

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

The Muckraking Contagion.

Muckraking appears to be catching, and having it once gives no immunity. Governor Hughes has got it again.



The Police "Sweatbox."

When the chief police officials of Philadelphia assured the Academy of Political and Social Science last week that the "sweating" of prisoners (p. 99) is not practiced brutally, they should have been reminded that it is unlawful in this country to practice it at all.



Packing the Supreme Court.

A Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati Post, Robert F. Wilson, reports the progressives in politics as believing that "they have driven the Standpatters to their last ditch—the United States Supreme Court," as an intrenchment from which to battle for property privileges against human rights. "Under cover of cabinet housecleaning," according to this correspondent, "there will be a chance to pack the Supreme Court for privilege for 20 years," by filling four places on that bench which are or are about to be vacant, "with comparatively young men whose whole training and careers have made them essentially hostile to personal rights," and who, "with the new Justice, Lurton, will have a majority on the bench of nine members."

Not at all improbable. When the Supreme Court was placed by the Constitution upon an equality with Congress, the seed of judicial despotism was sown. When Judge Marshall raised it above Congress politically by deciding that it was empowered to veto Congressional legislation in private law suits, the seed began to sprout. Its despotic fruits will be ripe for picking as soon as an aristocratic President and a plutocratic Senate pack it with graduates from the law offices of great corporations. Short of a revolution (or impeachments of a revolutionary character), the United States will then be governed, not by the people through Congress, but by plutocratic corporations through five judges of their own selection. It is possible that President Taft will be the aristocratic President to complete the judicial usurpation which Hamilton designed with so much aristocratic forethought and Marshall fostered so skillfully.

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"A Cold Day" in the Philippines.

If Congressman Martin of Colorado can induce Congress to look into that Philippine land deal (pp. 3 and 245) which Mr. Taft's attorney general finds warrant for, he will have done a good piece of work. But can he? He says that 55,000 acres of Friar lands acquired by the United States at approximately \$18 an acre in settlement of the Catholic question in the archipelago, have been sold to the Sugar Trust by President Taft's secretary of war for \$6 an acre, and that President Taft's attorney general, a former law partner of President Taft's brother (who was a lawyer for the Sugar Trust), decides that this is no violation of the law against sales of more than 2,500 acres to one person or corporation, because that law was passed before the government bought these lands. If Congressman Martin has his facts right about this cozy politico-business affair, it will be "a cold day" in the Philippines when he gets a Republican Congress to investigate. Muck-raking has got to stop.

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A Business Boosting School Board.

No prophetic powers were necessary to foretell as we did (pp. 194, 222) the removal of Architect Perkins by the Busse Business school board of Chicago. It was a foregone conclusion months before the fact. What is a Business school board for but to serve private business interests at the expense of public educational interests? Such a board has no use for an architect who has a long record of faithful service to public educational in-

terests at the expense of the building contractors' ring. Mr. Perkins is to be congratulated upon his removal by the Busse business board. It is a certificate of professional competency and personal probity.

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Progressive Public Opinion.

Like Henry George, Jr., whose letter of travel and observation in the Middle West appears this week in Editorial Correspondence, John Z. White has found a pronounced tendency toward radicalism in public thought. Leaving Chicago last autumn he has been constantly busy keeping lecture appointments in places and before audiences that have only begun to open the doors either of their auditoriums or their minds to the kind of sentiment that Mr. George and Mr. White are offering. Before reaching Denver, where he has been doing platform work for two weeks, Mr. White had worked through the Middle and the Pacific as well as the Rocky Mountain States. In the Pacific States, from Seattle to Los Angeles, through Portland, Sacramento, San Francisco, and many other cities on the route, he spoke to clubs, churches, chambers of commerce, labor organizations, universities, schools; and almost everywhere the newspapers multiplied the influence of his work with full and fair reports. The Sacramento Bee, for example—California's ablest, cleanest and most progressive daily—was notable for its co-operation. The experiences of Mr. White and of Mr. George in the West, like that of Herbert S. Bigelow in Delaware and Maryland (also under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association), are but indications of a trend and growth of public opinion, which is constantly expressing itself in these and other ways, to the gratified comprehension of such as have ears to hear and eyes to see the signs of the times.

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Death of Simon Mendelson.

Simon Mendelson, an old friend and early helper of Henry George, died on the 5th in New York, at the home of his son-in-law, August Lewis, another of George's friends and coadjutors and one to whom, along with Tom L. Johnson, George dedicated his posthumous book the "Science of Political Economy." Mr. Mendelson was nearly 89 years old. His interest in George's teachings was awakened in 1886, when Mr. George first ran for Mayor of New York on a "land for the people" platform; and though he took no conspicuous part in the George movement, yet among those who did he has been well known

for his unceasing devotion to it for almost a quarter of a century. In his death that movement loses another of its faithful and useful supporters—one who got back from it through the latter part of his long life much of the inspiration and cheerfulness that endeared him to a multitude of friends. Without pain or fear, peacefully and happily, his intellect undimmed, his sympathies unchilled, his faith in the democracy of human brotherhood unquenched, he died the normal death of old age at the end of a useful life.

* *

Business Principles.

President Taft doubtless thinks he stands firmly on business principles when he says that the government will take the product of a certain steel works if it is up to contract and won't if it isn't, without regard to its labor controversies. But is that necessarily in harmony with sound business principles? Suppose we were back in the '50's and Mr. Taft were in James Buchanan's place, would he say that the government of the country when it buys supplies is concerned only with the quality of the goods and not at all with the humane treatment of the slaves engaged in doing the work? Why, no decent slaveowner would have considered it "business" to do that, even as a business man. He would have revolted at buying the best possible goods from a manufacturer who resorted to cruelty with his slaves to produce them, just as he would if they had been stolen goods. Should a people's government be less scrupulous? To be sure the steel workers are not chattel slaves; but what is the difference between inhumanity to men who have to work for you on your terms or be flogged, and men who have to do that or starve? So long as government maintains economic conditions that keep freedom of choice out of the labor market, can its highest official be applauded for advising any such easy policy of purchase as that of buying with reference only to product and not at all to the working conditions under which the product is made?

* *

The Chicago Election.

One pronounced victory for democratic Democracy was achieved at the municipal elections in Chicago last week. This was the re-election of William E. Dever. He was opposed by the raw grafters and the whisky ring, and the personnel of the voters of his district has so changed during his long service in the Council, as to make his struggle for re-election harder. Yet he has won again. Mr. Dever is one of the real leaders in city poli-

tics. He is a good government man but not a "goo-goo," a politician but neither a low degree nor a high degree grafter, a Democrat who is democratic, and an official to whom public office is a public trust and not a private snap. One man of the same type, Alderman Finn, was defeated; but several new men who are well vouched for to begin with, have been elected. George C. Sikes, among the very best of the candidates, was defeated, probably for that reason; but Alderman Thompson, an insurgent Republican, was re-elected with a large plurality well-earned. Although the elements in the Council are better on the whole than before, the body itself is evidently under the thumb of the Interests. This would at least appear to be so from the chairmanships of committees having the interests of the Interests in hand.

* * *

SOCIALISTIC MILWAUKEE.

One need not be a Socialist to rejoice heartily and sincerely over the great victory of the Social-Democratic party at the municipal election last week in Milwaukee.

For genuine democracy it is the most hopeful event in many a long day.

More than any other recent occurrence in American politics, this victory is significant of the possible passing of the old order and the coming on of the new. It suggests with strong emphasis, at any rate, the breaking down of traditional party lines under pressure of democratic impulses.

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This is not to say that Socialism has triumphed, or is about to triumph, in the United States or in Wisconsin or even in Milwaukee. The Socialist who shall think so after the first flush of victory has left a calm in his mind, will mark himself down a poor observer of American politics and a poor judge of the resources of plutocracy, besides piling up for himself mountains of sadness from disappointed expectations.

The Socialist party is indeed in power in Milwaukee, as completely as any party can be in any American municipality under our written constitutions and with hostile courts to interpret them. But it did not get into power through, nor can it stay in power by, the grace of Socialist votes alone. No special expertness in reading election returns is necessary to establish the conclusion that the Socialist candidates in Milwaukee were elected by democratic Democrats and insurgent Republicans, who are not now and but few of whom are ever likely to become strict party Socialists.

But let us be understood. We do not agree with those newspapers which attribute the result in Milwaukee merely to popular disgust with the two old party machines. The time is not far back when no possible degree of popular disgust with those machines would have given a victory to the Socialist party. Disgusted voters might have swung from one of the old parties to the other, as they often do, but they would have cut off their right hands rather than vote Socialist; so intensely did they fear Socialism, so heartily did they despise Socialists. Now, however, they have voted Socialist in droves. And if this victory was not won with Socialist votes, then by that very token it was won with the votes of citizens who, without being Socialists, no longer fear Socialism or despise Socialists. What of it if they have voted Socialist only once? What of it if they have done this only in revolt against their own parties? What of all that, if they should like the Socialistic sample after a two years' trial?

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Yet Socialists may find it wise not to place too much confidence in the continued support of the vote which insurgents of the old parties gave them last week. It was doubtless for the most part a floating vote.

In future elections it may fall back into the old parties whence it came, as did the Greenback vote of the Middle West in the '70's, the Labor vote of New York City in the '80's, and the Populist vote of Kansas and Nebraska in the '90's. Or it may go to fill the ranks of a new party yet to spring spontaneously, as slightly indicated by the present twist in the Republican politics of Indiana, out of the national situation. Or it may continue to supplement the Socialist vote from outside that party, by voting independently for Socialist candidates on their merits as municipal managers.

The last is the least probable forecast of any.

Experience goes to show that American voters cannot be depended upon in large numbers to support continuously a party to which they do not regard themselves as belonging, and the Socialist party is so organized that no one can belong to it, even though they wish to, without subscribing to its creed even to the furthestmost dogma thereof.

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The important consideration of the moment, however, is not so much the future political fortunes, locally or nationally, of the Socialist party in consequence of its Milwaukee victory. The most important consideration is the present fact

that this party is actually in control of one of the great American municipalities.

That consideration presents itself in four principal aspects. One is with reference to the quality of Socialist leadership in Milwaukee. Another refers to the local program to which the party there is committed by the election. The third involves the possibility of its carrying that program out. The fourth relates to the encouragement and support it should receive from genuine democrats of all parties.

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With reference to the first of those aspects, it can be confidently said that better leadership could not be desired in behalf of democracy than the leadership within the Social-Democratic party of Milwaukee, which has now been advanced to municipal leadership.

Among so many able and devoted men (and there are women too), it would be invidious to mention names were it not that the reputation of one whom we shall mention, Victor Berger, is national, and that the other, Emil Seidel, is the newly elected mayor.

Through this leadership the Socialist party in Milwaukee has adapted itself to local circumstances and to the immediate present. While identified with the Socialist philosophy, Socialist ideals, and the international Socialist organization, it has made itself in one American city somewhat as Edward Bernstein, the German Socialist, would have the Socialist party make itself everywhere. This attitude is strongly marked in the words of the Socialist Mayor-elect, and of Mr. Berger, which are quoted in our News Narrative this week.

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As to the local program to which the Socialist regime of Milwaukee for the next two years is committed, while in some respects it is only ameliorative and open to the objection academically of not being democratic in principle, it would in other respects carry municipal government a long way in the direction of a democracy under which the merely ameliorative features of the program would be unnecessary and uncalled for.

Democracy is not to be attained by standing for its ideals stiff and stern in all circumstances, yielding nothing to temporary needs for relief and thereby giving aid and comfort to its enemies in every contest short of the ultimate and perfect one. And after all, nobody need fear the little inconsistencies in legislation and administration that the struggle for democracy leads democracy to

father, so long as the general policy is toward the democratic goal. For as that goal is approached those inconsistencies, no longer even seeming to serve a purpose, are sure to become obsolete.

What if "widows who do washing for the support of families" are to be given free water in Milwaukee as a special privilege? This is inconsistent with ideal democracy, to be sure; but though there may still be widows as we approach ideal democracy, there will be none "who do washing for the support of families." Ameliorative privileges like that will die off in a natural way as fast as democracy slays the great plundering privileges.

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The third consideration, which involves the possibility of their realizing their municipal program, raises the most serious problem for the Socialists of Milwaukee to solve and their sympathizers to consider.

As to some of its items they will need the help of the State legislature, and this they may not get.

As to some they may be confronted with hostile judges, and sympathetic judges may be confronted with hostile precedents in the law books.

They may fail in ways that the voters who elected them will not understand, and make mistakes that may not be excused.

And through the city, and in and out among her people, there will glide the serpents of plutocracy, poison-fanged, hissing, coiling, crushing, clinging, their appearance transformed sometimes from devouring dragons into angels of light.

Big Business men may cry out to frighten little ones, churches may subtly coerce the superstitious, or confiding workmen may be panic stricken.

Milwaukee under Socialist rule may find herself near the lair of Judge Lindsey's "Beast," the moment her Socialist officials threaten its jungle. Whilom supporters of the Socialist candidates outside of the party—and even inside it—may thrill with a secret joy at the caressing touch of its velvet foot and tremble at the sight of its glistening teeth or the half playful scratch of its threatening claw.

All that and more like it or worse, the Socialist officials of Milwaukee may be expected to encounter. And if they make any progress at all in their program, the "Beast" may swell into national proportions, as it did when Mayor Johnson in Cleveland and Mayor Dunne in Chicago touched it on the raw in connection with the street car system.

Though this be the "Beast's" first encounter

with Socialism in power, it is not its first encounter with other enemies in power; and if in due time a majority of the voters of Milwaukee go over to the "Beast" and turn the Socialists out of office, no one need be surprised.

Novel methods may be necessary to enable the "Beast" to cope with its new adversary, but the "Beast," besides having the shrewdest advisers ready at call, is itself not unresourceful.

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Those three considerations bring us to the fourth, which is that in meeting the responsibilities that have fallen upon it in Milwaukee, the Social Democratic party of that city should be encouraged by genuine democrats of every party and everywhere.

There is no question of joining the Socialist party; that is essentially unimportant.

There is no question of becoming a Socialist in the sense of accepting the Socialistic philosophy; that makes no practical difference at present.

The only question is whether those of us who are at one with Socialists in their purpose of abolishing the exploitation of labor—and this means all of us who are genuine democrats,—shall by hostility or indifference to them give aid and comfort to the common enemy, or shall encourage and support the Milwaukee Socialists in the democratic work that has come their way.

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It is a gratifying fact that democratic Democrats and insurgent Republicans in Milwaukee made the Socialist victory of last week possible. It will be more gratifying if the same voters, though outside the Social-Democratic party, keep the Social-Democrats in municipal power in Milwaukee as long as they are faithful to their democratic program and efficient in advancing its realization. Voters of similar sympathies elsewhere may help along by refusing to be misinformed by newspaper misrepresentation.

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CATHERINE HELEN SPENCE— PROPHET OF THE EFFECTIVE VOTE.*

Catherine Helen Spence was born on October 31, 1825, in the beautiful Scottish village of Melrose on the silver Tweed. The historic Abbey met her childish gaze, and among her earliest recollections was seeing the long procession of mourners that

*Catherine Helen Spence of South Australia died at Adelaide (p. 322) on the 3d of April, 1910, at the age of 84 years, 5 months, and 3 days.

followed the remains of Sir Walter Scott from Abbotsford to the family vault.

It is very easy in Miss Spence's case to trace out the relation between her heredity and environment and her subsequent career. She used to say of herself with a little touch of very human pride and satisfaction: "I count myself well-born; for my father and mother loved each other. I count myself well-brought up; for my father and mother were of one mind as to the care of their children. I count myself well-educated; for the admirable woman at the head of the school which I attended from the age of four and a half till I was thirteen and a half and left Scotland for good, was a born teacher and in advance of her times."

Her force of character and practical ability, her sound judgment and breadth of view, Miss Spence drew from her mother's side; while to her father she owed her literary sensitiveness and her abounding and irrepressible hopefulness. He was a lawyer, but not much of a money maker, and in the years of terrible financial depression that followed the close of the Napoleonic wars he was ruined and the family decided to emigrate.

Because they were Liberals and keenly interested in social and economic experiments, they decided to go to South Australia, then the land of promise for all such. They went out in 1839 as assisted passengers under the Wakefield colonization plan. But little Catherine was not a "desirable immigrant" within the meaning of the Act, and so her passage had to be paid in full.

For some years it was a close struggle. Her father, who was the first town-clerk of the municipality of Adelaide, died in 1846; but her mother lived to the age of 97, always taking the keenest interest in public affairs and in every way supporting her brilliant daughter. One brother, Mr. John Brodie Spence, was a cabinet minister in the young colony; and he and his sister pursued their sociological studies together. Their friendship, a peculiarly close one, was only ended by his death in 1902.

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For her first few years of young ladyhood Miss Spence taught school, but gradually took up journalism, being a reviewer and literary and political contributor to the press in Adelaide and other Australian cities, besides writing five novels, all of which but one passed the stage of serial publication and found acceptance in London. An admirable text-book, "The Laws We Live Under," was an order from the Education Department.

But the seed from which was to spring her life's work had already been sown in her mind.

At the age of seven she used to watch her parents reading to one another over their breakfast the costly London paper (fifteen cents a copy); and observing how their spirits rose and fell with what they read, she asked her mother one day what was this Reform Bill they were always talking about.

The reply was never forgotten. "There are a great many people who think that all things are so right and good that if they were greatly changed mischief would follow; but your father and I think there is nothing made by men, even the British Constitution, that is so good that it might not be made better by men." That was the beginning. That answer became the standard by which later on every opinion, conservative or radical, was measured.

Ten years after, it was her father who called her attention to the principle of the quota embodied in the Adelaide municipal constitution by which a quota or quorum of the citizens, by giving all their votes to one man instead of eighteen votes to eighteen candidates, could elect him as councilor. This clause had been inserted in London by Rowland Hill of penny postage fame. With a new city charter it passed out of existence and its interest for us lies in the impression made upon the mind of a young girl, an impression re-awakened when nearly twenty years later Miss Spence came across Thomas Hare's "Proportional Representation" and in conjunction with it read John Stuart Mill's arguments for a fair representation of minority opinions. The title she gave in 1861 to her first published pamphlet on the subject, "A Plea for Pure Democracy," expresses its main appeal to her—not so much because it promised a more accurate system of representation, not because she was so eager to have minorities as such represented in the legislatures, but because she was convinced that a slovenly system of mob representation, whether the electing mob were a landed aristocracy or a body of wage-earners, was bound to result in political corruption with its horrible accessories of moral degradation and intellectual stagnancy. No system of election in existence came so near the democratic ideal of having the legislative and administrative bodies adequately and effectively represent the wishes of the entire community, and thereby of having legislation and administration "broad based upon the people's will."

To those who argued in distrust of the so-called uneducated vote her reply was ever, "The cure for democracy is more democracy." To those over-eager radicals who resented having the conserv-

ative element, whose preponderance in politics they had long been fighting, thus deliberately provided with their place in the legislature, she answered that until now politics have taken their tone and methods from war;—instead of a peaceful co-operation to make the Parliament a true mirror of the people, a representation of its convictions and its aspirations, it has been the outcome of a battle in each electoral district, as if injustice in one electorate would ever right a converse injustice in another electorate.

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From this time on for a little over fifty years Miss Spence's main object in life was to bring about everywhere a just system of political representation, or, as she preferred to call it, Effective Voting. To this she gave the best of her thoughts and the last of her energies. The great English leaders of the movement, Hare himself, John Stuart Mill, Leonard Courtney, Lord Avebury, all of whom she met during a visit to England in 1865, considered that she had done more than any of themselves to make it a practical issue and bring it under the notice of the man in the street.

Her correspondents on the subject were to be found in every country in the world, including India and Japan. When in 1893 she came to the United States as Australian representative to the International Conference of Charities held in connection with the World's Fair of that year in Chicago she made exhaustive inquiries in every city she visited into methods of city, State and national government and carried home with her in her trunk an alarming list of examples of misrepresentative popular assemblies in the States, which she used ever after to sharpen the point of her remarks in urging more speedy action upon reformers in other nations. For she loved America and she thought it a terrible thing that a people so essentially sane and sound should have so much of their city and national life corrupted by the professional politicians who after all are such a mere handful compared with the great bulk of honest and well-meaning men and women.

While in America she gave more than a hundred addresses mainly on her two subjects: "Effective Voting" and "The Australian System of Boarding Out Dependent Children."

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Besides her facile and convincing way of presenting what folks had thought as theoretical as the fourth dimension, and her faculty of bringing out its human side through her own intensely human sympathies, she made one important original

contribution to the Hare System as outlined by Hare himself. With this modification it has come to be called the Hare-Spence system.

His plan drawn up for England pre-supposed one nation-wide electorate, represented by say six hundred members. Each elector was to vote for as many candidates as he pleased, numbering them in the order of his preference. Each candidate who succeeded in polling over a six-hundredth part of the total vote (this forming the quota necessary for election) would be elected. Any votes not needed (surplus votes) to elect a successful candidate, or any which would otherwise be wasted upon a candidate far down at the bottom of the poll, were to be transferred to candidates already in possession of a heavier vote.

Miss Spence's improvement consisted in suggesting the division of the country into districts, each returning, say six members, thus doing away with the enormous and unwieldy electorate and the complications in both voting and counting the returns which would be inevitable under Mr. Hare's original plan. At the same time a six-member electorate gives room for ample freedom of choice and allows the two or three main parties to be represented in proportion to their power in the electorate, and also allows of any other party which is numerically of sufficient strength to poll over one-sixth of the total vote cast (which may be made up of both original first choices and subsequently transferred votes), to be represented by one member. And it is not possible for any party of less numerical strength to have any representation at all, which does away with the fear that a legislature so elected would consist of nothing but faddists.

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Miss Spence lived to see Effective Voting adopted in whole or in part in several countries—in the State of Tasmania, in Japan, in Belgium, in Finland, in the Kingdom of Wurtemberg, in Sweden, in several of the Swiss Cantons, and in Denmark; while in nearly all other countries an active propaganda is going on.

It was always somewhat of a sore point with her that her own home, South Australia, which was the first country in the world to tax unimproved land values, which originated the secret ballot and the Torrens Act for simplicity of land transfer, which had the first juvenile court, which had led reform in so many other lines, should be obstinate on this the matter dearest to her heart. But after every defeat and set-back she always pulled herself together as she remembered her

consolation prize of steady progress in so many distant lands.

Her own most striking appeal to her own fellow-voters was made in 1897 when she, an enfranchised citizen of the first Australian State to give its women the vote, stood for election as a delegate to the convention called together to vote upon the question of the colonies federating into one Commonwealth. She was not anxious to be elected, but her candidature gave her an unsurpassed opportunity for carrying her gospel into the remotest corner of the colony.

South Australia has an excellent organization and great educative work has been done by Miss Spence and her co-workers, especially Mrs. A. H. Young, who has been for many years her right hand in bringing home to Australians the power of the Effective Vote.



In conjunction with Miss Emily Clark, cousin of Miss Florence Davenport Hill, Miss Spence was instrumental in bringing about those great changes in the public care of the dependent child which have made the South Australian system the envy of social workers everywhere. It encourages parental responsibility and at the same time makes it the State's business to see that every child deprived of his own natural home shall have mother love and care under a conscientiously supervised system of boarding-out. Since the State either pays the bills or sees that they are paid, the State calls the tune, and a very harmonious tune it is, since the welfare of her future citizens is its burden.*



In private life Miss Spence was "Aunt Kate" to more than her own nephews and nieces, and at different times during her long life she filled a mother's place to three families of orphaned children.

Her vivid interest in whatever concerned human beings, either as individuals or as fellow members of a community, made her friends wherever she went. Her name is a household word in many an American home today. The last letters received from her showed no failing in vitality, and discussed the autobiography which she had just begun and was publishing in serial form. Her illness, therefore, must have been very brief.

Of her it may be truly written that she has died in the glory of youth.

ALICE HENRY.

*See *The Public* of June 1, 1907, p. 213.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

HENRY GEORGE, JR., ON THE SOCIAL AWAKENING.

New York, Apr. 6.

Revolutions occur in two ways. One way is by roar and convulsion; the other, quietly—at times almost by stealth. The Single Tax idea is accomplishing a revolution in this country in the latter way. I have just concluded sixty addresses under the management of the Henry George Lecture Association, Frederick H. Monroe, President, and have spoken in nine States, Minnesota and Iowa being the most western. Everywhere I have found the utmost activity of Single Tax men for practical political results as well as for the propaganda work, and all stimulated to freshened efforts by the remarkable reports of progress of the idea in Canadian, British, German and Japanese politics. But what was far more significant was the readiness—even eagerness—of large general audiences for information about the Single Tax.

For of my sixty addresses, only eight were delivered under Single Tax auspices, Mr. Monroe's purpose from the beginning being to put his lecturers before the audiences already formed by educational, business, civic and religious organizations, rather than to undertake the trouble and expense of gathering special audiences. Therefore besides these eight times I spoke before nine Chambers of Commerce and lesser gatherings of business men, thirteen times before universities and lesser educational institutions, twenty-one times under religious auspices—eight of which were from Protestant pulpits—and nine times under miscellaneous auspices.

Among the latter was a debate with Mr. Arthur M. Lewis, the well-known and able Socialist lecturer, in the Garrick Theater, Chicago, at ten-thirty on Sunday morning, March 20. I had by letter in *The Public* declared this debate off on discovering that without consulting me, Mr. Lewis had changed the title from "The Theories of Henry George" to "Are the Theories of Henry George Exploded?"—a form of subject that I would not care publicly to discuss with anyone. But upon Mr. Lewis' desire to revert to the subject upon which we had originally agreed, I engaged in the debate and found what satisfied me as to the futility of such discussions between Single Taxers and Socialists at this time, when both, instead of trying to find how each differs from the other, ought to be engaged in fighting the common enemy, monopoly, no matter how defined. This is what is being done at the present time in Great Britain and Germany, where Single Taxers and Socialists generally waste no time in fighting each other, but work shoulder to shoulder in the great movements for democratic progress. Why not pursue such a policy in this country? I have for some time thought it best, and the debate with Mr. Lewis makes me all the stronger in that judgment.

My addresses before the business men's associations were for the most part devoted to Japan, its progress, and its tax problems, and to the land-grab attempts of our banking syndicates in the Far East.

Perhaps the best audience was at the Chicago City Club, on March 19, where questions followed. A stenographic report of the proceedings was subsequently published in pamphlet form by the Club.

In this and other addresses I flatly attacked our tariff system and found much support. It was clear from the quick and general response, more especially to the assaults upon that latest work of art, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, that radical anti-tariff sentiment is making rapid way through the West, and that the Insurgent movement in the Republican party, which, allied with the regular Democrats in Congress, stripped Speaker Cannon of much of his power, has behind it ideas irreconcilably hostile to "stand-pat" Republicanism, and that it will very soon bring about the rending of the old political parties and a new political alignment. If what I found west of Pennsylvania, and even to a surprising degree in old rock-ribbed Pennsylvania itself, is to be taken as an indication of thought throughout the country, the tariff superstition in America is at last dead, and great sections of its defenses will fall at the first general assault. As corroborative of this, the accounts of the amazing election of the Democrat Foss in the Congressional by-election in Massachusetts, I found being read with the most intense interest, Republicans as well as Democrats remarking that an overwhelmingly Republican district had gone overwhelmingly Democratic in a radically anti-Payne tariff campaign. On the other hand, I talked in Indiana with fundamental Democrats who were outspoken in praise of, and were openly supporting the Republican United States Senator Beveridge, chiefly because of his votes against the tariff in the Senate and his speeches against it since.

Yet more significant to me of this radical trend of thought was the readiness, even eagerness, I found for information about the Single Tax—not sugar-coated, but in its full, direct strength. The truth is that the people are tiring of plaster remedies. They are anxious to find if there is anything that goes to the source of the social disease. I found this signally illustrated at the Michigan State Agricultural College at Lansing and at the Minnesota State Agricultural College at St. Paul, where intense interest was manifested in all the phases of taxation. And, indeed, I was for a time considerably mystified and amused by what occurred when I went to address the Ferris Institute at Big Rapids, Michigan—a college founded and conducted by a man of genius, W. N. Ferris, for about 1,200 young men and women direct from the farm and with limited time and means for study. I was advertised to speak about the British Budget, and was told just before commencing that the more I could manage to put in about the Single Tax principle direct, its economic meaning and operation, the better the students would like it; that this request had come from them. So I blazed away to a student audience that so interested me that when I finished I was mortified to find that I had spoken, with the address and the answering of questions, two hours and a quarter! My only rival for the long-distance speaking record in the history of that college was U. S. Senator Tillman, who had some time before spoken three hours!

The secret of the interest in the audience that had led me to such prolonged speaking was explained lat-

er. A debate on the subject of an income tax had within a fortnight or so previously occurred between Ferris Institute and one of the other Michigan colleges. The other college had advocated such a tax, as against a tariff; but Ferris had advocated the Single Tax, as against both. Ferris had won the debate hands down. Hence the interest in my discourse. Ferris Institute is now looking around for new debating colleges to eat up on the tariff and income tax questions.

But what many will perhaps regard as the most important indication of advancing thought is the attitude of the churches toward social questions. A third of my addresses were under religious auspices, and eight were delivered from Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Apostle, Unitarian and other pulpits in the course of regular Sunday services. In St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Rev. Dr. Tatlock, rector, I delivered, as part of the evening service on Sunday, March 6, a discourse on "Social and Industrial Reorganization." The usual evening congregation was supplemented largely by the faculty and students of the State University. In the Fountain Street Baptist Church of the brilliant and popular Rev. Dr. Wishart, Grand Rapids, Michigan, my subject on March 13 was: "We Want the Earth," and the Sunday evening decorum was broken by applause. I had the great privilege of delivering a lay sermon, with Tolstoy as the text, at the Easter morning service of the First Unitarian Church, Minneapolis, Minn.

With these I feel that I should mention a lay sermon on "The Nobler Life" delivered in Orchestra Hall, Chicago, on Sunday evening, March 20. Under the presidency of Clifford W. Barnes, what is called the Chicago Sunday Evening Club "maintains a service of Christian inspiration and fellowship," not for regular church-goers, but mainly for the patrons of the large hotels. The hall seats approximately three thousand and it is usually filled, so that the importance and advanced nature of these services, always, of course, accompanied by prayer and fine selections of sacred music, may be judged by the invitation to a radical man like me to speak there.

These brief notes may perhaps add to the cumulative testimony that "the world do move" along fundamental social lines and that this country is seething with thought, which will show itself in many important ways in the larger politics before long and put the United States in the front rank of the great democratic march of the advanced nations of the world.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

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For all human things do require to have an Ideal in them; to have some Soul in them, as we said, were it only to keep the Body unputrefied. And wonderful it is to see how the Ideal or Soul, place it in what ugliest Body you may, will irradiate said Body with its own nobleness; will gradually, incessantly, mold, modify, new-form or reform said ugliest Body and make it at last beautiful, and to a certain degree divine! Oh, if you could dethrone that Brute-god Mammon, and put a Spirit-God in his place! One way or other, he must and will have to be dethroned.—Thomas Carlyle.

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 12, 1910.

The Socialist Victory in Milwaukee.

The election returns of the 5th in Milwaukee, which came too late for more than mention last week (p. 321) show a sweeping victory for the local Social-Democratic party. The plurality for its candidate for Mayor, 7,178 over the Democratic candidate, was the largest ever polled for any candidate for mayor in Milwaukee. Not only the mayor but also all the other elective city officials (controller, treasurer and attorney), together with all 7 of the aldermen at large, 14 of the 23 aldermen from wards, 11 of the 16 county supervisors and 2 of the city judges were carried by the same party. The vote for mayor is reported as follows:

Emil Seidel, Socialist.....	27,708
V. J. Schroenecker, Democrat.....	20,530
J. M. Beffel, Republican.....	11,346

In the City Council there will be 21 Socialists out of a total of 35, a majority of 7; and in the county board the Socialists will have a majority of 3 in a total of 16. Of the 21 Socialist aldermen 18 earn their living at manual labor in such trades as machinist, painter, printer, carpenter, die-sinker, cigar maker, etc.

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Following is a summary of the immediate demands embodied in the local platform of the Social-Democratic party, which it is pledged to carry out as fully as possible:

Home rule, initiative and referendum, better schools, municipal ownership, penny lunches for school children, street car company to sprinkle streets, trades union conditions for labor in city service, a seat for every passenger in the street cars, three cent street car fare, eight hour day for labor, cheaper gas, cheaper ice by means of municipal plant, cheaper coal and wood by means of municipal coal and wood yard, cheaper and better light—and more of it by means of municipal plant, corporations to pay their full share of taxes, clean street cars, street closets and comfort stations, work for the unemployed at union wages and eight hour day, widows who do washing for support of families to have water rates remitted by city, cheap bread by requiring standard weight in every loaf.

As reported by the Chicago Daily Socialist, Victor Berger (one of the new aldermen at large) indicated in an interview the significance of the election from his point of view, and he probably speaks advisedly. He said:

At this moment of victory we appreciate our duty towards the national and international Socialist movement. We have gone through such a campaign of vilification by the Republican and Democratic parties, mainly directed against the red flag, against the international Socialist movement and against the revolution, as has never been known in this city. We must now show the people of Milwaukee that the philosophy of international Socialism can be applied and will be applied to the local situation, and that it can be applied with advantage to any American city of the present day. On the other hand, we want to show our comrades all over the country that our principles will lose nothing of the revolutionary energy by being thus applied to a local situation. Our party is by necessity a city party, first and foremost. We have to win our cities first before we can win in a State, and then in the country at large. I know of no city where the Socialist movement is so thoroughly enlightened and so class conscious as in Milwaukee. Years of continuous literature propaganda has made it so. Therefore I am glad that this first victory came to Milwaukee, as I am sure we will take care of the situation to the credit of the city and the international movement.

Regarding their immediate policy, the mayor-elect in a speech on the 7th is reported to have said:

The modern city, while it has grown to large proportions and increased its population until hundreds of thousands of souls are huddled together in small areas, has developed swamps of a different nature than those our forefathers drained. Some of these have become cesspools, the stench of which rises to the heavens. Men and women, as well as innocent children, are wrecked and ruined in these swamps. We, the children of the settlers—the sons and daughters, true to the spirit of our fathers, who left their homes to look for a new civilization—must follow in their spirit. We must begin to add architectural ideal beauty. Our task is to take this, our city, and make of it a home—a real home—for its hundreds of thousands of men, women and children; a place where there is little room for tears and heartaches; a place where our boys can become men and our daughters women; a place where virtue is protected and a place where the strong stand for the weak, holding their hands over the heads of the weak, shielding them from all harm. Our task is the task of realizing the dreams of all the great men of the past.

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Mr. Seidel is American born but of German parentage. He is a pattern maker and works at it. Along with his associates on the successful ticket, he will take the oath of office on the 19th. With that day the Socialist administration in Milwaukee, elected for two years, will begin.

Other Municipal Elections.

At the aldermanic election in Chicago, on the 5th, the Socialist vote in the wards ranged from 122 to 1,294, the total for the thirty-five wards being 15,015. At the last previous aldermanic election the total Socialist party vote (vol. xii, p. 372) was 14,378. One of the Socialist candidates at the election of last week had been in-dorsed by the Municipal Voters' League, the other candidates in his ward being personally objectionable to that body; but he polled only 359 votes. The total vote for candidates of all parties was 285,884.

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The Democrats at the Chicago election carried 21 out of the 35 wards, which with the 17 Democratic holdover aldermen (those elected a year ago) gives the Democrats 38 members of the City Council out of 70—a majority of 6.

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In Springfield (Ill.) Alderman Joseph Ferris (democratic Democrat) was reelected from a Republican ward by an increased majority against the opposition of Interests, which in his previous term he had offended. Along with him Herman Staab, George Taylor and W. E. Robinson, men who coöperate with Alderman Ferris in municipal politics—the first a democratic Democrat and the others democratic Republicans—were elected.

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In the municipal election at Guthrie, Okla., on the 5th, the Republicans won and the commission form of government was defeated for the second time, the adverse majority being 87 this time and having been 239 before.

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Local Voting on the Saloon Question.

The net result of the voters in Illinois towns on the saloon question on the 5th was a reduction of the 38 entirely "dry" counties to 32, one or more towns or cities in six entirely "dry" counties having gone "wet." Among the Illinois cities to abandon the "dry" policy was Rockford. Pontiac was another. Of "dry" towns to go "wet" in Illinois there were 39 in all; of "wet" towns to go "dry" there were 19; of "wet" towns to stay "wet" there were 72, and of "dry" towns to stay "dry" there were 111.

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Indiana "Insurgency."

Senator Beveridge, the Insurgent Republican from Indiana who opposed the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill in the Federal Senate (vol. xii, pp. 771, 777, 778), was supported by the State convention of his party at Indianapolis on the 5th. The temper of the convention with reference to Presi-

dential politics may be inferred from the fact that President Taft's name was received with mild applause, while the applause at the mention of ex-President Roosevelt's was tumultuous. Both the permanent chairman of the convention and Senator Beveridge as temporary chairman, described Roosevelt as the first insurgent and the father of leading insurgent policies. "By this sign, revolt, we conquer," was the watchword of Senator Beveridge's speech. Among his other expressions as temporary chairman in a speech of an hour and three quarters these were received with tremendous applause:

Extortion is not protection.

The coming battle is not so much between political parties as such as between the rights of the people and the powers of pillagers.

I believe that the reasonable prosperity of the few dozen American citizens should depend upon the common prosperity of all American citizens.

Swollen and dangerous fortunes are not necessary to good wages to the workingman, fair salaries to the clerk or commercial traveler or honest prices to the farmer.

We want no Lord North, nor King George, no Bourbon or Romanoff methods in American life whether in government or laws, whether in enacting a tariff or managing a party.

A political party is not a group of politicians, each with his following, combining to win the spoils of place and power. Such an organization is not a party—it is a band of brigands and its appeals in the name of the party are mere attempts to beguile and defraud the voter for its selfish purposes. Such organizations and men are the tools and agents of lawless interests which know no party, attempt to use all parties, and practice only the policies of profit.

I was for a just law. That could have been written, and it shall yet be written.

The platform pledges the Republican vote of the State to President Taft, approves his policies and those of his predecessor, and recommends Mr. Beveridge for re-election to the Senate. It does not mention the Payne-Aldrich tariff law, which the President warmly defends. On the contrary it specifies the kind of tariff measure Indiana Republicans want—which is one that will give protection from foreign goods on the basis of difference in cost of production.

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The disturbing effect of the Indiana convention upon the Administration at Washington was disclosed by the Appomattox-day speeches of Attorney General Wickersham at Chicago and President Taft in Washington. Mr. Taft said:

When the evidence is shown that a member of the party does not desire the success of the Republican party and is unwilling to redeem his party's pledges and takes a position which indicates that he does not desire the success of the party, the label he bears is not Republicanism. No man has a right

to read another out of the Republican party. He reads himself out if he is disloyal, and if he cannot by his own works show his colors. We want no schisms in the Republican party. It is the time for doing things, and after Congress has adjourned the Republican party will have formed its lines of attack.

Mr. Wickersham was more pointed. He said in his speech:

I am sure I voice your thought when I say the time of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds is over, and everyone must choose whether or not he is for the President and the Republican party. He that "hath no stomach for the fight" let him depart. Treason has ever consisted in giving aid and comfort to the enemy. If anyone wishes to join the Democratic party let him do so. But let him not claim to be a Republican and in and out of season work to defeat Republican measures and to subvert the influence of the Republican President.

In a Chicago interview the following day (printed in the Chicago Tribune of the 11th) Mr. Wickersham indicated in these words the purpose of the Standpatters to nominate Mr. Taft for a second term:

So much has been accomplished by the administration in the period of President Taft's incumbency that I believe the remainder of his term will suffice to accomplish much or most of what he has mapped out as desirable. There is the certainty, however, that before his term expires other questions of great importance, some of which I have in mind, will develop and will demand disposition. Under those circumstances there would or might arise the desirability of another term for the present Executive.

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Pullman Car Extortion.

Upon a report of Commissioner Franklin K. Lane, the Interstate Commerce Commission has decided (Commissioners Knapp and Harlan dissenting) that Pullman sleeping-car charges must be substantially less for upper than for lower berths, and that on several routes both must be lowered. It puts a night's journey at \$1.50 for lower and \$1.10 for upper berths. The investigation upon which this report is based showed annual dividends of nearly \$60,000,000 from 1899 to 1908, inclusive, and that in 1898, a cash dividend of \$7,200,000 was paid out of accumulated surplus; that in 1899 a special stock dividend of 50 per cent, amounting to \$18,000,000, was declared; that in 1907 there was another of 36 per cent, amounting to \$26,015,256; and that in 1898 the stock of the company was increased from \$36,000,000 to \$100,000,000, of which \$20,000,000 is accounted for by the acquisition of the Wagner Palace Car Company, but the remainder represents capitalization of surplus. No additional capital was put in.

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Three Cent Fares in Cleveland.

Notwithstanding that the gross earnings of the

Cleveland Traction Company under the first month of the full 3-cent fare regime (pp. 207, 244) were \$33,999.15 less in March 1910 than in the same month of 1909 (when only one-third of the lines were under 3-cent fares) the earnings for March 1910 yield a surplus, over and above all charges, including 6 per cent on the investment.

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British Politics.

In committee of the whole the British House of Commons (p. 320) on the 7th adopted the resolution denying to the House of Lords the right of veto on financial legislation. The vote was 339 to 237, a majority of 102. The second resolution, limiting the Lords' veto on general legislation, is now under debate in committee of the whole.

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The Taxation of the Unearned Increment of Land Values in Germany.

The Reichstag, the Imperial German Parliament, last July adopted a resolution requiring that a bill should be introduced by the Government by April 1, 1911, formulating a method for the taxation of the "unearned increment" (p. 245) of land values. The resolution was passed in connection with the adoption of a tax on real estate transfers in a general fiscal reform measure. The Public of July 16 (p. 682), thus described the situation:

A ministerial memorandum on this subject had been submitted to the Reichstag on the 15th of June as embodying the views of the treasury department. This memorandum declared that a measure for the taxation of increased land values for purposes of Imperial finance would not be feasible at present, because it would interfere with municipal taxation. In summing up the results of the investigation of the treasury department, however, the memorandum declared that the taxation of unearned increment is justifiable, and is very suitable for local purposes, but cannot be considered for the purposes of the present Imperial finance reform, as it is still too obscure both in theory and practice to enable the scheme to be worked out within the time at the government's disposal. It is apparently in deference to the final suggestion that the Reichstag has now directed the government to bring in two years hence, a measure for unearned increment taxation.

In November (vol. xii, p. 1066) the Imperial Government asked the governments of the federated States to hasten their reports concerning the introduction of an unearned increment land tax, coupling this request with the explanation that the Government will allow the municipalities a rebate for five years of the average amount raised by the unearned increment tax during the period of its operation.

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That the Government is now prepared to sub-

mit a measure providing for the taxation of the unearned increment of land, was stated by an Associated Press dispatch of the 11th. The dispatch asserts that through this legislation the Government simply will take for Imperial uses 6 per cent of the taxes derived by the municipalities from unearned increment. This, it is expected, will yield \$7,500,000, as the municipalities are now collecting about \$125,000,000 from the unearned increment annually.

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Prussian Police Permit Open Air Meetings.

The recent repression by the police of Prussia of all open air meetings of protest in connection with the Government's franchise bill (p. 275), and even of "demonstrative strolls" (p. 228, 254)—a repression which included the use of mounted gendarmes who slashed the populace with their sabers—has met with such widespread popular condemnation that the repressive attitude has been countermanded from high quarters, presumably by the King of Prussia himself. On the 8th, to its own and every one else's astonishment, the Democratic Union of Berlin obtained permission to hold an open air meeting at Trep-tow park (p. 228) on the following Sunday to discuss franchise reform. And greater amazement followed when the Socialists received a similar permission on the following day. The Police President, Mr. von Jagow, stipulated that traffic was not to be hindered, that there should be no long procession, and no banners, and that the organizers should undertake to control the manifestants. These stipulations were readily agreed to. The ultra-Conservatives are reported to have been indignant at the permissions. They saw "Prussia going to the dogs, and the abandonment of everything that makes life worth living," say the dispatches. On Sunday, the 10th, the demonstrations came off. Over 120,000 Socialists and Radicals took part. Open air meetings had been sanctioned for three places. From eleven o'clock in the morning, say the reports, the streets of Berlin resounded with the tramp of earnest looking men from every precinct, marching to the meeting places. "One-third of the demonstrators were women, which was extraordinary, because the Prussian laws forbid women from participating in political meetings." The dispatches continue:

There was no shouting or singing as the crowds passed through the streets, from which the police seemed to have disappeared as if by magic. Squads arrived at the parks about 1 o'clock with military precision. There they gathered around sixteen improvised and numbered platforms, from which at the sound of a bugle, Socialist and Radical members of the Reichstag and Landtag began addresses, in which they vehemently denounced the injustices of the present system of elections. For an hour and a

half the orators continued amid deafening cheers, and at 2:30 another bugle sounded, and for one minute utter silence prevailed. Then a resolution declaring that it was the determination of those gathered together to fight for reform until victory had been won for the people, was passed by acclamation. Enthusiastic scenes ensued, and there was great cheering for the rights of the democracy, while 100,000 voices broke into the stirring strains of the workmen's "Marseillaise" and the "Song of Freedom," but they desisted on orders from the leaders. The meetings then disbanded, the original groups marching off as they had come, without the slightest disorder. The most significant features of the manifestation were the orderly manner in which it was conducted, the police in the future having no reason for refusing Socialist requests for open air assemblages; and the co-operation between the Socialists and Radicals, this being the first time in which they joined in such a demonstration, indicating the depth of feeling among the workers regarding the necessity for suffrage reform. Commissioner von Jagow, who in civilian clothes witnessed the demonstration, was utterly surprised at the discipline and good order.

Huge open air meetings were also held at Breslau, Magdeburg, Cologne, Bochum, Dortmund, Essen, Duesseldorf and Stettin, with police interference only at Breslau.

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The Philippines for the Filipinos.

At a general convention of the National Progresista party (vol. xii, pp. 512, 1095), held in Manila February 6, the United States Government was petitioned to define explicitly the political status of the Philippine Islands with a view to obtaining independence in the near future. The Progresista party believes that after a dozen years of American administration, and in view of the progress that has been made by the Filipinos in the art of self-government, this demand is quite reasonable and just, and will not impair the existing peace and order in the Islands or the trade relations between the two countries. The following preambles and resolution were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, During the last twelve years of American sovereignty in the Philippine Islands, several resolutions, among them those introduced by Senators Bacon, Tillman and Stone and by Representatives McCall, Williams, Burgess, Hardwick and Slayden, were presented to the Congress of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining from said Congress an express and definite declaration that it is not the intention of the American people to retain indefinitely the Philippine Islands, but to aid the Filipino people in establishing their national independence;

Whereas, Such resolutions have met with the unanimous approval of the whole Filipino people;

Whereas, The attitude of a great majority of American citizens residing in the Philippine Islands, maintaining that a perpetual American sovereignty over these islands is the only means to induce the investment of American as well as foreign capital, thereby impliedly asserting that the Filipino people

would never be able to set up a government that would give the necessary protection and security, has given rise to a profound concern in the minds of the Filipinos as to the final political destiny of their country;

Whereas, The prestige of the administration in the Philippines and the peace of mind of the Filipinos demand from the Congress of the United States a formal declaration or express promise, assuring them their political independence and the integrity of their territory;

Whereas, With such a promise or formal declaration the Filipino people would look forward with more confidence to their future, work out with more faith their progress, and co-operate with more enthusiasm for the advancement of the American policy in the Philippine Islands, thereby establishing and insuring the necessary harmony between Americans and Filipinos;

Whereas, The Philippine Islands being a mere dependency of the United States are and will because of this status be exposed to transfer of sovereignty, alienation, and dismemberment, by virtue of treaties, and diplomatic settlements and agreements, or of any other arrangements;

Whereas, It is not probable that any foreign power will claim or assert sovereignty over, or acquire title to the Philippines, or any part thereof, if the right of the Filipinos to independent national life is formally recognized and declared by the Congress of the United States;

Whereas, A declaration by Congress to the effect that the Philippine Islands are not a mere dependency of the United States but a nation placed under her tutelage and honor, entitled to a free and independent existence, would protect this country from the danger of the transfer referred to or any other ulterior disposition;

Whereas, The absence of such a declaration causes some of the Filipino people to believe that American sovereignty will be permanent, and others that independence of the Philippines is a question dependent upon a few prominent men in public life and upon political parties in the United States, rather than wholly upon the will of the American people;

Whereas, Such a declaration would be in accord with the principles of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, as well as with the history and traditions of the Great Republic; would clearly and unequivocally confirm the personal promises and official declarations of Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft; and, while honorable to the people of the United States, would put an end to the present uncertainty and disquietude of the Filipino people;

Therefore, We the delegates of the National Progressista Party, in General Convention assembled, unanimously

Resolve, That the Congress of the United States be respectfully petitioned for an express and solemn declaration that it is the unswerving purpose and intention of the United States to grant the Filipino people their independence; that American sovereignty over these Islands is temporary; that it is the desire of the people of the United States to deliver to the Filipino people, when independence is granted, the whole territory known at present as the Philippine Islands; and that it is not her intention

to cede, alienate or transfer them, in whole or in part, now or at any time hereafter; and it is further respectfully petitioned that this declaration of the Congress be communicated to the Powers.

NEWS NOTES

—The primary election law of Wisconsin was upheld on the 5th by the Supreme Court of that State.

—Evanston, Illinois, for the first time elected a woman to the Board of the Evanston Township High School on the 9th. She is Mrs. L. C. Wyman.

—The plan to change the clocks of Cincinnati (p. 299) has been abandoned, the City Council having on the 11th repealed the ordinance providing for it.

—Alexander J. Goutchkiss, an Octobrist, was elected President of the Russian Douma (p. 322) on March 21, to take the place of Mr. Khomyakoff who resigned recently (p. 276).

—In the Standard Oil and the Tobacco trust cases recently argued before the Supreme Court of the United States (vol. xii, p. 1235), that court on the 11th decided to order a reargument.

—Wages in sugar refineries were increased by the Sugar Trust on the 5th from 5 to 10 per cent, and on the same day increases of 10 per cent were made by street railways in New Hampshire.

—The proposed income tax amendment to the Federal Constitution was voted down on the 5th by the legislative committee on Federal relations of the Massachusetts lower House, by a vote of 11 to 4.

—Volcanic dust, presumed to come from Mt. Etna now in eruption (p. 299), is reported from as far away as the West Indies. Steamship officers arriving in New York from West Indian waters, tell of seeing the sun through a haze of fine volcanic dust, and report that a black rain fell on Bermuda on the 6th.

—One of the subjects discussed by the American Academy of Social Science which opened its fourteenth annual meeting at Philadelphia on the 8th was the police "sweatbox" (p. 99). On the 9th, Charles E. Littlefield defended labor injunctions and was vigorously replied to by Samuel Gompers and J. H. Ralston.

—President James of the University of Illinois has been appointed a member of the Illinois special tax commission (p. 253) by Governor Deneen. Dr. James takes the place of David Kinley of the State University, who declined the appointment so as to be able to represent the United States at the pan-American conference in Buenos Ayres in July.

—By a referendum vote of 5,020 to 3,740, the action of the national convention of 1908 of the Socialist party in the United States in providing for a special national convention has been confirmed. The convention will be held at Chicago on May 15. The number of delegates, 1 for every 500 members of the party in good standing, will be 112, plus 12 from 6 foreign-speaking organizations. The latter have a voice but no vote in the convention. The purpose of the convention is to settle certain matters of policy, namely: (1) the attitude of the Socialist party

toward immigration; (2) its relation to agriculture; (3) organization; (4) campaign methods; (5) propaganda.

—The military court of inquiry, which had been investigating the "shooting up" of Brownsville, Tex., (vol. ix, pp. 746, 751, and 819) found on the 6th that the shooting was done by soldiers of the Twenty-fifth United States infantry, colored. The court also is of the opinion that if the officers had performed their duties prior to the shooting, the affray could not have occurred, and that if they had done so after the shooting, some of the guilty men would have been discovered.

—Senor Canalejas, the new Spanish Premier (p. 255), already known to be a radical, has views about the "unearned increment of land." Land Values for March reports a London Times interview with Senor Canalejas to the following effect: "Discussing social reform, Senor Canalejas said: 'I am navigating the same waters as is the English Government,' adding with a smile—'if our little lake can be compared with your ocean.' With a view to increasing production and equitably redistributing taxation he proposes to apply the English theory of unearned increment to land, to institute old-age pensions on a contributory basis, and to suppress the octroi duties. . . . Much of the Government programme will be reflected in the Budget, which the Premier, a close student of English politics, regards as an admirable vehicle for reform."

PRESS OPINIONS

The Socialist Victory in Milwaukee.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), April 8.—For a group of enthusiastic and thoroughgoing idealists to turn a corner and find themselves suddenly face to face with the responsibility of carrying out their theories—that is an embarrassing and perhaps painful predicament. . . . The program of the Milwaukee Socialists is unexceptionable in most respects. And though we cannot approve municipal ownership in the easy generality of the Milwaukee platform, we highly admire and approve the proposition to remit water rates to deserving washerwomen, and in these days of high prices we shall watch eagerly for the success of the penny lunch. Milwaukee, it is comforting to consider, is not far away, and if it should be turned into a suburb of Utopia with Mayor Seidel's accession to power, it will be easy to emigrate.

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Chicago Daily News (Ind.), April 7.—The Socialist ticket having carried Milwaukee by a plurality greater than that secured by any ticket at a previous city election, national party organizations in that and other cities should realize that their day for meddling with municipal affairs is nearly over. The Socialist candidate for mayor, Mr. Seidel, and his associates on the ticket raised important local issues and pressed them so hard that the old parties took up some of them. That was effective campaigning. The voters turned away in droves from the old-party candidates. . . . Milwaukee has been preparing

for some years to vote Socialists into its city offices. Its Socialist vote has grown steadily during the last decade. It has tried the old party government thoroughly and the results have been unsatisfactory. If the Socialists now give the city a government of the citizens for the citizens they will win praise where the old crowd won censure. It is, however, not Socialist government, any more than Republican or Democratic government, that the people of Milwaukee or any other city need. They need merely efficient business administration of their public affairs in their own interests.

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Chicago Examiner (Hearst), April 7.—We read the Milwaukee election as an indication that all over the country an increasing number of voters are being infected with the political unrest of the times, that they are conscious of grave abuses in government, and that they are determined to correct them, even if in order to do so they have to slip their dear, old, easy-fitting party collars! We do not think that the Socialists can in any general way hive for themselves these swarming independent voters. The Socialists carry too much luggage to make a long march—too much grossly materialistic revolutionary Marxism to finally fit American thought. But we do believe that a new party, new in spirit if not in name, must and will appear in the field to voice the better aspirations of the people, their passionate desire for fair play to all, high and low. And such a party, strongly progressive but not revolutionary, ought to win—will win before long!

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Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), April 6.—The Socialists have captured Milwaukee by the largest plurality that has been given to a mayoralty candidate in years. This was not an accident. It came as a climax to long years of painful agitation. Unlike some other Socialist victories, it was not a sudden capture of a city in the midst of a hysterical outburst. Therefore it is practically certain to be a permanent victory. Barring some absolutely unforeseen phenomena, Milwaukee will henceforth be controlled by the workers. The Milwaukee Socialists have erected the strongest barrier yet formulated against the rise of a pseudo "labor party." The capture of a city by a genuine labor party is worth any number of editorials denouncing such a party. The sham cannot exist in the presence of the real. The victory in Milwaukee was built upon two things—a long-continued educational campaign through literature and close co-operation with organized labor. In no city in the United States is there as large a proportion of the Socialist voters thoroughly grounded in the fundamentals of Socialism. More copies of the classic works of Socialism have been circulated there than in any city of equal size in the country. In consequence there are few "phrase philosophers" and many actual students of the basis of Socialism. This intensive educational work has been supplemented with a most methodical and continuous distribution of Socialist leaflets. Every voter in the city has been reached over and over again, week after week, with literature. Every person who voted for Socialism knew why he voted. The Milwaukee Socialist movement is the most class-con-

scious Socialist movement in America. It is almost exclusively a class movement. It is almost impossible to find sufficient professional men to do the work for which such training is imperative. Practically the only lawyer in the party is the present city attorney. The Milwaukee Socialist movement is the most revolutionary in America. This is a statement that will be challenged by many who love phrases more than facts. The capitalists of Milwaukee are not watching phrases. They know what is being done. The whole campaign of the Republican and Democratic parties was made on the cry that the Socialists were "red-flag revolutionists." The Socialists accepted the name and announced to cheering crowds that they were followers of the red flag of international Socialism, with its world-wide brotherhood of labor and revolt against capitalism—and the voters elected the socialists. To be sure, the Socialists did not attempt to deceive either themselves or the voters with the delusion that a victory in Milwaukee would mean the overthrow of capitalism. They told what could be done, and they have an opportunity to make good on their promises. If they had promised the social revolution they would now be ridiculous. They never announced their intention to capture the city and paralyze industry by a general strike. But if a general strike should become necessary the only city in which industry would certainly be tied up would be Milwaukee. They are strong on facts and short on phrases in Milwaukee. It has been work, not words, that has won the victory.

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Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), April 7—It would be idle to minimize the Milwaukee Socialist victory, but it is necessary to understand it. The voters did not deliberately prefer Socialist planks to individualist planks; they did not vote for Socialism in any practical sense; they voted for candidates who, though Socialists "at large," promised clean, efficient administration and such reforms as Republicans, Democrats and Independents were equally willing to support, either for political reasons or from conviction. The platforms of the three parties were essentially identical, and though they contained "advanced" planks these were of the kind that Iowa, Colorado, Dakota and Kansas cities have been adopting under State enabling statutes. The platforms being identical, Milwaukee preferred the personnel of the Socialist ticket to that of either of the other tickets. . . . The Milwaukee Socialist government will have no opportunity to do anything for State or national Socialism. It will be governed by general laws and the Constitution, and it will have to reckon with public sentiment. If it shall give Milwaukee economical and efficient government, work for feasible and ripe improvements like playgrounds, public comfort stations, control of dives, etc., impartial men will cheerfully give it full credit without reference to any visionary or academic feature of its professed general politico-social creed.

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Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), April 6.—The Republicans, despairing of electing their ticket and strongly desirous of defeating the Democratic candidates, voted for the Social Democratic nominees.

There is no doubt also that many Democrats and Independents were much displeased with the indifference to responsibilities assumed by the present head of the municipal government, and by their votes rebuked the party in power. . . . The Social Democrats as a party have undoubtedly made gains that are real in the city; but the party, it is not unfair to say, has not attained the strength the face of the returns would indicate. Whether the whole gains may become fixed the future will demonstrate. . . . The main fact is that the Social Democrats now have the complete power and with it the responsibility which accompanies power. Heretofore it has been the minority party—the party of protest. It occupied the position of critic and was able to offer its remedies to persons discontented with affairs as they stood. Now all this is changed. The party is in a position to do the things which it has claimed to be able to do and the citizens of Milwaukee will expect it to make good. While it is self evident that the long program promised in the party platform is impossible of complete achievement, the new administration—Milwaukee has faith to believe—will do its best to carry out the main features or those features that can by the nature of things, be carried out. With a sense of responsibility resting on them, the officials will doubtless labor earnestly to bring about these things. The Daily News urged the election of candidates other than the successful ones and the clean, dignified campaign which they waged and their official records it felt entitled their party to a continuance of power, but it does not believe as was stated by some in campaign speeches that the Social Democratic victory will ruin the city nor cause it to abate one jot of its real prosperity. The Daily News extends its congratulations to the successful candidates and declares to them that in all efforts to bring about good to the city it will lend its support.

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Milwaukee Journal (Rep.), April 6.—Milwaukee has been driven, for the time being, to Social Democracy. It is a revolt against both of the old parties. It is not in any way an adoption or approval of Socialistic principles of economics. . . . The result was almost inevitable. All through the years Milwaukee has been misruled, exploited and misrepresented in every way. . . . It has been a reign of ward heelers and cheap politicians—of the powers that prey. All this time the vote of the Social Democratic party has been mounting upward. Every election it showed a gain of several thousand votes. Two years ago the party almost elected its candidate for mayor. It was as plain as day that the spirit of protest was growing. To those who were not blind it seemed certain that unless decent city government was established and maintained, there would come a day of reckoning—a radical change in the aspect of things. Many preached this idea and tried unselfishly to carry it out. But none are so blind as they who will not see. The warning was unheeded. . . . Big Business has not only manipulated municipal government and State legislation to serve its own selfish purposes, but it has winked at or abetted things detrimental to the material interests of the city. . . . We repeat that Milwaukee is not Social Democratic. It is simply in

a state of effective protest against the old order of things. Social Democracy may give way two years hence, but it is pretty certain that it will not give way to machine politics and Big Business.

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Passaic (N. J.) Daily News (Rep.), April 6.—It would be unsafe to predict that the Socialist regime in Milwaukee will prove a failure. It may be a conspicuous success, for the Socialists have brilliant counsellors. The danger will be that the Socialists, forgetting that they are not under their dreamed-of "co-operative commonwealth," will spend too much money, roll up the debt and be turned out of office by overburdened taxpayers. This has been the result of reform too often. Can the Socialists escape a like nemesis in Milwaukee?

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The (Milwaukee) Catholic Citizen (Rel.), April 9.—The result is understood, locally, to be due largely to a revulsion of sentiment among voters of the old parties; and accomplished by thousands of protesting Republicans and Democrats, who are by no means believers in "the co-operative commonwealth." The local Democratic party has suffered from too close identification with certain quasi-public business interests. The local Republican party is distraught with faction. Doubtless, too, the present undertow of insurgency all through the West, high food prices, etc., also influenced. The strongest Catholic ward in Milwaukee, the Fourteenth, where four-fifths of the voters are Polish Catholics, was carried by the Socialist candidate for mayor, despite the fact that the Democratic candidate is a Catholic. The Socialist party appealed to these voters as a Labor party, and the class interest is always a strong one with most men.

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(Milwaukee) Social Democratic Herald (Soc.), April 9.—Any one who witnessed the jubilee of the Socialists at West Side Turner Hall and at the Freie Gemeinde last Tuesday night—a sight never to be forgotten by those who were there—must admit that the Social-Democrats of Milwaukee were the happiest citizens in America. . . . It is remarkable and laudable that the first thought of these men at such a time and in the indescribable excitement that prevailed, was that our party must "make good." And that the thousands present promised to stand by the administration—the first Socialist administration in America—and help it to "make good." And that administration will need all the assistance it can possibly get, not only from the working class and from Social-Democrats, but from well meaning voters. . . . The very next question before us is that of applying the international Socialist philosophy to present conditions and to Milwaukee. We must now show the people of Milwaukee that the philosophy of international Socialism can be applied and will be applied to the local situation, and that it can be applied with advantage to any American city of the present day. On the other hand, we want to show our comrades all over the country that our principles will lose nothing of their revolutionary

energy by being thus applied to a local situation. This in itself is not an easy task. . . . The main thing is the fact that the Social-Democrats of this country for the first time in the history of America have carried a large city. This is a matter of great importance and carries with it tremendous responsibility towards the party in the country and towards the international movement. It is our duty to give this city the best kind of an administration that a modern city can get under the present system and the present laws.

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Egypt for the Egyptians.

The (New York) Nation, April 7.—The reasons for Egyptian Nationalism are, clearly, far from negligible. England's presence in Egypt cannot be explained as due to the people's incapacity for self-government. It was not civil war or any other form of popular misdemeanor that first brought England into the land, but the insane financial extravagances of a Khedive who virtually delivered his country into the hands of his foreign creditors. The revolt of Arabi Pasha in 1882 was a protest against foreign domination, and England's subsequent intervention was dictated solely by her interests as part holder of the foreign debt and as owner of the Suez Canal. If the temporary British occupation has become permanent, it is not primarily because the welfare of the country required it, but because British Imperial policy demanded it. The fact that the Khedives Ismail and Tewfik brought Egypt under foreign domination does not prove that the people itself is unfit to be entrusted with a large measure of self-government. That is what the Egyptian Nationalists maintain, and they have the recent experience of Turkey to hearten them.

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A Great Creed.

Summary of Editorial in the First Issue of The Vanguard (successor of suppressed El Renacimiento*) Manila, P. I., February 1, 1910.—Born of misfortune, we address a people still mourning our predecessor. The storm of adversity has overwhelmed a ship from whose mast the flag of patriotism flew free to all the winds of heaven. The ship herself has foundered; wind and wave have swept her into the port of oblivion. But her imperishable cargo, we have gathered up—the high ideals, the patriotism, the enthusiasm of youth, the love of liberty, the heroic spirit of those who, in the hour of shipwreck, still demanded right and justice. From them The Vanguard inherits something which can not be abolished, proscribed or killed—their ideals; and we come forward to fight "pro aris et focis," armed only in purity of intention and a burning faith in the essential honesty and justice of man. As heirs and continuers of a purely national policy, it is hardly necessary to make a declaration of our principles. Nevertheless, in order that there may be no possible doubt, we here publicly declare our creed: We believe in the people, and maintain that they are already fitted for self-government. In our advocacy of this almost universal aspiration we shall not identify ourselves with

*See The Public of March 25, page 278.

any party or sect, but in our fight for liberty shall represent simply the national conscience. We believe and maintain that the confidence of the people can be secured and kept only by justice and by a liberal and upright policy. Repression, reaction and abuse can have only the opposite effect. This is the universal law governing the relation of the strong to the weak. We believe and maintain that our own fine traditions and customs are worthy of all love and reverence, and that we ought to prefer them to showy novelties and imported fads. Human progress we do not oppose; but we desire that our country should possess national individuality and character. We believe and maintain that the Filipinization of the administrative offices should become a reality. How else can we acquire that practical experience so strongly recommended to us? We believe and maintain that the Philippine people should be urged to develop the natural resources of their country, and that they should, as far as possible, control them, thus acquiring the economic strength necessary for survival. The days of chivalry are past; modern men fight and study, not for the liberation of humanity, but for the conquest of new markets. In religion we believe that there is nothing better than freedom of thought. There is no monopoly of supreme truth; no single path leading to the mountain tops. Righteousness and sincerity alone are essential. And, finally, we believe that Truth is worth every effort, every sacrifice, and that it is our duty to bear witness to the Truth before the government and before our fellow countrymen. Truth and Good are one; to suffer, to fight, to die for the Truth, is to fight, suffer and die for the universal Good. Our people, then, may feel assured that we will fight their battles, even to the last ditch, overcoming evil, exposing error and injustice, slaying venality and corruption wherever found, denouncing favoritism and bossism, opposing exploitation,—in short, applying fire and steel to every social wound, whether of native or foreign origin. It is our conviction that the press is one of the strongest and most effective forces for righteousness; it is this belief that sends us forth into the arena in defence of the rights of our people, but with "Impartiality" inscribed upon our shield. As we step forth, we pause for the traditional salutation. First of all, as is their right, we salute the people—that people whose supreme sovereignty constitutes the most rational and just of rules. Under their auspices we go forth; upon their favor depends our life. Secondly we salute, with sincerity and respect, the constituted authority in the Philippines. For its representatives we ask more light and greater tact; of them we ask nothing more than that they keep their minds open to all the liberal and democratic traditions of the Great Republic. And lastly we salute the press of these islands, our companions in labor, whatever their race, religion, or political and social faith. Brothers we are, and as brothers we should act, notwithstanding all differences of opinion. We, the youngest, accept willingly the lowest place in the ranks; we would fain be first in the hearts of our colleagues.

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It is wrong to say God made rich and poor; He made only male and female, and He gave them the earth for their inheritance.—Thomas Paine.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

BRANDED.

For The Public.

Atlas of my immortal soul am I; on mine
Own back the burden, Destiny, weighs heavily;
My hand doth grasp the torch Promethean-lit,
My foot must tread the life-path steadily.
Architect I of mine own world-to-be;
Or dim or glorious its light I make;
Shepherd of Life, Thy lowly creature I,
Branded with Thy great sign, Responsible.

LEILA BOSWORTH WILSON.

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A REVERIE FOR AN EGOTIST.

For The Public.

Said my Flesh (and who flatters me more?):
"Oh! for the mad joy of wealth and power—to
make laws I know should be broken, to lay corner
stones, and from the maudlin sentiment of great
colleges to secure mushroom B. A.'s and Ph.D.'s;
to be showered with the freedom of mighty cities,
to feast in the perfumed halls of the great, to hob-
nob with Kings and Ministers of State amid the
gleam of bayonets and the rattle of guns and
drums, to take my rest and recreation in verdant
game preserves, fenced off from the common mob,
full of animals to hunt and kill off at my leisure;
and at the end a splendid mausoleum, reared by
my bereaved nation to mark the affliction of my
untimely demise. What a grand dream!"

Said my Soul (and who knows me better?):
"Yes, and blinded with the intoxication of power
and wealth, to forget the simple, quiet paths of
contentment and peace; to rant, and bluster and lie
until the mouth is an open sepulchre of common
hypocrisy and stereotyped worldly platitudes; and
in the end, consumed by the discontent of a selfish
life, to die and rot as dead as the poorest beggar
that ever sifted garbage."

Amen! Says my Conscience.

JOS. FITZPATRICK.

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EL TED THE COUNSELOR.

From the San Francisco Chronicle of March 30.

A poor Arab farmer, rackrented by a white land-
lord who had stolen his oasis patch and held it by
force, much desired to get back his home and
property; but as he was not permitted by the
landlord to have a say about the laws, the farmer
had no present way to recover title. So he began
to agitate. This gave offense to the landlord,
who considered that the fellaheen's only mission
in life was to pay rent and live on what was left,

being humbly thankful withal that he was permitted to live.

One day while the Arab was sitting on his mat chiefly engaged in melancholy, a fellow farmer came up and told him great news. He said that El Ted, a mighty Sheik of a white people, was coming from a far country where all men are born free and equal in opportunity, where any man may become a landowner and lawgiver and where no one is permitted to oppress the other, and he added that if the farmers sought him out and did him honor they would surely hear words of cheer and good counsel. So the poor Arab husbandman went among the villagers and the tillers of the soil and aroused a multitude, and when the great white Sheik came out of the forests on his way through the desert they salaamed deeply and listened with reverence while he began to speak.

"Dogs of dirt-diggers, also blockheads," he began, showing his teeth as might a landlord on the day of the great tax, "I say unto you be content and cease to agitate. The only men who can safely agitate are the landlords, the trained and intelligent ones whom you are not and will not be for generations to come. Hence remain as you are, nor raise your hand against the landlord, who is making better use of what was yours than you could yourselves. Honor him, respect him and obey him. Your leaders are but farmers like yourselves and petty clerks, small politicians and lawyers. Behold, I counsel you to look up to the landlords as the All Wise, the men who Know How; and as for yourselves, you ask to make paper laws and do not know. Remember that self-help is the only intercession that Allah hears."

"Oh, Sheik," spoke up the farmer, "how may we acquire the habit of self-help if we sit down and wait upon the landlords' will? How may we learn to swim in the Nile as the landlord does unless we are permitted to enter the water and agitate it? How many generations of dry-farming must we undergo before we may sit in the seats of the lawgivers and govern our own affairs? May my soul be the sacrifice, oh, leader of the giaours and friend of the landlord, but your discourse is Bosh."

Upon this the spearsmen closed about the visitor from a free people lest he be hit with a brick and escorted him to a safer place, where the landlords were assembled and the wineskins were abundant and the fleshpots were filling the air with their pleasant savor. And all the rich men and the rulers and the oppressors of the poor arose and shouted: "Great is the landlord and El Ted is his prophet!" And El Ted, arising, lifted up his voice and said: "I thank you, brethren, for this compliment, which I accept not so much for myself as for the great, free, self-governing democracy from which I came."

And all the people stood afar off and shouted raucously, so that the spearsmen came and dispersed them.

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A MODEL DOCUMENT.

In Support of the Improved Boston Movement, This Agitating Document Has Been Issued by the Massachusetts Single Tax League, Room 811, 79 Milk St., Boston.

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The Natural, Permanent, Self-Sustaining Development of Boston.

To develop the city:—Stop taxing industry and commerce. Tax land values only.

To develop the port of Boston:—Stop taxing wharves, warehouses, elevators. Tax frontage values, used or unused.

To develop manufactures:—Stop taxing buildings, machinery, raw materials and products. Tax factory sites, used or unused.

To abolish slums:—Stop taxing buildings, improvements. Tenement owners can then afford to erect better buildings. Tax building sites, used or unused. Then owners cannot afford not to erect better buildings.

To encourage industry:—Stop taxing products of labor and industry. Tax land values. Land cannot be hidden or moved away. Land values are produced and maintained by the community and should be the sole basis of taxation.

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To stop taxing industry and commerce, we must exempt buildings, machinery, merchandise, improvements, and personal property of all kinds.

To raise the necessary revenue Boston would then levy its whole tax in the same way that nearly half of it is now levied, viz., on land values.

A tax on land values only means a tax on unearned incomes and the exemption of earned incomes.

The increased tax upon land values can never be a burden upon industry or commerce, neither can it ever operate to reduce the wages of labor nor increase prices to the consumer.

The present system of taxation falls with peculiar hardship on the health and homes of the poor, penalizes industry and enterprise by imposing heavy financial burdens upon shops, factories, buildings, and improvements of all kinds; it encourages land owners to hold land out of use or inadequately developed; it contributes largely toward the overcrowding and congestion of the city; it leads to scarcity of employment and thus to poverty, disease, and crime.

Many communities, notably Great Britain, are awakening to the folly of not taking to themselves

the land values which they alone create and maintain, and to the injustice of taking from individuals what they alone produce.

For additional information on this subject send 25 cents to Massachusetts Single Tax League, Room 811, 79 Milk street, Boston.

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With capital and improvements exempt from tax, and exchange released from restrictions, the spectacle of willing men unable to turn their labor into the things they are suffering for would become impossible; the recurring paroxysms which paralyze industry would cease; every wheel of production would be set in motion; demand would keep pace with supply, and supply with demand; trade would increase in every direction, and wealth augment on every hand.—Henry George.

BOOKS

BISHOP SEABURY,

Memoir of Bishop Seabury. By William Jones Seabury, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law in the General Theological Seminary, New York. Published by Edwin S. Gorham, New York, 251 4th Avenue, cor. 20th Street, and by the Rivingtons, London, 34 King Street, Covent Garden.

This book, like every other good biography of a man who has played his part well according to his conscience and his convictions in the society and times in which he lived, is an interesting human document. Its author, who is a great grandson of its subject, and himself a worthy and eminent clergyman of the church of which his ancestor was the foremost champion and representative in America in his day, is particularly qualified to set forth the character and work of that ancestor. Bishop Seabury appears in his biography as the highest type of a clergyman of the Anglican Church, a zealous, careful, judicious and unselfish pastor of souls, realizing to the full the grave responsibilities which fell upon a man who was called to the highest dignity of a church which he believed to be the pillar and ground of eternal truth. In an atmosphere necessarily somewhat hostile and extremely critical, he was always ready to efface himself and his own personal interests, but never to compromise, minimize, or lower the claims of the church which he believed to be the witness of the true faith, or of the office or mission which he believed to be of divine authority.

One can well understand after reading this book, how inherited qualities have made of Bishop Seabury's descendants, including Judge Seabury of the Supreme Court of New York, the true men we know them to be. But the book has more than this general biographical value. To the American Episcopalian it must be of peculiar ecclesiastical interest; to the general student of

American history it throws sidelights on the position of the Loyalists or Tories during the American Revolution, and on their patriotic acceptance of the new government after it was formed—things often misconstrued and misjudged.

The Episcopal clergy of the colonies were almost wholly dependent on English support. It is no wonder, then, that they looked with apprehension and regret upon the breaking of all their associations—ecclesiastical and social—with the mother country. But they loyally accepted the new order that was established, and, as the author notes with a tinge of sarcasm which Anti-Imperialists will enjoy, had the disappointed loyalists "been able really to penetrate the future and see not only the continued expansion and strengthening of the British Empire, but also the development of the free and independent American States into a consolidation fully as imperial as that of Great Britain, and with all the appropriate accompaniments of distant subject colonies and other facilities for the cultivation of a legitimate despotism, they would no doubt have been persuaded that there was not so much need to dread the results of the temporary triumph of republican principles."

B.

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SPENDING AS A PROFESSION.

The Woman Who Spends. By Bertha June Richardson. Second Edition Revised. Published by Whitcomb and Barrows, Boston. 1910.

To-day, the woman usually buys for the entire household, and this control over expenditures is a great and too little thought of power. Upon its use depend the well-being of the family and the progress of society. After the bare necessities in the home, are spiritual or material comforts to have precedence? Books or fine clothes? Hospitality or furnishings? For the community's sake shall the conditions of production be taken into account, or merely the price of the article? Shall the way of spending constitute a demand for real worth or only for shoddy cheapness? The right answer hangs upon the spender's ideals and her intelligent independence in keeping her course. "It is as an appeal to the conscience of the women of the land to think on these things that this little book is sent forth," writes Ellen H. Richards in her few words of introduction.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**The Science of Getting Rich.** By W. D. Wattles. Published by Elizabeth Towne, Holyoke, Mass. 1910. Price, \$1.00.

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The possession of land can only be maintained by military power.—John Ruskin.

PERIODICALS

"The Reality of the Temporal," by Prof. Royce of Harvard, and "The Appeal to Nature in Morals and Politics," by Prof. Roberts of Cardiff, in the International Journal of Ethics for April (Philadelphia, Boston and London), which will please students of ideal-

istic philosophy, may be as helpful to materialists as they will allow.

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"In all this work I was most keenly impressed with the impossibility of any outside persons really knowing the girls and their various needs"; for "to the student of social economics, to the employer, foreman, or philanthropist, the girls present a very different aspect from the one which they present to one who

From the Month's Correspondence.

Grain Growers' Grain Co., Limited

Winnipeg, Canada, March 21/10

Dear Sir:

Kindly send The Public to the enclosed address for one year.

I would like, if possible, to have this subscription start with the beginning of the year. Unfortunately my subscription expired in my absence and I have not received any copies of The Public since that time. I am desirous of keeping them and getting them bound. I consider The Public is one of the best Journals for getting unprejudiced opinions on current topics, and copies of them preserved will in the future have great historical value.

I admire the strong and effective efforts your Journal is making towards cleaner and higher ideals in Government. While your efforts must naturally be directed more to the affairs of your own great Country, nevertheless there are many in the Dominion of Canada who are closely watching the progress you are making, and who are making an effort to inculcate in the minds of the Canadian people the beneficent principles you advocate. In this respect I might instance Direct Legislation as illustrated by the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and the introduction of greater freedom in trade, which is bound up in--though only a part of--our present methods of taxation. The sentiment in favor of taxation of land values is slowly, steadily and solidly growing. Evidence of this was noticeable at our Farmers' Conventions, when the question of providing for Government hail insurance on grain was discussed. The sentiment was strongly in favor of making lands held by speculators (of which, in our new development in Western Canada, there is a great deal) bear a large portion of this burden.

Complimenting you again on the splendid work you are doing, and trusting that your success in the past may only be a slight augury of what the future holds in store, I am,

Yours truly,

GRAIN GROWERS' GRAIN CO. LTD.

D. A. CRERAR, President.

works by their side when the foreman's back is turned, and who lives with them." This observation by Florence Lucas Sanville in her interesting and instructive narrative of a personal experience as "A Woman in the Pennsylvania Silk Mills" in Harper's (New York) for April, would apply to all sorts and conditions of men and women—to all masters and servants, to white and black, to rich and poor, to aristocrat and plebeian. It is a wise observation applicable to all human experience. No person can really know another unless they live together not only upon friendly terms, but also upon terms of equality.

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+ + +

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"Mabel! I should say! Why, a couple of burglars

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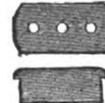
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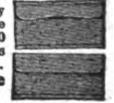
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broke into our house the other night and Mabel went down stairs and knocked their heads together and made them both sign a suffrage petition!"—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

+ + +

Truth, crushed to earth, was rising, but with exceeding slowness.

"Why should I hurry, anyhow?" said Truth. "The poet says the 'eternal years' are mine."

With which lame excuse she also justified herself

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+ + +

A young man who travels in the West for a local manufacturing firm was telling his friends of his trip.

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* * *

"Isn't your hat rather curious in shape?" asked the uninformed man.

"Certainly," answered his wife. "It has to be. Any

hat that wasn't curious in shape would look queer." —Washington Star.

* * *

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Were strolling softly aft.
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There's little hope from Taft." —Life.

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