

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Sociological Laboratory Work.

Chicago newspapers report the members of a Sociology Club of the city of Chicago as making a study of "just how the city's poor live," by scrutinizing the places where they live. As far as it goes, good. But laboratory work of that kind can hardly be considered as complete without a like study of "just how" the city's rich live. The House of Want cannot be understood unless the House of Have is understood also.

♦ ♦

Self-Supporting Government Business.

Since the Federal authorities are boasting of the possibility of making the postal department self-sustaining, why do they not try also to make the naval department pay for itself? There is no more reason for making the mail service pay for itself in dollars and cents directly than there is for making the naval service pay for itself in the same way. If the naval service is worth its keep for what it earns indirectly, isn't the postal service too?

♦ ♦

The Suffragists and President Taft.

Although not a nice thing, it may be, to have hissed President Taft's speech of welcome at the National Women's Suffrage Convention in Washington, it was he that offended first. As the official head of the city where it met, he was at the convention to extend the city's welcome. If

he did not agree with its object, he could have remained away; or, having gone, he might have explained his position sufficiently to prevent a misinterpretation of his presence as an endorsement. But by misusing his address of welcome to make a partisan speech flatly in opposition to the object of the convention, he was guilty of a blunder in taste which from a man of keener perceptions might have seemed very like a studied insult. The convention, by apologizing for the spontaneous hissing which Mr. Taft had provoked and which it could not prevent, has shown in extraordinarily high degree the very self-restraint which he implied that suffrage-seeking women do not possess.

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Mr. Taft's principal argument against women's suffrage was as offensive a fling at the working-women of the United States as the impropriety of the occasion he chose for it was to those who impulsively hissed. Unless he alluded to workingwomen, his argument was twaddle, for there are no other large enough classes of women to whom the unfavorable distinction he made could apply. As to his plea for evidence of capability for the suffrage before it is granted, it was too trifling to call for any other response than that no intelligence at all is necessary to qualify for voting up to the Taft standard. His attack upon the Insurgent Republicans for not standing pat with their party shows that by his standards the most idiotic voter "votes intelligently" if he votes with Mr. Taft's faction.

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By the way! During the Presidential campaign, didn't Mr. Taft pose as a women's suffragist? And wasn't Mr. Bryan put, by guileless women suffragists, upon a lower political plane than Mr. Taft because he refused to express himself on the subject in a national campaign in which it was not a national issue? From that episode of the campaign, and this later one of the suffrage convention, some folks might be wicked enough to draw conclusions in a candor contest not altogether favorable to Mr. Taft.

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When Women Vote.

At the school board election last week in Oak Park, a suburb of Chicago, the notion that women won't vote if they have the right to, received another blow in the face. Not only did they vote in large numbers there, but they carried the election. Women are pretty much like men in the matter of voting. They vote when they are in-

terested. If a difference is to be recognized, it is perhaps as to what interests them; men are interested in getting the kind of graft they like, and women in opposing the kind they don't like.

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The Socialist Vote in Milwaukee.

Inferences that the Social-Democratic party in Milwaukee has won the recent municipal election (pp. 339, 346) by non-Socialist votes cast in a fit of temper at the old Democratic and Republican regimes are disputed. It is argued that the Socialist party vote for Mayor has steadily increased since 1898, and that the triumph at the recent election was achieved by proportionate gains. The additional point is made that the Socialist vote for President, which may be fairly considered a strict party vote, has kept pace with the city vote. We therefore tabulate the Social-Democratic vote since 1898, for its bearing upon the point in dispute:

Mayor in 1898 (Milwaukee).....	2,414
Governor in 1898 (Milwaukee Co.).....	2,544
Mayor in 1900 (Milwaukee).....	2,473
President in 1900 (Milwaukee Co.).....	4,874
Mayor in 1902 (Milwaukee).....	8,453
Governor in 1902 (Milwaukee Co.).....	10,881
Mayor in 1904 (Milwaukee).....	15,056
President in 1904 (Milwaukee Co.).....	18,339
Mayor in 1906 (Milwaukee).....	16,837
Governor in 1906 (Milwaukee Co.).....	17,031
Mayor in 1908 (Milwaukee).....	20,887
President in 1908 (Milwaukee Co.).....	17,496
Mayor in 1910 (Milwaukee).....	27,708

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Socialist Spoils of Office.

"No application from Socialists for appointments," is the report of Mayor Seidel, the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee. What is the use of commenting upon that? It speaks for itself.

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Corporation Publicity.

With the sanction of the Administration at Washington, Congress is amending the corporation tax law so as to give the President the absolute power to publish or conceal, use or misuse, the information obtained under that law, by providing that reports made under it by corporations—not small or competitive corporations, merely, but the monopoly giants also, shall—

be open to inspection only upon the order of the President, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury and approved by the President.

Is there possibly any connection between that amendment and circumstances to which the fol-

lowing letter from the Illinois Manufacturers' Association points?

We do not think it fair for the President of the United States, after he received the support of the corporations, to enact a law that was discriminatory and unjust. We do not believe that there is any law of God or man that justifies one in asking for help and giving a body blow in return. There is no intention of being disrespectful and unfair in any of the literature that goes out from this office, but I assure you that we will insist on our rights, and will present the truth as we find it.

* *

Roosevelt.

It is appalling, what good Roosevelt may do when he gets home—and what harm. He may be democratic, but only as a red blooded aristocrat is. He may mean well, but he doesn't think well when he thinks at all. Should his right meaning draw him to the Insurgents, his personality might be as steam to a boat with her nose pointed right; should his wrong thinking make him a Stand-patter, he might become our Man on Horseback.

* *

The Police "Sweatbox."

Justice Wright of Washington, whose conduct in the Gompers injunction case (vol. xii, p. 1188), was justly criticized, has made a decision on the police "sweatbox" (pp. 337, 350) which entitles him to the credit that belongs to a judge who holds fast to the land marks of civil liberty. He decides that the arrest of persons on suspicion of crime without a magistrate's warrant is unlawful unless a warrant is immediately procured. Under that view of the law—and it is a view that no well-read lawyer will dispute—the "sweatbox" would be as impossible as it ought to be. Police detectives could no longer hold prisoners in secret custody to torture out or worm out from them confessions that are more likely to be false than true.

* *

Menacing Municipal Home Rule.

A vicious bill before the Ohio legislature, has but barely escaped passage. It was a bill to empower the Governor to remove the mayor of any city in the State upon finding him guilty of "gross misconduct," "gross neglect of duty," or, among other things, "refusal to enforce the law." Such a bill would have taken the government of every city away from its inhabitants. What partisan Governor would have had any difficulty in finding a mayor guilty of gross misconduct or neglect of duty if a partisan advantage were to be gained by it? Incidentally this bill afforded an

interesting contrast of the attitude of politicians toward the recall. In Illinois they required a petition of 75 per cent of the voters to enable the people of a city to vote for the removal of an official; but in the Ohio bill, a 2 per cent petition was considered enough to authorize the Governor of the State to remove the mayor of any city.

* *

The Gold Dollar as a Dishonest Dollar.

Financial experts, both the theoretical of the universities and the practical of the market place, seem to be fairly well agreed upon Byron W. Holt's theory that gold has fallen in value. What, then, is to be done in order to have an "honest dollar"? Silver was demonetized. But as gold is now the single monetary standard, gold cannot be demonetized. Consequently the creditor class must suffer loss just as they would if depreciated silver had been restored as a money metal—unless some way can be found to raise the value of gold dollars. But that might not be so difficult. Gold dollars are standard now at 25.8 grains of gold nine-tenths fine. Why not standardize them at some higher point—say 38.7 grains, or more or less according to the depreciation of gold? Listen to the little birds, and maybe they will tell you pretty soon that something like this is to be attempted by and by.

* * *

THE EXPLOITATION OF LABOR.

What does that mean—"exploitation of labor"?

It means that workers are "fleeced" through unfair wages, which they accept because they have to or starve. They have to accept or starve because the supply of workers is greater than the demand for workers. This is a fact which everybody knows.

Everybody ought also to know the reason why it is a fact.

There may indeed be many reasons, but there is one which must be reckoned with before the others can be effectually disposed of. This is monopoly of natural resources. The earth is forestalled by labor exploiters. Workers are disinherited. Labor is locked out from its own.

* *

Think of it a moment, calmly and fairly.

If mines were monopolized, couldn't exploiters of labor slow down mining operations? And wouldn't this make an over-supply of labor—unless disemployed miners could find profitable opportunities to work at something else?

And then if lumber forests also were monop-

olized, couldn't lumbering operations be slowed down? And in that case wouldn't there be an oversupply, not only of miners but also of lumbermen—unless disemployed miners and lumbermen could find profitable opportunities to work at something else than mining or lumbering?

And if in addition, building lots in all the cities and towns and villages were monopolized, wouldn't building operations be checked? And if they were wouldn't there then be an oversupply of builders, too—unless disemployed miners, lumbermen and builders could find profitable opportunities to work at something else than mining, lumbering or building?

Further, if farming land were also monopolized, wouldn't opportunities for farming be severely limited? And wouldn't that close out pretty nearly all opportunities for surplus workers, who would then be made up of disemployed farmers and all other kinds of workers as well as miners and lumbermen and builders?

Finally, if those were the basic conditions of social life, wouldn't workers bid fiercely against each other for opportunities to work at anything? And wouldn't that unnatural competition become so fierce that all the great tools of labor, the machinery which labor itself makes—factories, railroads, ships, and all the rest—wouldn't this machinery be monopolized by labor exploiters as fast as it was made? And wouldn't that round out the economic power of labor exploiters, giving them the monopoly of both land and machinery, and thereby reducing the workers to economic servitude?

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Those questions are not invented. They assume no fanciful circumstances. They rest upon precisely the circumstances in which the work of the world is done today.

Mines, forests, building sites, farming land, and all other natural opportunities where civilization is, are in fact monopolized.

Thereby their use by labor is in fact checked.

Consequently there is in fact fierce competition among workers for opportunities to work in order to live.

And under the stress of that unnatural and deadly competition, workers do in fact suffer confiscation of machinery as fast as they make it, and labor exploiters therefore can and do in fact reduce wages—the lowest to the dead line and the higher in proportion.

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You have here, then, the basic reason for labor exploitation. Natural resources being monop-

olized, all the rest is only a matter of "going on." For if labor be locked out from the natural resources of labor, labor exploiters need have little difficulty in locking it out from the machinery they then permit it to make. And inasmuch as labor is locked out from the natural resources of labor, the land upon which labor lives and from which it must make its living, labor exploitation easily locks it out also from the very machinery which it produces.

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To emancipate labor from that servitude, the machinery of modern industry must be secured to its producers, and access to the natural resources of labor must be restored to labor.

About this there can be no honest dispute.

The only debatable question is the question of method. How can that security and that restoration be accomplished most easily, most speedily, most effectually?

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With reference, then, to those tests, and without too hastily condemning other methods, let these suggestions be fairly considered.

Wouldn't it be easier for labor to make machinery, and for its makers to retain ownership (individually or collectively as you will), if the work of producing and using machinery were exempt from all taxation? Every one knows that it would be, if he knows anything at all about the effect of taxation upon industry. This much, then, could be accomplished by that tax exemption. The worker would derive economic strength from it; the labor exploiter would suffer corresponding weakness.

But not for long if the reform stopped there. The exemptions of industry from taxation would soon be reflected in higher prices for natural resources. What labor gained and labor exploiters lost through that tax exemption, labor would lose again and labor exploiters recover through the more intense monopolization of land that would follow.

If, however, tax exemptions of industry were accompanied with increasing taxes on natural resources—not "specific" but "ad valorem," to adopt the expressive distinction in common use with reference to custom house taxation; not by area or size of holding but by value—it is evident that a beneficial effect in two directions would immediately result. Retaining on the one hand the benefit of industrial tax exemptions, labor would derive on the other hand further benefits from higher ad valorem taxes on natural resources. The monopoly of land would decline. It would have

to, for the owners of unused land would unload if land value taxes were too high to leave an unearned profit. Besides adding to the economic strength of labor, this would increase the economic weakness of labor exploiters. And not for a time but for good and all. It would literally "cut the ground from under" the exploitation of labor.

After that, the whole problem of labor exploitation would again be simply one of "going on," but of going on in the opposite direction from now. With land monopoly at the base of our industrial system, it is labor exploitation that gains by the "going on;" but with land monopoly shriveled by taxation of land values and industry stimulated by exemption of labor values, the "going on" would be toward a complete uprooting of labor exploitation and the absolute economic independence of labor.

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Other methods of destroying labor exploitation may be more spectacular than this one. They may exhibit more of the poetry of motion. They may be more complex. They may be more superficially attractive. They may appeal more strongly to the sociological microscopist who thinks that "life isn't as simple as all that." They may give promise of helping the worker without hurting the exploiter. Any one of them may better serve the purpose of fanatics or of dabblers in industrial reform. But this method answers best to the three tests—ease in application, speed in operation, effectiveness in result.

It could be easily applied in our country. For in its beginning it might be but a mild extension of a custom already established. We tax land values now, and we often encourage improvement by partial or temporary exemptions of improvements. Let us have more of both.

It would be speedy in operation. For when the good effects of its primary applications were recognized, movements to extend it would be popular and spontaneous. This is human nature.

It would be effective in result. For exemption of industry from taxation, along with heavy taxation of land values, would so continuously encourage industry and discourage land monopoly as to keep demand for labor constantly ahead of supply. This is an economic truism.

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Still further advantages over other methods for uprooting labor exploitation are offered by this one. It needs no revolution to adopt it. Its benefits begin with its first applications and grow with their extension. And when it is in full operation,

it furnishes a secure foundation for any other or further industrial reform that may then be needed or desired.

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 19, 1910.

Republican Politics.

President Taft's bill for the regulation of monopoly, under consideration in the Senate in the form of a Court of Commerce bill, furnished the occasion on the 12th for a ruthless exposure of the bill by Senator La Follette. In the course of a speech of four hours, for which careful and minute preparation was evident and which alluded to the Standpat speeches of Mr. Wickersham and Mr. Taft (p. 347), Mr. La Follette said:

Never before has any one undertaken seriously to put through Congress a charter for the monopolization and oppression of the commerce of this country such as is carried in the devious language and hidden purposes of this measure. Never before has it been attempted, with the support of the national Administration, and of the party organization in Congress, to legislate for special privilege and against the public interest.

The mask is off. Mr. Mellen, Mr. Byrnes, and others of their kind are but hired megaphones, through which a beefy, red faced, thick necked financial bully, drunk with wealth and power, bawls his orders to stock markets, directors, courts, governments and nations. We have been listening to Mr. Morgan! No arguments worthy of the name have been advanced to justify this measure. The statements and arguments heard by the President's committee which led it to agree upon the original bill, the bill which formed the nucleus about which the railroads and the Attorney General subsequently arranged the really important provisions of this bill, are not disclosed to Congress, but repose in the archives of the Department of Justice. Nor has the Attorney General deigned to make public the considerations placed before him by representatives of railroad financial interests which led him to make the changes which he did make in this bill. These changes were made and such reasons as the Attorney General offered to the committee on interstate commerce in support of them were presented after the public hearings on the bill were closed to Congress and to the public. No representative of any public interest was notified of the changes or given any opportunity to be heard concerning them. They are embodied in a complete new bill, introduced in the Senate and reported by the committee for passage

in the same day. Yet, if we pause to inquire, if we are not already convinced beforehand to vote for and pass this legislation without investigation of the conditions with which it deals, without any knowledge of its effect in application, without even being informed of the reasons which controlled in framing it, we are accused of "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." We are denounced by the Attorney General as traitors to the Republican party and threatened with the displeasure of the Administration. Mr. President, men who have grown gray fighting the battles of the Republican party are not obliged to have their Republicanism certified by an Attorney General, who, until recently, was known to the public chiefly as attorney for the Big Business and financial interests of New York. Nor will they be intimidated by him or his kind in their efforts to bring the Republican party in Congress and convention, as it still is among the people, back to the Republicanism of Lincoln, to the service of public interests and of public interests alone.

The pending bill has been heralded to the country as "a bill to create a court of commerce." It is true that the bill proposes in the first section to create a court of commerce, but the court of commerce provision is relatively of so little importance among the many provisions of this bill that, giving not the slightest clew to the real purposes of this legislation, it amounts, in effect, to a misnomer. The bill is before the country under false pretenses and a false title. The court of commerce provision is little more than a mask, behind which lurk unknown and unnumbered villainies of proposed legislation. This bill, Mr. President, is the boldest raid upon public right in the form of legislation upon this great subject that the System ever has succeeded in forcing upon the serious consideration of Congress.

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Democratic Politics.

Jefferson's birthday dinners on the 13th brought out expressions from leading Democrats upon the present political situation in the United States. The most notable in that respect were the dinner at Washington and the one at Indianapolis, at both of which a letter from William J. Bryan, who was traveling in South America when he wrote it, was read. Objections to parts of it were made by some of the Democratic leaders. Following is the part of the letter that contained the expressions to which objections were made:

I notice that we seem likely to win a victory over the meat trust. Monopoly prices at last have provoked a popular protest, and now that the people are looking for a remedy there is hope that they will accept the Democratic remedy. It is not unnatural that they should use the boycott, even if they punish themselves while they are inflicting punishment on their oppressors; but I am sure they will in the end, find legislation more satisfactory than abstinence from meat, and join with the Democrats in declaring a private monopoly—not the meat trust only, but every private monopoly—indefensible and intolerable. Another item of news has just come to my attention. President Taft, in his Lincoln speech at New York Feb. 12, attributes present high prices

mainly to the increase in the production of gold and the consequent enlargement of the volume of money. This unexpected indorsement of our party's proposition in 1896, when we demanded more money as the only remedy for falling prices, is very gratifying. How valuable that admission would have been to us if it had been made during the campaign of that year, when the Republican leaders were denying that the volume of money had any influence on prices, and asserting that it did not matter whether we had much money or little, provided it was all good. We may now consider the quantitative theory of money established beyond dispute and proceed to the consideration of other questions. But the President and his predecessor have admitted the correctness of the Democratic position on so many questions that further argument is hardly necessary on any subject. We may take judgment against the Republican party by confession.

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Another Landslide.

A Standpat Republican was defeated for Congress on the 19th at Rochester, N. Y., by James S. Havens, a Democrat, by 5,000 plurality. The Republican, whose death had caused the vacancy, was elected in 1908 by 10,167.

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Bryan's Return.

After a tour of South America and the West Indies, William J. Bryan returned to the United States on the 18th, landing at New York. After a call upon Mayor Gaynor, he was received at dinner by the Circumnavigators' Club, which had elected him to membership. Asked by newspaper interviewers if he would consent to accept another nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Bryan said: "I have said all I am going to say on that subject. I think my position is understood perfectly. I don't think it necessary to deny stories that I am going to be a candidate for the United States Senate or that I am going to embrace the Prohibition movement."

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Convention of Women Suffragists.

The most memorable national convention of women suffragists in the history of that movement in the United States (vol. xii, p. 664; vol. xiii, p. 256) assembled at Washington, D. C., on the 14th and remained in session until the 19th. They were addressed by President Taft on the opening day; and among the speakers at their mass meetings were Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Ella S. Stewart, and Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Robins. In a long procession of taxicabs on the 18th they sent to Congress a petition for a Constitutional amendment giving suffrage to women. The petition, which was signed by 400,000 persons, was delivered to Senators and Representatives in bundles by States. These were presented to the two Houses by the members entrusted with them. Senator La Follette made an eloquent speech in the Senate in behalf of the petition as he pre-

sented it. No speeches were made in the House, the rules forbidding speeches on presenting petitions. Committee hearings were had on the 19th under the leadership of the Rev. Anna Shaw before the judiciary committee of the Senate, and Florence Kelley before the judiciary committee of the House. The convention elected on the 18th the following officers for the National American Suffrage Association: President, Anna Shaw; first vice-president, Rachel Foster Avery; second vice-president, Catharine Waugh McCulloch; recording secretary, Ella S. Stewart; corresponding secretary, Mary Ware Dennett; treasurer, Harriet Taylor Upton; auditors, Laura Clay and Alice Stone Blackwell.

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President Taft at the Suffrage Convention.

It was announced on the 13th that President Taft, whose friendliness to women's suffrage was one of the features of his campaign for the Presidency, would address the national convention of women suffragists at Washington (p. 256), and, according to the Washington correspondence of the Chicago Tribune of the 14th, delegates to the convention asserted that he would "go further than a mere address of welcome" and would "speak words of real encouragement for the cause." His acceptance aroused the organized anti-suffrage women who wrote him a letter of protest, and when he came to speak on the 14th he made what he described as his "confession of faith":

I am not entirely certain that I ought to have come tonight, but your committee who invited me assured me that I would be welcome, even if I did not support all the views which were to be advanced. I considered that this movement represented a sufficient part of the intelligence of the community to justify my coming here to welcome you to Washington. . . .

When I was 16 years old, and was graduated from the Woodward High school in Cincinnati, I took for my subject, "Woman Suffrage," and I was as strong an advocate of woman suffrage as any member of this convention. I had read Mills' "Subjection of Woman"; my father was a woman suffragist, and so at that time I was orthodox. But in the actual political experience which I have had I have modified my views somewhat.

In the first place, popular representative government we approve and support, because on the whole every class, that is, every set of individuals who are similarly situated in the community, who are intelligent enough to know what their own interests are, is better qualified to determine how those interests shall be cared for and preserved than any other class, however altruistic that class may be. But I call your attention to two qualifications in that statement—one is that the class should be intelligent enough to know its own interests. The theory that Hottentots or any uneducated, altogether unintelligent class, is fitted for self-government at once, or to take part in government, is a theory that I wholly dissent from, but this qualification is not applicable

to the question here. The other qualification to which I call your attention is that the class should, as a whole, care enough to look after its interests to take part as a whole in the exercise of political power, if it is conferred. Now, if it does not care enough for this, then it seems to me that the danger is, if the power is conferred, that it may be exercised by that part of the class least desirable as political constituents, and be neglected by many of those who are intelligent and patriotic and would be most desirable as members of the electorate.

The last phrases of this sentence were drowned out in the volume of murmurs of disapproval and hisses. Mr. Taft continued, after a moment:

Now, my dear ladies, you must show yourselves equal to self-government by exercising, in listening to opposing arguments, that degree of restraint without which successful self-government is impossible. If I could be sure that women as a class in the community, including all the intelligent women most desirable as political constituents, would exercise the franchise, I should be in favor of it. At present there is considerable doubt upon this point. In certain of the States which have tried it, woman suffrage has not been a failure. It has not made, I think, any substantial difference in politics. I think it is perhaps possible to say that its adoption has shown an improvement in the body politic, but it has been tested only in those States where the population is sparse and where the problem of intrusting such power to women in the concentrated population of great cities is not presented. For this reason, if you will permit me to say so, my impression is that the task before you in obtaining what you think ought to be granted in respect to the political rights of women is not in convincing men, but it is in convincing the majority of your own class of the wisdom of extending the suffrage to them and of their duty to exercise it.

The convention sent a letter of apology to President Taft for the hissing and he wrote in reply an acceptance of the apology.

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Labor Lockout in Germany.

Despatches from Berlin tell of an enormous lockout of workmen by a general combination of employers. It began on the 15th, and on the 16th 250,000 workmen were locked out. The object of the lockout, as stated by the employers, is to subdue the working classes so that they will not be able to continue their policy of forcing higher wages and shorter hours by bringing on local strikes and thereby securing agreements from time to time and here and there from employers unable single-handed to resist their demands. The immediate occasion for the lockout was the unanimous refusal of the federation of trades unions to accept a wage tariff proposed by the master builders' union. The general employers' organization, which includes representatives of every German industry, is supporting the lockout and already has voted several million marks for the aid of master builders.

British Politics.

The second resolution regarding the Lords' veto (p. 348) came to vote in the House of Commons on the 14th. Prior to the hour set for closing the debate, Mr. Asquith attempted to describe the course the Ministry would pursue should the House of Lords reject the proposed veto resolutions; but the Tory leader, Mr. Balfour, raised a point of order which the chairman of committee of the whole sustained. Mr. Asquith thereupon announced that he would make his statement on moving to adjourn. When the vote was taken in committee on the veto resolution, the resolution was adopted by 351 to 246. This was followed by the adoption by 334 to 236 of a resolution altering the duration of Parliaments from seven years to five.

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Mr. Asquith now formally introduced in the House the Ministerial bill embodying the veto resolutions, following with the statement he had been prevented from making in committee of the whole. His statement is cabled in the news despatches as follows:

We are confronted by an exceptional, perhaps a unique case. The Government's effective existence depends upon the passing of the resolutions into law. If the House of Lords fails to accept or declines to consider our policy, the Government will feel it their duty to advise the Crown as to what steps are necessary to insure their policy receiving statutory effect. It would not be right for me to disclose the terms of that advice, but unless the Government find themselves in a position to give their policy statutory effect they will either resign office or recommend dissolution of Parliament. But in no case will they advise dissolution except under such conditions as would insure that in the new Parliament the judgment of the people as expressed at the elections would be carried into law.

The last sentence implies that pledges from the King to appoint enough new Lords to "swamp" the present Tory majority in the House of Lords will be demanded by the Ministry.

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From the moment it appeared in the proceedings that the Irish members under Redmond's lead were cooperating with the Labors and the Liberals, the Tories were fierce in their denunciations, and with interruptions and offensive accusations and epithets they produced almost unprecedented disorder. Mr. Balfour in his Opposition speech charged a bargain through which the Irish had "agreed to swallow the Budget," in order to get home rule, and Mr. Asquith as having "bought the Irish vote at the price of the dignity of his office and its great traditions." Other Tories yelled across the chamber at the cheering Liberals: "Why don't you cheer Redmond, your master?" "Cheer the Irish victory!" "Cheer the dynamiters

and associates of Patrick Ford!" etc., while others shouted "Dynamitards!" at the Irish members.

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Meanwhile Mr. Asquith had given notice of a resolution to be introduced on the 18th, providing for consideration of the Budget of 1909, all its legislative stages to be completed on April 27th; and on the 18th this resolution was adopted by a vote of 345 to 252. The Budget of 1909 was accordingly introduced by Lloyd George on the 19th.

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The London correspondent of the New York World makes this lucid and probably correct summary of the situation:

There is little doubt that the Irish party will decide to vote for the Budget as an essential step in their support of the Government in its campaign against the Lords. It is the obvious policy of the Irish now to strengthen the hands of the Government in every possible way, and by carrying the rejected Budget by a handsome majority they will assist in discrediting the Lords. The King is said to be intensely worried by the dilemma in which he is now placed as the arbiter in the biggest Constitutional fight since the revolution of 1688. He recognizes that Balfour and Lansdowne, in taking the unprecedented step of rejecting the Budget, are the persons responsible. They forced the crisis even against his advice and rejected his suggestions for a compromise.

The surmise in this World dispatch to the effect that the Irish party will vote for the Budget, was confirmed on the 18th by Mr. Redmond. He announced the decision of the party to give cordial support to the Asquith ministry, including support of the Budget. Their reason as he stated it was that financial injustice to Ireland is only remediable by securing home rule, and the merits or demerits of the Budget are trivial in comparison with the abolition of the veto power of the House of Lords.

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Australian Politics.

Meager news dispatches from Melbourne tell of an overwhelming defeat at the elections for members of the Commonwealth parliament (vol. xii, p. 678; vol. xiii, p. 148), of the fusion led by the Protectionist Liberal, Alfred Deakin. The Labor party was victorious. It is reported to have gained ten seats in the House of Representatives and probably six in the Senate, which furnishes it with a working majority in both Houses.

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The Labor party had formed a Ministry in the Commonwealth parliament in November, 1908, having a plurality in the lower House but not a majority. The leading plank in its platform was a graduated tax on land values. Some six months later a fusion of the opposition parties was ef-

fect, with Mr. Deakin as leader, and late in May of last year the Labor ministry was defeated by a vote of 39 to 30. Some of the members of the old parties supported the Labor ministry, but it was nevertheless in a minority against the fusion. The Labor leader—Prime Minister Fisher—tried to secure a dissolution at that time but was defeated by the fusionists, who supported Mr. Deakin in the formation of a new ministry. In January the Parliament came regularly to an end, and at the elections there were but two parties, the Fusion and the Labor, and as noted above the Labor party won. The incoming Parliament will be the fourth of the Commonwealth.

NEWS NOTES

—The second annual Conference on City Planning and the Problems of Congestion is to be held at Rochester, N. Y., May 2 to 4.

—San Francisco is planning a "Panama-Pacific International Exposition," to be held in 1915 at the time appointed for the completion of the Panama Canal.

—Miss Margaret Haley is to speak before the Chicago Single Tax Club, in the Schiller Building, Friday evening, the 22d, on "Education and Taxation in Chicago."

—Senator La Follette has been invited by the Chicago Federation of Labor to address a public meeting on "The Game Big Business Is Playing Upon the Country."

—The national Conservation Congress will meet in Convention Hall, Kansas City, early in September. Gifford Pinchot, President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt are announced as speakers.

—A series of sixty-two earthquake shocks swept through Costa Rica on the 13th, 14th and 15th. Nearly every building in San José, the capital, was thrown down or damaged, but no lives were lost.

—H. Martin Williams, one of the earliest supporters of Henry George in the United States, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for representative in the Illinois legislature from Jefferson County.

—Emil Seidel, the Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee (pp. 339, 346), was inaugurated on the 19th, the City Council having first organized by the election of Edwin T. Melms (Socialist) as president and Carl D. Thompson (Socialist) as city clerk. The new Mayor delivered an inaugural address.

—Duncan B. Cooper, who with his son was convicted of assassinating the late Senator Carmack of Tennessee a year and a half ago (vol. xii., p. 301), was pardoned by his friend Governor Patterson on the 13th. Robin J. Cooper, the son, was given a new trial by the Supreme Court of the State.

—The "No vote, no Tax League" of Chicago (p. 276) adopted resolutions on the 16th declaring President Taft's anti-suffrage speech "un-American and in disregard of the principles of our government." Arrangements are being perfected by the league to oppose the collection of taxes that are unfair in

comparison with the taxes of the influential rich. At the meeting noted above it was reported that 130 tax paying women have authorized this litigation in their behalf.

—A conference which met in Chicago on the 18th elected provisional officers and made plans for a National Farm Land Congress under the auspices of the Chicago Association of Commerce. The provisional officers are Don Farnsworth president, C. A. Walsh secretary and George E. Roberts treasurer.

—The profit-sharing plans of Sir Christopher Furness for the future operation of his ship yard at West Hartlepool, England, which went into operation about a year and a half ago (vol. xi, p. 687) have been abandoned. On the question of continuing them through another year, the employes voted adversely 598 to 492.

—Sir Robert Giffen, journalist, financial writer and statistician, died in London on the 12th at the age of 73 years. Some of his publications included "American Railways as Investments," "Stock Exchanges as Securities," "Essays in Finance," "The Progress of the Working Class in the Last Half Century" and "The Case Against Bimetallism."

—Tom L. Johnson (p. 322) and Joseph Fels were the guests at dinner in London on the 11th of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, Thomas F. Walker of Birmingham presiding. Mr. Fels wrote on the 8th that Mr. Johnson was then "getting on finely, improving daily," and London dispatches of the 12th told of his intention of going soon to Glasgow.

—In a by-election to the Reichstag which has just come off in a country district in East Prussia which had been carried by the Conservatives for forty years, a National-Liberal has been elected by 3,000 votes. Popular dissatisfaction over the Prussian government's suffrage reform bill which carries but slight reform (pp. 275, 349), is held to be partly responsible for the radicalization of the district.

—Prof. William G. Sumner of Yale University died at Englewood, N. J., on the 12th. Born in Paterson, N. J., in 1840, Prof. Sumner graduated from Yale in 1863 and later studied abroad. He was instructor at Yale from 1864 to 1866, when he was ordained into the Episcopal ministry. He preached in Morristown, N. J., until 1872, and then he returned to Yale. Political economy was his subject at Yale. He was a political economist of the classical type and a free trader of the Manchester school.

—Mount McKinley, in Alaska, has been ascended by Thomas Lloyd, Daniel Patterson, W. R. Taylor and Charles McGinnigle, members of the expedition which left Fairbanks, Alaska, December 15, for the purpose of climbing the peak as soon as the weather permitted in the spring, and before the snows should melt. The topmost peak was reached on the 3d of this month. The mountain is declared to be 20,464 feet in height. The members of the expedition report that no trace of the proofs Dr. Frederick A. Cook alleges he left behind when he made his supposed ascent of the mountain were found (vol. xii, p. 1020).

—The International Harvester Co. announces a system of compensation to employes suffering from

accident not caused by the intoxication or willful disregard of safety appliances by the injured person. The scale of payment is to be, in case of death, three years' average wages, but not less than \$1,500 nor more than \$4,000; for loss of hand, or foot, one and a half year's wages, but not less than \$500 nor more than \$2,000; for other injuries, one-fourth wages for 30 days of disability, one-half wages during two years of disability, if it continues beyond 30 days, and if the disability is total a pension after two years.

—A corner in rice, and a consequent famine, has produced rioting at Changsha, China (pp. 112, 294, 302, 304). The governor of Hunan province and his son have been killed, and many officials and most of the foreign residents have fled from the city. The official buildings and most buildings owned by foreigners, especially the missions, have been destroyed by fire. Six thousand foreign drilled soldiers, stationed at Chansha, at first protected the governor's house, but finally joined the rioters. Chansha lies in the heart of southern China, some three or four hundred miles north of Canton. The district is said to be strongly anti-foreign.

—A group of distinguished European jurists, including Professor Westlake, Sir Edward Fry and Sir Frederick Pollock among British jurists, with Professors Anschutz von Bar, Lapradelle and Nys among their Continental colleagues, have issued a manifesto on behalf of Finland, in which it is asserted that Finland has a solemn treaty right to the autonomy which she now enjoys, and that the coup d'etat which the Russian Government proposes (p. 322) would be a violation of her Constitution. The London Nation says of the manifesto that the moral value of a voluntary opinion such as this is, in some respects, higher than that of a constituted court.

—A pension bill, under which all surviving volunteer officers of the United States army who served six months or more would receive retired pay, and all honorably discharged enlisted men over 70 years of age would receive a straight pension of \$30 per month, was reported to the House of Representatives on the 13th by the committee on military affairs. Under this bill a private soldier over 70 years of age would receive \$30 per month, providing he served more than 90 days and his physical disability (not necessarily of service origin) is such as to "require the frequent and periodical care and attention of another person." The cost of the first year's operation of the proposed law would be \$9,264,012.

—Jo Labadie of Detroit celebrated his 60th birthday on the 18th with a unique social demonstration which can best be described in the language of his invitation card, neatly printed on birch bark: "At Home, 74 Buchanan street, Detroit, Mich. It ain't given every young feller to have 60 birthdays, and to this circumstance is du the fact that the front and back doors will be open at the cabin indicated for friends who choose to use them on the evening of the day given. I'll be thar with the glad hand, and a social cup o' tea or suthin will be awaitin ye. This aint no party, only a chance at the 60-mile post from whence to whither to press hands as we pass by. We may not cum this way agin. J. Labadie."

PRESS OPINIONS

Mr. Taft's Suffrage Logic.

The Peoria (Ill.) Star (ind.), April 16.—President Taft, as usual, fails to understand this question. It is one of simple justice. . . Viewed in the light of justice there is no reason why a woman who desires to vote should not be allowed to do so. We once heard Horace Greeley in Parmeley's Hall in this city put down one of these sophists. Greeley was advocating manhood suffrage, and a wiseacre interrupted him with, "Mr. Greeley, do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" Greeley paused and said, "My friend, if we were to limit the right of suffrage to the men whom I would choose for a son-in-law, I'm afraid you would lose your vote."

† †

Taft and Hammond.

La Follette's (ind. Rep.), April 16.—According to the current issue of Hampton's Magazine, John Hays Hammond, the man Friday of the Guggenheims, soldier of fortune, mining expert, pleasant gentleman, etc., has been the shadow of President Taft ever since the latter assumed office. Unhappy is the man who hangs on princes' favors, wrote Shakespeare three hundred years ago, but John Hays is not seeking personal preferment. So far from that, he offered an unappreciative party last year to immolate himself on the altar of the Vice Presidency. He is described as the highest salaried man in America. It is difficult to understand why a million a year should be paid a man for no other apparent service than to be near the President that the latter may have a tennis partner when needed or a prompter when making speeches on Alaska, but of course it requires some wherewithal to buy or lease a house whenever our much-travelling President stops over Sunday and this seems to have been one of John's little self indulgences.

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The Center of Power.

(Portland, Ore.) Labor Press (labor), Apr. 9.—Give me the right to tax and I will give all the rest to whoever wants the empty forms of government.

† †

Bryan and Roosevelt—A Contrast.

The (South Bend, Ind.) New Era (ind.), Apr. 9.—Mr. Roosevelt's troubles in Egypt bring to mind Mr. Bryan's articles on India. The former gained the displeasure of the people of Egypt by extolling the British rule, the latter gained the displeasure of the British officials by defending the right of the people in India. From these two incidents the character of these men may be judged.

† †

Oregon on Guard.

(Portland, Ore.) Labor Press (labor), Apr. 2.—There is no doubt but what some of the big interests in the United States are contributing, or have promised to contribute, large sums of money to

break down the initiative and referendum in Oregon. There are indications pointing that way that will be exposed in time. Perhaps too late. There are also indications pointing to money being contributed to break up labor organization, set the Grangers by the ears and prevent the formation of the Farmers' Union. The people of Oregon are reaching for the seats of power, and the tax-dodging, public-grafting corporations are going to try to stamp out the blaze before it becomes a conflagration extending over the country.

* * *

School House Centers.

The Aurora (Ill.) Daily Beacon (ind.) Apr. 11.—Milwaukee's new mayor, a Socialist, has some ideas in regard to municipal government which . . . strike at the root of the American community and which seem entirely practical. One of these is making the public school the social center. He would have the school building become the meeting place of the people of the district where fathers and mothers as well as children could meet with the teachers and all enjoy pleasures of which many are now deprived. He would have motion picture shows, billiard tables, bowling alleys, card rooms, etc. In fact his idea is to make the school house a club house. That idea is fast growing. It has already been adopted in many cities.

* * *

A Source of Public Income.

The (Chicago) Daily Socialist (Soc.), Apr. 15.—The Chipfield legislative committee that is investigating the stealing of "made lands" on the Lake front has estimated that some \$100,000,000 worth of such property has been taken from the State and city and is now held by private individuals. Here is a mass of income-bearing property that might be recovered by a Socialist administration without interfering with the constitution or overthrowing any of the established laws of capitalism. There is no especial reason why a big corporation that has stolen land from the State or city should be given very much more consideration than a hungry man who steals a piece of meat from the beef trust. . . . That Lake front steal might be a good place to begin "expropriating." There need be no talk of "compensation" or of violating abstract justice.

* * *

Legalized vs. Non-Legalized Graft.

Puck (satirical), April 13.—The story of "Pittsburgh's shame," in other words, the Pittsburgh graft disclosures, is made particularly interesting by the fact that Pittsburgh, which is so roused against municipal wrong-doing, is itself the hub of legalized graft in America. In the current case, Pittsburgh officials and some Pittsburgh bankers conspired so that both should benefit financially at the public expense. To that, it now appears, the Pittsburgh public objects. A great many men in Pittsburgh, however, see nothing wrong at all in a little pact between themselves and a Republican Congress by which, through a prohibitive tariff schedule, they shall benefit financially at the public expense. That sort of graft is legal. Mr. Carnegie says that he

owes to Pittsburgh "all that he has." And when he says that he simply means that Pittsburgh, Pa., is the center of the steel industry.

* * *

Milwaukee Socialism.

Mother Earth (anarchist), April.—The election of the Social Democratic candidates in Milwaukee seems to have confused the minds of even some usually clear-headed radicals. . . . It is childish to pretend that the election of the Social Democrats is a victory for revolutionary Socialism. On the contrary, it is its debacle. The original purpose of Socialist political activity was to propagate revolutionary Socialism, i. e., the abolition of capitalism and wage slavery. Political Socialism has perverted the means into an end. The Milwaukee brand, especially, has transformed Socialism into a demand for clean street cars, three-cent fare, cheaper gas, and public lavatories. On equally revolutionary planks such men as Potato-patch Pingree, Golden Rule Jones, Tom Johnson, Brand Whitlock, Judge Gaynor and others have been carried into power with tremendous pluralities. The Populists had been even more radical. The Social Democratic success in Milwaukee is a victory for petty bourgeois reform. It is fraught with great danger to real Socialism, the ideal of liberty, equal opportunity, and justice.

* * *

Land Grabbing in the Philippines.

The (New York) Nation, March 31.—By the organic act of July 1, 1902, Congress prescribed that no one person should purchase more than forty acres of land in the Philippines, and no corporation more than twenty-five hundred. Ever since, there has been walling and gnashing of teeth among the Americans in the archipelago who are there merely for exploitation purposes, and corporations have been loud in their statements that no large business enterprise can be made to pay in the Philippines under the present restrictions. These enactments have been the one bulwark of the Filipinos against the fortune-seeking American, whether of the respectable class or of the kind that disgraces us in Chinese and Japanese ports. Now there is a scheme up in Congress, sanctioned by the Administration, to upset virtually this whole policy by putting on the market in large lots the 400,000 acres of land purchased from the Friars by the United States—these comprising some of the richest lands in the islands. Attorney General Wickersham has ruled that these lands do not come under the organic act. If they do not, it is of the utmost importance that they should be brought within it. It would be a lasting shame to the United States if this misappropriation of public lands, which ought to be held in trust for the common people of the Philippine Islands, should be diverted to the uses of the Sugar Trust or similar concerns, or be made the bait for luring large capital to the islands.

* * *

"You are an American, and yet you don't believe in free speech. How's that?"

"I'm in the State Department."—Newark Evening News.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

GUMERE WOODS.

For The Public.

O deep and solemn woods, O trees,
With darksome branches shadowing cool the
ground,

O winds that pass o'er blue anemones
Withouten sound,

I feel you tho' I'm far away—

The gentle fragrance and the gentle air;
Nor scent nor sound is present, only sense
Of something fair—

Of something fair and rare, and set apart
For me alone; for how can others feel
The gentle spasm of the lonesome heart
At beauty past?

At thought of dim aisles, shaded, dark,
And solemn; silent from the flicker's call;
And on the floor, amid the leaves and bark,
Thy presence small.

O wood anemone, thy perfume sweet
Hath something tender and supremely fine;
A mother knows it in her baby's breath—
And I in thine.

C. H. R.

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"A LITTLE LAND AND A LIVING."

From the Cincinnati Post of August 28, 1909.

This is about Denmark, where the butter comes from. It is worth your while to read. Denmark has a lesson for us cocksure Yankees who know so much.

Denmark is a little tongue of land hanging onto the north edge of things by its eyebrows. It is a great breeding ground for Kings. A flock of Princes and Princesses turned loose in Denmark double their numbers every two years, and are healthy. Most of the Kings and Queens of Europe are of Danish blood. Other animals do well there, too.

The kingdom is just about the size of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The soil is good; but almost any of our agricultural States has better soil naturally. The Danes used to be poor as skimmed milk—poorer, in fact, for skim milk is rather rich, if you only realize it.

Now Denmark, on that patch of land, has 2,000,000 people, more than half of whom are farmers. Think of more than a million people supported by farming on the area of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and reckon the size of their farms, and you will be astonished. Yet, these Danish farmers were never so prosperous as now.

They sell the other half of the Danes what but-

ter and milk they consume, and ship the rest to England. And England pays these Danish dairy-men \$2,000,000 a week for it. Every man, woman and child on a Danish farm thus gets on the average \$2 a week from one country for one product. Denmark produces 170,000,000 pounds of butter every year. The nation is as contented as any people ought to be, and as prosperous as any nation in the world, perhaps. Their profits in cattle make up for the loss on Kings.

Now, how did this happy state of things come about?

Simplicity itself. It was education. The people of Denmark are a race of scientific farmers and dairymen. They are getting all the grass from their soil that the soil will produce. It has been farmed for a thousand years, and is better now than it was 10 years ago. In 10 years hence it will be better yet. They have no Roosevelt there to preach conservation of national resources, but it has been preached all the same. A Danish farmer is taught his business in school. Experiment stations are scattered all over the toy kingdom. They know all about bacteria and ferments and nitrates and legumes. They have solved the problem of Bolton Hall's book from which this title is stolen, "A Little Land and a Living."

Some day when we get over our American cocksureness we may well study the methods of some of these effete monarchies. Perhaps we beat them in effeteness. We do not teach the principles of agriculture in our common schools. We should. Every country school ought to be an agricultural experiment station, where the principles of soil physics, soil chemistry and farm science could be taught along with old-fashioned booklarnin'. Then the boys would not leave the farm.

And, in the meantime, consider the Dane—how he toils and skims and churns. It will pay.

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A COMMONWEALTH RULED BY FARMERS.

One of Five Articles on Industrial Democracy in Europe. Written by Dr. Frederic C. Howe for The Outlook. Reprinted Here from the March Magazine Number of The Outlook by Especial Permission of Its Publishers.

Denmark is a farmer State. It has a farmer Parliament, a farmer Ministry, a farmer point of view. Its legislation is that of the farmer, too.

Most countries are ruled by a class. It may be by a landed aristocracy, it may be by a commercial oligarchy. And most people accept the rule of a class as the most natural thing in the world. In Denmark the people really rule, and they rule in the interest of a larger percentage of the people than in any country I know, unless it be in Switz-

erland. The Danish peasant is the direct antithesis of the English peasant, who wants to be ruled by a lord. The peasant in Denmark wants to be ruled by a peasant like himself. Nor does he intrust his Government to members from the cities, to the lawyers, or to the large landowners. Denmark is suspicious of Copenhagen, its largest city. Denmark distrusts the lawyer, and the landed aristocracy is only permitted to protest. Copenhagen does not like the rule of the peasants. The permanent official seems to be ashamed of it, and the King employs himself busily in social and personal functions, with the most shadowy powers and with practically no influence on legislation.

The State of Denmark is a peasant democracy. Its ruling class is the small farmer possessing from forty to sixty acres of land, and with an outlook on life that is exclusively agricultural. The present Minister of Agriculture was a workingman whose business was that of thatching roofs. Three or four other members of the Ministry are small farmers, while all of the Cabinet owe their position to the peasant majority.

Copenhagen—A Socialist City.

While Denmark is a peasant commonwealth, Copenhagen, its capital city, with a population of 500,000, is a Socialist municipality. The Socialists have controlled the administration of the city for years. Strangely enough, they have made but little change in the traditions of the city or the programme of the men who preceded them. And Copenhagen accepts its Socialist administration with much more equanimity than it does its peasant Parliament. A Parliamentary election took place while I was in Copenhagen, and the dominant issue with Conservative and Radical alike was that of militarism. Should the country be fortified and garrisoned, or should it protect itself by being unarmed and peaceful? The result of the election was not conclusive. The strange thing about the campaign was that the landed and commercial classes agreed in advance to bear the cost of the military programme by means of a progressive income tax. Ordinarily, war and the preparations for war are paid for by consumption taxes borne by the poor, by those who also offer their lives at the front.

On other questions party lines are not very acutely drawn. There is no strong business interest about which to form another party. One would expect an alliance between the peasant and the Socialist. But such is not the case. Both the Socialist and the peasant seek the political support of the Hussman, that is, the very small landowner, of whom there are 130,000 in the country, and who up to the present time have kept the peasant class in power. There are also the agricultural laborers. They form the lowest rung in the social ladder, with the great estate owner at the top, the peasant farmer in the middle, and the Hussman and the farm laborer at the bottom.

The Danish People.

Denmark is nearly twice the size of Massachusetts. It has about the same population, 2,500,000. The Danes are pure Teutons and Protestants. But they are light-hearted, cafe-loving, and in no sense intolerant or Puritanical in their religion, which is State Lutheran. They are among the most universally educated people in the world. There is practically no illiteracy here. And there is but little poverty. There were thousands of men out of employment in Copenhagen during the recent hard times, but there are no slums such as we have, and little apparent misery. Wages are relatively high, and the standard of living is much above that of most sections of Europe. There is not that degraded condition which one sees in England, Belgium, or even in Germany.

The Cause of Well-Being.

One would not expect this. For Denmark is a rather unfertile spur of northern Europe. The land is far from rich, the climate is not of the best, and the winters are very long. But the Danish peasant owns his land. Denmark is a country of peasant proprietors. This is the economic framework of his civilization. The traditions of the country are those of home-owners. The land of England, Prussia, Russia, and Belgium is still in the hands of feudal overlords. It is worked by tenants or by hired labor. But the Danish peasant is his own landlord, and he has made use of the Government to promote the acquisition of land by the people.

About 1850 credit societies were organized which supplied capital to the peasants with which to buy land. These societies took long-time mortgages, running from fifty to one hundred years. Under these contracts the peasants pay off both the principal and the interest in installments. Most of the peasants chose the long-time mortgages, and are still making payments upon them. The rate of interest, including amortization charges, is generally four per cent, and the period of the mortgage and the terms of payment and administration free the peasant entirely from any fear of his creditor.

In 1899 and in 1904 the State stimulated this movement still further by laws that enabled the small peasants to borrow money from the State treasury with which to buy a holding. Under this law the value of the land is limited to about \$1,600, and the size of the estate so purchased ranges from eight to twelve acres. Only one-tenth of the purchase money need be found by the purchaser. The State advances the other nine-tenths and charges the peasant four per cent, one per cent of which is to repay the loan. This law was expected to create a great demand for small estates, but up to the end of 1907 only about three million dollars had been advanced under it and 3,175 farms purchased, the average loans of the

State being less than one thousand dollars. The effect of the law was to increase the value of the land of the large estate owners, just as has the Small Holding Act in Great Britain. But the general effect of the legislation and of the mutual credit societies has been to check the movement of the people away from the land. Denmark is almost the only country where this is true.

Peasant Proprietorship.

There is very little tenancy in Denmark. Over 89 per cent of the farmers own their farms. They work their own holdings. Only about 11 per cent are tenants. In America the percentage of farm ownership is very much less. In 1900 only 64.7 per cent of our farmers owned their farms. More than one-third were already tenants. And ownership in Denmark is widely distributed. According to the latest published statistics, the land is divided as follows:

Size of farms.	Number of farms.	Total number of acres in the class.
Less than 1½ acres.....	68,000	25,000
From 1½ to 13½ acres.....	65,000	450,000
From 13½ to 40 acres.....	46,000	1,150,000
From 40 to 150 acres.....	61,000	5,900,000
From 150 to 650 acres.....	8,000	2,100,000
More than 650 acres	822	1,150,000

The total number of farms is 250,000, with a cultivated area of over ten million acres. The very large farms are survivals of the old feudal estates. They comprise about one-tenth of the total agricultural area. These estates are not worked on the tenant basis, but by hired labor, which, by reason of the ease with which the peasants secure land, is difficult to obtain. In consequence the landlords import foreign laborers from Poland, who work on the estates during the summer months and return home during the winter.

By reason of this fact the large owners have co-operated in the development of peasant proprietorship. They sell their lands and accept in return the credit securities of the farmers' loan societies or money advanced by the State. But while the net result of this is good, and while the peasant is infinitely better off from every point of view than the agricultural tenant of other countries, still he is heavily burdened with debt. The land of Denmark is said to be mortgaged up to fifty per cent of its value, a great part of the mortgages being held by German investors, to whom the Danish peasant is paying over one hundred million dollars a year in interest. Moreover, the changes brought about in agriculture in recent years have involved heavy expenditure for machinery for dairy and farm purposes, which has still further increased the indebtedness of the peasant.

There are three things which make Denmark unique: The first is the system of peasant ownership; the second is the co-operative movement, which is well-nigh universal; and the third is the

political supremacy of the peasant class in politics. The second and third causes are, however, due to the first. For home ownership lies at the root of the Dane's success.

The Secret of His Success.

The Dane is the best farmer in the world. The secret of his success is intensive cultivation. The land is minutely divided, the average size of the farms of the first five classes, which comprise nine-tenths of the land, being thirty-nine acres. A man on four acres, the Hussman, will make a decent living for himself and for his family. He will have three or four cows and possibly fifteen pigs. He will produce his own vegetables and some eggs and poultry.

The hundred thousand peasant with farms ranging from 13½ to 150 acres, who own about seven-tenths of the land, live very much better. They work their farms partly with hired labor, are well educated, and devote a lot of time to politics and the co-operative undertakings with which they are connected. They are the ruling class in the State, and are as wise as the traditional Jew and as canny as the Scot. They control the politics of their district and are ascendent in Parliament as well. They know all about the most technical agriculture, are familiar with prices current, are rather skilled mechanics and good chemists. They are saturated with a knowledge of agriculture, and are not consumed with the ambition to be rich or to acquire more land. Their only ambition is to be good farmers. They take an active and constant interest in the thousands of co-operative societies, in the various savings and credit institutions, and are familiar with all of the laws which bear upon their business.

Denmark a Market Garden.

The Dane has made his land a dairy farm. Denmark is cultivated like a market garden. The chief products are butter, eggs, bacon, poultry, and fine stock. A generation ago, like the farmers of England, the Dane was threatened with extinction by the wheat fields of America, Russia, and the Argentine Republic. But he did not throw up his hands, as did the English landowner, and convert his land into pasture fields. Neither did he go to Parliament, as did the great estate owners of Germany, and demand a protective tariff. The Danish peasant is self-reliant. And he is a convinced free-trader. He looked about for other markets. He found that England was buying her butter, eggs and bacon from Ireland. He sent a commission to that country to ascertain how Ireland produced these things. Then Parliament and the people set to work to convert Denmark into a market garden. That was only a quarter of a century ago. Soon the Danes were producing better bacon, better butter, better eggs, than the Irish. Within the last few years no less than four special commissions have been to Denmark from Ireland and Scotland to find out how it is done. For the

Danes have captured the English market. And they have done it by improving upon Irish methods.

Denmark is now exporting to Germany, to England, to South America, and even to the Philippines. Here are the statistics of the export business. They are in round numbers. Except for the year 1908, the average for a five-year period is given:

	Average exports 1875-1879.	Average 1895-1899.	Exports for 1908.
Horses	\$ 1,750,000	\$ 2,909,000	\$ 3,000,000
Cattle	5,250,000	3,000,000	7,000,000
Bacon and lard...	750,000	12,000,000	26,500,000
Butter	6,500,000	30,000,000	45,750,000
Eggs	250,000	3,000,000	6,600,000
Total	\$14,500,000	\$50,909,000	\$88,850,000

Most of the horses and cattle go to Germany. The bulk of the balance of the exports go to England. The total export trade is approximately \$380 for every farm, of which 133,000 of the 250,000 are of less than 13½ acres in extent and have an average size of but 3.6 acres, the average of all of the farms being but 43 acres for the entire country. The export business alone amounts to nine dollars per acre in addition to the domestic consumption as well as the support of the farmer himself.

Agriculture A Technical Business.

How has this been accomplished? By making agriculture a business of the most technical kind. The Danish farmer is an expert. He is also a student. He has studied the breed of horses until he knows what can be raised to the best advantage, and what the German most wants. The same is true of cattle, hogs, and chickens. He knows to a nicety just how a cow should be fed to produce the best butter. He knows how to breed the best hogs. He makes his butter and produces his eggs of a uniform quality. And he packs them so that they will please. He insists upon the most exact kind of Government supervision over the slaughter houses, in order that the reputation of the country may not suffer from an indifferent producer, and follows up the least complaint from a foreign market. He has ceased to feed his cattle in the open. He feeds them in the stall all the year round. He has studied their food, and uses oil cakes from New Orleans and Japan, and maize from the Continent. Each week there arrives at Copenhagen a steamer from New Orleans laden with oil cakes for feeding. He collects his manure with the greatest care, and saves all of the refuse from the co-operative dairy and other establishments for the enrichment of his farm.

He is aided in this in countless ways by the State. The State is always at his service. Commissions are sent abroad to study foreign markets and foreign methods. Stock is bred from the best studs and bulls. Chickens are selected for their

qualities as egg producers. Soil is studied, and the latest agricultural and dairy implements are bought, either co-operatively or by groups of men in the same village.

The Co-Operative Movement.

The other great factor is co-operation. The Danish farmer gets all that he produces—absolutely all. The State owns the railways and protects the farmer from exploitation. And he himself performs all of the processes of production, distribution, and exchange. He has eliminated one middleman after another until he is almost as self-contained as was his ancestor of three hundred years ago, whose only knowledge of the outside world was gained at the local village fair, where he went to barter his goods. The co-operative movement began with dairying. Up to about 1880 each farmer made his own butter. It was very costly and there was no uniformity in the product. About this time a new device was invented for butter-making. A number of farmers got together and purchased one of the machines. Its success was immediate. Other villages followed. Today there are 1,087 co-operative dairies, with a membership of 158,000 farmers. There are also 200 other private dairies. Nearly 95 per cent of the farmers are members of the co-operative dairies, which ship nearly one million dollars' worth of butter a week to England. Then the farmers began to use skim milk for feeding their hogs. The bacon business became a by-product. Then they organized co-operative slaughter houses, which are located in districts. There are now 34 of these co-operative abattoirs, with a membership of 90,000 and an annual business of 1,100,000 hogs.

The Danish Co-operative Egg Export Society was the next organization. It was organized in 1895. It now has 57,000 members. The eggs are collected and stamped each day in a local circle. Then they are sent to larger circles for export. In 1908 the export egg business amounted to \$6,600,000. Danish eggs bring fancy prices. For they are always fresh. They are better packed than any others, and are carefully graded. By these means the Dane has more than doubled the price which he receives for his butter. He saves the profits which formerly went to the jobber. The same is true of bacon and eggs.

Some years ago there was formed in London a trust to control the bacon industry. It fixed the price to the farmer and the price to the consumer as well. This spelled disaster to the Danish farmer. But he met this danger as he had his former difficulties, by co-operation. He formed a selling agency of his own. The Danish Bacon Company of London not only destroyed the trust, it insured to the Danish farmer a secure market for his produce. Thus the farmer gets all that his labor produces. He is not despoiled by warehousemen, by railway or other monopoly charges. He gets the

full value of his product in dividends at the end of the year, the profits refunded to him being measured by the amount of his output.

The peasant is also his own banker. There are 536 co-operative savings banks in the country. Here the farmer places his savings. Here he goes when he wants a loan. The deposits in 1906 amounted to \$208,500,000, and the number of depositors to 1,352,000 (over half of the population), with an average deposit of \$154. Now the peasant is talking of organizing a great central bank for the whole country, a bank which will include all of the co-operative societies and all of the labor unions as well.

But the co-operative story does not end here. The farmer does his own buying at wholesale. Through these purchasing societies he buys food for his cattle. Almost everything that he consumes comes to him at cost. It is purchased by central agencies made up from representatives of local agencies. The goods are then distributed to the stores, one of which is to be found in every village. Thus he gets his agricultural implements. Thus he buys his food and all his supplies. He saves the profits of the jobber and the retail dealer for himself. The turnover of the purchasing societies in 1907 was \$17,500,000.

Education.

As was before stated, there is no illiteracy in Denmark. School attendance is compulsory up to the age of fourteen. This is usually followed by a period of from three to four years when the children work on the farm. Above the elementary schools are the high schools. They are privately organized, but practically all of them receive aid from the State. The courses are of five months' duration. The boys attend in the winter and the girls in the summer. The tuition is small and the students live in the schools. The schools are very eclectic, and there is no necessary uniformity in the courses. And there are no examinations. All of them emphasize history, especially Danish history. Literature is taught, as are bookkeeping, business, and everything of value on the farm. There are forty-two of such schools in the country. They are, in a sense, patriotic institutions. They cannot be compared to the American high school or the German gymnasium. They are an indigenous product.

Along with these high schools are the agricultural colleges, of which there are twenty-nine. They give a very thorough course in all of the things that relate to Danish agriculture. They also are aided by the State.

It is through these high schools and agricultural colleges that the Dane is educated. There are over six thousand students in attendance. The boys are trained in agricultural chemistry, in stock-breeding, in seeds, in the management of co-operative establishments. In addition, an immense amount of what might be termed extension work is going

on all of the time. There are lectures and circle work. Excursions are made to Copenhagen and elsewhere, while the co-operative societies have special text-books for the use of the farmers. The papers and the magazines are universally read, while constant political and agricultural meetings are being held.

Everybody in Denmark seems to be an agitator of some kind. And Danish culture is a product of it all. It is not hard and fast, it is a part of the thought of every one. The education of the peasant is like the information of the American base ball "fan." It is a part of his life. The Danish peasant is saturated with the culture of his nation, the culture which has come from the mastery of his subject and a knowledge of the politics of the country.

Political Conditions.

The peasant also controls the politics of the State. He has only been conscious of his power during the last ten years. The Rigsdag is composed of two houses. The upper house is indirectly elected or its members are appointed by the King. It is rather more conservative than the lower house, but it does not use its power to revise or check legislation, for it would receive no support from the country if it did. The lower house is popularly elected. Of the 114 members, 55 are peasants. There are also 24 Socialists. The others are Liberals, with a sprinkling of Conservatives. The peasants control the Ministry, but are largely guided by the experience and wisdom of the permanent official class. The legislation which has been passed is of a decidedly democratic and progressive sort. The Government is obviously class-conscious, for the peasant assumes and other classes admit that the State is an agricultural one, and should be administered in the interest of agriculture. Education is generously supported, as are art and the State institutions. About a fourth of the revenues are spent on the army and the navy. There is an excellent system of old age pensions.

At the last session of Parliament a law was enacted which is indicative of the open-mindedness of the peasant, even when his own interests are involved. The State is planning to build twenty-seven lines of new railways, involving in all from 400 to 500 miles of track. It was recognized that the building of these railways would increase the value of the adjoining land. It was suggested that the road should be paid for by special assessments, and all of the increase in land value should be appropriated by the State to pay for the construction. The Ministry advocated that one-half of the increment should be so appropriated. But the measure as passed provides that the land shall be valued after the roads are completed and a tax shall be levied on the unearned increment equal to one-third of the value which has been added to the estates of the landowner. It has been estimated

that this alone will pay for the cost of the roads. A similar law was passed providing for the building of a harbor at Esbjerg. Under the law, the city is to pay one-half of the cost, but is permitted to take one-half of the unearned increment to pay for its contribution to the enterprise.

Aside from the issue of militarism, one of the chief issues is over the taxation of land values. This is the last State in the world where such an issue would seem likely to arise. For nowhere else do so many people own land. But the great bulk of the holders have very small farms. And under the system of income taxation which obtains the State arbitrarily declares that the taxable income of the Hussman shall be twice that of the peasant and three times that of the large owner per unit of land. The State recognizes that the small patch is more productive than the large holding. This makes it obvious to the Hussman that he is being taxed on his industry and not on his opportunity. Being a free-trader, he sees no way of rectifying this condition save by the taxation of all land at its capital value. He argues that by this means the large estate will be more readily broken up and that all classes will pay according to their opportunity and not according to their energy. The Hussman, too, like the peasant and the artisan, is organized as a class. And at the last three meetings of the Peasant Farmers' Association the following resolution was passed: "The Danish peasant farmers demand the earliest possible abolition of all duties and taxes levied upon articles of consumption or assessed in proportion to income on labor, and in lieu thereof they demand that a tax be imposed on the value of the land, which value is not due to any individual effort, but is derived from the growth and development of the community." This is the essence of the single tax.

The Lesson of It All.

To this programme the great estate as well as the larger farm owners are opposed. But the petty landowners are twice as numerous as the farmers, and are coming to have a political sense. They, too, desire to see the laws of the country adjusted to their interests and the burdens of taxation shifted from their labor on to a more equitable basis.

What does this experiment station in democracy teach? In the first place, it demonstrates the controlling influence of a system of landownership on the life of a people. Denmark is democratic, enlightened, and self-governed because the great bulk of the people have an interest in the soil. France, Holland, and Switzerland prove the same thing. It shows, too, that poverty can be reduced to a minimum and the well-being of all the people promoted by State aid and co-operation. Even wages in the city are determined by the agricultural situation. The ease with which men live on the farm and acquire holdings of their own compels the employer to compete with the land for his labor. The

land question thus lies at the root of the wages question.

Further than this, the Danish farmer appreciates that he is a consumer as well as a producer. He has learned that his success in agriculture is the result of his own efforts. It is not due to any bounty or subsidy from the State. He is not fooled into any belief in protection. He is a free-trader. He buys where he will in the cheapest market, and the cost of living is much below what it is in America. He is not afflicted by trusts or monopolies. There is sufficient competition in the world which seeks him out to enable him to pick and choose, and he is able to get the best that the world offers and at his own price.

Here, too, may be seen voluntary co-operation at its best. The farmer gets all that he produces. And by education and the aid of the State he has increased the productivity of his labor. Like Switzerland and Germany, the little State of Denmark shows that the old philosophy of individualism has broken down, and that there are many activities which the State itself must assume in order to protect the people and promote their common welfare.

* * *

CONTENT.

A Song of Success.

For The Public.

The hope that sometimes went unfed, whose clothes
in tatters hung,
Resolved to find escape from want, in ways that
gold has sung.
So, step by step, toward the goal—a castle and a
crest,
Ambition drove its speed and style thro more and
more unrest.

The castle stands within its park, the crest by men
is feared.
By servants high and fankies low my master's way
is cheered.
His agents search the world around with fortunes
freely spent,
To find the key that will unlock the chamber of
content.

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

* * *

If The Reform Goes Through.

[With the usual apologies to a real poet.]
Here rests his head upon the upper berth

A man to fortune and to fame unknown,
Who still pays more than that top shelf is worth,
But takes it, grumbling, and saves half a bone.

—Chicago Tribune.

* * *

"We can bear the injustice of being deprived of voting," shouted the suffragist, "but we must protest, and protest with all the vigor of our womanhood, against man, who makes our state of political slavery the target for his insulting irony!

"Just to think," she resumed, after taking a drink

of water and a deep breath, "just to think of the noble form of woman being made to typify, in marble, bronze and granite, that which has never been hers—Liberty!"—Chicago Daily News.

BOOKS

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

Free Press Anthology. Compiled by Theodore Schroeder. Published by The Truth Seeker Publishing Co., 62 Vesey Street, New York City, 1909.

The compiler dates his impulse to do this work back to a discovery several years ago that in a public library containing a quarter of a million volumes only two titles were indexed in the category of freedom of speech and of the press. This experience, and the additional discovery that in several smaller libraries nothing at all upon that subject could be found, prepared him in part for the discovery he afterwards made through a comparative study of the laws upon the subject, that "liberty of speech and of the press in some parts of the United States is now abridged to a greater extent than it is in England or was even a century ago." Nor was this the worst. The most discouraging phase of the matter as he found it was "the total absence of anything like a formidable protest." Hence this anthology—which the compiler describes as "an unappreciated necessity, and useful in spite of its many defects simply because it is the only thing of its kind in existence."

With great good judgment Mr. Schroeder begins his compilation with John Milton's "Areopagitica," the great classic pioneer in defense of freedom of the press. Other selections are from Spinoza, John Locke, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer; and added to these are the more recent expressions with reference to obscenity statutes as a cover for suppressing legitimate discussion in some directions, and anarchist persecutions with the same general object in other directions. The modern selections are from speeches, magazines, and weekly and daily newspapers, and are more voluminous and outspoken in favor of freedom of speech and printing than might be expected.

The compilation is a work well worth the doing and well done.

* * *

"A CERTAIN WAY."

The Science of Getting Rich. By Wallace D. Wattles. Elizabeth Towne, Publisher, Holyoke, Mass. Price \$1.00.

The accepted idea of "getting rich" involves competition, sharp bargaining, and more or less dishonesty and injustice; but Mr. Wattles says: "You must get rid of the thought of competition. You are to create and not to compete for what is

already created. You do not have to take anything away from any one. You do not have to drive sharp bargains. You do not have to cheat or to take advantage. You do not need to let any man work for you for less than he earns."

Now this desirable condition of things, Mr. Wattles explains, is reached by thinking in "A Certain Way," and by observation and experience he claims to have proof of the law of supply which he states and repeats in a proposition that you must take on trust. "There is a thinking stuff from which all things are made and which in its original state permeates, penetrates and fills the interspaces of the universe. . . . A thought in this substance produces the thing that is imaged by the thought. . . . Man can form things in his thought and by impressing his thought on formless substance can cause the thing he thinks about to be created."

But the author of this happy scheme of power and plenty permits no idle dreaming. Whatever one's employment, its duties must be executed in every detail with faithfulness and exactness, always with the faith that the good held in thought will positively come to hand in proportion to the definiteness of vision, fixity of purpose, steadfastness of faith and depth of gratitude. For gratitude is one of the virtues that Mr. Wattles insists upon, since it is one too often neglected.

Whether or not the course marked out by the author of "The Science of Getting Rich" will bring all that is desired out of the "Formless Substance" it is certain that the practice of such habits of thought and conduct as he urges in his positive convincing way would make any individual a more happy helpful factor in the social body.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Lady Merton, Colonist. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1910. Price, \$1.50.

—A Forward Step. For the Democracy of To-Morrow. By William Thum. Published by the Twentieth Century Co., Boston, 1910.

—The Book of Daniel Drew. A Glimpse of the Fisk-Gould-Tweed Regime from the Inside. By Bouck White. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1910. Price, \$1.50 net.

PAMPHLETS

Studies in American Social Conditions.

"Poverty" and "Concentrated Wealth" are the subjects respectively of Nos. 5 and 6 of these studies (vol. xiv., pp. 630, 645), which the Rev. Richard Henry Edwards of Madison, Wisconsin, is publishing for general information and club and class

use. As with previous numbers, the bibliography of each subject is furnished by the librarian of the State University of Wisconsin.

✦ ✦

Tuberculosis.

This disease is considered from several points of view by George Homan, M. D., of St. Louis, who is president of the Missouri Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis. It sees economic causes among the causes for the ravages of the disease.

✦ ✦

The Short Ballot.

An explanation of this method for strengthening democracy by reducing the number of elective officials and increasing their responsibility to the people, has been issued by the Short Ballot Organization, 127 Duane street, New York, under the title of "Politics without Politicians."

✦ ✦

Exploiting the Philippines.

The story of the sale of Philippine friar lands by the Taft administration, as told by Congressman John A. Martin of Colorado on the floor of the House of Representatives last March, can be got of Mr. Martin upon request. This is a pamphlet that every one should read.

✦ ✦

Single Tax in Ten Minutes.

Yes, the single tax in ten minutes—the whole, bottom fact of it—this was told by A. Damaschke in Bodenreform with wonderful cleverness, and B. Marcuse of Montreal translated it with sympathy and fidelity for The Public (December 24, 1909). The little story has now been published by the Single Tax Association of Ontario (75 Yonge St., Toronto), which offers it as "free literature." As a matter of courtesy others than Canadians might send five cents with their request for a copy.

A. T. P.

PERIODICALS

Theodore Schroeder proposes in the Editorial Review (New York) for April, a "lobby for liberty," to watch every tendency toward despotism, to resist invasive legislation proposed, and to secure the repeal of such as there is.

✦

W. T. Stead's view of the political situation in Great Britain may be found in the American Review of Reviews (New York) for April, the news department of which has an illuminating article on "business and politics in exposed alliance."

✦

The Dial, of Chicago, declared by Sir Walter Besant as "unsurpassed by any other literary journal in America or England," is celebrating its thirtieth anniversary. Without a break, from the first issue to the latest, it has been under the editorial management of Francis F. Browne.

✦

Leading with an historical review, by the Hon. P. J. O'Regan, of industrial concentration and arbitration in New Zealand, described as a failure, the Single Tax Review (New York) for March-April fills out a full and varied complement of Single Tax thought, news, gossip and editorial, together with suggestive reports upon allied subjects.

✦

The fourth article of Frederic C. Howe's series of five on Industrial Democracy appears in the Outlook of March 26, being the magazine issue for April. Entitled "Conquering a Nation With Bread," it tells the significant story of the Palace of Labor at Brussels, which, originating in 1882 in a co-operative bakery, is now the Belgian "clearing house of social life, of education, of food, groceries, coal," the "center of countless political movements and labor organizations," and the headquarters of the

The Public's Ideal

As an organ of democracy, THE PUBLIC should have a wide circulation.

With this in view its price was reduced to \$1.00. Since then its sphere of influence has increased 300 per cent.

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Cincinnati,
April 18, 1910.

Daniel Kiefer

"Socialist International." This story of a great movement by a sympathetic but acute observer is one to be read and thought about, as indeed are all that have preceded it in the series—the "Peaceful Revolution" in the Outlook of January 15; the "White Coal of Switzerland," her water power, in the magazine issue of the same periodical for February, and "A Commonwealth Ruled by Farmers" in the magazine issue for March (Page 372 of this Public).

+

Votes for Women, a new quarterly published at Seattle, of which Adella M. Parker is associate editor, is the official organ of the Washington Equal Suffrage Association in its campaign for the women's

suffrage amendment to be voted upon next November. The suffragists have begun a personal canvass by counties and precincts of all the voters in the State.

A. L. G.

+ + +

She asked him if he was the photographer. He said he was.

She asked him if he took children's pictures. He said he did.

She asked him how much he charged. He said, "Four dollars a dozen."

"Then I'll have to go somewhere else," she replied; "I only have eleven."—Success.

+ + +

"Yes, I went fishing yesterday," began the man who tries to be original. "Luck? Well, some. I

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THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB

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

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The advertiser is looking for a man with energy and backbone who has some money to invest and can give services. The business is well established and has reached the stage of expansion. A splendid opportunity for anyone looking for an independent source of income. All replies must state age, education, amount of investment and give references. Confidence will be respected. Address Box A, 45 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

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caught two fish. One was three and a half inches long and the other two inches."

But was he believed? Not much. After he had passed on some one commented:

"Bet he didn't even get a bite."—Kansas City Times.

* * *

"Well, two wrongs don't make a right, do they?"

"That depends. Sometimes they do."

"What?"

"Yes. Suppose that without any provocation you

knock my hat off. That would be wrong, wouldn't it?"

"Certainly."

"Then suppose you pull my nose. That would be wrong, too, would it not?"

"Well, what of it?"

"Well, those two wrongs would make it right for me to knock you down. See?"

"Y-yes, but—"

"Again; suppose you fancy that somebody has wronged you, and you find out that you're wrong.

Do You Wear White

clothes all through Spring and Summer? Makes too much washing, you say. Not if you use Fels-Naptha soap.

Fels-Naptha keeps white clothes fresh and clean with little work at little cost. You wash them with Fels-Naptha in cold or lukewarm water without boiling and you don't have disagreeable steaming suds.

Then your clothes wear longer if washed with Fels-Naptha. No boiling to weaken their fibre; no hard-rubbing to wear and tear them.

Fels-Naptha will not harm the most delicate fabrics. Fels-Naptha makes it easier to wear white clothing. Be sure to follow directions on the red and green wrapper.

Fels-Naptha will lighten the labors of housecleaning, just as it does the drudgery of wash day.

"Land Values"

the organ of the movement in Great Britain that is making history there in the great struggle over the Budget, makes this excellent summary of

Social Service

By LOUIS F. POST

"As its title indicates the simplest and most fundamental conceptions of the facts and relationships which constitute our social and industrial life are used. That life is conceived as an exchange of services, no matter what may be the external or concrete shape in which these services may express themselves. On this simple basis Mr. Post builds a firm and connected structure. Running through everything this simple principle exposes, or rather leaves no hiding place for, fallacies which lurk in the older works with their complicated and sometimes contradictory conceptions. The part which any member of society plays in the great network of services is easily detected and proved. Everyone interested in social problems will find this book of great assistance. If they have formed for themselves a clear and finished theory, according to which they interpret social phenomena, their power of doing this will be strengthened by reading this book; if they are beginners, and have formed no such theory, they cannot do better than master the consistent and far-reaching principle expounded here by Mr. Post. It will abide with them and serve them all their lives. The most casual reader will get a clear insight into the deepest problems of political economy."

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Price, One Dollar, Postpaid

Then you have imagined a wrong where no wrong existed. That is to say, you have taken offense at the wrong wrong. Isn't that right? Don't you see now that these two wrongs—"

"I wish you'd quit. You're making me dizzy!"—Chicago Tribune.

* * *

Student of Politics: "And what be reely this yere Coalition they do be tarking about?"

Oldest Living Local Authority: "Well, it's like

this. Some parties says this, an' some says that an' t'other. But what I says, there's no knowins nor tellins, an'—mark my words! I bain't fur wrong."—Punch.

* * *

Little Wilfred was sitting upon his father's knee watching his mother arranging her hair.

"Papa hasn't any Marcel waves like that," said the father laughingly.

Wilfred, looking up at his father's bald pate, re-

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plied: "Nope, no waves; it's all beach!"—Columbia Jester.

* * *

"They are very strict vegetarians, are they not?"
"Yes, indeed! They won't even eat these little animal crackers!"—Browning's Magazine.

* * *

There are two kinds of people who are content to live without working—beggars and those who can't realize that doing the same thing on a large scale puts them in the same class.—Life.

If you must sit and sigh
And have the blues,
Why don't you try
To realize

That there are sighs and sighs,
And blues and blues

From which to choose?

There 're heavenly blues, and blues of tranquil seas,
Both pleasant—if you have them, pray have these;
And when you sigh, be like the turtle-dove,
Who knows not grief, and merely sighs for love.

—Blakeney Grey, in Success.

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