

The Public

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

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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Protectionism and Insurgency.....	745
The Oregon Fight for People's Power in Govern- ment	746
Equality, Not Discrimination.....	747
Excellent Street Car Rules.....	747
Franking Privileges and the Postal Deficit.....	747
Rounding Up Criminals.....	749
The Third Degree in Los Angeles.....	750
Oregon Politics an Object Lesson (C. E. S. Wood).....	750
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Wrecking the Steam Roller in Oregon (W. G. Eg- gleston)	753
An Object Lesson for Labor (E. N. Vallandigham).....	753
Charter-Making in Louisiana (E. T. Weeks).....	754
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
A Resolution with Teeth (S. A. Stockwell).....	754
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
Murderous Assault Upon Mayor Gaynor.....	755
Insurgent Victory in Kansas.....	755
Insurgency in Iowa.....	755
Work of the Peoria Conference Committee.....	756
Senator Gore's Charge of Corruption.....	757
The Religious Unrest in Spain.....	758
News Notes	758
Press Opinions	759
RELATED THINGS:	
Failure (George E. Bowen).....	761
Theater Tickets and Land Values (Translated by Ernst Schmied)	761
The Joseph Fels Fund of America.....	761
Daniel Kiefer (portrait).....	762
What the Devil Said to Noah (Arthur Gulterman).....	763
BOOKS:	
Wanted: A New Hero in Politics.....	763
For Industrial Insurance.....	764
Periodicals	764

EDITORIAL

Protectionism and Insurgency.

If the Republicans of Iowa are as firmly con-
vinced of the incontrovertible soundness and wis-
dom of Protection as their platform declares them
to be, they are hot upon the highway toward a
shocking disillusionment. For in the same plat-
form they point to "the difference between the
cost of producing dutiable commodities at home
and abroad" as the one important fact to be known,
and therefore favor the creation of a non-partisan
commission to ascertain that difference and pub-
lish the facts. Let this be honestly and efficiently
done, and all apparent need for Protection to
maintain "American wages," the only considera-
tion in support of Protection that has any value
outside the directors' rooms of tariff-sheltered
trusts and the confidential intercourse of dom-
ineering Standpat leaders, will vanish.

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The difference in the cost of production in this
country and abroad once generally known to the
American people, it will be obvious to every voter,
though a wayfaring fool, that the cost of produc-
tion is lower in the United States than anywhere
else in the world. The reason is that wages of
labor are higher everywhere else than here. The
notion that American wages are relatively high,
rests upon a ludicrously illogical method of com-
parison. Look at comparative wage statistics in
any or all Protection literature, and you will find

that the *time* consumed in production, and never the resulting *product*, is the basis of comparison. Because labor abroad gets, say, a dollar a day, whereas American labor in the same industry gets, say, two dollars, the conclusion is implied and often asserted, that American industries cannot pay American wages unless competing foreign products are burdened with a tariff high enough to make up for the lower wages abroad. This is like saying that a freight car can't compete with a wheelbarrow because it costs so much more. The comparative *productiveness* of American and foreign labor, the determining factor, is ignored. If American labor at two dollars a day produces, say, twice as much in a day as labor abroad at one dollar a day, why is Protection necessary to maintain American wages?

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That is the question Protectionists will have to answer to a long befooled people, when the Insurgents shall have made common knowledge of the difference between cost of production abroad and at home,—which is one of our reasons for liking the Insurgents in spite of their fatuous confidence in the soundness and wisdom of Protection. We suspect that it is one of the reasons why they are not liked by Aldrich and other shrewd beneficiaries of Protection.

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The Oregon Fight for People's Power in Government.

We advise all persons, wherever they may live, who are interested in clearing the Jungle and killing the Beast that Judge Ben B. Lindsey tells about, to send to W. S. U'Ren, Oregon City, Oregon, for a pamphlet just published as a campaign document in the People's Power fight in Oregon. Although the pamphlet would doubtless be mailed free of charge to any applicant, applicants ought to enclose at least a small campaign contribution to cover the cost of complying with their request. In addition to its local value as a campaign document, this pamphlet is a capital supplement to Senator Bourne's speech (pp. 697, 698); for, as the speech graphically describes the progress Oregon has already made in government by the people, the pamphlet—which ought to be got into the hands of every voter in Oregon, of every voter in every State for that matter—describes as graphically the efforts, on the one hand to strengthen the political power of the people and on the other to pull it up by the roots, which are to be voted on at the election in November. No one who reads this pamphlet and Bourne's speech, can be

deceived by the newspaper misrepresentation that has already set in regarding the struggle in Oregon which is now under way.

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Some of the formal features of the Oregon pamphlet are interesting for peculiarities required by the Oregon election laws. For instance, in order to comply with the "corrupt practices law," the pamphlet carries the statement that it "is printed by Multnomah Printing Co., 82½ Front St., Portland, Oregon, and the authors are W. G. Eggleston, of Portland, Oregon, A. D. Cridge, of Portland, Oregon, and W. S. U'Ren, of Oregon City, Oregon." To appreciate this, one must imagine the embarrassments attending the publication in Oregon of a campaign document written for the Interests by some Dugald Dalgetty of the pen.

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Questions of taxation and exemptions are dealt with in the pamphlet, notably and concretely. It shows in detail in this connection the actual taxes for every Oregon county in 1909, under "the general property" tax which prevails throughout the United States, and what they would have been under the "land value tax" which is forging ahead in Canada, Australia, etc., and is likely to be voted on in Oregon upon Initiative petition in 1912. In Baker county, for example, the pamphlet shows that under "the general property tax" farmers' lands were taxed \$79,045, and would have been taxed under "the land value tax" only \$40,319; that farmers' buildings, stock and implements were taxed \$36,171, and would have been taxed nothing; that improved city lots were taxed only \$14,074 and would have been taxed \$30,549; that improvements on city lots were taxed \$29,686 and would have been taxed nothing; that speculators' land in the country was taxed only \$35,184 and would have been taxed \$76,372; that vacant city lots were taxed only \$14,074 and would have been taxed \$30,549; and that franchise corporations were taxed only \$57,025 and would have been taxed \$123,781; and yet that the total taxes were only \$17 more under "the general property tax" than they would have been under "the land value tax." The other counties offer approximately the same contrasts in favor of taxpayers who are users of land, and against those who are only forestallers. This data is accompanied in the pamphlet with an explanation in general terms and by examples, enabling any taxpayer to calculate the difference to himself, in dollars and cents, between the two fiscal policies—"the general property tax" and "the land value tax." This feature of the pamphlet is alone of

inestimable general value, both for its data and for its suggestiveness as an example in fiscal investigation.

* *

Equality, Not Discrimination.

News dispatches tell of the refusal by Kate F. O'Connor, a successful business woman of Rockford and equal suffrage leader well known throughout Illinois, to accept a nomination for county superintendent of schools. There is nothing remarkable in that fact, but there is a whole volume of good sense in her brief statement of reasons. She said:

Superintendent Kern, even though a man, is the best superintendent in the country outside of Ella Flagg Young of Chicago, and I have no desire to place any obstacle in the way of his succeeding himself as long as he lives.

This is in the true spirit of the movement for votes for women. Women are not to be preferred to men in civic life, any more than men should be preferred to women; there should be no preference at all on the basis of sex.

* *

Excellent Street Car Rules.

The Chicago system of street car stopping-rules is so extraordinary and of such excellence in promoting its apparent purposes, that we take pleasure in commending it to the consideration of more backward cities. It is very simple in general outline. All it requires is that cars shall stop to let off or take on passengers, only at the near side of an intersecting street—at the north side, for example, if the car is going south, and at the south side if the car is going north. What could be more simple than that? A mere child of a motorman might understand it. Its usefulness is enhanced by a simple exception. When cars round a curve from one intersecting street into the other, they must stop, not at the near side in that case, but only at the far side—e. g., at the north side if the car comes from east or west and turns north, and at the south side if it comes from east or west and turns south. The purpose of this trifling exception is too obvious for explanation—at any rate to the passenger who observes it when the car does not. Another exception makes the rule and its first exception applicable only to the "loop" region. When you try to board a car outside the "loop," or on any of the streets that border upon it, you get without extra charge, the excitement of guessing which side of the intersecting street the car will stop at. If you are a regular customer of particular lines at particular crossings, you may become so familiar with the habits of your car

as to lose the benefit of those exhilarating sensations; but the stranger at any crossing will seldom fail to get his money's worth if he likes to guess at uncertainties. Those, however, are not the only advantages this most excellent system offers. Since cars in the "loop" (except as they round curves), may stop only on the near side of an intersecting street, and as most of them can be entered only at the rear, you have coming an exquisitely lithesome guess as to how far down the street the entrance end will probably be when the car comes to a standstill. And if your guess fails you, you may have to run one way or the other, even if you are a woman, a cripple, or a man well along in years, or else lose this car and get another guess on the next one; for the cars must "make time" regardless of the bad guessing and inagility of would-be passengers. If you are not a regular customer the chance of missing the guess is increased. But it is surprising how often this guess is fairly made; seldom does it miss by much more than half a car length. Nor are these guessing bees the only fun about it all. The doors in the front of the car and nearest to the cross walk being closed, you must trot a right smart distance out in the street to the other end of the car. The pleasures of this pedestrianism are all the greater if the street is muddy or icy or covered with snow; and when it is crowded with waiting cabs or automobiles, or when cabs and automobiles go flitting past between the car and the sidewalk as you get on or off the car—the explosion of a dynamite bomb doesn't compare with it for thrills. All this exciting fun would be lost if the car stopped on the far side of the intersecting street, where its entrance end would be near the cross walk instead of being a considerable and uncertain distance up or down the street. Whom to credit with this system of rules nobody knows; fortunately perhaps, for if he were known, he might be "statued" like that bronze policeman which no longer disfigures the Haymarket; or get into a book as one of the many eighth wonders of the world. But he must be some man who never rides in street cars. Whoever he is, though, his system excels in the inconveniences with which it favors street car riders and the dangers it affords them. "It is to facilitate traffic and prevent congestion in the loop," explains a serious voice from the City Hall. Wherefore we add that advantage to all the others.

* *

Franking Privileges and the Postal Deficit.

In a friendly editorial notice of the service of The Public in sending to its subscribers official

copies of Senator Bourne's most valuable speech (p. 697), the St. Louis Republic of August 5 uses the fact as a text to account for the perennial postal deficit. "How," it asks, "did The Public send this speech to its subscribers? In government envelopes, bearing Senator Bourne's frank, mailed from Chicago, presumably from the office of the paper?" This statement, including its presumption, is perfectly true, as all our subscribers know. And that there was no impropriety in it, the Republic explains by saying that "there is in all this no hint of irregularity or of straining the limits of privileges lawfully belonging to a Senator of the United States"; for, as it adds, "under the law Senator Bourne has the right to have envelopes for his own use, bearing his frank, printed where he pleases and in what numbers he pleases, and to use them as he will. These particular envelopes bore a portion of the Congressional Record to a certain number of American citizens; the esteemed Record is published for just such free distribution." Referring then to the large number of copies of that now famous speech, which have been franked through the mails, the Republic makes its argument on the postal deficit in this wise:

Here is a distribution of 1,000,000 copies of a government document, at regular rates an item of \$10,000, made through the Post Office Department, and not one cent of credit given to the Department on the Government's books therefor. Last year the deficit in the postal revenues was \$17,441,719. And the Government said it was owing to too great mercy to the publishers of magazines! No account is kept of the Government's own use of the mails. No account is kept of the use of the mails by members of Congress. No one knows how many hundreds of thousands of envelopes are printed by the various officials and Departments entitled to use them, or how many tons of such mail are annually transported. Every well-regulated business has a system of office accounts that charges every expenditure to the department on whose account it is made. Only the greatest business of all, in which we are all interested—the government—can afford to throw system to the winds and go merrily on in ignorance. The postal deficit is technical, not real. Franked envelopes should be printed at the Government Printing Office and charged to officials and Departments, and the Post-Office Department credited with the cost of services rendered to other Departments of the Government.

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With every word of that criticism of Post Office bookkeeping we are in hearty accord. There would probably be a surplus instead of a deficit in the postal service, if this Department charged the other Departments and Congress for its service to them. It is our recollection that John

Wanamaker, when Postmaster General, originated this explanation of the postal deficit. Only one reply has been made. It is to the effect that the free housing accommodations furnished the Post Office Department in Washington and over the country, offset its franking services. But how can any one know that, if no accounts are kept? Let the Post Office Department be charged with rent and credited with free official service; then the public may know whether or not the Department is conducted at a loss. It were better by far that it be conducted at a loss than that it be turned over to private corporations to be conducted at a profit, their profit; for it serves a great public use over and above its service to individuals. But is it conducted at a loss? That is the question. The method proposed by the St. Louis Republic for ascertaining is a good and simple one: let the Department furnish franked envelopes to the other Departments and the individuals entitled to them, and credit itself with their postal value.

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If that were done, not only would the false pretense of an annual postal deficit be exposed, but there would be an exposure also of the character and volume of the free service. We should know, for instance, how many Congressmen there are, and who they are, and what postal values they thereby consume, who use their franks for mailing such personal effects as furniture and laundry bundles. We should be able also to contrast the quantity and civic value of the documents that go through the mails under the franks of this Congressman or that one—the quantity and civic value for instance, of Mr. Bourne's truly enlightening speech in the Senate, which The Public has sent over its subscription list under that Senator's frank, in contrast with such uses of the franking privilege as Collier's calls attention to as a franking abuse when in its issue of August 6 it says editorially:

The abuses are many, to be sure, but only rarely do they reach the degree of impropriety indicated by this communication:

"Dear Sir—At our request, United States Senator Reed Smoot of Utah will cause to be mailed you copies of his speech entitled 'Exchange Value of Farm Products.' We consider the matter in this speech so valuable that we shall issue additional editions. . . .

"Yours very truly,

"AMERICAN PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE."

The American Protective Tariff League is made up of the principal beneficiaries of the high tariff. Its members subscribe large sums for the spread of high protection propaganda. Most of the pro-tariff arguments found in the smaller newspapers are written in the New York offices of the League. That

Senator Smoot should lend the use of his frank to this organization is a graver matter than for a thrifty Senator to send his typewriting machine through the mails without charge.

Senator Bourne's speech serves no beneficiaries of graft. It enlightens American citizenship on the experience of Oregon with People's Power government.

✱

Possibly the franking system ought to be abolished. We are not now discussing that question. But so long as it continues The Public will not concede a monopoly of its use—nor of its abuse, either—to such organizations as the Protective Tariff League, so long as there are Bournes in Congress to deliver People's Power speeches there and to furnish franks for their free distribution through the mails. Meanwhile, we heartily second the motion of the St. Louis Republic that the Post Office Department be empowered to keep books of account with the franking system, in order that the deficit may be explained in a business-like way.

✱ ✱

Rounding Up "Criminals."

On the eve of this gala week in Chicago, for which the city is indebted to that valiant body of ex post facto crusaders, ostrich plumed and buckle belted, the Knights Templar of the United States, a round-up of the flotsam and jetsam of modern city life was made by the police. Ostensibly this was for the purpose of making visitors safe against pickpockets, but many a man was swept into the dragnet whose only offense was unemployment—no, not exactly unemployment, for unemployment is a privilege the rich enjoy and are envied for, but—unemployment though poor. The police courts were crowded with these hapless creatures, so the papers say, and the judges fined them (the exquisite satire of it! this imposing of money fines upon the unemployed poor for being unemployed *and* poor) and then sent them to jail for not paying the fines.

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We suppose that some such unlawful procedure—for at bottom it is unlawful, these dragnet arrests for the purpose of catching peradventure the professional thieves who might prey upon a city's visitors when the visitors are there in shoals—is necessary. The city must not allow its criminal classes to prey upon its visitors on occasions of ceremony. No wrong is done the thieves who intend to steal; and as for the unemployed poor, won't they be better off in jail than on park

benches or park grass? This may be a hard saying, but really what is there to do? Imagine yourself the chief of police charged with the responsibility that you might yourself be among the first to remind him of, if you lost your purse—imagine that, and then ask yourself the question and answer it. It will while away an idle hour or two for you better than the best game of solitaire.

✱

Yet there must be an answer, an answer consistent with those great principles of which we all boast sometimes—equal rights before the law, trials for crime, presumptions of innocence, and all that. And so there is. It is not, however, an answer that chiefs of police can stand by very sturdily, for their action must be emergent. But it is an answer that thoughtful citizens may act upon deliberately and thereby put an end to the emergencies with which chiefs of police must cope lawlessly. The answer is that thieves are not born, but made. They are made by the very classes that seek safety from their depredations, through the wrenching and straining and breaking of the laws for which all classes profess so much respect.

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Let him who doubts the responsibility of society for the criminal classes, investigate Chicago's "New Man Factory," which Judge McKenzie Cleland has got under way, and of which John L. Whitman is vice-president and Bruce Barton is secretary. To start with, send for Bruce Barton's story of A. S. Jenson (the telephone number is "3628 Calumet"), and read it. This is no story of one swallow making a summer. It tells of an impressive demonstration, though in a small way as yet, of our statement above that thieves are not born but made. It shows, too, that they can be made over. Now, if thieves are not born but made, and can be made over into men by a man factory, it is evident that they won't be made into thieves at all if we close down the thief factory. And what is the thief factory? Social institutions which, through legal privileges, rob the many for the enrichment of a few.

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Judge Cleland's man factory is only philanthropic, a relief station. It rescues the fallen but does not prevent the fall. For that very reason it will appeal to the philanthropists who give millions to be charitable but not a penny to be just. But while the Cleland man factory is a relief station,

it is incidentally also an experiment station; for it is proving that as a rule crime is not hereditary, nor a habit, nor the product of vicious minds, nor even of environment except by secondary influence; but a natural result of meager and narrowing opportunities for earning an honest living. When public opinion turns away from the experts who study crime in jails and dissecting rooms, and adopt the slogan of "give the man a chance," a real chance and not an imitation, chiefs of police will no longer need to round up pickpockets and the unemployed poor and jail them when anachronistic crusaders come to town.

* *

The Third Degree in Los Angeles.

An instance of police persecution, or what appears to be police persecution, comes to us through the Los Angeles Herald. The pertinent facts are too numerous and too local, minute and personal for full narration here, but they tally with the lawless conduct of the police wherever in this country it is displayed. Briefly, it appears that a young man of the name of Horning, a restaurant waiter, was arrested while in the company at Los Angeles of an alleged criminal suspected of a burglarious purpose, who escaped from and then killed the police captain pursuing him, but after Horning had been arrested by another police officer and taken away; and that Horning was subsequently sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment on his confession of an assault with intent to kill a man named Vervoort, three years before. The indictment turning out to be defective, Horning was recently released from the penitentiary by a distant court. The Los Angeles police then arrested him on a frivolous charge of murdering the police captain who had been murdered after his first arrest. Through some "hugger-mugger" of judicial red tape he was then railroaded back into the penitentiary, not only without a hearing, but before a date already set for a hearing, and without notice to his lawyers. These circumstances cannot be tried here, suspicious as they appear to be, but Horning's explanation of his confession—a police "sweatbox" (p. 724) product—in which explanation the Los Angeles Herald declares its belief, is a subject for national concern. "Horning tells me," says the Herald's representative, W. C. Owen, "and I believe him, that"—

from the moment of his entering prison until his examination he was confined in the sweat box and kept under a perpetual fire of accusations, being threatened with every extremity of punishment if he did not confess to one or other of various crimes

suggested. In particular he alleges that for three days they tried to induce him to acknowledge he had pawned a watch that was part of the booty of a street car holdup on Central avenue, and that this was abandoned only when it was shown that there was no similarity between his own handwriting and that the ticket bore. He says that throughout that period of seven days he was practically without sleep, owing to continual cross-examinations, the constant banging of doors, rattling of chains and bolts and the plague of rats and vermin with which the sweat box swarmed. He lost, he declares, 20 pounds in weight, and finally consented to plead guilty to assault on Vervoort; for he had become so exhausted that, to use his own expression, he "would have confessed to the crucifixion of Christ in order to get release."

*

— Compare that police procedure, so common with the police of this country since Superintendent Byrnes of New York City imported it from the European continent, and lawyers, judges and grand juries have silently ignored or actively approved it—compare it with the conduct of the Scotland Yard policeman who arrested Crippen (pp. 721, 734), the fugitive from British justice. "I arrest you," said the Briton, "in the name of the King, and warn you that anything you may say will be used against you at the trial." This is not a formula of British law alone. It is American law, too. Every American policeman who makes an arrest for felony without giving that notice, neglects his duty; and if he presses a prisoner for a confession he violates his duty to the verge of crime if not indeed into the commission of crime.

* * *

OREGON POLITICS AN OBJECT LESSON.

Oregon has achieved the Initiative and the Referendum, the Direct Primary, the Recall, and popular election of United States Senators. Never has the State been so free from log rolling and graft; never have the people been so alive to their own interests. Every election is an education. None will be more so than that to be held November 8th.

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Oregon must then battle anew for what she has achieved. Office holders nominated directly by the people and responsible only to them, do not suit the Bosses. They snap their fingers at the Boss, they shoot out the tongue at him, and the Boss is himself out of a job.

What was his job? It was a powerful and lucrative one. He was the agent for the Interests, the great corporations—railway, street railway, gas,

water, etc. He acted by a thimblorig game called the Convention.

Ostensibly, free American citizens representing free American citizens in free Convention assembled to do the will of the people. In fact, a lot of henchmen selected and pledged beforehand to a slate written by the Boss and his bosses.

Direct Primaries killed the Convention, and with it the Boss.

But the Boss dies hard because entrenched Privilege and Power always dies hard, whether in the person of a Charles of England, a Louis of France, or the commercial Barons of our time who use the masses as their tribute bearers; ever the insolent cry from above has been to the paupers below, "How dare you rebel!"

So, as the railways and street railways of Oregon have found, the direct Power of the People becoming dangerous to Special Privilege, they struggle to restore the Boss whom they can boss.

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Conventions are abolished by the Direct Primary law, yet the moneyed interests and the old-time bosses have got together a convention which they call an Assembly.

Now undoubtedly by the United States Constitution, and by every principle dear to the Anglo-Saxon heart, and other hearts, the people have a right to peaceably assemble. It is part of that sacred right of free speech, so sacred when it is a Republican assembly in a Republican State and a Democratic assembly in a Democratic State, but so vicious and damnable when it is a Socialist or Anarchist assembly in any State.

Well, the people have a right to assemble. Let that be never forgotten.

But this Assembly was not an assemblage of the people open to all men; nor even an assemblage of a select body of men, gathered together for concert of action, representing themselves and only themselves. No; this was our old friend the Convention.

The members were delegates—each pretending to speak for himself and his constituents. The delegation from Baker or Coos or Multnomah county, etc., claimed and pretended to speak for the Republicans of Baker, Coos and Multnomah counties. The Convention—excuse me, Assembly—claimed to be the only authorized voice of the Republicans of Oregon. All others were Insurgents—to be read out of the party. It was the same old ass in the lion's skin. Its shibboleths were Party, and Organization, and Regularity. Yet all in God's world that has ever moved the world, has

been Insurgency; and all that has ever obstructed the world, has been Party. It was Party and Regularity that cried out against Christ and Cromwell and Danton. Party and Regularity denounced Garrison and John Brown. Stephen A. Douglas fell by party regularity and Lincoln defied it. What is Joe Cannon today but the embodiment of party regularity? What is the bitter accusation he and Aldrich and Payne and all the feudal Barons in the Houses of the People's Representatives bring against La Follette, Dolliver, Bristow, Beveridge, Cummins and their fellows? That they are Insurgents, Rebels—rebels from what? from Party. They dare to prefer the people to party. What is the club Cannon raises against the Insurgents? That he will read them out of the "party," expel them from the "organization."

So it is here in Oregon. The tall tower of the Oregonian has rocked upon its foundations in the agony of crying out for "party," for "regularity" and "organization."

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If there is any thing in this world a man ought to break up, it is this very thing—Party; which substitutes the will of the bosses for your will and my will, makes slaves of its adherents, robs them of independence and thought and reduces them to tools.

In Church and State, everywhere, you find that the Regular Party Organization is that which would cripple independence and free will, block progress, and keep the gods of the past upon the pedestals.

If there is one good act to be done it is to break up this blind and slavish adherence to Party by name. Let all men who think alike move together. That is the way parties were originally formed. But they crystallize into a formal organization, stronger than Principle and more important than Right and Wrong.

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This is the real objection to the Oregon Republican Assembly. Not that it was a body of men gathered together to agree on a course of action, for it was not that. It was a body of men selected in the main by a Boss behind the scenes, with a slate ready-made for them, and they were but tools to carry out a programme prepared by the Interests so jealous of their money-making privileges.

Those in Oregon familiar with old-time politics had only to look over the names to laugh and name the collar the delegates wore. The so-called precinct and county Assemblies which elected this

strictly Party Convention were even more clearly lettered with the name of their dictator.

Sometimes the men chosen as delegates were the majority of the so-called "assembly" choosing them. Twenty men in a county would meet at the call of the "leaders" and select five or more men as delegates to the State Assembly (convention). It is folly to call such men representatives of the whole Republican Party of Oregon. They represent themselves, that is about all. They are practically as self-nominated as the men they accuse of self-nomination in the direct primaries.

There is much howl by the old-time Machinists against the poor timber selected by the direct primary method. But at least the results given to the people have been more satisfactory than by the old-time method.

Anything is better than a slate. A slate means invariably a selection of men favorable to Big Business. Take the legislative ticket selected by this Republican State Assembly. Let us admit that they are good names clothed in good clothes. Yet they can be relied on in the legislature to do the will of the men who picked them. They will look out for the Interests, not for the People. But the people at large do not know this. They see only a very respectable name, and vote for it. They are ignorant that that very respectable name is either pledged to the Boss or has such natural leanings and prejudices that the great corporate interests know he can be counted on.

Better a self-picked man at the direct primaries than a Boss-picked man at the Convention.

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Of course these Assembly nominees—(they are called "recommendees" to soothe the people) must in law be nominated at the direct primary and against them will run a cloud of self-nominated candidates. And there's the rub.

The Assembly Recommendee has the Assembly back of him and the Bosses and the funds. He has the cohesion and co-operation of Capital and Plunder. And while the barons and their feudal serfs are few compared to the whole, they may be the most compared to the little bands into which self-seeking candidates may split the opposition. Indeed it is pretty certain the Assembly machinists will put up some stool pigeons of their own to scatter the opposition.

There is the difficulty. The people at large and scattered, following several honest or dishonest leaders, and the Bosses and the Interests united as usual. So you see this fight, like every other fight, is the battle of the people in broken array

against Capital and Special Privilege in solid phalanx.

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The remedy is for the people themselves to agree on one candidate in the primaries and forsaking all others cling only to him. If the Assembly recommendee becomes the nominee, then all anti-Assembly Republicans ought to vote for the Democratic nominee; because the Democrats are pledged anti-Assembly people. A few more Democratic victories given by Insurgent Republicans would clinch the matter and kill bossism.

I make no distinction between parties. Party names are nothing to me. If the Democrat were an Assembly nominee and the Republican not, I would urge all Democrats to vote for the Republican. In short, let a man vote his principles regardless of these absurd party-ties which are placed above principle.

I presume it is asking too much of political human nature to ask anti-Assembly candidates before the direct primaries to agree on the best man and patriotically retire all others. But the voters can do this very thing—concentrate on the best man.

The Assembly was full of old-time platform nonsense. It favored economy, of course, but failed to state where or how. It favored the abolition of all useless commissions and clerkships, but failed to name one.

The party organ, the Oregonian, said this was the restoration of Party and the return to Regularity, and in the same breath said that the Assembly, its backers and disciples, would put the knife into "Statement No. 1" up to the hilt.

Statement No. 1 is the method by which the people force the legislature to elect the people's choice as United States Senator. So there you get the keynote to the Assembly.

It is against the People. It fears and opposes the people's assuming power. It fears and opposes the loss of power by the Interests and the Bosses. Their Organ plainly declares against "Statement No. 1," though they did not as a convention have the courage to do so.

But depend upon it, the knife will go up to the hilt into the Direct Primary and the Initiative and Referendum and every other assumption of power by the people, unless the people rebel and politically decapitate their masters once and for all.

C. E. S. WOOD.

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Landowners hate parting with their land.—Matthew Arnold, in "Irish Essays."

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WRECKING THE STEAM ROLLER IN OREGON.*

Portland, Ore., Aug. 6.

The performance of the Roosevelt-Hitchcock-Taft steam roller at the Republican national convention in 1908 gave an idea to Senator Jonathan Bourne, of Oregon; and the People's Power League of that State has put the idea into a bill and submitted it by Initiative petition to the voters at the ballot box in November.

This bill extends the provisions of the Oregon direct primary law, which was enacted by the voters, to Presidential nominations, to nominations of Presidential electors and to delegates to national conventions. It is a cruel blow at "the administration," because it is a method by which the Presidential hand would be shut out of the selection of Presidential candidates and delegates to national conventions; a most foul blow at such political saints as Hitchcock, because it would virtually retire them from their business of interfering with the people's business; and a wicked attack upon the divine right of corporations to assist White House politicians and party saints in nominating Presidential candidates, regardless of the wishes of the people.

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If the people of Oregon approve this bill, there will be a new deal in Oregon, because every voter of every political party will have opportunity to "vote his preference, on his party nominating ballot, for one person to be the candidate of his political party for President, and one person to be the candidate of his political party for Vice-President of the United States."

It will not be necessary for any candidate for the nomination to sign any petition or other paper, but his political supporters will place his name on the ballot. In that way, each party in Oregon will determine, by majority vote at the primaries, its choice for its candidate for President.

That will make the steam roller skid into a stone wall.

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Next, the members of the political parties will, at the same primary election, nominate their candidates for Presidential electors; and it is just possible that when this choice is left to the voters they will nominate some real men as Presidential electors.

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Third—and this provision will make the steam roller turn over and quit rolling,—under the proposed bill every voter will have the right at that same primary election to vote for one person, and no more, as a delegate to the national convention of his party; and "a number of such candidates equal to the number of delegates to be elected by each party . . . receiving, respectively, each for himself, the highest number of votes for such office, shall be thereby elected."

*See The Public of August 5, page 729.

In the same way, each voter may vote for one candidate, and no more, for Presidential elector.

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A fourth provision interferes with the vested right of corporations to provide funds for the traveling expenses of delegates to national conventions and with the iron law that prevents a poor man from going to a national convention unless he will accept money and "pass under the yoke."

The bill provides that every delegate shall receive from the State treasury the amount of his traveling expenses necessarily spent in actual attendance upon the convention, as his account may be audited and allowed by the Secretary of State, but in no case to exceed \$200 for each delegate; "provided, that such expenses shall never be paid to any greater number of delegates of any political party than would be allowed such party under the plan by which the number of delegates to the Republican national convention was fixed for the Republican party of Oregon in the year 1908."

Every such delegate will be required to subscribe to an oath that he will uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States and of the State of Oregon, and that he will, as such officer and delegate, to the best of his judgment and ability, faithfully carry out the wishes of his political party as expressed by its voters at the time of his election.

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The committee or organization that files a petition to place the name of any person on the nominating ballot of their political party for President or Vice-President, will have the right to use, upon payment therefor, four pages in the party campaign book—which is provided for under the Corrupt Practices Act, a law enacted by the people; and any voter may use as much as four pages, at \$100 a page, to advocate or oppose a candidate for President or Vice-President in that book.

And in the State Campaign Book, also provided for under the Corrupt Practices Act, a person nominated for President or Vice-President, or his supporters with his permission, may use four pages, without charge, to set forth the reasons why he should be elected.

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What would happen to the steam roller if half a dozen of the more populous States had such a law in operation?

And what chance would a Hitchcock have to draw a Cabinet position as his "honorarium" for operating the machine?

Think about it.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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AN OBJECT LESSON FOR LABOR.

On Chesapeake Bay.

Labor conditions in the tidal basin of the Chesapeake illustrate beautifully the relation of free natural opportunities to wages, and throw an interesting light on the race question, which, of course is also a labor question.

The tidal area of Maryland, Delaware and Virginia bordering the Chesapeake and its half-score of big and two or three score little tributaries, is a

region where no industrious and able-bodied man or woman need lack food, clothing or shelter, and where average thrift and intelligence are rewarded with many physical comforts and some luxuries. Poverty as we know it in urban communities is really rare in this region, and hunger is uncommon except as most healthy persons know it, say two or three times a day.

Land in the narrow sense of the actual soil, is monopolized as private property here as elsewhere, but the land of the Chesapeake's tidal basin, although easily cultivated and highly productive, is poor compared with the teeming waters of the Bay and its tributaries. And the natural opportunities of the waters are free.

Anyone may catch fish in these waters, any one may dig clams, any one may catch soft shell crabs, and any one upon paying a moderate license fee may take oysters; and there is practically always for these and other products of the Chesapeake waters, a sure and profitable market.

No one who knows even the rudimentary principles of political economy, needs to be told that the effect of these conditions is to make the earnings of a self-employing person occupied in the waters, the great arbiter of wages.

The men who own farms, the men who cultivate oysters in private beds, the men who put up vegetables and the creatures that come out of the water, can not long squeeze wages below the point that will send the surplus workers to the water as fishermen.

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There is a danger to the future of the colored people in these free natural opportunities.

Fishing even in the Chesapeake has a large element of luck, and is a business that a man may neglect if he will; for the riches of the waters seem inexhaustible, and as yet no man is permitted to make private property of the depths, or to fence off his fellows from the natural oyster deposits.

The colored man, with the social defects that may be partly racial, and are certainly intensified by recent slavery, is prone to choose the alluring freedom of self-employment upon the waters rather than the steady job of wage-earning ashore.

Here and there one finds landowners who refuse to employ the pleasure-loving Negro, and industrial administrators who likewise distinguish against him. At the same time there is a recurrent agitation for the extension of private ownership to lands under water. There is also a constant disposition to distinguish against the Negro in the matter of the suffrage. The Negro himself is apt to be indifferent to the exercise of his political rights, and he tends more and more to leave politics, land ownership, and even employment on the soil to the white.

The naked proposal to sell the fishing rights of the Chesapeake and its tributaries to the highest bidder would ruin any man who should advocate it today; but if the time shall come when the Negroes are almost the exclusive users of those free natural opportunities, it is not difficult to imagine that private ownership may be extended by law to all that is best worth having in the waters.

Already the question of private ownership of land under water has made rather startling advances in Maryland; and the argument that the wastefulness of those who avail themselves of free natural opportunities must end in the destruction of such natural opportunities, is not only specious, but has a substantial foundation in fact.

Men lose not their liberties always by sudden acts of autocratic tyranny; they may deliberately vote them away, or listlessly acquiesce in their gradual seizure by the few. When the waters of the Chesapeake as well as the adjoining dry land are owned by private persons, the laborer, be he black or white, will find wages tending toward the point of bare subsistence.

And then the real poverty will appear in this fortunate region.

EDWARD N. VALLANDIGHAM.

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CHARTER-MAKING IN LOUISIANA.

New Iberia, La., July 30.

A committee of citizens appointed for the purpose recently drafted a charter for New Iberia according to the commission plan of municipal government. It follows the Grand Junction charter, though weaker in some respects, owing to provisions of our State Constitution and because public opinion here is conservative; but we have avoided some of the weak points of the Grand Junction charter. This draft was accepted by the town Council and was passed by the legislature, subject, however, to ratification by the voters before it becomes effective.

As it goes to the people, the charter provides for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall; does away with party nominations and designations; provides strictly for the Australian ballot, and calls for the election of officers by preferential vote, with authority to adopt a preferential ballot as to all officers if desired. It gives the commissioners (or trustees, as they are termed) greater authority and responsibility than the Grand Junction charter allows, and precludes interference with them by the Council. The minimum wage rate is cut out.

EDWARD T. WEEKS.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A RESOLUTION WITH TEETH.

Minneapolis, Minn., Aug. 6.

An interesting incident of the recent State Democratic convention, to me at least, was the reception given by the Committee on Resolutions to the following, namely: "We heartily endorse the movement for the conservation of our State and national resources; we hold that in the taxing power we possess the necessary force to reclaim those resources that have been alienated, and to preserve the remnant to the people,"—which I, as a member of the committee on resolutions, offered as a substitute for the "ready to wear" resolution on conservation prepared by the State central committee.

It had hardly been read before its nature was fully appreciated by a railroad contractor, a railroad

attorney, and a man close to the steel trust. In a chorus they wanted to know what I meant.

I assured them that I meant just what I said.

They were alarmed and said that it spelled confiscation.

I suggested that there was no purpose in declaring for conservation unless you meant it and were willing to adopt some method to make your resolution effective.

The business connections of a majority of the committee and their attitude toward the resolution were a positive demonstration of its effectiveness.

S. A. STOCKWELL.

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, August 9, 1910.

Murderous Assault Upon Mayor Gaynor.

While on the upper deck of the "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse" at the dock in Hoboken, on board of which he was about to make a month's vacation trip to Europe, Mayor William J. Gaynor of New York City was shot by a discharged city employee. He was taken to St. Mary's Hospital in Hoboken. An examination of his wound by the ship's physicians before his removal showed, as published by the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, that—

the bullet entered the neck of the Mayor back of the ear in the region of the mastoid bone, where it buried itself, and so far as the physicians' observations go and in their opinion the injury is not a very serious one.

Early on the morning of the 10th, Mayor Gaynor had slept and was conscious and cheerful. The latest bulletin reports him "doing as well as could be expected," as having "slept some," as being "perfectly conscious," and as showing "no evidence of infection." X-ray pictures have been taken disclosing the course of the bullet, which entered the head just back of the right ear and pursued a downward course toward the throat. Recovery is hopefully and reasonably expected.

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The discharged city employee, J. J. Gallagher, when arraigned before Recorder McGovern, is reported to have made this statement:

My name is James J. Gallagher. I live at 440 Third avenue. I am 50 years old and was employed as a watchman by the New York city department of docks. I came to Hoboken about 9:30 this morning. I went aboard the Kaiser Wilhelm. On the ship I

met a clergyman and I asked him to point out Mayor Gaynor to me. He did so, and shortly afterward I fired a shot at the mayor. I do not know if I fired one or more. Knowing that Mayor Gaynor was going to Europe to enjoy himself after depriving me of my bread and butter, not porterhouse steak, I was irritated to the point of committing this act. The revolver you show me is the one with which I did the shooting. I do not know how many shots there were in it. I do not know how many I fired. I have had the revolver a long time. I had it when I was in the employ of the city.

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Insurgent Victory in Kansas.

In six of the eight Congressional districts in Kansas on the 2d (pp. 679, 705), the Insurgent victory over the Standpat Republicans in the Republican primary vote was complete; in the other two the Insurgent defeat was by a narrow margin. Following are the reported primary returns:

First district—D. R. Anthony, Standpat, majority over McNeal, Insurgent, 107.

Second district—A. C. Mitchell, Insurgent, majority over Scott, Standpat, 1,000.

Third district—Phillip P. Campbell, Standpat, renominated by reduced figures.

Fourth district—Frederick S. Jackson, Insurgent, majority over Miller, Standpat, 4,571.

Fifth district—R. R. Rees, Insurgent, majority over Calderhead, Standpat, 2,000.

Sixth district—I. D. Young, Insurgent, majority over Reeder, Standpat, 1,000.

Seventh district—Edward H. Madison, Insurgent, incumbent, no opposition.

Eighth district—Victor Murdock, Insurgent, incumbent, no opposition.

Governor Stubbs, Insurgent, was renominated by a majority of 20,372, being a gain of more than 9,000 over his majority for the nomination in 1908.

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Congressman Anthony (Standpat), who barely escaped defeat, said to the Associated Press that "it looks as if Kansas has been engulfed in another wave of Populism. Congressman Murdock (Insurgent), characterized the result to the Associated Press as "a complete repudiation of both Cannon and the system by which he has robbed the people of free government in the House," and "an effort by the Republicans of Kansas to say with emphasis to the nation that the Republican party of Kansas, by indorsing Governor Stubbs and the Kansas Insurgents in Congress, stands for immediate and effective legislation framed to drive special and selfish interests out of control in American politics."

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Insurgency in Iowa.

Newspaper reports immediately following the Iowa primaries (p. 561) to the effect that the Insurgents (pp. 465, 583, 636, 704), had suffered defeat by Standpat Republicans were badly dis-

credited in the State Convention at Des Moines on the 3d.

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Senator Cummins (Insurgent), the temporary chairman, spoke in his keynote speech of the "party of Lincoln, of Grant, of Blaine, of Garfield, of McKinley and of Roosevelt," but pointedly omitted the name of Taft and refused to mention it although the Standpat delegates shouted it at him. Senator Dolliver (Insurgent) was elected permanent chairman by 834 to 549, and he, too, ignored President Taft. When he declared that "our particular brand of Republicanism seems to have run well in Kansas yesterday," the applause was tremendous.

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In a minority report from the committee on resolutions, presented to the convention by Congressman Hepburn, President Taft was commended as having "fully justified the confidence placed in him by the Republican party;" his policies and his action in approving the tariff bill "passed by the Republican Congress in pursuance of the pledges of the Republican party," were endorsed; and "the Iowa delegation in Congress" were commended "for all efforts in support of the administration of President Taft, and for such aid and assistance as they have given him in carrying forward his administrative and legislative policies." These resolutions were voted down by the convention by majorities varying upward from 250.

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The only endorsement the convention gave President Taft was in a brief plank in the platform in which the delegates declared that—

They indorse such efforts as President Taft and his advisers have made to fulfill the promises of the national platform, and which have been in harmony with the declarations of the convention.

Other planks in the platform recommend the election of Senators by direct vote of the people, representation in national conventions on the basis of party strength, and strict regulation of trusts to secure competition. On the subject of railroad rates the platform asserts that—

all common carriers should have fair compensation, but no more. It is clear that to enable the railroad commissions, both national and State, to discharge the duties imposed upon them by law, a valuation should be made of the physical properties of railway companies to secure an effective control of rates and a complete system of accounting.

Following is the declaration on the tariff question adopted in the name of the Republicans of Iowa:

They emphasize their long and well settled faith in the Republican doctrine of Protection. Its soundness and wisdom are beyond controversy and it ought to be accepted as the established policy of the nation. The last Republican national platform an-

nounced with clearness and precision the rules for its application to imports, and when so applied it safeguards equally the interests of labor and capital and promotes equally the welfare of the producer and the consumer. They do not recognize the revision of 1909 as a satisfactory fulfillment of the party promises. In order to bring the tariff law into a complete compliance with the rule of the platform it is necessary that the difference between the cost of producing dutiable commodities at home and abroad should be correctly known. Therefore they favor the creation of an independent, non-partisan tariff commission, which shall be the instrumentality of Congress to ascertain the difference between the cost of production here and in other countries, and publish the facts so that not only Congress, but the people shall be advised of the results of its investigations. Until such a commission is authorized they approve the effort of the President to secure the desired information through a board of experts employed for that purpose. They profoundly believe that when the tariff is again revised its schedules should be considered separately, so that each subject can be dealt with upon its own merits, and thus secure fair and impartial action upon the part of Congress.

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Work of the Peoria Conference Committee.

The Peoria Conference Committee (pp. 611, 626, 662, 733), consisting of Walter S. Rogers, chairman, and Merritt Starr, George E. Cole, George L. Carpenter, Frederick A. McFarland, S. L. Surran and Frank Bode, have set going a petition for a Public Policy vote in Illinois on the three demands of the Conference: Initiative and Referendum, Corrupt Practices legislation, and extension of the Merit System of Civil Service. To place these questions on "the little ballot" for the next election, 110,000 signatures must be got before the end of August.

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Following are the forms proposed for the three questions respectively: For the first question—

Shall the next General Assembly submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following State election an amendment to the State Constitution providing for the control of legislation by the people, by means of the Initiative and Referendum; said amendment to provide for the initiation of legislation upon a petition of 8 per cent of the voters, and for the reference of legislation upon a petition of 5 per cent of the voters, the action of the majority of the electors voting to be final; thus restoring to the people the power they once held, but which they delegated to the General Assembly by the Constitution?

For the second question:

Shall the next General Assembly extend the merit system by the enactment of a comprehensive and adequate civil service law, thus promoting efficiency and economy?

For the third question:

Shall the next General Assembly enact a corrupt

practices act, limiting the amount a candidate and his supporters may spend in seeking office, and providing for an itemized statement under oath showing all expenditures so made, for what purpose made and from what source or sources received, thus preventing the corrupt use of money at elections?

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In announcing this program for an advisory vote under the Public Policy law, the committee named above explains that it hopes—

the three measures may receive the fullest discussion. Especially is this important at the present time, in view of the exposures of legislative corruption, the known unresponsiveness of the legislature to public demands, and the belief that the enactment of these fundamental measures will render easier the adoption of other needed legislation. Signing the petition does not commit one to the propositions. The signer remains free on election day to exercise his judgment after hearing the discussion which will take place during the campaign. A signature to the petition merely helps make possible the submission of these questions of public policy to the consideration of the voters.

The Committee announces also that it seeks the advice and co-operation of all citizens to whom an effort looking toward the political regeneration of Illinois appeals. "If interested," it says, "write or call at one of the offices of the committee, 1308, 79 Dearborn street, Chicago, or 308 Odd Fellows' Building, Springfield. Petitions may be obtained at either office."

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The people of Illinois have once voted under the Public Policy law on the right of Referendum, though without the Initiative (vol. vii, p. 457), and only for counties, cities, villages and townships desiring the Referendum. This question was voted on at the fall elections of 1904 with the following result (vol. vii, p. 505): Affirmative, 203,798; negative, 23,894; majority for the local Referendum, 179,904, in a total of 227,692. The total advisory vote on the local Referendum was only 45,951 less than the plenary vote on the question of amending the State Constitution by authorizing a special charter for Chicago, and only 8,763 less than the Public Policy vote on the question of direct primaries (vol. vii, p. 505), which were voted on at the same election. The Illinois legislature has disregarded this Public Policy mandate of 1904 regarding local referendums, and has only reluctantly noticed and grudgingly obeyed the popular mandate at the same election for direct primaries.

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Senator Gore's Charge of Corruption.

At a meeting on the 4th, at Muskogee, Oklahoma, of the special committee of the lower house of Congress, appointed to investigate disclosures by Senator Gore, of Congressional corruption in connection with Indian lands (p. 610)—the com-

mittee, consisting of Charles H. Burke of South Dakota, chairman, Philip P. Campbell of Kansas, Charles B. Miller of Minnesota, John H. Stephens of Texas, and E. W. Saunders of Virginia,—Senator Gore of Oklahoma was the first witness. He testified that Jacob L. Hamon, formerly chairman of the Oklahoma Territorial and State Committees of the Republican party, had offered him a bribe of \$25,000 in connection with contracts regarding Indian lands, and had increased the offer to \$50,000; that Hamon told him, in connection with this offer, that Vice President Sherman, Senator Curtis of Kansas and Congressman McGuire of Oklahoma were interested in the contracts, and that ex-Senator Long of Kansas, as counsel for John F. McMurray, the beneficiary of a 10 per cent fee under the contracts, had urged their approval by President Taft. Senator Gore was followed by Congressman Creager, who testified that Hamon had approached him corruptly at about the same time and on the same subject. The contracts in question have to do with the operations of a New York syndicate in its efforts to buy for \$30,000,000 coal, asphalt and timber lands of the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations, valued by the Geological Survey at \$160,000,000. The promoters were to get \$3,000,000 (10 per cent), and it was to buy off opposition to these contracts that the alleged bribes were offered.

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Senator Gore, having stated in his testimony that an employe of the Department of Justice had told him that another employe of that Department was interested in the contracts, and being recalled after Mr. Creager testified and asked to give the name of his informant, replied:

"That I could not do. The matter was imparted to me in confidence and I regret that it was mentioned here at all." "Now, Senator," interposed Congressman Campbell of the investigating committee, "don't you think it unfair to go so far before this committee and yet not tell all you know? You know we are here to learn the truth and we would like to have all of it made known." "No, I would rather not," Senator Gore explained; "it is well known that heretofore employes of that Department have lost their positions for giving information and I would rather this feature of the investigation be dropped."

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Senator Gore's brother, confirmed by the Senator's stenographer, testified that Hamon was closeted with Senator Gore on the occasion mentioned; that when Hamon came out he said, "The Senator is getting awfully hard on his friends. I want to make a lot of money, and I don't care how I make it"; and that when Hamon left, Senator Gore said he had been talking about the McMurray contracts and had offered him \$25,000, and then offered to increase the amount.

Hamon, McMurray, the Vice President, Senator Curtis and Congressman McGuire, all denied culpability and interest when questioned by newspaper reporters on the 4th; and on the 5th, Hamon appeared before the committee and categorically denied all the previous testimony affecting him. On the 6th, D. C. McCurtain, a Choctaw Indian, son of the head of the Choctaw Nation, and one of its attorneys and delegates to Washington, testified that McMurray had in 1906 offered him \$25,000 not to oppose similar contracts preceding those in question and which President Roosevelt subsequently disapproved. In a newspaper interview on the same day McMurray denied this additional accusation. Also on the 6th Senator Curtis of Kansas testified that he and Vice President Sherman had opposed the contracts, and both he and Congressman McGuire specifically denied, as witnesses before the committee, having any interest in the contracts in question. The chief of the Choctaws, Green McCurtain, testified that George W. Scott, acting in the interest of McMurray, as the Chief believed, had offered him one-fourth of the profits if he would induce the Choctaws to withdraw opposition to the contracts now in question. A large number of witnesses, mostly Indians, testified on the 8th.

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The Religious Unrest in Spain.

Clerical and Carlist (p. 731) insurrectionary movements in the Basque provinces of Spain, which lie on the western slopes of the Pyrenees and on the shore of the Bay of Biscay, have been held in check by the Spanish government during the past week. Demonstrations were feared for Sunday, and many arrests were made on Saturday night, a half of those arrested being released on Monday. In an authorized interview on the 2d Gargia Prieto, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that the government asked only two things of the Vatican: First, the suppression of those convents and monasteries which had entered Spain illegally; and, second, that the Pope should authorize the bishops to suppress or transform the establishments necessary to the aid of the priests in their ministrations. He said that the government had offered a year for the transformation, which was desired by the secular clergy, who felt that their existence was gravely compromised by the monks.

NEWS NOTES

—Honduras (vol. xii, p. 732), is again in the throes of revolution.

—The formal opening of the annual convention of the Order of Knights of Columbus (Roman Catholic) took place at Quebec on the 2d.

—The strike on the Grand Trunk Railway line (p. 687) was ended on the 2d satisfactorily to the strikers through the intervention of the Canadian Minister of Labor.

—In the two Congressional districts of Milwaukee, Victor L. Berger and Winfield R. Gaylord respectively, have been nominated for Congress by the Social-Democratic party.

—Harvey W. Scott, proprietor and editor of the Portland Oregonian, died at Baltimore on the 7th while visiting there. He was 72 years old and had been editor of the Oregonian since 1865.

—Ex-Senator S. A. Stockwell, well-known in the Northwest as a disciple of Henry George, is an official delegate from the city of Minneapolis to the Conservation Congress at St. Paul (pp. 653, 732), under appointment of the Mayor.

—A British fleet, the largest fleet ever assembled, is to start September 15 upon a voyage around the world, calling at every British colony with a seaport. Its mission is to announce the accession of the new King. The time allotted for the voyage is three years.

—W. R. Michaelis, proprietor of the Chicago Staats Zeitung and president of the United Societies, was drowned on the 6th in Oquago Lake, New York, in an effort to rescue his eight-year-old daughter, who had fallen into the lake from a boat in which they were rowing.

—The British Parliament (p. 734) adjourned on the 3d until November 15. No arrangement by the conference regarding the Lord's veto is reported to have been made. A home rule manifesto for Scotland was published on the 6th over the signatures of a majority of the Scotch members of the House of Commons.

—The Chicago Federation of Labor decided on the 7th to send to the 250,000 trade unionists of Cook county the following questions for a referendum vote: "Shall organized labor indorse and co-operate with the Socialist party? Shall organized labor form an independent party? Will you abide by the majority vote on these questions?"

—President Pedro Montt of Chile and his wife have been visiting in the United States on their way to Europe. They were the guests of President Taft and Mrs. Taft at Beverly, Mass., on the 6th. They sailed on the Kaiser Wilhelm on the 9th, and President Montt was in the group around Mayor Gaynor when the latter was shot.

—A public meeting will be held in the Garrick Theater, Chicago, in the afternoon of September 4—the Sunday before Labor Day—under the auspices of the John P. Altgeld Memorial Association, for the purpose of dedicating four bronze tablets to be placed on the Altgeld monument. Francis F. Browne will preside and George Fred Williams of Boston will deliver the oration.

—Harvey Ingham (editor of the Des Moines Register and Leader), Hubert Utterback (Democratic candidate for State Senator of Iowa), and Louis F. Post (editor of The Public), are the speakers announced for Suffrage Day, the 31st, at the Iowa State Fair at Des Moines. Mrs. Julia Clark Hallam, of

Sioux City, State president of the Woman Suffrage Association, is to preside.

—Sixty-five lawyers, representing the most powerful railway corporations of the United States, held a four days' secret conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, last week, ending on the 6th. They are reported to have decided to take early action to test the constitutionality of certain clauses of the railway rate law of Congress (pp. 492, 512, 584, 701). Among those in attendance were the general counsel for the Harriman lines, the Pennsylvania, New York Central, New Haven, Burlington, Missouri Pacific, Rock Island, Reading, Erie, Santa Fe, Northern Pacific, Lackawanna and the Boston & Maine.

—The Pilgrim Memorial monument at Provincetown, Mass., the cornerstone of which was laid by President Roosevelt three years ago (vol. x, p. 490), was dedicated on the 5th, President Taft delivering one of the dedicatory addresses. The monument stands upon Town Hill, the highest land at the end of Cape Cod, and reaches to a height of 347 feet above the sea level, the monument itself being the tallest structure of solid construction in the United States, with the exception of the Washington monument. It is in tower form, with two rows of battlements, the second surmounting a small secondary tower which appears as if erected on the tall main tower.

—The National Independent Political League, represented by fifty Negro delegates from thirty States, adopted resolutions on the 5th at Atlantic City, New Jersey, denouncing both the Republican and the Democratic parties and urging voters to "demand protection, education, equal opportunity, and justice," by cutting loose from both parties and voting "only for Congressmen who pledge to advocate a national anti-jim crow car law, the enforcement of the war Amendments, and restoration of the Brownsville soldiers." The resolutions close with the following: "Roosevelt has given us Brownsville, Taft has dismissed worthy office holders solely because of their color, Texas has outrun Kisheneff."

—The Pennsylvania Railroad Company's \$160,000,000 terminal and tunnel project at New York was officially declared completed on the 1st. Two private cars, bearing President McCrea, the directors and other officials of the Pennsylvania system, left Philadelphia at 1:30 o'clock that afternoon, and two hours later shot from the tube that runs under the Hudson River into the station that occupies twenty-eight acres of ground in the heart of New York City. This terminal station, which in a few weeks will be thrown open to the public, is the largest in the world. The tunnel that leads to it, and which ultimately will give unbroken rail connection from all points in the South and West to New England, is an engineering wonder of steel tubes and concrete walls. It costs about \$25,000 a mile to construct the ordinary steam railroad; the cost per mile of the New York terminal and tunnel has been in excess of \$9,600,000.

PRESS OPINIONS

Insurgency.

The (Portland) Oregon Daily Journal (ind.), August 2.—It is no little ephemeral timid wave of insurgency

that has arisen, for its cause is no temporary or trivial matter. It is the ages-old fight of the common, unorganized people against legalized privilege and plunder. Once informed and aroused, the people never abandon such a battle.

† †

The Insurgent Victory in Kansas.

The Emporia (Kansas) Gazette (William Allen White), August 4.—The fight to free the Republican party of Kansas from the domination of the great business interests of the East is won. The fight was won on the moral side of the tariff issue. Little else was discussed. Little else interested the people. When Bristow, Murdock, Stubbs and Cummins talked to the Kansas people they turned out by the acre. When Senator Curtis and the Standpat Congressmen tried to make Taft the issue the people turned away. Taft was dragged into this fight as a shield for his friends. He was battered down unnecessarily in order to rebuke those who sought to hide behind him. His share in the defeat is none the less humiliating because his friends—those whom he consulted and favored in Kansas matters—selfishly brought his name into the contest. The men who were making the fight for a free State ignored Taft. His name was not mentioned in any way by those who were making the Insurgent fight. But the Standpatters, from Governor down to Congressmen, said a vote against us is a vote against Taft. So the people voted against the Standpatters and let the inference go where it would. This is unfortunate, but Taft has his cowardly friends who hoped to conjure with his name, to thank for the result of the issue. . . . Taft was not the issue in this fight. The rebuke for him was merely political—not fundamental. The issue was the tariff—the moral side of the tariff. It makes absolutely no difference whether that tariff is a good business-getter or not, whether it is a good revenue-maker or not. Kansas refused to listen to statistics in favor of the tariff. The thing that Kansas desired to know was this: Was that tariff made honestly. It made no difference to Kansas how high or how low a duty was—if that duty was made to pay for a campaign contribution it was wrong; if it was made to furnish honest protection as the result of a scientific inquiry as to the need for protection, Kansas did not complain. It was as though her children had been sold into shame and the man who put the brand upon them would argue with the parents about the revenue they were bringing. The more revenue the worse the crime. . . . And now Kansas joins the ranks of the free States that have repudiated Cannonism and the dominion of Aldrich. In the whole West not a Republican State convention has indorsed the Payne-Aldrich bill. Kansas will not. Kansas is free. The Republican party is free. We are now free men in Kansas, ready with the old Kansas spirit to serve a free progressive country.

† †

Folk and the Missouri Machine.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy) August 4.—'Tis a finely fanciful theory some folks have, that the support the Missouri machine is giving Folk for the Presidential nomination is for the purpose of keeping him out of the Senatorial con-

test, and that when the machine has accomplished its purpose as to the Senatorship, it will "dump" Folk as a Presidential candidate. This involves the idea that the machine will hand over the State this fall to put Folk out of the Senatorial running. Folk declared months ago he didn't want the Senatorship. Why should the machine indorse Folk next September and then "dump" him later? Why not dump him before September? Fact is, the dumpers are not for Folk now or ever. The dumpers aim to discredit the Folk movement by pretending to be with it. It's a trick. If they can make Folk's friends believe there is a trick in an alleged machine support, they can weaken the Folk following and prevent the indorsement. But if they don't indorse Folk there's no chance to carry the legislature this fall. They have to indorse him or lose the State. They can't "dump" him after indorsement, because if approval of Folk is necessary to carry the legislature, then Folk dominates the party and if there's any dumping to be done he can do it. Folk is absolutely master of the Missouri situation at every point. His friends will decide the candidacy for the Senate. The machine will "give" Folk nothing. His friends will carry the State and indorse him, and his enemies would, but cannot, prevent this. Folk declined to run for Senator before the machine had a candidate. The machine needs Folk. He does not need the machine.

+ +

Vancouver's Experiment.

The Portland (Ore.) Labor Press (Labor), July 30.—Vancouver, B. C., is no little sawmill town. Since taking taxes off improvements it has nearly doubled in seven months over the previous twelve months for its record of building permits. Not only that but all the surrounding towns are clamoring for admission into a Greater Vancouver, with a charter granting powers of referendum and initiative and the entire exemption of improvements from taxation. They must have it. The Vancouver people believe they are destined to pass every city on the Pacific Coast in wealth and population. They are liable to make good. Victoria is following and it is quite within possibilities that all British Columbia will be showing us how to tax what we don't want and exempt from taxation what we do want.

+ +

The Irrelevant Class.

The (London) Nation (ind.), July 9.—A class that despises intelligence, that passes through the closed garden of the public school and the pass degree at the University into Parliament, the Army, or the ownership of the bulk of English land, is a class for which, as a whole, the nation will increasingly find no use. It will not be assailed as tyrannical. It will be put aside as irrelevant.

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British and American Police Methods Contrasted.

The Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), August 5.—Here in America the first activity of the police on capturing a suspected criminal is to endeavor to force a confession from him. The methods of doing this have been often described, sometimes perhaps with

exaggeration, and sometimes without sufficient disclosure of the tortures inflicted. The prisoners have been browbeaten, assaulted, starved and subjected to the most trying ordeal of all, the steady, relentless cross examination of expert questioners, until confessions have been fairly wrung from them. It is against the English law to do this. So it is against the American law. But the American police officials do not worry about that. Declaring that the end justifies the means, they violate the rights of the prisoner and overstep the bounds of justice every day in the year. It is refreshing to read of an adherence to the old fashioned idea that no man may be forced to incriminate himself, and to know that some policemen still are bound by the laws.

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Detroit (Mich.) News (ind.).—The attitude of the English detective toward his prisoner, furnishes a refreshing illustration of the British sense of fairness as applied to those who stand accused. It harks straight back to the early Anglo-Saxon rules with which the individual's liberty was hedged about to prevent persecution. It stands in contrast to the now well-developed American police methods that often recognize sequestration, suppression and "sweating."

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(Philadelphia) Public Ledger (ind.), Aug. 3.—The prisoner is put upon his guard when the processes of the law begin to run. He is informed at the moment of arrest, when he is naturally discomposed, that he has very definite broad rights under the British law, and that even though he is a felon, he possesses as a British subject, certain immunities which will be maintained by the uttermost force of the British Empire. There is no attempt on the part of police officers, where the strong and just arm of the English administration of law reaches, to subject prisoners to persecution or to extort confessions. The Middle Age, which used the rack, the thumb-screw and other hideous means of torture, has left its traditions in the Continental practice of assuming the accused to be guilty, and in proceeding to harass him into admissions to his own damage and peril. In all the British dominions and in the United States, which has inherited the spirit of its Constitution and its institutions from England, the laws assume that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty. In many civilized countries the only aim seems to be to convict the prisoner and punish him for the crime at all hazards. The English system aims to punish the culprit, but it shows the most extreme solicitude in determining whether he is guilty . . . The administration of justice in England is so steady, strong, sane, just and constant in its cold impartiality that even criminals respect it and all the remainder of the population support it in mind, heart and deed. There are no "third degrees" or attempts at short cuts; no hysterical and sensational trials lasting months in courts turned into vaudeville performance of a low degree; no shocking miscarriages of justice; no flippant abuse of the pardoning power. The prisoner is protected in all his rights; he is quickly tried; the evidence gets before the court and jury because pettifoggery will not be permitted, and if

the evidence shows that the defendant is guilty, he is convicted.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

FAILURE.

For The Public.

But isn't there tomorrow, dear, whose sun is all of gold?
 And isn't there a song of cheer that tells us not to scold?
 A dollar can't obscure the sun, nor should it give you fright
 If shadows from its passing run to fold you in their night.
 Who says there is forever, dear, will count himself in debt.
 There's time enough for pleasure here, if sorrow we'll forget.
 O love me then this blessed day for what my heart would do
 If riches were a joke to pay and wishes all were true.

GEO. E. BOWEN.

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THEATER TICKETS AND LAND VALUES.

Translated from *Bodenreform* of June 20, 1910, for *The Public*, by Emil Schmied.

The Association of Theatrical Managers of Berlin has answered the universal demand of patrons for cheaper admission tickets, with the statement that such a reduction would mean ruin.

"In the first place," they explain, "rents for theaters have been raised enormously. When Direktor Schulz took the management of the Metropolitan theater twelve years ago, he paid 220,000 marks rent; now he pays 360,000 marks. The Berlin theater, under the management of Barnay, at that time rented for 90,000 marks; today it rents for 160,000 marks. And the 'Lustspielhaus' during its short existence has advanced in rent 25,000 marks."

No mention is made in this explanation that the increased rent is due to betterment of the buildings. The increase is pure ground rent, which gives to the owner of the ground a constantly increasing income without effort—an income such as the shrewdest theatrical manager seldom reaches, and one which to the average actor must always seem beyond his wildest dream.

No matter what efforts manager and actor put forth to present excellent performances, they never can get beyond a certain minimum of existence. At the expiration of the leases every increase and advantage is absorbed by the ground rent.

This illustration should indicate the seriousness of this question even to those people who, on the whole, take life easily.

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THE JOSEPH FELS FUND OF AMERICA.*

An Explanatory Statement of Work in Oregon by the Fels Fund Commission, from an Oregon Campaign Pamphlet, "People's Power and Public Taxation," by W. E. Eggleston, A. D. Cridge and W. S. U'Ren.

The expense of preparing and distributing this pamphlet is paid out of "The Joseph Fels Fund of America," by the Fels Fund Commission, which consists of Daniel Kiefer, of Cincinnati, Chairman; Jackson H. Ralston, of Washington, D. C.; Lincoln Steffens, of New York; Frederic C. Howe, of Cleveland, Ohio, and George A. Briggs, of Elkhart, Indiana. Joseph Fels has agreed to give to this Commission \$25,000 a year for five years, to get the people of the United States to study and apply the science of just taxation in support of their government. He has agreed to give the same amount for the same purpose in Great Britain, and smaller sums for Canada, New Zealand, Denmark and other countries. He does not handle nor does he supervise the spending of the money. That work is delegated, in America, to the Fels Fund Commission.

Joseph Fels' offer, for America as for other countries, is to give a dollar for every dollar given by others. If one hundred thousand men in the United States give a total of fifty or one hundred thousand dollars, Fels will give the same amount. Money given to the Fels Fund by Americans will be used only for work in America; none of it will be sent to a foreign country.

Joseph Fels is an American, and a wealthy manufacturer whose business offices are in Philadelphia and London. He divides his time between his American and English interests. He was born in Virginia, of Jewish parentage. He does not give money to endow colleges, libraries or hospitals, because he knows there will be no need for this so-called "charity" of the millionaires when the people enact just laws for collection of all taxes from the special privilege and natural resource values that are created by the presence and industry of all the useful workers who labor in all the trades, from ditch diggers to bank presidents.

He believes in the wisdom and power of all the people to abolish poverty by making just laws that will insure to every man all the wealth he produces and every dollar he earns, and that will compel every man to earn every dollar he gets. Then the crimes caused by poverty will disappear.

Joseph Fels believes that Special Privilege, in

*See *The Public*, December 3, 1909, p. 1169.

the form of private ownership of values created by all the people, is the cause of most of the political and social crimes. His object in establishing "The Joseph Fels Fund of America" is to help to provide an educational fund so that the people may learn to use their power to abolish the "game of politics," and apply the science of government to their public business.

It is a sign of better conditions that at least one millionaire has the conscience and public spirit to endow a fund for justice and the common good, when so many millionaires are secretly using their fortunes to take from the people what little comforts and political rights they now enjoy.

The great corporations and the "malefactors of great wealth" spend money freely to persuade the people to submit peaceably to public taxation for private profit. For many years the owners of the Franchise Big Business Interests have endowed colleges, bought and subsidized newspapers, hired orators and paid high salaries to the most skillful and unscrupulous lobbyists—but never in any case to increase the power to advance the common good of all the people. This effort by Mr. Fels is probably the first attempt by a rich man to establish an educational fund for protection and increase of the People's Power in government, without any chance of selfish profit or advantage for himself.

The Fels Commission pays for this pamphlet because the Commissioners endorse its purpose, which is not only to defend the rights and powers already won by the people of Oregon, but to give good reasons for their taking additional powers, and especially the direct power to regulate taxation and exemptions. Also, the Commission sees that the owners of Special Privilege are fighting in Oregon to take away from the people the political powers they have won.

Some of the subscribers to "The Joseph Fels Fund of America" are Oregon men. There are others in the State to whom this cause should appeal. The Fels Commission is glad to get any sum that any one may wish to give. Some contributors have agreed to give 50 cents a year, others as high as five hundred dollars a year.

There is this advantage in subscribing to the Fels Fund; for every dollar paid to it, Joseph Fels will pay another dollar, so that every payment of one dollar means the addition of two dollars to the Fels Fund. The fight against Special Privilege will be easier for us in Oregon, as the people of other States obtain and use the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in their contest for political self-government and equality of opportunity. Therefore, we earnestly hope all progressive citizens in Oregon will subscribe to the Fels Fund.

A public statement will be made of all money spent by the Fels Fund Commission in Oregon. Will the men who are spending money for the Assembly "conventions to select and recommend

candidates," and for the Constitutional convention bill, publish full accounts of their expenses? No money will be spent in Oregon by the Commission unless the expenditure is approved by the Oregon Committee, and then approved by the Fels Fund Commission.

The statement has been published that Joseph Fels and Senator Bourne have contributed the sum of \$120,000 to be spent in Oregon this year. That statement is absolutely false in every particular. Senator Bourne is not associated with Joseph Fels or the Fels Fund. The fund is for political educational purposes on measures only. It is not partisan and cannot be used to help any person to get or keep any office.

* * *

DANIEL KIEFER.



Daniel Kiefer holds no public office and has never held one. His name, however, is familiar to all regular readers of *The Public*, and beyond. We should like to make his personality equally so. He thinks that his life until he "woke up"—by which he means when he saw the light that Henry George held aloft,—had been "about as contemptible a one as are those of all our so-called 'success-

ful' business men." But complimentary as that statement is to those "successful" business men, it is exaggerated. Possibly, as Mr. Kiefer insists, he hadn't a single thought of his own; possibly he was willing to adopt the views of the conservative papers on sight; possibly he was intolerant of every man who wasn't swimming in prosperity; possibly he thought the world should be ruled by successful business men, and was satisfied with himself. All this he confesses. It may be, too, that in his lavish gifts to charity, unmissed out of the plenty he had, he pretended, as he confesses now, to desire no credit or recognition when in fact he lost no chance of getting his name into the company of those of whom it would be said of each at his funeral, "He was charitable," etc. But in all that there is nothing contemptible; it is merely human. Even in the disinterested work he has done in the few years since his "awakening," Mr. Kiefer insists that it is solely for his own pleasure; and he proves this to himself by noting the unhappiness it gives him whenever he contemplates the possibility of quitting it.

Mr. Kiefer was born in Cincinnati, January 29, 1856, on Vine street near Sixth, now in the heart of the city. He was at work in the wholesale clothing and cloth business from his fifteenth to his forty-fourth year, and made money at it. In 1896 he marched in the business men's campaign procession in Cincinnati in behalf of McKinley, the remembrance of which is humiliating to him; but the Imperialist policy of the McKinley administration made him an insurgent before the next Presidential election came around. A synagogue Jew until that time, he broadened his Judaism then and entered wholeheartedly as treasurer into the work of the historic Vine Street Congregational church, which the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, was engaged in re-Christianizing.

Mr. Kiefer enlarged his field of pleasurable activities to national dimensions when *The Public* was about to stop (vol. xi, pp. 1, 777), and for nearly three years he has taken the lead in financing it without a penny of compensation. When Joseph Fels founded the American Fels Fund for the promotion of land values taxation, Mr. Kiefer was made chairman of the Commission, of which Tom L. Johnson is treasurer, and Lincoln Steffens, Frederic C. Howe, Jackson H. Ralston and George A. Briggs are Mr. Kiefer's fellow members. Here, too, he works devotedly without compensation. He is also a friend of the Fairhope enterprise.

Through the later years of his life in which he would regard himself as having been awake, Mr. Kiefer has had the unalloyed sympathy and tireless co-operation of his wife. He is a man of rigidly logical mind, of stubborn fidelity to principle yet with a spirit of compromise in co-operative action, weariless as an agitator, courageous enough to risk

making a mistake when action is necessary, candid in acknowledging mistakes, and altogether a man of the kind of whom there are too few in the world.

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WHAT THE DEVIL SAID TO NOAH.

The world was badly scared;
The very heavens trembled;
The Ark was all prepared,
The beasts were all assembled
And driven safe within
By Noah's sons and daughters,
When lo! the Lord of Sin
Appeared upon the waters;
A gallant privateer,
He sailed a Malay proa;
"I think it's gwine to clear!"
The Devil said to Noah.

We know that things are wrong,
We strive to make them better;
Perhaps I write a song,
Perhaps you write a letter,
Perhaps we work like men
To push a worthy movement—
When up he pops again,
That Foe of All Improvement,
And, smiling on the Deer
(But winking at the Boa)—
"Ah, shucks! it's gwine to clear!"
The Devil coos to Noah.

—Arthur Guilterman, in New York Times.

BOOKS

WANTED: A NEW HERO IN POLITICS

The Thirteenth District. By Brand Whitlock. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

When a book comes from the public library rebound, stained, worn, and ripe for rebinding again, there is a question as to the reason of its popularity which may not be always a test of its worth. But in the case of "*The 13th District*" by Brand Whitlock (published in 1902 and calling for a new edition) it is a story, not of sickly sentimentalism, but of rugged realism, that has passed from hand to hand with varying degrees and shades of interest according to the quality of the reader.

No more vivid and revealing searchlight has been thrown on the arena of American politics than has been shown in the moving pictures of Jerome B. Garwood's three campaigns for representative from the 13th Congressional district of Illinois. With the average conscience and self-seeking desires of the ordinary political aspirant, endowed with a degree of oratorical ability, the moral deterioration of the candidate, beginning with his first triumph, is traced with painful fidelity through his public career, and still foreshadowed in his unwritten future.

For the impartial observer of Garwood's type of

character does not have the faith in his final redeemable quality that seems to have sustained his devoted wife Emily under the crushing realization of her broken idol. The sympathetic touch with which Brand Whitlock depicts the unuttered agony of the woman's disappointment must be recognized and appreciated by the experienced as well as the imaginative reader. But it is doubtful if the woman of the twentieth century—or later—will take this beautiful type of wifely duty as a model, and continue to love, honor, and cover the cloven feet of her fallen god who no longer embodies the high ideals that won her maiden faith and adoration. The treachery of the man in his domestic life—though openly irreproachable—was more subtle and sad than the coarser sort visited upon his trusting friend and political boss, Jim Rankin. But the poison of political ambition, like that of the social and secret drink which so often attends it, insensibly lowers the victim's moral sense, as is keenly portrayed in the characters that figure in the drama of "The 13th District." The principal workers in the Garwood campaign are sketched with such fineness of detail that the reader feels he might go through that district—or any Congressional district, alas!—and, pointing his finger at the candidate, the political boss, the singed cat and the crafty editor, say boldly, "Thou art the man."

Such an artist in realism as Brand Whitlock, with his powers of discrimination and delineation of character, his subtle irony, his flashes of humor, his keen sense of the ridiculous and scorn of the hypocritical, should surely give us a political hero and a candidate for public office with aims that would inspire us with faith and patriotism instead of sickening us with disgust and despair.

Having hung before us this masterly picture of the political situation as it exists today, may we not believe that Brand Whitlock, out of his own experience in service of public and private good, will evolve a political novel with a hero actuated by the loftiest ideals, and moving us all to enthusiastic support of his cause?

A. L. M.

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FOR INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE.

Injured in the Course of Duty. By William Hard and Others. Reprinted, with some additions, from *Everybody's Magazine*. Published by The Ridgway Co., New York, 1910.

"In every important country in the world" the burden of an industrial accident, whether due to the fault of the employer, employe or nobody, "is placed on the shoulders of the industry in which it happened." To drive home our "mediaeval" condition of brutality and blindness, and to prove the universal advantage of industrial insurance, *Everybody's* has sent out this most able little book, as comprehensive as it is handy.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

PERIODICALS

In the August issue of Hampton's (New York) an installment of Rostand's "Chantecler"—the rooster that causes the rising sun to rise—is quite appropriately preceded by an article on Roosevelt in which the author, Judson C. Williver, asks whether Roosevelt is Inevitable, and concludes that he is not, nor even Possible unless he lines up with the Insurgents.

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There is a disappointing article in the Independent of July 28 on the subject of clairvoyants and mediums. Twice the writer, who professes himself one of the tribe, seems on the point of saying something, but each time he switches off, and finally manages to arrive at the end of his essay without telling anything which all of us did not know before. If it were possible to have an article from within the fold giving definite information as to the ways of mediums it might be exceedingly interesting.

J. H. D.

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For the intimate knowledge of a period of American history, which will always be studied with regretful interest, it would be hard to imagine a more important contribution than Gideon Welles' *Diary of the Reconstruction Period*, which has been appearing in recent numbers of the *Atlantic Monthly*. The August number covers the weeks from Dec. 12, 1866, to Feb. 16, 1867. Writing under date of Dec. 24, 1866, Welles says of the extremists: "The talk and labor of reconstruction is the engine by which they hold power, yet not a man among that great number of elected radicals appears to know or be able to define what he means by reconstruction."

J. H. D.

+

The second installment of Mr. Howells' *Memories of Mark Twain*, which appears in the August Harper, is even more entertaining than the first. Some of the incidents and stories and estimates here given will always form a part of the history of Mark Twain, for no one could possibly understand him better than Mr. Howells. They were not exactly classmates, but they were graduates of the same great institution. One of the stories illustrates well the unexpected turn of words which made a part of Mark Twain's humor. Mr. Howells was on a lecture tour and was suffering from insomnia. Twain wrote to him: "I know where you are now. You are in hell."

J. H. D.

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Two articles in the *World's Work* (New York) for August will repay attention—"The Passing of the Man with the Hoe," by Edward A. Rumely, whose name is not unknown to The Public readers, and "A City that Taxes Things as They Are," by F. B. Johnson. The latter article deals with the land value tax in operation in Edmonton, Canada, of which The Public (vol. xi, p. 787; vol. xii, p. 1159) has had accounts. An editorial makes this comprehensive and altogether true explanation of tariff legislation,

apropos of the cotton schedule of the Payne-Aldrich-Taft law: "Tariffs have been made by their beneficiaries, made privately, sometimes secretly, sometimes by tricks. The public knew nothing about the tricks whereby this schedule was changed, and had no way to find out. The minority members of the very committees that did the job were kept in ignorance. And after that, even the Senate and the House were overridden by the conference committee. The duty was raised on almost everything made of cotton, precisely as the manufacturers wished it raised. Yet the practically universal supposition at the time was that no cotton-goods duties were increased. We have no authority to speak for the President, but surely he could hardly have known this story when he defended the act. For, if this kind of legislation is defensible, what is indefensible? This amazing

story does not stand alone. That is the way tariffs have been made for forty years or more. But there is this difference: We are at last coming into a state of mind that regards this practice as a fraud on the public."

* * *

"Well," asked the author's friend, "did you get the material you wanted for your next novel while you were out at Reno?"

"Naw!" snorted the popular author. "I threw my notes away. I can eat a welsh rabbit and dream a better fight than that!"—Chicago Tribune.

* * *

In the old days, when oral examinations were still the thing, an examining board was pommeling an

Lend Us Your Imagination.

Our knowledge of the subscription list tells us that you, the average subscriber, value the Public very highly—your many annual renewals prove this.

For a moment think of your numerous friends who would enjoy it equally!

And forthwith see them.

Cincinnati, August 6, 1910.

DANIEL KIEFER.

DR. CHARLES L. LOGAN OSTEOPATH

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PUBLIC MEETING AND OUTING in the Beautiful Woods of EVANSTON, SUNDAY, AUGUST 14th

TAKE Evanston Avenue, or Clark Street-Devon Avenue, car from Monroe and Dearborn Streets, or Ogden Avenue-Clark Street Car at Madison and Dearborn Streets, to Clark Street limits barns, where we will meet at 2 o'clock sharp.

There take the Evanston car to McDaniels Avenue, walk four blocks south and one block west to the woods.

Be sure to be prompt as the ride from the barns takes an hour and a quarter and the evenings are growing shorter. Evanston friends will furnish the lemonade.

BRING YOUR LUNCHEON. Come and join us in games and beautiful walks through the woods.
Mrs. Raymond Robins, Pres. Emma Steghagen, Sec'y.

The Single Tax: What It Is, and What It Will Accomplish.

A straight-forward, succinct statement of the Single Tax as an economic method, by Judson Grenell, of Detroit. Mr. Grenell, who is a newspaper man of long experience, knows just what people want to know, and he knows also just how to tell it to them. Price: Five cents a copy, postpaid; fifty cents a dozen, postpaid.

THE PUBLIC, Book Dept., Ellsworth Building. CHICAGO

The Tariff:

What it is:
How it Works:
Whom it Benefits.

Protection:
Revenue:
Free Trade.

By Lee Francis Lybarger, of the Philadelphia Bar. Author of "Land, Labor, Wealth."
Sold by The Public's Book Department for 30 cents, postpaid.

applicant with questions from Blackstone, Kent and other legal lights.

"I didn't study anything about these fellows," complained the applicant.

"What did you study?" asked one of the judges.

"I studied the statutes of the State," he replied. "I studied them hard. Ask me a question about them and I'll show you. That is where I got my legal knowledge."

"My young friend," said one austere judge on the examining board, "you had better be very care-

ful, for some day the Legislature might meet and repeal everything you know."—Kansas City Journal

+ + +

"In the game of life," observed the literary editor, "it is always——"

"I wish you wouldn't call life a 'game,'" interrupted the information editor.

"Why not?"

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