order to become president of D. C. Heath & Co., the Boston school book publishers, has now resigned the latter place and signed a contract with the Chicago Commercial Club for a year. He is to go abroad in behalf of the Commercial Club to study European systems of industrial and commercial education and the training of teachers. His report is intended primarily for the use of the public school system of Chicago under the auspices of the Commercial Club.

—Among the deaths reported this week is that of Isaac H. Julian of San Marcos, Texas. Mr. Julian, a long time advocate of the theories of Henry George, was a brother of George W. Julian (member of Congress for six terms, one of the founders of the Republican party in 1856, and in 1852 the Free Soil candidate for Vice President), the most distinguished land reformer of his day and the political father of the American homestead law. Isaac H. Julian was 87 years old at his death, and had lived in Texas 37 years. Although less distinguished than his brother he had taken an active part in public affairs. He was

a Lincoln postmaster in Indiana during that President's first term, and he stumped Indiana for Horace Greeley in 1872.

—The Anti-Saloon movement at the elections in Michigan (vol. xii, p. 373) on the 4th increased the number of "dry" counties from 29 to 46, although the "wets" recovered two counties heretofore "dry"—Oakland and Wexford. The question was voted on in 36 out of the 83 counties. In the counties carried by the "wets" there are 875 saloons and 9 breweries, the most of them being in Kent county, which went "wet" by 8,000 majority. In the counties carried by the "drys" there are 272 saloons and 6 breweries, which must close by May 1.

—Mrs. Allan MacNaughton, of New York, known to literary fame as Myra Kelly, died on the 31st at Torquay, England, at the age of 30 years, and while abroad in search of health. Mrs. MacNaughton was the daughter of Henry George's physician, Dr. James T. Kelly, once of Dublin, but for many years of New York. It was as a public school teacher in New York that she came across the human material out of which her democratic stories of the American "melting pot" were constructed. Among her books are "Little Citizens," "Isle of Dreams," and "Wards of Liberty."

—An increase of 7 per cent in the wages of all employes of the New York Central Railway lines east of Buffalo, who now get \$200 a month or less, was ordered on the 1st. The Erie Railroad company on the 31st offered all its employes now receiving under \$300 per month an increase of 6 per cent in wages provided the demands of the men be withdrawn. Representatives of the men refused to accept. The Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia and Reading railroads recently tendered their employes a 6 per cent increase in wages. The New Jersey Central is expected to make a similar offer of a 6 per cent increase.

—The eighth annual "New Voters' Festival" of Boston took place at Faneuil Hall on the 3d. Ex-President Charles W. Elliot of Harvard presided, and Mayor Whitlock of Toledo made the address on "Citizenship." Judge Michael J. Murphy spoke on "The Importance of the First Vote," and Judge Francis C. Lowell on "The Freeman's Oath," an oath which, framed in 1634, was taken by every voter during the early days of the Colony of Massachusetts, and reads as follows: "I do solemnly bind myself that I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce to the public weal, so help me God."

† † †

Trust the people—the wise and the ignorant, the good and the bad—with the gravest questions and in the end you educate the race. At the same time you secure, not perfect institutions, not necessarily good ones, but the best institutions possible while human nature is the basis and only material to build with. Men are educated and the state uplifted by allowing all—every one—to broach all their mistakes and advocate their errors. The community that will not protect its most ignorant and unpopular member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or how hateful, is only a gang of slaves.—Wendell Phillips.

PRESS OPINIONS

Democratic Socialism in Germany.

The (New York) Nation (ind.), March 24.—The Prussian government has forced through the House of Delegates the so-called franchise reform bill, against which the bulk of the Prussian people has been protesting. It is not necessary to sympathize with the violence of the language of the Socialist representative, Liebknecht, which drove out of the building most of the Clericals and Conservatives, to feel that he is correct in his contention that this outcome of the suffrage fight settles nothing. The franchise battle there is bound to go on, with the Socialists in the happy position of fighting the battle of all the people, and not merely of those who favor its policies.

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Roosevelt and Taft.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), March 31.—Indications multiply that President Taft and the reactionary supporters of the administration in house and senate regard a conflict with former President Roosevelt and his supporters inevitable, and are therefore preparing for it. The Ballinger statement presented to the investigating committee, ridiculing the Roosevelt conservation policy and abusing the chief upholders of that policy, is open expression of hostility to the Roosevelt spirit. For some time, however, it has been plain that the president was being led or forced into a position where the possibility of reconciliation between himself and his predecessor was rapidly disappearing. There is no doubt that early in his administration President Taft hoped for an endorsement by Roosevelt, but it is extremely doubtful if he is now optimistic on that score.

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The Keynote Reform.

The (West Chicago) Northern Illinois Democrat (dem. Dem.).—Did you ever play hunt the button? Do you remember when your playfellows cried, Warmer, hot, hot, hot? When organized labor and the farmers of Will county propose getting together to try and solve the question of the cost of living, they are starting to warm up in the button hunt. When grandma lost her specs and after a long hunt found them on her nose, she was surprised and somewhat indignant because of her foolish search. When these two great forces of producers, the farmer and organized labor, get together and stick to the finish in their search for the truth, take the bit in their teeth and run away regardless of whom they run over, they will be surprised as well as indignant to find that they are standing on it. Nothing has ever been produced or consumed except by the use of land. . . . The land, the source of all production, is monopolized, and until land is freed by taxation no reforms can prove beneficial.

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Labor and the Tariff on Tin.

The (Chicago) Christian Century (rel.), March 17.—A tariff was put on tin in order to build up an

American industry and give more employment. It built up the industry and it is today completely monopolized by a powerful trust. Ten years ago the men who worked in the tin mills received \$2.16 per day, eight hours for a day's work, and six days per week. Today they work twelve hours per day, seven days per week, with a double shift every two weeks, i. e., an all day and all night shift, of twenty-four hours, straight work, and they get \$1.68 per day for it. This condition affects 14,000 men. . . . If it is wise and lawful to interfere in the natural course of trade with a tariff for the sake of building up an industry that could not be built up without the artificial conditions thus created, is it less wise and lawful to interfere by that same power to prevent those same conditions from working men more than one-half all their living hours for less than half what any man can support himself and family upon in decency and comfort? In other words, if we can make a tariff for the purpose of creating wages and profits, why cannot we make something else that will prevent "profit" from taking most of the wages? Or else, why cannot we take off the tariff that has first made wages, then afterwards made a monopoly so powerful and godless that it grinds the faces of the poor? Such an issue is not merely economic, it is moral.

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Big Land Holdings.

Boston Transcript, Apr. 2.—There are murmurings among the people in the northern part of Dutchess County, New York, because of the princely way in which Colonel John Jacob Astor is buying up land in that section. His estate at Rhinebeck now covers about four thousand acres, or more than six square miles, and includes not only farms, but a number of villages, or at least hamlets, with churches and stores and all that goes to make up a rural community. It is complained that this is a distinct loss to the productive capacity of that region, inasmuch as he only employs about forty persons, and probably these do not contribute to the needs of the public, but rather minister to the requirements of the proprietor. . . . But Colonel Astor . . . has exercised an undoubted legal and even moral right in buying all the land he wants, since his purchases presuppose that he has found those willing to sell. His title rests upon processes that we regard as legitimate, since buying and selling are protected by the law of the land. If he does not wish to produce, that is his business. We may not approve such a policy or hope that it will be widely extended, but there is no warrant for interfering with it. If society ever becomes really concerned over the question it can throw such a tax on land, to the exclusion of everything else, as to compel its owners to keep it in use—to make it too great a luxury for speculative holding.

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Land Value Taxation in the Province of Ontario, Canada.

Ottawa Evening Citizen (Ind.), March 19.—Mr. A. E. Fripp's bill provided for an amendment to the assessment act to permit municipalities, if a majority of the property owners so decided, to tax improvement values at a lower rate than land values.

It did not ask for total exemption of improvement values, such as is now practiced so largely in New Zealand, Australia, Switzerland and some parts of Germany—as well as in our own western provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. It was to be effective only if the property owners sanctioned it. And yet because it was a slight application of the principles of taxation advocated by Henry George, and many other economists, it was opposed by the Premier of the Province [Sir James Whitney] as a "nostrum and cure-all." In Mr. Fripp's strong and logical presentation of the facts of the case, he pointed out that the new provinces of Canada, having had the good points of the assessment act of the older Provinces, as well as the taxation experiences of the United States, Europe and Asia to assist them, had chosen as a matter of public policy and public right to raise practically all their revenues from land taxes alone. He showed that New Zealand, New South Wales and other Australian states, had been for nearly nineteen years extending the system until now practically all state and municipal taxes were raised by the taxation of land values only. He showed that the British government, after most exhaustive inquiry into taxation systems of other countries, had adopted land values taxation in a much more arbitrary form than would be possible under his proposed bill. All this information, and more, could have been obtained by Sir James Whitney from the Imperial government blue books, which were doubtless in the library of the legislature. But Sir James was not looking for information. This was Henry Georgeism. That damned it as far as he was concerned, and his verbal brickbats were hurled right and left. The Citizen has always been an admirer of Sir James Whitney, and because of his many admirable qualities and few faults, it is with much hesitation it has decided to play the part of the candid friend. But when the first minister of His Majesty's government in the leading Province of Canada treats in such superficial and prejudiced manner the all important question of taxation of land values, a question that is vital to every member of the community—we must in the public interest raise our voice in protest.

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The Commission to Liberia.

The Springfield (Mass.) Weekly Republican, March 18, 1909.—Congress was finally persuaded to appropriate money for a commission whose work is to be an inquiry into the affairs of Liberia, but there was every indication that the appropriation was made with reluctance. Many of the Congressional leaders felt, not without reason, that the first step was being taken in transforming Liberia into a virtual dependency of the United States and in establishing this country as an African power. . . . According to ordinary tests, the Liberian republic is a failure. Its original purpose has long since been lost sight of—that is, to serve as a place whither the Negroes of the United States could go and make homes. A few thousands went there from this country, and the small proportion of civilized Negroes in Liberia today are their descendants, who number less than 30,000 by considerable. Within the boundaries of the country, however, are a million or two of African savages, among whom the organized gov-

ernment is too weak to maintain order and compel respect for the territories of England and France adjoining. It has long since been apparent that the Negroes in America would stay in America, otherwise our government might take a very lively interest in Liberia as a place still promising to fulfill the hopes of its founders. Indeed, if there were even now any prospect of making this African state attractive enough to American Negroes to make it a possible place of colonization for them in the future, and thus relieve the United States in some degree of an acute race question, the reorganization of the country with American aid might be seriously considered. So far as can be seen now, however, the reorganization of Liberia would offer no practical advantages to the United States along these lines. If the United States were to take over the Republic as a dependency and govern it, the chief work would consist in controlling the native savages and no doubt civilizing them according to modern imperialistic methods. The project, in short, would be in effect, the establishment of the United States as a colonial power in Africa, no less. And the step would be taken without such warrant as we had had in Cuba, or even in Santo Domingo, where the Monroe doctrine inhibits the establishment of new European protectorates. The main reason for going to the help of Liberia seems to be sentimental in view of the fact that the founders of the state came from America and drew their inspiration and their first Negro colonists from these shores. Certainly, there is no treaty obligation to drive our government to the task, for Liberia has for many years been an entirely independent state.

We wanted once to make a short declaration of principles on which all land value taxationists could agree.

I was deputed to get it up in consultation with Thomas G. Shearman and Henry George; so I went to Shearman first and we two lawyers did certainly make a weird jargon out of it.

Then I took the finished product to George; he read it. "I don't like it," he said, "it isn't clear." So I sat down and made the language plainer.

"That's better, perhaps," said George, "but it isn't so."

I tried again, with no more luck, and read it to George. Said he, a little impatiently, "What is it you want to say?"

"Why," I answered, "I want to say that we will relieve all improvements of taxation, and take the rental value of the mere bare land in taxes every year, so as to make it unprofitable to hold land out of use, or for speculation."

"Well," he said, "say that."

And we did.

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THE ABSTRUSE AND THE OBVIOUS.

A. J. Portenar, Member of Typographical Union, No. 6, in the Independent of Jan. 20, 1910.

I went up to the hook and took off a "take" marked "editorial." Then back to the machine to earn my bread and improve my mind at the same time by putting that copy into type, for much of instruction for the head and balm for the heart have come to me while setting Independent editorials. This one opened well: "The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science considers * * *" So I sat down to consider with them. But that innocent looking piece of paper held mental disquietude for me, and I was not long in reaching it. Eyes on the copy and fingers on the keyboard soon had to deal with the following:

The writers who take a philosophical view of the general situation agree with the judgment expressed by Senator Crawford, in our issue of November 25, that the essential factor in the increase of prices is not the trusts or railroads or anything other than the great increase in the amount of gold, which is the basis of all our circulation. But if the gold supply is increased it becomes cheaper, that is, it will buy less and prices in gold will soar.

Crash! Down went my most cherished grievance. Not the greed of men, not the imperfect organization of society, were the cause of economic hardships, but the bountifulness of Nature, in putting useful metals where men could find them, was to blame. Fortunately the work of typesetting becomes mechanical after long practice. My fingers did not stop, although my head was in a whirl. But more, if not worse, was to come. Crushed already by the ponderous authority of Senator Crawford and the afore-mentioned "phil-

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE PHILANTHROP ST.

For The Public.

Great gifts he made through all his days
Out of his wealth in divers ways.
But Charity is loath to claim
All alms that bear her honored name.
For some are like the prayers of lip
Through which no word of soul can slip,
Like idle words that little weigh,
Whatever foolish people say.

From out his hand he gave, but grudging
The little from his heart, and so,
Not as the foolish people know,
But as God sees, he shall be judged.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

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**HENRY GEORGE ON LITERARY
STYLE.**

Bolton Hall in The Chancellor (Published by L. J. Quinby, 304 Boston Store Bldg., Omaha, Neb.)

The English Budget agitation recalls the following incident, which has not been in print before:

osophical writers," that editorial proceeded to turn defeat into rout by bringing up Mr. John Moody and Mr. Thomas Gibson as a supporting column, and mental resistance was at an end. I was heart-broken. What was the use of striving for initiative and referendum, public ownership of public utilities, tariff revision downward? What would it avail us to stop speculation in food products, to secure the power of recall of corrupt or incompetent officials, to curb the waste of public funds? The mines would continue to pour forth their golden stream in increasing volume, and all our efforts would go for naught. Let anybody that can, monopolize anything or everything we need; it does not make any real difference. My soul travailed for my lost illusions.

But there came a reaction. Albeit amazed at my own temerity, I had the hardihood to decline to regard it as settled that "the essential factor in the increase of prices" is the increased production of gold. I realize that it may seem ludicrous for one situated as I am to oppose his opinions to those of men acknowledged to be experts on the subject, men whose daily life is concerned with questions of government and finance, while my own horizon is bounded by the four walls of a printing office; and yet, while admitting my failure to grasp the abstruse, I crave permission to present the obvious.

It is my purpose to examine how this question looks to the man in the street. Although I have already confessed my incapacity to grapple with the masters quoted above, I can speak for the man in the street because I am one of him.

Some years ago Mr. C. P. Huntington fixed railroad rates by making them "all the traffic will bear." Railroad corporations have not changed their methods since then. Transportation rates are an "essential factor" in increasing the prices of all things transported.

Tariff rates are admittedly too high in this country. Steel rails, watches, sewing machines, are exported at prices much lower than they are sold for at home. It would seem that the tariff is an "essential factor" in increasing the prices of many things.

The newspapers complain that a combination has fixed an extortionate price on white paper. If their contentions are well founded, that combination is an "essential factor" in increasing the price of paper.

Waste of forests that are being cut and the withholding of forest lands for speculative purposes are charges against human greed that are not denied. This may be an "essential factor" in raising the price of lumber.

A half dozen railroad corporations have a practical monopoly of the anthracite coal lands. Legislative investigations have plainly demonstrated what thrifty use they make of their opportunities.

Small doubt of what is the "essential factor" in the increase in the price of coal.

The Borden Company earned in net profits in 1909 \$2,617,029, and then raised the price of milk because they claimed there was no profit in the business. This might properly be considered the "essential factor" in the increase in the price of milk.

To further multiply instances will be to use space without adding to the weight of argument. Now add to these "essential factors" the increase in taxation caused by official corruption; the myriad devious burrowings into the public purse which Supreme Court Justice Howard estimates at 40 per cent of the amount collected; and then add to that again the increase in prices caused by the "unearned increment" in appreciated land values created by all and appropriated by a few; and I begin to doubt the infallibility of the wise men—senators, financiers, sociologists.

I think I will take up my grievance again. I feel my faith in the efficacy of the initiative and referendum, the power of recall, and, greatest of all, the single tax, reviving as I write. In the meantime my prayer shall be: O Lord, if Thou will deliver us from the evils that are so plainly discernible, we will bear with resignation the afflictions that may follow the discovery of any metals that Thy bounty has provided for our use!

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SOME REMARKS MADE BY OLD TOM HARDER

About the New Conquest of Egypt, and Other
Disconnected Subjects.

For The Public.

"Yes, I've got a little breathin' spell now between the oats and the corn plantin,' so might tell you some o' the things that come to me while I've been watchin' the disk tear up the ground an' fix it so the seed would have a fair chance of its life. Things come to you then that you can hardly keep to yourself, an' you feel like it would be a relief to talk to something, even if it's nothin' but a fence post or a jack rabbit. Sure, this is the most remarkable spring I ever saw, an' its nearly eighty of 'em that I can count since I came from out o' the nowhere to this revolving ball, where the man that cares about stopping has to make a bargain with somebody that got here before him, for a place to sleep and eat an' work.

"Yes, it looks like we'd a right smart chance to raise big crops this year, an' prices are high too. But prices are high because we hain't got much to sell, an' money's so plenty it's the cheapest thing in the market. Some of it's sound money, sure. But some of it is open to suspicion. It circulates of course, an' that's all the good of money. If we do raise a big crop an' want to exchange it for the

Englishman's money, the law-makers won't let us do it without fining us. The Payne-Aldrich combination believes in keepin' our crops an' our money to home so we can swap things with ourselves, mainly. Of course there's drawbacks to most things, an' the fellows that's on confidential terms with the Payne-Aldrich combine can send some sugar an' sewin' machines an' hardware an' steel rails over to Europe, an' sell 'em to the cheap labor over there 25 to 50 per cent cheaper than they do to us, an' then recoup themselves in the way of drawbacks an' other fancy frills that they find left in the law for those that know how to take advantage of 'em.

"But I was goin' to tell you about Tomkins. He gits a little time to rest between checkin' baggage an' sellin' tickets an' reportin' trains an' unloadin' freight an' tellin' the people that the Express is four hours late, so he listens to what is goin' over the wires while he's restin'. He came over here the other day just as I was drivin' the drill on the last round in that patch of oats, an' he was most as pleased an' excited as he would be if his uncle had died prematurely an' left him a farm.

"He went on to tell me that Roosevelt, havin' come up out of the rhinoceros country somewhat tired o' shootin' at things that can't shoot back, had taken the Egyptians by surprise an' captured the whole shootin' match. An' havin' captured 'em bag an' baggage he took the opportunity to lay down the law to 'em, an' tell 'em the way to go at it to git liberty—the kind o' liberty we serve up over here most o' the time; the kind o' liberty that we are servin' out to the Philippines an' Cuba an' Porto Rico. Seems to me that's the kind that Tom Reed labelled 'canned liberty.' But anyway, it seems from what Tomkins said about it that Roosevelt told 'em to be good an' they'd git all the liberty they was fit for, an' git it as fast as they was fit for it, an' as soon as the Englishmen thought they was fit for it, an' what on earth would anybody want any more liberty than that for? The Englishmen would keep a lot o' police troops there, an' see that the interest on those wicked old bonds was paid, an' preserve order even if they had to kill off everybody to do it. An' the Egyptians, why they could work an' earn money to pay the interest, and the expenses of the troops an' the other fellers that was there to see that the Egyptians had liberty—to work, and that nobody stole their earnings but the bondholders.

"No, I don't mean that Roosevelt told the Egyptians all this, but it came to me while I was listening to Tomkins, that some o' the Egyptians might be thinkin' along that line. It came to me as Tomkins was praisin' the Roosevelt philosophy, that some day perhaps the British might not be as strong as they are today. That some day another nation would take a notion that British civilization was not just the thing, an' that Britain ought to

be taught self-government at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the cannon. How would Britons like the process? We might think of this ourselves when we are voting more warships an' sendin' more troops to the Philippines.

"What do I think o' Cannon? Why, he's been bankin' s~ much on lookin' like Lincoln that he's forgot entirely to be anything like him."

GEORGE V. WELLS.

* * *

FRANKLIN PIERCE ON "KEEPING STILL."

A Letter from Franklin Pierce of New York to Henry Watterson, Editor of the Louisville Courier Journal.

I have read with interest your talk before the National Press club at Washington. So sturdy a fighter as you are will surely not take unkindly honest difference of opinion as to the true policies of the Democratic party. You say, "Keep still and profit by the enemies' mistakes." I say, go at the Republican party hell-bent on the question of protective tariffs, imperialism, ship subsidies, extravagant government and costly navy, corruption and all the other abuses which they have been imposing upon this American people. The Democratic party has been keeping still altogether too long. Free government can not exist without agitation, and the Democratic party ought to be a party of agitation. The alleged safe and sane part of this party naturally belongs to the Republican party, and there it will finally bring up. When the leaders of the Democratic party are quiet, notwithstanding hundreds of tariff-bred monopolies are selling their products to the American consumer for twice the price which they would exact if the tariff was removed; when these special interests sit at the hearth of the poor, charging them extra prices for coal, extorting from 50 to 250 per cent more for every thread of clothing which they wear than the natural price, and robbing them day and night, year in and year out, by enhanced prices for all the necessaries of life, and we Democrats sit around smiling as serenely as two summer mornings—when such a condition of affairs as this exists, I say, away, away with you, faithless ones. You are recreant to your trust and are recreant to the memory of the Democratic leaders of the past, and from the very heavens their voices condemn you.

Slavery was the curse of the South before the war, but our modern materialism, our tariff-made monopolies and the rule of corrupt special interests is laying much heavier burdens upon your people than did slavery in those days, and you Southern men have bowed your heads to this sin and seem to be returning to your old doctrines: that society exists for the benefit of the few instead of the many;

that the millions may be enslaved to increase the riches of a few thousand planters and manufacturers. God save you and bring you back to true Democratic principles, or send you over to the Republican party, where you belong if you do not reform.

Again, you tell us that if the scheme to cause a breach between President Taft and Roosevelt comes to a head, we Democrats may get into power. Is not this the cry of weakness? We can get into power because of a breach between our adversaries? Why not get into power because you are entitled to get into power on your willingness to do the right thing to the whole body of the people? I have no great admiration for ex-President Roosevelt. I have spent not a little time examining his usurpations of power, but Theodore Roosevelt at his worst is the superior of President Taft. No president in our country has ever started in the very beginning of his term by making such a humiliating exhibit of himself as has President Taft. The progressive element in his party ought to desert him, and I trust that they will desert him. Government with President Taft seems to be something of a joke. He seems to be bent upon having a good time at the people's expense. He is hardly serious upon any public question, and is on altogether too good terms with the corrupt elements of this country to please the vigilant and patriotic citizen. His attitude on the tariff and his attack upon the progressive Republicans of the west, his swinging around the circle at the cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars of the people's money, his easy neglect of public duties, his good-natured lack of indignation at wrong, these all may mark him as a good fellow, but not as a faithful and a great President.

The hope of the Democratic party is in getting back to the first principles of justice and government, throwing aside the superficial men who have been directing its councils, and resolving at once to do justice to the consumers of tariff-burdened goods and to those who are bearing the terrible burdens of our extravagant national government. If the Democratic party twenty years ago had cleared its decks and fought valiantly for democratic principles, instead of talking about keeping still and profiting by the enemies' mistakes; if it had sought not only to please the people by honeyed words and demagogic cries, but had actually created and championed real reforms affecting all the people's welfare, it would not be sighing for power today. It is out of power because it is unworthy of power; it is out of power because it lacks leaders who believe in the people and who believe in justice toward all the people. It is out of power because hundreds of its leaders are actually in league with the tariff-made trusts and are voting the Republican ticket three-fourths of the time and are real Republicans and ought to be in the Republican party and stay there. These leaders have simply betrayed the

people, and among them are your United States Senators from the South, who have been steadily taking care of your large land owners and manufacturers, instead of taking care of the great body of your poor people. Our millionaires are expending hundreds of millions of dollars yearly for charities of all kinds. Let us Democrats advocate justice, which will make charity almost unnecessary. Let us urge the people to fight for little things when those little things involve a principle of liberty and justice. Our forefathers fought a seven years' war from Lexington to Yorktown for relief from taxation not a millionth part as burdensome as congress has just imposed upon ninety millions of consumers.

In short, my dear Mr. Watterson, let us believe in liberty and justice and in their final triumph, and hate from our boots up, oppression, and gird ourselves anew to fight for the old democratic ideals, and then there will be no use of "keeping still and profiting by the enemies' mistakes."

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JAPHET IN SEARCH OF HIS CITIZENSHIP.

For The Public.

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Japhet goes Forth to Register as a Voter, and Discovers that Although he will be Permitted to Vote, his Citizenship has Slipped away from him; Whereupon he Sets out upon a Momentous Search, which may Possibly be Enlivened with Instructive and Exciting Adventure.

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On a clear, cold day in October, as he rose from the breakfast table and prepared to leave his home for the store in which he worked, Japhet said to himself that he would stop on the way down town and register. By this he meant that he would give his name and residence and the particulars of his citizenship to the election officers of his neighborhood, so that they would allow him to vote at the approaching Presidential election.

Japhet seldom voted at elections.

He didn't think it good form, except when business interests were at stake. The voting habit, he thought, might be a harmless diversion for workmen—street laborers, mechanics and the like,—and also for farmers. As to politicians it was part of their business, and Japhet commended business methods whether he respected the business or not. Lawyers, too, might cultivate the voting habit without exciting his contempt, for the legal profession seemed to him to be connected in some intimate manner with politics in a business way. But for a salaried man like himself, albeit his salary was small—not much larger than the wages of some very inferior men whom he knew con-

descendingly—for a salaried man, the voting habit was to his mind almost reprehensible, and very bad form. The head of his house, "the old man" as Japhet affectionately and deferentially called him out of his hearing, had never fallen into that habit, and therefore neither must Japhet.

There were occasions, however, when "the old man" thought it the duty of all good citizens to turn out and vote, and on such occasions Japhet prided himself upon his citizenship.

One of these occasions was the approaching Presidential election. Business interests were deeply involved in the result, and Japhet felt his patriotism stirred to the depths. He had even consented to march in a political procession, along with troops of habitual voters. But that concession was due to the fact that the procession was to be called a "business man's parade," and that "the old man" himself had consented to march.

It was because of this profound interest of his in the approaching election—of his interest as a business man of the salaried class—that Japhet said to himself as he rose from breakfast on that clear, cold day in October, that he would stop on his way down town and register.

While putting on his overcoat with this purpose before him, Japhet became conscious of a moderately expansive sensation about the chest, which he attributed to an excusable pride in the perfection of his business ideals and the correctness of his practical citizenship. But it proved to be only a sample of the pride that goeth before a fall.

Japhet was to learn by degrees, from that day's experience, that he and all his class, "the old man" included, were utterly without citizenship. He was to learn besides, and this was much less disturbing to his complacent pride, that he and his class were not alone in their unconscious deprivation. Hosts of lawyers and other professional men, as well as a vast majority of the class of whom he was accustomed to speak with stepfatherly dignity as "workingmen," besides a sprinkling of politicians, were also, he found, unconsciously without citizenship. Not that the law interferes with their voting, nor that fraud at the polls falsifies their expressions of citizenship, but that they decitizenize themselves by persistently and often proudly fostering their ignorance of civic concerns.

When Japhet, after closing the door of his flat in the great city of Gargantua, and walking down the three stories of winding stair in the human hive in which he made his home, had emerged upon North Rigdom street with the swelling breast of a consciously upright and intelligent business citizen, he stopped suddenly and turned uneasily as if he had forgotten something and were about to go back. It was only the place of registration, however, that he had forgotten, and he would inquire at the grocery store in his own block.

Yes, the intelligent grocery clerk—also of the salaried class but much lower down the scale—knew exactly. The registration place was just three squares south.

Japhet walked southward contentedly. But the grocery clerk had misinformed him. Three squares south, and still no signs of a place of registration.

Japhet inquired in another grocery, then in a restaurant, then in a drug store. In the grocery store nobody knew what he meant; in the drug store a customer thought the place was three squares north, but Japhet had learned better than that; and in the restaurant one of the waiters advised him to go over to Jansten avenue, but could give no further particulars.

So over to Jansten avenue Japhet went, but with a shadow of uncertainty upon his face. He was soon relieved, however, for on the east side of the avenue, in the basement under a private house, he saw the large lettered legend: "Register Here."

Into this basement Japhet strolled, and looked inquiringly about. Some one asked if he would like to register. He said he would.

In what voting precinct did he live? He didn't know.

"What's your number—where's your house?" were the next questions. Japhet explained.

"Ah," came the response from another voice, with an excessive prolongation of the sound, "that's in the 16th precinct. This is the 14th. You want to go across the street one square down."

Japhet did as he was told, and sure enough, now he had found his registering place. It was located in a barber shop. Falling into the line of voters, most of whom he took from their clothes and manners to be habituals (though the careful dress and elegantly supercilious manner of one marked him as a casual in principle if not in practice, while another was a well gowned woman), Japhet awaited his turn.

Pretty soon what purported to be a bible was put into the hands of one of the voters, and all the others who could crowd around were told to touch it. Japhet was one of this group. An oath was administered unintelligibly, to which he and the others assented and returned the book. Japhet didn't have to wait long now for his turn to register.

"Where do you live?" asked an election officer. Japhet told him, and the leaves of several blank books rustled until the page assigned to his street number had been found by all the registration officers in their respective registry books. Then he was asked—

"Name, please?"

Japhet gave his name.

"Born where?"

Japhet told where he had been born.

"Born when?"

Japhet gave the year of his birth.

"How long in State?"

Japhet explained.

"How long in city?"

Japhet named the period of his residence in Gargantua.

"How long in precinct?"

Japhet told that, and also where he had last resided, and where he had voted last, whereupon he was informed that he might pass out. He was a registered voter now, and could declare his fidelity to the business interests of the country by voting for the safe candidate for President.

As Japhet withdrew, he overheard a scrap of conversation. It was about some person whom he did not know, whose name even he did not catch. The words he did catch would probably have left no impression but for his slightly irritating experience of the morning in trying to find his place of registration.

The words that Japhet caught began in the middle of a sentence. The speaker was saying: "—— knows more about ancient Egypt than Moses ever did, but not the first thing about his own voting precinct. He may be a nice man but he ain't no American citizen."

Not an American citizen because he knew nothing about his own voting precinct! That was a new political philosophy to Japhet. And if it were sound philosophy, Japhet realized that he himself was no American citizen.

For a moment he was inclined to dismiss the remark as trivial. What difference could it make to a man's citizenship—especially a business man—whether he knew his registration place or not? Hadn't he himself found his own? What more was necessary?

But this fatal satisfaction did not get full possession of Japhet. One little thought, not so big as a mustard seed, but quite as prolific—that little thought saved him.

"True," he said to himself, "it makes little difference whether a citizen knows his registration place or has to hunt for it; but the fact that he doesn't know it may be indicative of a lack of interest in civic affairs and a deficient knowledge of civic methods, which are inconsistent with intelligent citizenship. In my case it does indicate just that condition. Not only was I ignorant of the registration place, but I was and still am ignorant of pretty much everything else regarding the voting precinct. I don't know why we have precincts. I don't know the boundaries of my precinct. I don't know upon what principle they either are or ought to be marked out. I don't know how the registration officers are appointed nor who they are. I don't know why there is a registration or how it originated. I don't know whether there are party organizations in the precinct nor how the work of parties is carried on there. If there is a precinct boss for any of the parties, I don't even know his name. I am not upon speaking terms with a sin-

gle voter in my precinct. I don't know whether women have any voting rights; I had always supposed they had none until I saw that woman register today. And this recital doesn't begin to indicate my ignorance of civic affairs. If I should attempt to itemize my ignorance of the public concerns of my ward, of my city, of my county, of my State, and even of my country, the catalogue would be appalling. Yet I vote, not habitually of course, but now and then, with reference to all these concerns. Do I vote as a citizen? How can I when I am ignorant of pretty much all the functions and relations of citizenship? Why, I have never voted once in any other spirit than that of a business man. I wonder if workingmen vote as workingmen and lawyers as lawyers, and so on? That isn't citizenship. It may be better than citizenship. The old man seems to think it is, so far as business men do it, and I suppose I ought to think so too. But it isn't citizenship, whether better or not. Egyptian scholarship may be better than American citizenship, but it isn't the same thing. What that fellow said in the registry place strikes me as true. Maybe it isn't the perfect truth, but it has truth germs in it."

This was Japhet's thought as he hurried down to the store. And the more he thought the more he had to think until he reached the conclusion that civic ignorance de-citizenizes. Although he had the legal right to vote and intended to exercise it this year, he knew he was not a citizen, he knew he lacked every essential of citizenship but the bare legal designation.

So Japhet resolved that there should be at least one more citizen in the voting population, and that his first name should be Japhet. He determined to make a search for his lost citizenship.

L. F. P.

* * *

THE HUNK.

For The Public.

We called him "Hunk" for short,
When we gibed him in our sport
And we pestered him free-handed with our wit.
But he never winced or stirred
When he caught the hated word,
And he never let us know that he was hit.
With a sleep and sheepy grin
Stretched from eye-brows to his chin
He suffered us, as if the gang was paid,
To make merry with a name
We flung at him in shame,
Whose sweaty toil lent all of us such aid.

Shelved with others in a bunk
Was this greasy grinning Hunk,
In the section that was bossed with oaths and cuffs.
Hard he labored, long he toiled;
Fierce he, sweaty, grubbed and molled,
Along with other foreigners and roughs.
For it was a trolley grade
Where the ties and rails are laid

By any help that happens to be hired.
 Who among us cared a rip
 What word tumbles from our lip?
 Each does his work, or otherwise he's fired!

When the trolley poles were sunk,
 Came along this sunny Hunk
 And we hired him on the spot to speed the job.
 He had hands as large as feet—
 Bless my soul, how he could eat!
 And they were a famished lot in that mob.
 He would work the hottest day
 In a swift and tireless way—
 For his muscles were as hard as motor steel.
 He was a dozen men in one—
 Others crept but he would run,
 And some demon seemed a-barking at his heel.

It was "Hunk!" "Come here, you Hunk!"
 At the cut on in the bunk,
 He did something for some one of us all day.
 "Bring me water!" "Here, a rail!"
 "Where's my hammer?" "Fetch a nail!"
 And we gave him but a dollar for his pay.
 Up before the lazy crew,
 When the knock-off whistle blew
 He was helping some imposing one of us.
 Yet he never cursed or shirked
 The extra lick of work,
 But he did the thing without a hitch or fuss.

Once the "Old Man" came along
 And he spied Hunk in the throng.
 But he cursed us with an oath that had a burr,
 Because he chanced to see
 That Hunk did the work of three
 While we treated him as if he were a cur.
 But then the Hunk spoke up,
 As he passed the drinking cup—
 "He like de man he workin' 'foreh hare."
 Hunk could do most anything,
 Dig or shovel, dance or sing—
 The harder worked the less he seemed to care.

Finally the wires were strung,
 Tools across our shoulders flung—
 Paid up—and with coin to last a year;
 Then it was with change of heart,
 Ere each one of us would part,
 We proposed to give the Hunk a rousing cheer.
 But he didn't seem to know
 How we came to like him so,
 And with trembling hand he wiped away a tear.
 "You're a foreign Hunk," we said,
 "But the blood in you is red,
 And you're just the kind of man that's wanted
 here."

JOSEPH LEISER.

† † †

If a lawyer's fee looks enormous, and you can't account for it on usual or reasonable grounds, smell of it. If it doesn't smell right that explains. As smells the fee so will smell to the last of his days the lawyer who took it. Nothing but interment in the ground gets smells of that sort out. "Pecunia non olet" is a much overrated maxim. It does smell; yes, down to the third and fourth generation.—Life.

BOOKS

FREDERIC C. HOWE'S NEW BOOK.

Privilege and Democracy in America. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D., author of "The City: the Hope of Democracy," "The British City: the Beginnings of Democracy," etc. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. Price \$1.50 net.

In his "City the Hope of Democracy" Senator Howe made an inspiring revelation to such of us as had been thinking of the American city as democracy's graveyard, and now in the larger field of national life he reveals, through "Privilege and Democracy in America," economic conditions and their causes which will be even more surprising to readers who have failed as yet to discern the signs of the times.

Although every paragraph of this book holds the reader's attention while it passes his interest along to the next, it is a literary product of the most matter of fact kind. The whole structure is made up of facts, with only the argument necessary to indicate their bearings and only the rhetoric to make them alive. There is nothing dogmatic in the whole book except what no one out of bedlam could think of denying. It is a straightforward narrative of the large facts of American civilization, from the first "lure of the land" to its ultimate climax in universal land monopoly. "Land monopoly," writes the author, "drove the Puritan from England in the seventeenth century, just as land monopoly drove the Catholic from Ireland two centuries later"; and immigration has "continued at an accelerated pace" until "at last the waves of population have broken on the Pacific slope." Not only does this mark "the end of an era," so far as it affects America, but "it brings to an end twenty centuries of westward migration."

Of the land between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River (of most of which the United States was undisputed owner when the Constitution was adopted), of the Louisiana purchase, of the Florida acquisition, and of the Gadsden purchase, a public domain aggregating 3,000,000 square miles, the author writes that "no such opportunity was ever offered to any people." Had this imperial domain been retained as the common possession of the nation, what might not the America of today have been! "Had the government reserved the title, and leased the land under proper protection for improvements in such quantities and as increasing population required, involuntary poverty need never have appeared among us, while homes for unnumbered millions would still be waiting on the prairies to the west of the Mississippi River." There "would be no landlords and no tenants," and "the tenement and

the slum would never have appeared with the disease, poverty and vice, which they inevitably produce." But this vast heritage has been frittered away.

Yet it is not the improvidence of government regarding those lands that this book especially condemns. "So far as future generations are concerned it is a matter of indifference whether these colossal holdings were obtained by fraud or by honest means," for "monopoly is as oppressive in one instance as in the other." The portentous fact to which the book addresses itself is that however these lands may have been acquired by their owners, "the opportunity to make provision for the future has passed from us as a people."

Senator Howe's penetration is deeper than that of most economists. He sees that landlordism is not dead nor dying, as so many economists and socialists rashly conclude, but that in the guise of capitalism it is more vicious and powerful than ever. The oil trust, the steel trust, the coal trust, the railroad combine, in so far as any of them is invincible, is so "not because of the skill, talent or industry of its promoters, not because of the plants, mills or furnaces which it has erected," but because, in the case of the steel trust for instance, of "its control of the iron-ore mines of the Lake Superior region and of Alabama, Tennessee and Colorado, together with the coking coal, gas and limestone quarries of Pennsylvania," aided by "the prohibitive tariff which the iron and steel interests have obtained" to "make its control complete." In other words, the throttling power of the trusts depends incidentally upon systems of taxation that strangle competition in trade, and primarily upon the monopoly of land, which shuts out access to indispensable opportunities for production.

The author's indictment of land monopoly is made perfectly clear by this book, and he proves his case. Nor does he leave any loophole for Mr. Reader Golightly, who is ever ready to criticise

such a book for complaining of conditions without offering remedies. The remedies proposed are as clearly stated and convincingly proved as the prevalence and dangers of the conditions complained of. They involve "the abolition of the protective tariff," a "free and open highway," and "the socialization of the land."

Freedom is the keynote of this book on political economy, notwithstanding that "the political economist as well as the socialist has confounded the evils of the present industrial system with freedom." For, argues the author, though *laissez faire* is credited with the tenement, the sweatshop, and the excesses of capitalism, yet "freedom, even the *laissez faire* of Quesnay, Turgot, Dupont de Nemours, and the brilliant school of thinkers who laid the foundation for the abolition of the feudal system and the oppressive restraints of mercantilism, is a far different thing from the travesty of industrial liberty which has masqueraded for nearly a century under that name."

The book is one that to the friends of Henry Georgeism will be invaluable, and which their adversaries will have to take into account.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Prince Hagen. By Upton Sinclair. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, cloth \$1.00. Paper, 25 cents.

—History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Vol. II, Great Fortunes from Railroads. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, \$1.50 postpaid.

—Reconstruction in Texas. By Charles William Ramsdell. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Number 95. Published by Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1910.

—Report of the Joint Special Committee on the Taxation Laws of the State of Rhode Island. Pre-

From Our Correspondence.

AMARILLO, TEX., MARCH 24, 1910.

The Public is passport enough. It was this way: Mr. Woodhead, a scholarly singletaxer from Beaumont, was in this city, and phoned me to meet him at the hotel. I agreed to do so, but had no understanding as to how we would know each other, having never met.

So, happening to have a copy of The Public, I carried it against the lapel of my coat, and proceeded to walk through the crowded lobby. About the fifth man I approached held out his hand and said: "That Public is passport enough; it's Mr. Caldwell."

Again: Some months ago I had occasion to write the editor of a prominent magazine, and incidentally informed him that I was a reader of The Public. The reply was: "Your being a reader of The Public greatly strengthens my confidence," etc., etc. Good company helps wonderfully is all I want to say.

J. L. CALDWELL.

sented to the General Assembly at its January Session, 1910. Printed by E. L. Freeman Co., Providence.

PAMPHLETS

"The Proposed High Court of Nations."

With an introduction by Prof. George W. Kirchwey, LL.D., of Columbia Law School, James L. Tryon writes under this title a pamphlet on the judicial settlement of international disputes. Mr. Tryon is assistant secretary of the American Peace Society (31 Beacon St., Boston), which publishes the pamphlet. Like pretty much all other Peace literature, his pamphlet ignores a danger involved in the judicial method that would be quite as deplorable as are the possibilities of war. If power to enforce its decrees is to accompany the institution of a high court of nations—and this is implied when the analogy of the Supreme Court of the United States is appealed to—we might have peace for a time, but it would be the peace of imperial servitude. Though the war drum might cease to beat and battle flags be furled, this would only be to make them souvenirs in

the collections of triumphant autocrats. But enforcement of an international tribunal's decree is not necessary. If the tribunal established a reputation for righteousness its decrees would enforce themselves. No nation decreed against would challenge the good opinion of mankind by disobedience without the best of reasons. We should like to see the Peace movement make its position a little clearer on this point before it becomes responsible, as otherwise it almost surely will, for the most hopeless form of imperialism.

PERIODICALS

Prof. Ross's article on journalism in the March Atlantic (Boston) deals with the suppression by newspapers of important news, under pressure from advertisers and owners. The article abounds in significant instances which identify the daily newspapers as allies of Big Business.

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If Charles R. Miller's criticism in the Century for April were the only kind to which socialism exposes

THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB

cordially invites The Single Tax associations as well as all unattached Single Taxers in the United States and abroad to affiliate as "Corresponding Members" of The Chicago Single Tax Club in order to facilitate efficient Single Tax Propaganda. The Club volunteers to act as an American Clearing House for the cause without interference with any local or national activities.

The need for a Central American office "to gather and distribute" has been felt especially by Single Tax Presswriters and agitators for some time. Chicago is The Place. Co-operate!

The Club will also furnish paid-up subscriptions (one year) to The Public, The Single Tax Review, Land Values, The Only Way, American Ideal, and Chicago Single Tax Club Bulletin, all of these for the nominal Chicago Single Tax Club dues of \$4.00 a year for "corresponding" members. Address mail (English, German, French, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Spanish, Japanese) and remittances to

A. WANGEMANN, Sec'y, 508 Schiller Building, Chicago, U. S. A.

**Women's Trade Union League
Public Meeting**

Sunday, April 10, 3 p. m. in Federation Hall, 275 LaSalle Street (Second floor).

Business: To vote upon the proposal of which notice was given at last meeting to change the constitution by striking out Sec. 2 of Article VII. so as to allow of chairmen of permanent committees being drawn from the general membership.

**Speaker, Miss Grace Abbott
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"Side Lights on the Immigration Question"

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itself, all good citizens would have to be socialists. A plea for the parasite, that criticism reminds one of the two adventurous cockneys about to be hanged for horse stealing, who kept protesting, "O you mustn't, you know, for if you do, what's to become of us?" Jacob Riis's story of the "People's Institute of New York," in the same issue, is a well-earned tribute to Charles Sprague Smith, its founder and director, who suddenly died before the pages of this magazine were off the press.

+

"Some Fruits of Landlordism," by Joseph Fels, lends special interest to the Twentieth Century (Boston) for April, at a time when the question of land monopoly is in one form and another absorbing public attention on both sides of the Atlantic. Senator Bucklin's story of the Grand Junction charter, is a valuable contribution to another subject of overshadowing interest—democracy in municipal administration. The Twentieth Century, under the Arena's old editor, B. O. Flower, is making itself worthy of the old Arena's place as a steadfast advance guard, among magazines, of the democratic movement. Mr. Flower's editorials, one of its features, hold high the light of democratic ideals and flash it persistently in the face of current events. In this issue they deal especially with "Morgan, the Master of America."

+ + +

The Rev. Sanford Culver-Hearn, pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal church, Yonkers, is relating a

street car incident which concerns a conductor, an Irishman and an Italian. Each had given a dime to the faretaker, but had received no change.

"I wanta da nick," complained the Neapolitan.

"You've got your nick. No more nicks for you, See?" And the conductor moved to the rear platform.

The Italian sat meekly in silence, but the Irishman employed different tactics. He went to the doorway.

"Gimme five cints change," said he to the conductor.

"You've got all the change you're going to get," was the retort.

"See here," exclaimed the Irishman, "you may play that chune on a hand organ, but you can't do it on a harp. Gimme five cints."

And he got it.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

+ + +

Smith (at the club): "Yes, by Jove, there's very little you can teach me. I've been everywhere, done everything, seen everything!"

The Scotch Member: "Young man, did ye ever have D. T.'s?"

Smith: "D. T.'s! Great Scott, no!"

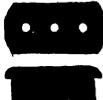
The Scotch Member: "Then ye've seen nowt."—Sketch.

+ + +

"Why should you care so much, even if she isn't as good as she ought to be?"

"Because the rest of us have to be so good, and

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then, in spite of our goodness, get along without half the fun she has."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

"I ask for leave to print 'Lucille' as a part of my remarks," said the new Congressman.

"What has that got to do with your speech on the hog industry?" inquired a floor leader.

"Nothing. But the young people of my district

want me to send 'em some good poetry to read evenings."—Louisville Courier-Journal.

+ + +

"Harold!"

"Yes, papa."

"What's this I hear? You say you won't go to bed?"

"Papa," replied the statesman's little boy, "if you

The Boston Herald Describes

a certain book as having been "written upon political economy from a new point of view." After reviewing this book it says:

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It was in the Boston Herald of January 26, 1910, that this review appeared, the book referred to being

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heard anything like that, I have been misquoted."—
Kansas City Journal.

+ + +

Washington was crossing the Delaware river at Trenton.

"Of course," he said, "I don't mind standing up in this frail boat and gazing sternly in the direction of the unsuspecting foe, since the artist insists on

depicting me in this absurd attitude, but the blithering chumps ought to know better than to paint these blocks of floating ice projecting a foot above the water. Any man with an ounce of gumption knows that the ice in this river isn't eight feet thick!"

Angered by these reflections, he fell upon the Hessians shortly afterward with extreme ferocity.
—Chicago Tribune.

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