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

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EDITORIAL

Listen!

"I may have something to say in a few days," says the Sage of Oyster Bay; and the bookmakers are laying no odds that he won't.

+ +

Roosevelt's Speaking Tour.

Apparently the Insurgents of Wisconsin do not wish Mr. Roosevelt's services as a speaker in their primary campaign. Or maybe Mr. Roosevelt does not wish to speak for either Insurgents or Stand-patters. At any rate in his itinerary just published his only speaking engagement in Wisconsin is set for Milwaukee on September 7, the day after the primaries. Mr. Roosevelt will be there in good time to congratulate the winners, while offering the losers his best prescription for "first aid to the injured."

+ +

The Real J. Pierpont Morgan.

In announcing its forthcoming publication of "the first authentic life story of J. Pierpont Morgan," the Metropolitan Magazine explains:

On one side he is described to you as a relentless money tyrant, with illimitable power; on the other hand, you will find him glowingly painted as the greatest patriot of our age.

With suitable adaptations of adjectives to time and place, isn't that about what might be said of every usurper,—big or little, near by or far off, in the present era or eras remote, and with slings, bows, guns or special privileges for his weapons?

An Example in Politics.

So far as our information goes, the recent Republican convention of Iowa (p. 755) is the first in the whole history of American politics to condemn honestly, boldly and formally, the record of its own party in Congress. This marks a new departure in party politics. It is a striking instance, worthy of all praise, of the growing political independence of the present time. To Senators Cummins and Dolliver and their followers is due the credit for this high example, which it is to be hoped will be imitated by all parties in the future whenever the occasion demands it.

* *

The Illinois Referendum.

Within only a few days 110,000 signatures to the petition of the Peoria Conference (p. 756) must be turned in, if there is to be a Public Policy vote in Illinois on an initiative and referendum amendment at the election in November. We, therefore, urge all our readers who favor this electoral reform to get at once as many signatures as they can and return their lists promptly to the chairman of the committee. Blanks may be obtained of the chairman, Walter S. Rogers, Room 1308 Unity Building, 79 Dearborn street, Chicago, or of the Direct Legislation League, Odd Fellows' Building, Springfield. The work is being pushed industriously and sensibly, and we are informed that signatures are easily obtained.

* *

"Tax Dodgers."

Whether personal property tax laws should be enforced rigidly is one question; whether there should be such laws is another. Simply on the point of fairness in collection, they stand condemned; for there is no possibility of collecting personal taxes fairly, and those who pay them are unfairly taxed. But there is a better reason still for abolishing personal property taxes. This reason is that such taxes are tribute. The personal property taxpayer gets nothing for the taxes he pays. It is often urged that his personal property is protected. But experience shows that if he pays personal property taxes for this he pays twice—once in taxes, and again in rent; for where personal property is protected, rent is higher than where personal property is without protection. Although the term "tax dodger" is usually applied to persons who escape personal property taxes, the real tax dodger is the big real estate owner. Compare him with a thrifty man of moderate means—a working man, say, with personal property

worth \$500. The latter has no way of recovering his tax, nor is his personality increased in value by the government which his tax supports. Not so with the big real estate owner. If the government is good, he can get higher rents than if it is bad, other things being the same. Consequently it is his tenant, not himself, that bears the burden of the real estate tax. The real tax dodgers are not those who escape personal property taxes, though they escape them altogether; they are those who pay real estate taxes, even though they pay to the full requirement of the law. The former get nothing back; the latter get back all they pay and more.

* *

"Heckling" Congressional Candidates.

In an article in Everybody's for August, Frederic C. Howe, with whose useful career in public life our readers are quite familiar, suggested that the best way to make Congress representative is to ask Congressional candidates to declare themselves, individually and specifically, to their constituents before election. Following the suggestion, Everybody's now offers question forms for the "heckling" of Congressional candidates. They specify nine questions, and there is space enough after each for a written reply. The questions are:

If elected to Congress, will you vote—

(1) for Cannon for Speaker;

(2) to take away from the Speaker the power of appointing committees and to give it to the House;

(3) to revise the tariff again, so that it will represent only the difference in wage cost of production between the United States and foreign countries;

(4) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate rates on the basis of a physical valuation of railroad properties;

(5) to authorize the Interstate Commerce Commission to limit the issuance of stocks and bonds to the actual investment;

(6) for the direct election of United States Senators;

(7) for a reorganization of the Post Office Department, and the appointment of a permanent Director of Posts;

(8) for a bill to prevent the Government from selling any more of its mineral deposits, the same to be leased at adequate rentals and for moderate periods;

(9) for a bill to prevent the Government from selling any more of its existing water sites, the same to be leased as above?

Everybody's offers to supply these forms in any quantity upon application, at Spring and Macdougal streets New York; and we have no hesitation in advising their extensive use. The Congressman who commits himself to those propo-

sitions will either expose himself to his constituents as a treacherous misrepresentative, or turn his official face in the right direction.



Mayor Gaynor.

Now that Mayor Gaynor is recovering, it is hard to realize the shock that was everywhere felt when his death by assassination was reported. There was no exaggeration in the idea that it would be a great loss to progressive politics and truly good government. Mayor Gaynor is one of that newer type of municipal administrators of which, each in his own way, Tom L. Johnson, Edward F. Dunne and Brand Whitlock among the living, and Samuel M. Jones and Hazen S. Pingree who went before them, are distinguished examples. This type is not identical with that of the merely honest Mayor. If it were, we should include such men as Seth Low in the list. One of its characteristics is honesty, but this is so much a matter of course with it as to be no more distinctive or an object of boasting than chastity in a priest. The distinguishing characteristic of the type is the making of democratic ideals practical. Not a tempting role for self seekers. He who would be such a mayor, must calculate upon the aggressive and conscienceless enmity of the most subtle and powerful elements in political and business life. But the examples these mayors have set, the light they have spread, the enthusiasm they have aroused for government that is democratic and right, these influences and such as these may prove to be to this American Republic what ten good men would have been to Sodom had there been ten good men there.



Municipal Performance of Municipal Functions.

R. R. McCormick, whose service as president of the Sanitary District, which includes Chicago, has earned for him a just reputation for public spirit with no private property string attached, comes back from a tour of European seaports with sound ideas regarding the proposed harbor system for Chicago. As reported in the Tribune of the 11th, he said:

The city government should own the harbor facilities, for it is to the citizens of Chicago that the benefits will accrue. I realize, of course, the obstacles in the way of financing the proposition by the city; and if these are insurmountable the sanitary district, which is able to finance the constructive work, is the only other body that should do the work. Our interests [the Sanitary District's], and the city's interests are practically the same, and surely we don't want to let some private corporation come in and build the docks and then have to buy them back

for \$100,000,000, as London did. . . Just look back over the history of London, and we find that the shipping was falling off at a tremendous rate, and that Liverpool and Bristol were getting far ahead. That was because the docks were privately owned in London. The city formed a harbor trust, which is a form of municipal ownership which might be followed to a certain extent if this city decides to turn the harbor project over to the Sanitary District. It cost London \$100,000,000 to buy these docks from the private owners, but it was a paying investment, and today London is way ahead of anything in sight on the subject of harbors.

There is valuable municipal information and good civic sense in that statement, and it affords further evidence of an awakening by public spirited officials to the truth that municipalities fare better by performing their own public functions than by farming them out.



The Pirates of San Francisco.

Before the people of San Francisco voted to make a municipal road of the Geary street line, the street railroad monopoly, which wanted that line, fought the proposal on the ground that it would be a "white elephant" on the people's hands, that it wouldn't pay, and that it began and ended nowhere. Now the monopoly is fighting in the Federal courts to prevent public ownership of the road—doubtless because it doesn't want to see the people waste their money. It is worth while to mention the fact that the street railroad monopoly can find lawyers willing to lie in approved professional manner to a court. What must a corporation lawyer do, anyway, to be guilty of malpractice?



The Historic Verdict for John Peter Zenger.

John F. Geeting, a Chicago lawyer who still prizes the legal landmarks of American liberty, is reported to have proposed August Fourth instead of July Fourth as the anniversary of American independence. His allusion is to the acquittal of John Peter Zenger, August 4, 1735, by a jury, at New York, upon charges of seditious libel.



The judges in the Zenger case, appointed by the British crown, instructed the jury that if they decided that Zenger had in fact published the articles complained of, they must find him guilty; for it was not within their province to decide whether or not the articles were unlawful, this being the function of the judge, whose instructions in that respect they must obey. Inasmuch as Zenger had published the articles, which made accusations against Colonial officials, and

did not deny it, but tried to prove them true and was not allowed to do so, the jury would have been compelled to convict if they had allowed the judges to decide the law of libel for them. But Andrew Hamilton—the old Colonial democrat and leader of the Philadelphia bar,—who came into the case because the Colonial judges of New York had arbitrarily disbarred all Zenger's local lawyers, argued to the jury, in spite of interruptions and admonitions from the judges, that the jury's right to say "Guilty" or "Not Guilty," made the jury the judge not only of the facts in the case but also of the law of the case.

♦

"Not Guilty," was the jury's verdict, and from that distant day to this, the right of juries in criminal cases to determine both the facts and the law, has been fundamental in this country. Toryistic lawyers and judges of these later days try to get around it, but it remains the law of the land. The Zenger case is the cornerstone of the American doctrine of freedom of press, which is now insidiously assailed through the courts by the development of the judicial novelty which another John Peter, John Peter Altgeld, aptly christened "Government by Injunction."

♦ ♦

"Those Greedy Labor Unions."

Immediately after the San Francisco fire in 1906, the building trades labor unions formally announced that they would not demand an increase in wages during the rebuilding of the city. Then the landlords—owners of vacant lots and of habitable houses—very informally raised prices from 50 to 200 per cent in San Francisco, Oakland, Alameda, Berkeley and the surrounding country. The carpenters and other builders and workers, finding that they could not pay the increased rents and live on the old wages, formally raised the wage scales. Whereat there was a great outcry from the landlords, merchants and others, who denounced "those greedy labor unions." Now the same cry goes up in Portland, Oregon.

♦

Teamsters working for draying houses asked for an increase of 25 cents a day, without making any other demand or request. Since 1907 they have been working for from \$1.75 to \$2.50 a day, depending on the character of the work. The employing draymen refused the request, refused to arbitrate, and made public proclamation that "the greedy labor unions" were trying to run their business; whereupon the anti-labor union brigade as-

serted that it was time to put down the unions, and pointed with much alarm to the fiction that labor unions, by raising wages in San Francisco, have brought that city to the ragged edge of destruction. There has been no great conflagration in Portland, but—

♦

Well, last winter Portland had a real estate boom, largely in anticipation of what the census man would find. Land values went sky high. The boom became quiescent, but prices of land are still rising; and the rent of a very small house that really isn't fit for a family is high for a man getting no more than \$1.50 or \$2 a day. So there is bitter feeling on both sides; and Br'er Landlord, the real cause of the trouble, "ain't sayin' nothing," as Uncle Remus would quote him. In fact, there's no particular reason for him to bring in a verdict against himself when his victims can't see what's hurting them.

♦ ♦

A Tuberculosis Hint.

It wouldn't cost much, and it might give an idea to some prominent men who have eyes behind the front walls of their brain-pans, if the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis would have photographs taken of some of the tuberculosis incubators in the large cities—the ill-ventilated, overcrowded tenements and sweat shops,—and then go to the assessors' offices and find the assessed value of the lots and the buildings. Next, find out the prices demanded by the owners for the lots, get the same information in regard to good factory or other business buildings close to the overcrowded tenement houses, and then compare the figures and—think. Then think again.

♦

Overcrowding is one of the main causes of tuberculosis, is it? Well, what is the cause of overcrowding? The natural depravity of man? A human preference for sleeping ten in a room only big enough for two? Then why don't persons herd together in that manner in well-to-do homes? It is only in corrupt politics that men prefer to sleep five in a bed. No, we are not throwing bricks at the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. They are calling attention to the ravages of a great physical disease, due to a great social crime; and the more light they throw on the disease, the more they call public attention to the extent of the disease, the more easily will the people see the crime and the way to abolish it.

"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL"

"A steel cage on wheels, cunningly wrought by a skilled craftsman and safeguarded by locks of the most complicated design, for the morning's ride of Vinson McLean, America's \$100,000,000 baby, is the latest and most startling novelty which two fond parents at Bar Harbor have adopted to protect their boy from kidnapers;" and "detectives, private watchmen, 30 house servants, and 50 outside retainers are also enlisted in protecting this child marvel from kidnaping." That is one of the news items with which the history of this glorious August week begins.

The news of the week before was enlivened with gay accounts of a bull pup passenger riding from ocean to ocean in a special Pullman car to save him the discomfort and indignity of traveling in the baggage car, a car whose master gets for years of hard work less than the cost of that bull pup's traveling expenses on that one luxurious journey.

Mixed with these news stories of prosperity were news stories of a different kind. There was the man who, gone crazy it may be from loss of a pitifully unremunerative job and with harrowing fears of starvation—at any rate indignant unto death from a sense of injustice, real enough no doubt though wrongly directed—tried to murder a mayor. There were young girls synchronized to the motions of tireless machinery, wearing out their lives at the murderous rate of ten hours a day. There were suicides caused by poverty and fear of poverty; and crimes caused by poverty and fear of poverty—emphasized, perhaps, by a plausible feeling that legality crimes are no worse in morals than the legality privileges that breed hundred million dollar babies and Pullman car pups.

*

Apologists for things as they are, may ask with a sneer if we would have the rich give all their wealth to the poor. It is a trick question which no intelligent person any longer asks, unless he is dishonest as well as intelligent. We would no more have the rich give all their wealth to the poor—though there is good Christian authority for it, is there not?—than we would have them give any part of it to the poor, as they piously and boastfully do through their charity donations.

Those contrasts raise a question, not of "dividing up" with the poor, but of *stealing* from the poor.

The over rich are thieves. It is a hard saying, to be sure, and we point to no person; let every one be his own jury, like Joseph Fels. But thieves

they are, you know—thieves in all but guilty intent.

Some may have the guilty intent, too, but they are not worth distinguishing, for it can't be easily proved and it wouldn't be worth the proving. Let us, then, acknowledge guiltless intent in all.

This shields them from the penalties of the criminal law, and irritation at being regarded as sure enough thieves. But it cannot shield them from the penalties of violated natural law, which is no respecter of persons and takes no account of intent.

Natural law is inexorable, from the bursting of a toy balloon to the collapse of a civilization. You cannot have hundred million dollar babies and Pullman car pups, in the midst of suicides, murders, robberies, wretched wages, scant employment, starving babies and factory-foundered women, without sooner or later incurring its penalties. Think of the spectacle on Sinai as a fact of history or a truth symbolized, as you please; nevertheless you must see that you cannot escape that elemental law of those tablets of stone which reads: "*Thou shalt not steal.*"

♦

The history of slavery in all its crude forms goes to verify that great law (of which we make so little when we relate it only to the larcenies of the criminal code) and to prove its penalties inexorable. Sanitary scientists are overwhelmingly proving its truth now. While perfumed seigneurs delicately lounging in some Oeil-de-Boeuf—or busy capitalizers of common property, where lounging seigneurs are out of date—have an alchemy of the law whereby they may extract the juices of the industry of others for their very own, there will be slums as well as palaces, and the slums will avenge themselves by infecting palaces with disease and rearing kidnapers for palace-bred babies.

Nor always, it may be, in those ways alone. Read your Carlyle again and see.

Carlyle phrased a question and its answer for the disinherited of every era, a question addressed not alone to perfumed seigneurs of the old regime in France, but as well to the American classes of our day among whom hundred-million-dollar babies are born: "How have ye treated us, how have ye taught us, fed us and led us, while we toiled for you? The answer can be read in flames over the nightly summer sky. This is the feeding and leading we have had of you: Emptiness,—of pocket, of stomach, of head and of heart. Behold, there is *nothing in us*; nothing but what Nature gives her wild children of the desert: Ferocity and Appetite; Strength grounded on Hunger. Did ye mark among your *Rights of Man*, that man was

not to die of starvation while there was bread reaped by him? It is among the *Mights* of Man!"

Pray let no one be such a silly fate-defying fool as to take for violent threats what are but friendly warnings. Of disaster these warnings are, indeed—and of disaster inevitable, of the world-old kind, if the world-old crime of the classes against the masses be persisted in. You can avoid the catastrophe if you help establish justice. But if you keep on pampering your own insanely selfish desires for luxury, or your pride of power, until you have exploited out of the toiling millions everything but those primal faculties of the savage to which Carlyle gives name—Ferocity and Appetite, strength grounded in hunger—the disaster will overwhelm you, overwhelm us all, as inevitably as effect follows cause.

+

Are you blind to the menacing signs that even now appear? The necessity for an armored baby carriage, and doubtless it is a necessity, is one of them. Is there no fateful meaning to you in the growing violence attending labor strikes? nor in such more advanced signs as mutinies of long trained policemen when ordered on strike duty? Haven't you read of something like this in stories of the French Revolution? Are you, like the French seigneurs, so insane as to imagine that repressive laws can control their ferocity and appetite, their strength grounded in hunger, once you have stripped your toilers of all but these? You may imprison them, you may kill them. Aye, but not so can you kill that which perennially raises them up in savage revolt. This is your crime against them, and you can kill that only by giving it up and sinning against them no more.

Is it not more wise, more human, more honest, to do as Joseph Fels is doing—acknowledge that the overwealthy, whether they intend to be thieves or not, owe their wealth to economic institutions that defy the mandate "Thou shalt not steal," and set about abolishing those institutions by educational methods? Instead of making war upon the impoverished and growingly impatient toiling class, would it not be better, even for yourselves—you of the Pullman-car-pup class, and you of the hundred-million-dollar baby class—wouldn't it be better for you, infinitely better for your babies, and no worse for your pampered pups, to soften your aristocratic or plutocratic wrath and anticipate an otherwise inevitable disaster by helping to do away with its cause? The cause is institutional. You may be no more to blame for it than are those whose earnings are your plunder. But you are in

better position than they to rid our civilization of it.

You have only to be a little less selfish, a little more thoughtful, a little more patriotic, a little less pious and more religious, a little more courageous with the courage called moral.

"Thou shalt not steal"—neither against law nor by authority of law.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

TAMING THE LEGISLATURE.

Portland, Ore., Aug. 13.

"Business government," as the term is used by the People's Power League of Oregon (p. 753), does not mean government of the people by Big Business, but government conducted on business principles so as to give the people a dollar's worth of government for every one hundred cents spent for government.

That seems like a dream until you think of it.

But, after all, government is organized, as far as the people are concerned, to get bread-and-butter results; and if government is on the red-link side of the ledger the results are not encouraging.

+

In Oregon as well as in every other State it is necessary, in order to get bread-and-butter results from government, to tame the legislature, to make some changes in the judicial system, to change the whole system of county and city government, and change the executive system. So this year the People's Power League proposes to amend the legislative article of the Constitution so as to tame the legislature, and to amend the judiciary article.

The more important legislative changes proposed are:

1. A six-year term for all members of the legislature abolishing the hold-over system for Senators.
2. Election of Senators and Representatives by a system of proportional representation, so as to have a square deal and less misrepresentation.
3. Power vested in the voters to recall any member, or the whole Senate, or the whole House of Representatives, or the whole legislature.
4. The presiding officers of the two chambers of the legislature shall not be members of the legislature, shall appoint no committees and shall have no voice or vote.
5. Making the life of a bill six years, if necessary, so that it may be acted upon at any time without dying a natural death because of adjournment.
6. Giving the majority of the members of each chamber the power to call a special session of the legislature.
7. Limiting the power of the legislature to use the "emergency clause" in passing a bill so as to prevent the filing of a referendum petition.
8. Amending the legislator's oath so as to prevent or minimize log rolling.

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The corporation papers say the amendment is "hasty and ill-considered legislation."

Hasty! It has been "in the shop," from forge to anvil and back and forth, about two years. The proposed changes have been rewritten from five to fifteen times, and some of the best lawyers in Oregon have gone over the changes with great care.

But of course the amendment is "ill considered," for the new sections have not been endorsed by corporation lawyers.

+

What is the reason for the proposed changes?

Briefly, the amendment is proposed to get better legislators and better service for the people; to get at least 85 cents' worth of legislation and legislature for \$1, if 100 cents worth can't be got. The six-year term will enable even a comparatively useless legislator to learn something and become useful if he has the stuff in him; if he hasn't, his constituents can recall him and try another man. Besides the six-year term is a step toward the short ballot; and it is more than likely that an efficient man will be re-elected.

Under the proportional representation provision of the amendment, any one-sixtieth of the voters of the State will be able to elect a member of the House, and any one-thirtieth a member of the Senate—for there are to be, as now, thirty Senators and sixty Representatives.

Candidates for the legislature are to be nominated in districts, as at present, but will be elected by the voters of the State at large. That will put an end to the system by which, in 1906, 50,000 Republican voters in Oregon elected 59 members of the House of Representatives, while the 40,000 other voters elected only one member.

The reason for giving the people power to recall any member, or either chamber, or the whole legislature is obvious. Congress would be less troublesome and far more useful if the people had the recall power. The last three Oregon legislatures would have spent more time representing the people if that recall provision had been in force. If the 1909 legislature had served the people, there would be not more than 15 measures on the ballot this year, instead of 32. It is well for the people to have power to emphasize the fact that they are not the servants of the legislature.

The only other provision that needs explanation is the limitation on the use of the emergency clause. The initiative and referendum provision of the Constitution gives the legislature the right to enact urgency or emergency laws by declaring that an emergency exists, and prohibits the filing of a referendum petition against a law enacted with the emergency clause attached. That has given machine legislators opportunity to commit legislative outrages by tacking the emergency clause to all sorts of laws so as to shut off the referendum. Under the proposed amendment, three-fourths of all the members elected to each chamber must vote, on roll call, for an emergency section, apart from the vote on the bill. A bill thus passed does not go to the Governor, but is filed with the Secretary of State. A referendum petition may be filed against it, but the law remains in force until the people approve or reject it.

The amendment provides, further, that no statute, ordinance or resolution approved by vote of the people shall be amended or repealed by the legislature or a

city council except by a three-fourths vote of all the members elected, taken by yeas and nays, which is a good provision, seeing that the people's "representatives" in two cases repealed laws enacted by the people. Whether that was done ignorantly or maliciously is not of much consequence so far as the result is concerned.

The purpose of this amendment, then, is to make the people's power fence "horse high, pig tight and bull strong" in case a legislature may try to get through it or over it or to push it down.

The amendment is not an egg from which to hatch a millennium. It will be, if adopted, another step on the road towards representative government and away from the present system of delegated government.

The Federal Constitution guarantees to every State a "republican form government;" but what the people of the States get is delegated government, which is neither republican nor representative in substance, whatever it may be in form. If the people of Oregon approve this amendment, they will snuff out a good deal of what one of the justices of the Oregon Supreme Court piously calls "damned insolence in office."

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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THE DES MOINES PLAN IN OPERATION.

Des Moines, Ia.

The Des Moines Plan* was conceived in its first form by a local Big Business man who greatly admired that of Galveston, and who, we have reason to believe, thought five commissioners more manageable than nine.

When he presented his idea to the Commercial Club, a body supposedly guiltless of reform tendencies, it was, after much discussion, accepted—but with the addition of the referendum and recall, the head and the hands, as it were, to Mr. Berryhill's torso.

The Plan was then drafted into shape by attorneys and submitted to Governor Cummins, who approved, but added the double election clause by which any man with signatures of twenty-five qualified voters can become a candidate listed alphabetically with the others on the tickets for the primary; the two having the highest number of votes for Mayor, and the eight having the highest number of votes for Commissioner, being the candidates for the final election two weeks later. Thus were the feet put on to the thing.

+

Before the bill was up before the Legislature, it seemed to have so little support that nobody thought it would pass—which partly accounts for its passing. The opposition had not fully taken alarm; although certain alleged deputations did claim that their town was frightfully opposed to it—opposed to having the option of a wider extension of its powers! So we were told that the slaves just "honed" to remain in bondage.

The editor of the Register and Leader was accused of hovering this bill, over at the State house, and

*See this volume of The Public, pages 298, 387.

causing it to be hatched; but he denies being a reformer, says others did the main thing.



The campaign for the Des Moines Plan bisected the hitherto united Democratic fraternity of leaders and united the warring Republican factions. At least the Standpat daily shouted as lustily for the Plan as the Register and the News.

So a new evening paper was set up in opposition; it was known to be an organ of the corporations. But why did the Standpat paper, also an organ of the corporations, work for the Plan? For the purpose of discrediting it, as Wall Street ostensibly opposes what it most desires? The voter was kept guessing.

This Frankenstein of original plutocratic construction, had grown so democratic that it was a menace to its progenitors and it must be killed.



The town was a debating school in hall and street corner.

Local wiseacres rushed into the newspaper arena for and against. Was it safe to trust the fruit of democratic methods grafted onto a plutocratic seedling? Was this deference to "business methods" in city government indeed an abandonment of democratic principles?

Mr. Louis F. Post was appealed to; his opinion was given in double column, flanked by a biographical sketch, and may have turned the tide. How easy a thing is when you know it! The plans and purposes of a community, he said in effect (vol. x, p. 291) are politics and must be settled by vote; the execution of those purposes are business and must be conducted on business principles—must be entrusted to few enough persons to insure an undivided responsibility—but with an efficient recall in the hands of the people. He declared the Plan to be the best yet submitted to any city.



But between those who were afraid the Plan would not work and those who were afraid it would, the city was imperiled like the fabled man whose two wives alternately pulled out his grey hairs and his black ones. But it was, after all, the grey hairs of our bad though time-honored system that were plucked.

And now, on strictly non-partisan lines, five commissioners were to be elected at large—no more ward districts—each man to be under the loop of a recall; they were to assume the responsibility heretofore carried by nine, together with the police court, the fire department, the parks and the public library.

The abolition of party lines, the obligation to admit the public to all sessions of the council and to print monthly reports of all proceedings in pamphlet form, the publication of a sworn statement of all campaign funds was much, but the obliteration of ward lines was perhaps more. The city, not the ward, was now the unit. Each candidate had to appear in all the wards, to bear the

scrutiny and answer the questions of all the voters and some of the women.



But here a sprite of mischief seemed to enter our Civic, or Commercial Club men.

Through some hocus pocus, some elaborate system of sifting committees, a group of five candidates was evolved; their names were published as "the citizens' ticket" with the assurance that this five were all of just the right age, from just the right parts of town, with just the right ability; that if the whole bunch were elected they would be harmonious and give thorough satisfaction. That two good men were in the bunch was conceded, a third man was suspected of plutocratic tendencies and the other two were generally unknown; the average citizen sniffed at the aggregation and said: "Why must I have my candidates bunched up for me like that? When I am offered fruit or fish tied up in bunches seldom are more than two good in the lot. Moreover, it has a stale smell of old methods we voted to get rid of. And how comes it that harmony can be guaranteed in advance? Have they so covenedanted already? We have had bales of harmony in our city government in the past, the harmony of mice about a cheese, and no good came of that." And amidst ridicule and suspicion the bunch of five passed into oblivion.

The last election saw no "slate."



Operation of the Plan will be smoother when, either by law or custom, all the lines between the departments, both as to duties and appointing power, can be definitely drawn. Then it would seem that the four commissioners should be chosen with reference to the particular department they are best fitted for. The head of the Department of Public Safety would need a different kind of ability from that of Accounts and Finance; and so on. But this might settle itself if each candidate would specify the department he was running for.



The opponents of the Plan saw one snag they said was likely to make trouble: In case of petitions for a referendum or a recall, the decision as to whether all names were those of qualified voters is left to the City Clerk. It was said that, were he so inclined, he could find the list of names inadequate and block election indefinitely.

But the snag we actually struck was not that one, but another. Before last spring's election (pp. 298, 318, 387) a petition of 2,100 names, many more than the 25 per cent called for, was sent to the City Commissioners, recommending the submission of an ordinance inimical to one of the great public utility concerns. The Clerk verified the names on the petition all right and the Council voted to permit an election on this matter, but Judge James A. Howe, of a district court of this county, the very same who handed down a decision that the whole Des Moines Plan was constitutional, enjoined the City Council from allowing this election, partly on

the ground that the thing asked for was not according to any express law, but partly that the necessary act of the City Clerk in passing upon the validity of the names on the petition was "judicial" and not legislative, and was hence illegal! Until this question is tried out by the State Supreme Court, it would seem that any effort to use the initiative or recall can be blocked in the same way.

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Likewise the city attorneys appointed by the late administration and still in office, seem able to block any aggressive move on the part of the city. So far they have declared illegal what the corporations want declared illegal, and that settles it. The Commissioners seem unable to move after that.

If the city attorneys were really the people's advocates, and a just thing seemed to have legal obstacles, they would say we will test the matter and see if these things are legal. If they lost the suit, they would then prepare a bill to present to the legislature to legalize the right instead of the wrong. A whole city government would have much more influence with a legislature than any group of individuals. But the City Solicitors, like the Federal Supreme Court, take the color of the administration that appoints.

LONA INGHAM ROBINSON.

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PROGRESSIVE POLITICS IN CANADA.

Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Manitoba and the Canadian west are not behind in the world movement toward democracy. Many men and forces are at work in various ways, with greater and lesser intelligence, solving the problems that cause social inequality. The election in July saw the return of the Tory administration in this Province, but with a decreased majority, and more hope that four years hence it will be dislodged from its present well fortified position.

Fundamental reformers were particularly interested in the candidature of F. J. Dixon (Manitoba League for Taxation of Land Values) who was the nominee (p. 662) of the Labor party for the constituency of Centre Winnipeg. Dixon, who proved an admirable and powerful candidate, is without doubt the best speaker on any side of politics in Manitoba.

It was our first taste of practical politics. We had much to learn; were defeated, but have nothing to regret. Direct legislation, single tax, and an amendment to the injunction laws in the interest of organized labor, were the issues to which Mr. Dixon confined his fight. When the votes were counted he was 73 low in a ballot of 4,000. Had it not been for a shameless padding of the lists, combined with liquor interest alliance and other tricks, the Opposition would undoubtedly have been successful. We estimate that Mr. Dixon would have won easily with a majority of 300 on a fair list of legitimate voters. However, the campaign was a splendid advertiser and served to bring many fundamental reformers to our support, of whose political views we previously had no suspicion.

During the campaign Mr. F. E. Coulter of Port-

land, Oregon, arrived on the scene and rendered service which proved of exceptional value. He addressed several meetings in the city and then went to the country to help other candidates who stood for direct legislation. From all reports, he captured the farmers in a body.

The Liberal party in this Province espoused the cause of direct legislation, though judging from platform utterances, many of their candidates knew little of its merits and were very timid about making it the paramount issue. The labor unions have endorsed direct legislation as have also the farmers' organizations, which are very strong. In this propaganda we can count upon the support of all the Liberal and independent newspapers, and in addition, the agricultural press. In this way we hope to force the hands of the Government. We will suggest to them a plebiscite upon the question at the opportune moment, as the best way to extricate themselves from an impossible position, and we are reasonably assured of success.

After we have won direct legislation, we propose to devote our energies to the taxation of land values. At the present moment we have in this Province a system of land area taxation, the improvements being exempt in all rural municipalities. Our effort will be to change this to conform to our own views. We will then devote our energies to winning the cities of Winnipeg and Brandon to our idea. Then we shall have a whole Province under the single tax, for whatever Winnipeg and Brandon do, the lesser towns are certain to do. The example of Vancouver (p. 675) is having a wonderful effect in producing converts to the system of municipal single tax.

The Liberal party in Manitoba has of late manifested a desire to become more liberal. This has had a splendid effect. The activities of the farmers' organizations are also very much felt. They stand for public ownership, free trade, direct legislation; and a very large proportion of them, particularly among the leaders of their movement, are fundamental single taxers.

Sir Wilfred Laurier, the premier of the Dominion, in the progress of a tour he has been making throughout the West, has been met by those who voice very radical demands. Everywhere deputation after deputation waited on him asking for legislation which, on the whole, is consistent with the best principles of democracy. Among the demands which some Liberal Associations have made upon the Premier are a request for absolute free trade, taxation of land values, and equal suffrage.

ROBERT LLOYD SCOTT.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE SECRET OF A GREAT FORTUNE.

Boston, Mass., Aug. 13.

"White umbrellas and elephants mad with pride are the flowers of a grant of land," in the Orient, and vastly richer equivalents in the Occident.

Col. E. A. Stevens, whose ancestral home at Castle Point, N. J., is one of the most conspicuous places within sight of New York harbor, has just been dividing his vast estate among his heirs, and retaining a

truly modest income for himself. Col. Stevens was president of the Hoboken Ferry Company until it went into the hands of a railway. He is president of the Hoboken Land and Improvement Company, which pays one-third of the taxes of Hoboken, a city of about 80,000 inhabitants, and director of the Hackensack Water Company, besides being trustee of Stevens Institute, the engineering school handsomely endowed by his family. Some of the valuable things recently transferred to his heirs by Col. Stevens were 1,230 shares of the Hoboken Land and Improvement Company, 168 shares of the Hoboken Shore Road, 1,999 shares of the Hackensack Water Company, 200 preferred and 140 common shares of the Stevens-Hewitt Engineering Company, 97 shares of the First National Bank of Hoboken, 45 shares of the Hudson Trust Company, 1,000 shares of the American Investment and Security Company, 250 shares of the Iberville Lumber Company, and about 140 shares of various other corporations, together with claims of one kind or another aggregating more than \$350,000.

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The foundations of the Stevens fortune, of which these possessions of Col. Stevens are only a part, were deepened and widened in 1784 when Col. John Stevens of that day, an eminent, able, well-to-do, and reputable man, purchased at a low price the confiscated estate of a New Jersey Tory.

Forty-five years later a Scotch traveler named James Stuart, found Col. Stevens and his four sons up to their eyes in business, owners, managers and builders of steamboats, possessors of a ferry privilege and a stage line, and still the owners of three miles of beautifully situated shore lands on the Hudson opposite New York. They then paid \$2,300 a year for wharf privileges in New York, and Stuart learned that the ferry fetched in nearly \$100,000 a year.

The men of the Stevens family were not mere idlers; they were hard workers. Several of them were eminent as engineers, in which profession the present Col. Stevens distinguished himself. But all their ability and all their industry would not have sufficed to pile up a tithe of their wealth, had not their ancestors made a lucky land purchase on the edge of the busiest and most expansive human hive on the Western continent.

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It would be hard to estimate how many busy men have contributed to the Stevens fortune by virtue of the fact that it involved the control of natural opportunities ideally situated, and other special privileges.

The fact that the Stevens men were of unusual ability and industry helped them to profit by their special privileges; the fact that they have been men of probity and public usefulness, has not prevented them from growing rich at the expense of nobody knows how many poorer folk.

It is an interesting fact that Col. Stevens, as a Democrat, tried to oust Senator Dryden from office and to enter the Senate himself. He denounced the use of money in the campaign, and spent only \$2,500. Naturally he was defeated.

EDWARD N. VALLANDIGHAM.

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 16, 1910.

Senator Bourne's Outlook Upon American Politics.

Senator Bourne of Oregon (pp. 697, 698), who is not enrolled among the Insurgents nor accounted a "radical" in any of the opprobrious senses of that much abused word, but is distinctively a democratic Republican, was interviewed on the political situation by the Chicago Tribune of the 14th as he passed through Chicago on his way home, and this highly significant and important declaration is what he is reported to have made:

The man who will be elected in 1912 will be he who most recommends himself to the progressives of both parties. He will be the man who stands out biggest in the public eye as the representative of action and ideals. I don't wish to say at this time, even by implication, that those words unavoidably spell Roosevelt. Roosevelt must demonstrate afresh. He must show unmistakably that he is the man he was before. There was a time, just before the expiration of his Presidency, when Roosevelt, the man—Roosevelt's ideas, Roosevelt's energy and, above all, the solid backing of the mass of the American people behind the man—were the greatest asset this country had. It was with the aim of conserving this asset and using the great impetus that existed that I worked as hard as I could for Roosevelt for a second elective term. But the situation now has changed. President Taft is far from being a failure. I will not say either that he has demonstrated or that he has not demonstrated. But I will say this most emphatically, that he has ample time before him in which to demonstrate. The opportunity exists for him to show the people that he is the man. No half measures and no compromises will serve the ends of a man who wishes to stand for political ideals in the next election. There is time for the President to make himself a man who will bulk equal to any Moses of the Progressives. Col. Roosevelt overshadowed every man of his time when he stepped down. But in the time that has passed since the new administration took hold, the weight that was behind him has scattered. His political future depends on what he does in the next year; for which reason I say that it is the most crucial of his life. There will be plenty of surprises at the fall elections. I don't use the word "Insurgent" as it is employed in classifying the members of the upper and lower houses in Washington. Who are the progressive and who are the foes of progress is plain to all the people. The men who stand for ideals and principles will be the men who will carry

most of the elections. This is part of the general movement of the time. Similarly I am convinced that if a man looms up in 1912 who is bigger as a Progressive than any man in opposition to him he will be the choice of the Progressives of both parties. Party lines never were so weak as now, and each year will see them weaker.

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Senator Bourne had a conference with Mr. Roosevelt in New York early last week, the report of which in the New York Sun of the 10th, given in the form of an interview with Mr. Bourne, was as follows:

"Did you call on Colonel Roosevelt today?" "Yes." "Was it a political call?" "No, not in the ordinary acceptation of the word; yet, if successful in my mission, the result will be of the utmost importance to this country, and, by example, to the rest of the world.

"I explained to Colonel Roosevelt how Oregon, through her Initiative and Referendum, Direct Primary, Corrupt Practices and Recall laws, has evolved, adopted and demonstrated the most effective form of popular government known to the world. These laws provide and insure equitable protection of the rights of men and of property, establish absolute sovereignty of the people, the accountability of every public servant directly to the party and the general electorates instead of to the political boss and through him to the campaign contributors. This transfer of accountability makes Oregon's government truly representative.

"Colonel Roosevelt's indorsement is not essential to the ultimate success of the cause, but, believing that he has the same confidence in the honesty and intelligence of the people that they have demonstrated they had in his, and appreciating his prominence before the world, I realize that his advocacy will accelerate the adoption of similar laws in other States. This was the mission of my call."

"What did he say?" "You will have to ask him."

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The British Program for Land Value Taxation.

Mail advices describe the presentation, on the 3d, to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Asquith, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, and to all the other members of the British Cabinet, of a Memorial addressed to the Cabinet by a committee of the Land Values Group of the House of Commons (p. 290), which has special reference to the Lloyd George Budget (p. 417) and is entitled "Land and Taxation Reform." It is signed by 134 Members of Parliament, and is as follows:

We, the following Members of Parliament, desire to place on record our grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other members of the Cabinet, in placing upon the statute book of the country the Budget of 1909-1910, which for the first time recognizes the principle of the separate valuation of land, and thus provides the foundation necessary for such further reforms as will result in securing for the

people of this country a more equitable distribution of the burdens of the state, in securing to each the results of his own labor, and in opening up the land to those who can make the best use of it.

We therefore respectfully urge the Government to continue and develop the policy inaugurated by the Budget by (1) making land values available for public needs; (2) freeing industry from monopoly and undue burdens of taxation; (3) completing the policy of Free Trade by (a) securing greater opportunities to produce in our own country by affording greater opportunities to use the land; and (b) abolishing the duties that remain on the food of the people.

We ask that this policy may be carried into effect by (1) hastening the completion of the valuation of all land, apart from improvements, provided for in the Budget of 1909-1910; (2) making that valuation accessible to the public; (3) empowering local authorities to levy rates on the basis of that valuation; (4) levying a Budget tax on all land values, to be applied (a) in providing a national fund to be allocated toward the cost of such services as education, poor relief, main roads, asylums, and police, thereby reducing the local rates; and (b) in substitution of the duties on tea, sugar, cocoa, and other articles of food.

The signers of the Memorial, 134 Members of Parliament in all, include the following: Percy Alden, J. F. L. Brunner, George N. Barnes (Parliamentary leader of the Labor party), W. P. Byles, H. G. Chancellor, Stephen Furness, J. Kier Hardie, John Hodge, Edward G. Hemmerde, J. A. Murray MacDonald, Max Muspratt, Francis Neilson, A. Rowntree, P. Wilson Raffan, D. J. Shackleton, Philip Snowden, Sir Albert Spicer, and Josiah C. Wedgwood.

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The circular letter making request for Parliamentary signatures to the foregoing Memorial and bearing date July 21st at the House of Commons was in these terms:

Dear Sir: We enclose copy of the Memorial which has been prepared by the Land Values Group for signature by members of Parliament, with a view to its presentation to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other members of the Government. It is intended, if possible, to make the presentation before Parliament is adjourned for the Autumn recess. We hope you will associate yourself with the Memorial, and anticipating your approval, we enclose a card to be signed and returned to Mr. P. Wilson Raffan, M. P., National Liberal Club, Whitehall, S. W., who is Hon. Secretary of the Group. If you desire that your name should not appear in the Press as a signatory of the Memorial, please mention this on the card and your wishes will be respected.

To this circular letter was attached the following signatures of the committee of the Land Values Group, all of them Members of Parliament: Sir Albert Spicer, W. P. Byles, G. J. Bentham, H. G. Chancellor, G. Barnes, E. G. Hemmerde, Edgar Jones, F. Neilson, C. E. Price, S. Walsh, J. C.

Wedgwood, T. F. Wilson. P. Wilson Raffan
(Hon. Sec.).

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Appended to the Memorial as presented to the Cabinet was the following statement of what "it is claimed by the advocates of the taxation of land values policy throughout the country that the advantages of the above reform will be":

(1) To take the burden of rates off dwelling houses, factories, mills, workshops, plant and machinery, mining works, shops, warehouses, offices and all industrial and business premises, and all farm buildings, drainage, fencing and other agricultural improvements. (2) To break down the barriers which land monopoly now opposes to municipal, industrial and agricultural development and enterprise, and thus to cause the land everywhere to be used in ways more advantageous to the workers. (3) To make it possible for more, better and cheaper dwellings to be provided in towns and villages, to make small holdings and allotments obtainable on fair terms, and generally to free industry of all kinds—agriculture, mining, forestry, building, manufacturing, engineering, public works, transport, distribution—from burdens and restrictions, and extend the field for the remunerative employment of labor and capital in town, suburb and country. (4) To secure for the agricultural industry a genuine measure of relief. (5) To make national services a national burden, and thus give effective relief to rural districts from the excessive burden of rates which now falls on them in providing for what are largely national requirements. (6) To cheapen the cost of living for the mass of the people, and take away the only plausible argument for tariff mongering and the pretence that Protective taxes can be imposed which will not increase the cost of living.

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A New Educational Proposal by Joseph Fels.

In a London cable dispatch of the 13th to the New York Herald an educational proposal by Joseph Fels, the millionaire manufacturer of Fels-Naptha soap, is described at length. We quote from the Chicago Record-Herald of the 14th, which, with credit to the New York Herald, reproduces the dispatch in its cable news:

Joseph Fels, the enthusiastic American Advocate of Henry George's economic doctrines, and sworn enemy of indiscriminate charity, is back in London after a trip to the United States, more convinced than ever, if that is possible, that the new world, like the old establishment on this side of the Atlantic, is not being run on right lines. "The system is all wrong," he said, in the course of an interview.

Like many great reformers, Mr. Fels starts with a series of negatives. "I do not believe in anything being taxed that is made by human hands. I would like to wipe out all taxes on that part of capital which is produced by labor. There is no such thing as monopoly of labor; there is monopoly of land. I do not believe in charities; they are agents of pauperism, and one of the hardest things I find is to convince the man with a full stomach that believes people are lazy by nature that they are lazy by reason of being forced to be lazy."

But Mr. Fels is a reformer. He comes forward with a corrective, and in a sentence this is his political creed: "If there were a fair per cent tax on land values, I believe that within five years four jobs would be running after three men instead of four men running after three jobs. We cannot get rich under present conditions without robbing somebody. I have done it—that is 'robbing'—and am still doing it, but I propose to spend the damnable money to wipe out the system by which I made it. And if we had an educational fund of \$1,250,000 a year we would upset the world in twenty years as to the present deplorable economic conditions. I will be one of twelve to supply the funds."

Mr. Fels, therefore, makes money to educate the world in the theory that private monopoly of land is the root cause of all social misery, and he has personal abuse for no one. The Pierpont Morgans and Rockefellers of the United States are, he believes, individually honest men, but the system under which they do business makes them unintentional robbers. "That system," he says, "permits a few men to own all the land on which all the rest of the people must live, and on which they depend for the necessities of life. And I repeat, the system must come down; it must be abolished."

Then he holds tight to all his previous denunciations of charity. "All charity is bad—absolutely destructive. It is bad because it can only breed a demand for more charity. And charity is bad because it is an expression of the curse that rests upon the nations. Among all monopolies the basic monopoly is that which has been applied to the land. My plan for ending all monopoly goes directly to the foundations of the basic monopoly and especially to the unearned value of land monopoly."

Referring to the agitation in America against the increased cost of living, Mr. Fels said: "I sometimes think that we Americans are the most easily fooled and tricked people on earth. We have been fooled by a tariff so long that even the recent great advance in the price of all necessities of life, concurrently with the growth of immense fortunes of tariff beneficiaries and deepening poverty on the part of the working classes, has not aroused us to the realization of its iniquity. Landlordism in the United States is just the same as it is in England. The effects are as bad. If they are not so apparent, it is purely because we have had, until very recently, vast areas of free land."

The substance of the interview, buried in the body of it, appears to be the offer by Mr. Fels to make one of twelve persons to raise a fund of \$1,250,000 a year to educate the public opinion of the world out of the economic superstitions which, to paraphrase Lloyd George, "make a few the owners of the earth and all the rest trespassers on the planet of their birth." Mr. Fels is already contributing for this purpose annually (p. 761), \$25,000 in the United States, \$25,000 in Great Britain, \$5,000 in Canada and various other large sums in Australia, Denmark and elsewhere.

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The Progressive Program in Spain.

In an interview published in the Paris Temps of

the 12th, which the Temps says was dictated, the Premier of Spain (p. 758), Mr. José Canalejas, is reported as saying, according to the dispatch of the Chicago Inter Ocean, that it is his intention to pass a law insuring neutral official education, not hostile or favorable to any creed or philosophy, but free from any dogma. He insisted that the policy of the government is not directed against the religious orders, but he would have them pay taxes, from which they were exempted by Conservative governments, and he would have the number of religious orders reduced. "If I cannot reduce the number of orders by an agreement with the Vatican, I will by law," he declared. Of the reports that the King's policy is inspired by the French government and the English royal family, to which he is allied by marriage, the Premier said: "One might as well say that the opinion of all foreign statesmen and the intellectuality of all the world weighs upon the King, for there is not a single publication in civilization which does not applaud the dawn of a liberal spirit and the laicization of Spain. The King in the present case obeys a profound conviction. He is a fervent Catholic, but his mind is open to grand ideas and he is a serious student of contemporaneous civilization. He is a Liberal, tolerant and truly constitutional, and without forgetting his royal prerogatives will follow popular impulsion. He gives his confidence to a ministry sustained by the majority of the Cortes." The Premier also announced that the government's object in hastening a solution of the religious question was to clear the way for the introduction of vast economic and administrative reforms for which the people are clamoring.

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The Coal Miners' Strike in Illinois.

A special convention at Indianapolis of the United Mine Workers of America emphasizes a serious conflict between the national executive board of that body and the membership of the Illinois district.

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Strikes in different districts followed refusals by coal operators upon the expiration of their labor contracts expiring March 31 last (pp. 492, 733), to renew them on terms satisfactory to the miners. Some of these strikes are still on, while others have been settled by the national executive board and terminated: but the Illinois strike, though settled by the executive board, is not at an end. According to the United Mine Workers' Journal of the 4th, editorially, the settlement contract between the national executive board and the operators, the result of joint arbitration—carried with it 3 cents a ton advance in every one of the Illinois mines, the same as other miners have got in other States, and others are fighting hard for, and, as yet, see no prospect of securing. In addition it gave to the miners of Williamson and Frank-

lin counties 2 cents extra, making the advance a straight five-cent one, the first advance they have got in four years. To about 24,000 or 25,000 others in the districts, paying the shot-firers it gave a cent and a half additional, making to them an advance of 4½ cents per ton over the price paid last year or for the last four years, and the highest mining price and best local conditions that were ever presented to them in the history of mining in Illinois.

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This settlement came regularly before the Illinois miners on referendum and was rejected (p. 733), by a vote of 12,075 to 80. Following is the substance of the explanation (embodied in a long series of resolutions bitterly condemning T. L. Lewis, successor to John Mitchell as national president) of local unions in session at Herrin, Ill., on the 4th, as published in the Chicago Daily Socialist of the 9th:

We condemn our national president, T. L. Lewis, first, for coming into the field as a dictator and wholly ignoring our State officials as well as the rank and file of the membership throughout the State; second, for holding out hopes to the operators for his interference at a time when more than one-third of the members had already signed with the operators and were receiving our Peoria demands; third, instead of seeking the advice of our district officers, who have been on the firing line all the time, relative to interference with the strike and thereby promoting harmony in our ranks, and a perpetuation of our just wage demand, for seeking always the operators first; fourth, in usurping authority without our request, to appoint a commission for arbitration purposes, when we had nothing to arbitrate; fifth, for appointing five interested operators and five board members, four of whom had no knowledge of the true state of affairs concerning the Illinois miners; sixth, for not allowing our district officers a seat in the deliberations of their board of conciliation, thereby making it a one-sided affair from beginning to end; and for the seventh clause—the right of appeal to the national executive board—thereby centralizing the power in their board and eliminating the sub-district and district officers. Further, for accepting such a compromise in view of the fact already stated that the operators had already signed up with more than one-third of our membership.

The resolutions demand the resignation of President Lewis and sustain John H. Walker, the State president.

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Refusing to accept the Illinois referendum, the national officers called the special convention noted above, and it met at Indianapolis on the 11th. Demands being made on the 12th by the Illinois delegates for the stenographic report of the executive proceedings before the joint arbitration board appointed by President Lewis, he ordered them printed for distribution. Motions by Illinois delegates on the 13th to suspend the rules and take up the Illinois question were ruled out

of order by President Lewis on the ground that he would permit no action on that question until "all the facts in the case are presented to the convention."

NEWS NOTES

—The eighteenth National Irrigation Congress (vol. xii, p. 781) will meet at Pueblo, Colo., from the 26th to 30th of September.

—Cholera is again menacing in Russia (vol. xii, p. 565). In the week from July 24-30 there were reported in the Empire 15,244 cases, with 6,944 deaths.

—Florence Nightingale, organizer of nursing for the English army in the Crimean war (1853-1856), died at her home in London on the 14th, at the age of ninety years.

—At the triennial meeting of Knights Templar at Chicago last week (p. 733), William B. Melish was elected grand master, and Denver was chosen as the place of the next meeting.

—Mayor Gaynor is reported as rapidly recovering from the bullet wound intended for his assassination (p. 755), and is reported as reluctant to prosecute his assailant, believing him insane.

—Japan is suffering from floods. Two of the principal wards in Tokio were submerged during the last days of last week, and the record of casualties given out on Monday put the dead and missing at 1,112.

—Professor Frederick Starr, of the Chicago University and recently returned from Japan, is to speak at Abraham Lincoln Center, August 21st, at 11 a. m., on "Simon Bolivar," and the Latin American Republics.

—A large body of policemen in Columbus, Ohio have refused to serve on board street cars to weaken a traction strike, and have been suspended. Among them were some of the oldest and best men on the force.

—Mayor M. T. Chipstead, of Blakely, Ga., was shot and dangerously wounded while in bed about 3 o'clock in the morning of the 15th. His assailant wore a mask and is supposed to have been a white man, but is unidentified.

—The political refugees from Mexico and leaders of the Liberal party of Mexico,—Magon, Villareal and Rivera—who have been kept in prison by the United States authorities (vol. xii, p. 541), were released on the 5th, at Los Angeles.

—The investigation in Oklahoma by a Congressional committee relative to Senator Gore's accusations of corruption in connection with sales of Indian lands (p. 757) has proceeded through the week, a large volume of miscellaneous testimony having been taken.

—W. F. Robinson, mayor of El Paso, Texas, and Todd Ware were crushed to death on the 14th, when one side of a burning three-story building tumbled into the street. It was in an effort to warn firemen of their danger that Mayor Robinson was killed.

—Robert Treat Paine, president of the American Peace Society and philanthropist, died at his home

at Waltham, Mass., on the 11th, in the 75th year of his age. Mr. Paine was a great-great-grandson of the signer of the Declaration of Independence of the same name.

—Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, noted as a lecturer and for her services in politics to the Republican party, but less known for her excellent official service as an investigator of prisons and factories, died at Washington, D. C., on the 11th, at the age of 70. She was a member of the Iowa bar.

—The sixth Esperanto world's congress (vol. xii, p. 901) opened at Washington on the 13th, with a reception to Dr. Zamenhof of Poland, the inventor of Esperanto, the new world language. Nine national representatives and non-official representatives from thirty-seven nations are in attendance.

—A. J. Warner, one of the earliest and most noted American leaders in behalf of bimetallism, died at Marietta, Ohio, on the 13th, at the age of 76. He served through the Civil war, being severely wounded at Antietam, and closed his military career with the close of the war as brevet brigadier general. From 1879 to 1881 and from 1883 to 1887, he was a member of Congress. The phrase, "The crime of 1873," to designate the demonetization of silver by Congress is credited to him.

—The Chicago City club has rented of Robert J. Gunning for 99 years the premises at 9 and 11 Plymouth Court for \$5,000 cash, \$10,150 a year for ten years and \$12,000 a year for the remainder of the term, the Club to erect a clubhouse to cost at least \$75,000 and to pay all taxes. The rental paid by Gunning, who is ground lessee under a lease made in 1902, is \$5,000 a year, leaving him a clear annual profit for ten years of \$5,150 and for the remainder of the term \$7,000 a year.

—The President of Chile, Pedro Montt (p. 782), who sailed with Mrs. Montt last week from New York for Bremen on the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse, died at Bremen on the day of his arrival, the 16th. Mr. Montt was present at the attempted assassination of Mayor Gaynor on the deck of the Kaiser Wilhelm at the moment of starting, and the shock is likely to have affected him, as he was in very delicate health, consequent upon a severe attack of angina pectoris in June.

—The international exposition (p. 322) open this summer at Brussels, Belgium, suffered from a violent and extensive conflagration on the 14th. A hundred thousand persons are reported to have been on the grounds when the fire started at 9 p. m., in the Belgian section. Only two persons are believed to have been killed, but the property loss is put between \$6,000,000 and \$10,000,000—chiefly confined to the Belgian and British sections. Reparations and substitutions are to be made, and the exposition will continue open. Among the losses were a large number of wild animals which perished in the flames.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Modern King.

The (London) Nation (Lib.), July 23.—In the nature of the case, an English King must be more

of a symbol and an ornament in the modern state than a chief worker in it. The modern people "fara da se"—is out of tutelage. And the modern King is forced to become the cover for a great mass of snobbery and artifice. But there remains for him also a large sphere of sympathetic insight into the life of his times. The King has the power to assess and maintain social values, to ease, though not to control, the movement of the political machine, to accept change when it comes, and stretch out a cordial hand to the men who bring it about. In the long run, no other conception of English Kingship is valid, and every wise Monarch will bring up his children in the knowledge and respect of it.

* *

A Just Tribute to Good Sense

The Chicago Daily Tribune, August 2.—An epigrammatic statement by Mrs. Young gives insight into the sources of her power, and might be hung up in the office of every administrator as a golden rule of policy. "Where there are 6,000 teachers," said Mrs. Young, "there must be rules, but I think the most useful part of my work is to find out where rules should be broken." In that is the essence of a great administrative policy. The narrow bureaucrat who brings down ruin upon himself and his work does not understand this wisdom. . . . The harmony which has come in our school affairs after years of wrangling is the achievement of this spirit. There is little doubt that Chicago's schools are entering upon a new era of sane progress and ever widening usefulness under the broad, sound, and far-seeing policies of Mrs. Young.

* *

Big Business Corruption.

The Chicago Daily Socialist (Socialist party), July 29.—"Public ownership of industry would introduce corruption into both politics and business," is one of the stock arguments against Socialism. Like nearly all objections to Socialism, it rests upon several cunning distortions of the truth, coupled with ignorance of what Socialism really is. It is not publicly owned industry that brings corruption into government. There are few cities more corrupt than Chicago. There are few that own less industrial plants. The corruption in Chicago does not come from the publicly owned water plant. It comes from the privately owned street cars, coal companies, dock companies, etc. Graft is not introduced to industry through public ownership. The Illinois Central scandals show this. The life insurance exposures witnessed to the same fact. Every time there is an investigation that brings the books of a great corporation into the light it is a foregone conclusion that a mess of corruption will be unearthed.

* *

American Progress in Democracy.

Collier's (Ind.), July 30.—The secret understanding between Big Business and High Politics, which animates the political party that is dominant in the country today, is bad enough. But at least public opinion is such that it is compelled to be furtive. However far removed from the spirit of democracy the Senate may be, it is not as far as its founders

frankly meant. Not even Lodge would avow today, as Gouverneur Morris did in the Federal Convention of 1789, that the Senate "ought to be composed of men of great and established property, the aristocracy . . . to keep down the turbulency of democracy." Mr. Dickinson said that "the Senate should consist of the most distinguished characters, distinguished for their rank in life and their weight of property, bearing as strong a likeness to the British House of Lords as possible." Roger Sherman, Elbridge Gerry, and Edmund Randolph gave expression to similar views. Judged by the standard of its beginnings, the Senate is not reactionary; it is progressive.

* *

Why the Interests and Politicians Oppose Direct Legislation.

Regina (Canada) Weekly Leader, July 27.—Elsewhere in this issue of The Leader, appears an interview with Senator Bourne of Oregon, and a report of a speech delivered by him on the subject of Direct Legislation and how the application of this system has worked out in that State. This system of direct legislation is receiving a great deal of attention both in the United States and Canada and even in England. The adoption of the system is a plank in the platform of the Liberal party of Manitoba. The initiative and referendum taken together are called direct legislation. . . . A striking illustration of how the referendum operates to the public good was furnished in Regina in May last. The contract made by the city with a private corporation for the building of a street car system was submitted to the ratepayers and was rejected by a decisive majority. Thereupon the City Council submitted to the ratepayers the question whether the city should build the railway itself or let the matter stand for a time. By an overwhelming vote the ratepayers instructed the City Council to build the road at once. Had the principle of a referendum not been applicable in Regina the city would have dispossessed itself of a valuable franchise, contrary to the wishes of a great majority of the people.

* *

The Oregon School of Citizenship.

The (Portland) Oregon Daily Journal (Ind.), July 24.—"Soon we must begin the study of the measures we are to vote upon in November," says the Dalles Optimist, a violent opponent of the Initiative and Referendum and the Primary law. But isn't such study and participation in lawmaking, well for the people, for the State? Thus they become better informed, more intelligent, more capable of self-government. Isn't "study of measures" affecting the people a good thing for them as citizens, and for the commonwealth? The organization politicians do not desire the people to "study measures"; they prefer that the voters should not study or think, that they should remain in ignorance, and indifferent except to the extent of voting the party ticket straight, and pay no attention to the consequences. This is just what is worrying the organization politicians, the "leaders," the machine manipulators—that the people are studying, are learning, are becoming politically wiser, more enlightened, more

competent and more independent. The Initiative and Referendum will work vast good, partly for the very reason that they are educational, and the people will never permit this new feature of our Constitution to be eliminated. Thus studying, the people of Oregon will become, if they are not already, the most competent voters in all the country.

* *

The Fading of Party Lines.

The Milwaukee Journal (Rep.), Aug. 12.—The people of Wisconsin care little for the husks of party names, but they value the substance of political principle. There are thousands of Democrats who are convinced that Senator La Follette is at this time doing a greater service for the State and nation and for the principles of progressive Democracy than could be done even by a Democrat. For he can get a hearing where a like plea from Democratic lips would fall upon deaf ears. It is not a question of party with them. They want results—achievement. They perceive that the Insurgent Republicans are breaking away from the high tariff, monopolistic connection, and service to the special interests, which have made the Republican party the servant of Big Business, and are seeking to restore it to its original mission of "making free men instead of rich." The Insurgent Republicans may not succeed in their efforts to wrench the control of their party from the grasp of the special interests, but whether they succeed or fail, they are loosening the hold of Privilege upon government. They are making inevitable the reduction of the tariff to a basis that will largely, if not wholly, eliminate its monopoly increment. They are compelling a recognition of the fact that the interests of the great body of the people are paramount to the interests of the possessors of a few swollen fortunes. They are making clear the fact that the people may rule if they will cast aside the trammels of party when occasion demands.

* *

Bryan and Nebraska Politics.

The Commoner (W. J. Bryan), Aug. 5.—The Nebraska Democratic State convention refused, by a vote of 647 to 198, to endorse county option and this has been heralded over the country as a defeat for Mr. Bryan. Let all the facts be known: About May 1, Mr. Bryan urged the calling of a special session of the legislature to submit the initiative and referendum. He stated that by the submission of the initiative and referendum the county option fight could be postponed for two years. He failed to secure the special session. Then he announced himself in favor of an endorsement of county option as the only way to break the hold of the liquor interests and insure the submission of the initiative and referendum. As a result of his fight the Republicans endorsed the initiative and referendum, thus making it certain that it will be submitted at the coming session of the legislature (the Democrats and Populists also having endorsed it). This is a victory for the reform for which he has contended for fourteen years. He can afford to be turned down on county option if he can make sure of the initiative and referendum. But the Democratic convention defeated, by a vote of 638 to 202 a plank declaring against county option, and Gov-

ernor Shallenberger announced at the convention that he would sign a county option bill. Since the Republicans and Populists have declared for county option and the Democrats have refused to declare against it, the chances are largely in favor of the passage of a county option bill. It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Bryan has reason to rejoice over the progress made in Nebraska. It matters little what is done to him; he can be happy so long as the things he is fighting for win—and they are winning in Nebraska.

* *

British Politics.

(London) Land Values. (Land values taxation. Leading editorial by John Orr), August. It is true that protective countries lessen the volume of their trade by the restrictive impositions on the process of exchange, but it is also true that "free trade" Britain diminishes the volume of her trade by the blighting restrictions which she allows to fall on production, from which all trade springs. No country suffers more in this respect. Production is in the hands of the landowners. The Dukes of Sutherland and Newcastle are in Canada, extending and perfecting there the system of landlordism which they have worked so fully in Britain. There is no security or prosperity for trade with this fatal activity. Trade is inseparable from men and women engaged in work. A fisher gets a footing on a hard rock in the Hebrides, or in Sutherlandshire. He wins fifty barrels of fish to send to the Baltic ports. Something comes back in payment. A farmer gets land enough to raise some beef, mutton, wool and hides. He sends these to the cities, and gets something in return. That is trade. But the Duke of Sutherland, under the government's sanction, comes along and plucks up this whole fruitful growth by the roots. The producers are evicted or squeezed out by rent. The land falls back to a wild state. In this matter no country's trade has been scourged and destroyed like that of Britain. In no country is landlordism more alert, more firm and vicious in its grip. Having been perfected at home, it is transmitted strong and full-grown to the Colonies. Even where land is so abundant, and where industry should be so free it is overtaken and held up by landlordism. There is no rest for the sole of the producer's or trader's feet. He is driven from the land of the dukes in Scotland, England and Ireland, and is set down by the Canadian trains on the land of the same dukes in Canada. This is the only question which will bind the Empire together in substantial unity. How are the different parts to defend themselves against this land system, this common malignant enemy, which is incessant in its attacks on the interests of the Empire, on the lives of nations and individuals? No question appeals to the hard pressed producers and traders at home more than this, none appeals more to the fugitive settlers in the colonies. . . . Every conceivable motive urges us to press immediately towards this one object of breaking the power of land monopoly utterly. To raise as prominently as possible the subject of valuation, to press insistently for its accomplishment, for the early rating and taxation of land values, to possess once again the minds of the people with this great message of hope and salvation—this is work in which everyone can help.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

"TAKE NO THOUGHT FOR THE MORROW."

For The Public.

"Take no thought for the morrow,"—
"Twas Jesus who said it,—

"The evil sufficeth that comes with each day."
Plain were His words—yet how few of us credit
Our Lord with the meaning His words should convey.

"Take no thought," said the Master,
"No more than the lily,
No more than the sparrow that flies in the air."
For He took the thought, so mankind are silly
To take thought for what they shall eat, or shall wear.

There are things the Creator
Has left for man's solving.
Great problems yet challenge man's wit to unfold;
Things deep and intricate, much thought involving,
Dark secrets that Nature still keepeth untold.

"Take no thought for the morrow,"
Is not then forbidding
To search into Nature—to Science explore;
For man of all creatures is fitted for thinking—
For drinking in knowledge, and thirsting for more.
But, if thought shall seem needed
For food, or for clothing,
'Tis surely because we have failed to obey,—
Not seeking the Kingdom of God, and right-doing,—
That things are not added, but taken away.

"Take no thought for the morrow;"
Christ was not mistaken,
He made not this world on a niggardly plan,
But gave us good measure, full, and well shaken,
Press'd down and o'erflowing with riches for man.
Yet in spite of inventions,
And science extending,
Man still is a victim to worry and care;
With anxious attention, and labor unending
He struggles for something to eat and to wear.
'Tis in vain the Creator
Takes thought for our welfare,
And grants to our labor enormous reward;
Man makes his laws in defiance of Nature,
Thus giving to drones what the working bees stored.
God gives only to labor

When exerted on land;
God pays none but toilers, with hand or with brain.
No other conditions fulfill His demand.
God wills that the workers shall keep all they gain.
But, man's ways are not equal—
Man's laws are not fair;
So wealth is diverted from earners away,
Land owning's rewarded with Benjamin's share;
While Labor's discouraged, so small is her pay.

"Take no thought for the morrow,"—
"Twas Jesus who said it,—

How dare we go smoothing His teachings away;
That no thought is needed is easy to credit,
Did nations the law of right-doing obey!

E. I. S. H.

Charters Towers, Queensland, Australia.

* * *

THE HISTORIC ZENGER CASE.

John F. Geeting, a Chicago Lawyer, Points to the Anniversary of the Acquittal of John Peter Zenger as Independence Day. From the Chicago Evening Post of August 4, 1910.

In an address before the Hawkeye Fellowship Club, John F. Geeting called attention to the fact that August 4 is the anniversary of the acquittal of Zenger, one of the great events which prepared the way for the American Revolution. He said in part:

"William Cosby, one of the Colonial Governors of New York, was noted for his arbitrary and unjust administration. A number of citizens of New York City started a weekly newspaper, called the New York Weekly Journal, and named John Peter Zenger, a brilliant and fearless man, as its editor. Its first issue was on November 5, 1733, and so vigorous was Zenger's attack upon the administration that the following January the Chief Justice, in a long charge to the grand jury on the doctrine of libel, particularly called attention to articles published by Zenger.

"The grand jury did not indict him, and again the Chief Justice, in October, 1734, vigorously charged a grand jury, in the course of which he said: 'If you gentlemen do not interpose, consider whether the ill consequence that may arise from any disturbance of the public peace, may not in part lie at your door.' But again the grand jury failed to indict Zenger.

"The Colonial Council then took four of the newspapers into consideration, declared them to be false, and ordered them to be burned by the hands of the town hangman. When the order came to the Court of Quarter Sessions, the aldermen would not permit the hangman to burn the papers, and issued a strong protest against the action of the Colonial Council, but the sheriff ordered his own Negro to burn them, which was done in the presence of the officers of the garrison.

"In November, 1734, Zenger was seized and imprisoned upon a warrant issued by the Colonial Council, and for several days was denied the use of pen, ink and paper, and not permitted to communicate with any person. A writ of habeas corpus was sued out, but the Chief Justice refused to discharge Zenger and fixed his bond so high that he was obliged to remain in prison. The grand jury agent failing to indict Zenger, he would have been entitled to his release on January 28, the last day of his term, but the Attorney Gen-

eral filed an information against him, which continued his imprisonment during the vacation of court.

"When the matter came on for hearing, his attorneys took exceptions to the commission of the Chief Justice, and, although their action was consistent with good practice, the court entered an order disbarring them and postponed the case.

"Zenger's friends then procured the services of Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, one of the leaders of the American bar, and about 80 years of age. He appeared for the defense on August 4, 1735. Mr. Hamilton admitted the publication of the articles in question and offered to prove the truth of all statements made in them, but the Chief Justice arbitrarily decided that the proof could not be admitted in evidence as a defense.

"So, without any evidence on behalf of the defense, Mr. Hamilton immediately commenced his memorable address to the jury, advising the jury of its right in criminal cases to pass upon both the law and the evidence. During his address he was several times interrupted, the Attorney General even threatening him with prosecution, but the able advocate continued his address and procured a verdict of Not Guilty.

"When the verdict was returned, Mr. Hamilton was carried out of the courtroom on the shoulders of an exultant crowd, and the entire City of New York was alive with enthusiasm, which spread not only throughout the Colony of New York, but all British America.

"Here was the first great victory in America, declaring the freedom of the press, and showing that American jurors had courage to sustain such freedom, even in defiance of an arbitrary judge and a partisan prosecuting attorney.

"The war clouds of the Revolution have somewhat obscured this great victory of the people in favor of the freedom of the press, but the verdict on August 4, 1735, remains one of the most important events in American history."

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LAND MONOPOLY IN GREATER NEW YORK.

Significant Computations in Explanation of Poverty, by the Committee on Congestion of Population in New York.

♦

The Enormous Value of Land.

Manhattan.—Of the 2,609 blocks in Manhattan, only one sixty-second have lots assessed for less than \$1 per square foot; only one-thirteenth for less than \$2 per square foot, while a little more than one-fourth have any lots assessed for less than \$3.50 per square foot, while about one-fifth have assessed values of over \$8.50 per square foot, including the Wall Street Section, with its \$225.00 per square foot values.

Brooklyn.—Of the 1,505 blocks in the 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22 wards of Brooklyn, comprising most of the built-up sections of the Borough, one-seventh have lots whose assessed values are 50c per square foot or less, while two-thirds of the blocks have lots assessed for \$1.00 or less per square foot; one-fourth have lots assessed from \$1.00 to \$1.50 per square foot, and only one-fifteenth have any lots assessed for over \$1.50 per square foot.

Twenty-third Ward of the Bronx.—In the built-up section of the Twenty-third ward of The Bronx, bounded by the Harlem River, Bronx Kill, East River, St. Ann's Ave., Third Ave., Longwood Ave., Tiffany St., Depot Place, Sedgwick Ave., and E. 170th St.—out of 559 blocks, 323, three-fifths, have lots assessed for less than \$1.00 per square foot, 224, about two-fifths, between \$1.00 and \$2.00, and only 12 between \$2.00 and \$4.50 per square foot.

Queens.—Out of 859 blocks in the First Ward of Queens, 762, or about nine-tenths, have lots assessed for less than 50c per square foot; 40, or one-twentieth, between 50c and \$1.00, and only 57, or one-fifteenth, between \$1.00 and \$2.00. Many blocks in this ward are assessed at only 10c to 25c per square foot, and the other wards of this borough as a whole have little land assessed for over 10c per square foot, although in sections sewers, sidewalks, etc., have not yet been provided.

Richmond.—Much of Richmond is still assessed as acreage at a few hundred dollars per acre, but practically none of the land is assessed at over 50c per square foot, and most of it at 10c to 20c per square foot.

♦

Concentration of Ownership of Land.

In 1907, eight families, estates and corporations owned 5.42 per cent, or over one-twentieth, of the total assessed land value in Manhattan, and 1.88 per cent, or nearly one-fiftieth, of the total area of the Borough.

In the Bronx, one-fourteenth of the total area was held in lots of over 100 acres, and about one-seventh in lots of 25 to 100 acres.

In Queens, one-twenty-fifth of the total area was held in lots of over 100 acres, and over one-fifth in lots of 25 to 100 acres.

There were in Greater New York, five companies, each of which owned from 400 to about 2,000 acres.

Concentration of Land Values.

From 1906 to October, 1908, the city paid for land for various municipal purposes \$30,291,038.30, most of it being paid by corporate stock, to run fifty years at 4 per cent. This means an actual cost of about \$75,000,000 for this land, and only about one-third of this is for productive purposes.

One block in Manhattan represented one-four-hundredth of the total assessed land value of Greater New York, and secured nearly one-four-hundredth of the total increase in assessed land value of the city from 1906 to 1908, while one-sixty-fifth of the total increase in assessed land values of Greater New York from 1908 to 1909 also fell in this block.

Typical lots increased in assessed land values from 1908 to 1909 in every Assembly District of Manhattan from 23 per cent to 140 per cent; in the Twenty-third Ward of the Bronx, from 3 per cent to 233 per cent; in several wards of Brooklyn, from 6.45 per cent to 146 per cent; in the First Ward of Queens, from 21.6 per cent to 200 per cent.

The most congested block in the civilized world is bounded by Catherine, Hamilton, Market and Monroe Sts. In 1906 its assessed land value was \$345,000; in 1908, \$433,000, an increase of one-fourth. This increase in land value means, at 8 per cent, \$15.44 additional rent per year for every family of five persons in the block if they pay the entire rent, on a commercial basis.



Effect on Wages.

Although \$800 is the minimum amount upon which a man can support himself and three children under working age in Manhattan and most of Brooklyn and the Bronx, in 1905 the average wage of 339,221 wage-earners in Manhattan and the Bronx was \$543.17; of 104,995 in Brooklyn, \$519.42—in both cases over \$260 less than the amount required to maintain a decent existence for a family with three children under working age.

Causes of Congestion of Population.

Congestion of population is primarily the result of protected privilege and exploitation, and must be dealt with as an economic problem.

1. *High Cost of Land*.—This is an essential, eternal and irremediable cause of congestion of population as far as housing conditions are concerned. With expensive land no remedy for congestion among unskilled workers can permanently be found.

2. *Low Wages*.—With the low rate of wages a very abnormal proportion must be devoted to rent. Congestion and overcrowding per room is unavoidable without expensive philanthropic subsidizing of the recipients of low wages.

3. *Concentration in Factories and Offices*.—With thousands of workers on an acre of land concentration of population will inevitably ensue, particularly if—

4. *Long Hours of Work*—nine to ten hours a day—accompany this concentration.

5. *Low Standards of Housing*.—High tenements and very small areas for yards and the small superficial floor space of apartments, such

as is permitted by the present New York Tenement House Law, is bound to produce congestion.

6. *Lack of Supervision*.—With the low standard of living, no matter what the wages, there is a tendency to overcrowding in rooms, which can be prevented only by more general supervision of living conditions than we have in America, but such as is provided for in foreign cities.

7. *The Present System of Land Speculation* by which fortunes are made from land without any effort on the part of the holders.

8. *Discrimination in Railroad Rates*, by which special advantages are given to build up certain localities.

9. *Immigration*, which tends to lower the standard of housing, and hence reduce wages, partly because immigrants are not properly distributed.

10. *Unjust systems of Taxation*, by which land values and accumulated wealth escape their fair burden of taxation, and those with small incomes pay, often out of an actual deficit, a heavy proportion of their earnings in taxation for municipal and other purposes.

11. *Lack of Restriction* on the height, volume, and location of buildings other than tenements.

12. *Inadequate Transit Facilities*.

13. *The lack of recreational and educational facilities* in new sections of the city.



BARONS, OLD AND NEW.

For The Public.

There was once a mighty baron;
Now a baron's one, you know,
Who lived upon his fellow men—
But that was long ago.

And this baron had retainers,
And he taxed them one and all;
And he built a lovely castle
With a spacious banquet hall.

And his army of retainers
Paid the tax; and scarcely one
Dared to question, hardly knowing
How the clever trick was done.

This was in the feudal ages,
And the baron's name—let's see—
Does not sound like Aldrich, Cannon,
Or such modern names, to me.

But I'm sure these ancient barons
Would have sheathed their feudal claws,
Had they known how now we "work 'em,"
Through a nation's tariff laws.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.



After waiting several months without hearing any encomiums on his large and beautiful tariff, Mr. Aldrich thought it was time to come forward with one himself.

—Chicago Tribune.

BOOKS

AMERICAN LAND FORTUNES.

History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Volume I. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, \$1.50.

Volume I of Mr. Myers' three-volume history is divided into Part I, "Conditions in Colonial and Settlement Times," and Part II, "The Great Land Fortunes." The chapters on the Colonies, in contrast with the usual text book drama of high hopes, frontier freedom and Indian skirmishes, tell the economic story: How for years the great proprietary lords, preempting all the good and accessible land, ruled with absolute sway over their enforced tenants, the poor disappointed homeseekers from the Old World. How a bit later a trading class grew up—on the whole subservient to these lords; until finally the shippers prospered into power, and such sharp men as Stephen Girard owned their millions on sea and shore.

This brief account of early money-making in America serves well to introduce the author's main narrative—the origin, growth and tremendous accumulation of the Astor millions—the great archetype of fortunes made in land. Among others so made are briefly considered the Goelet, Rhinelander, Field and Longworth fortunes. Astor's methods of dealing with the Indians in his great fur-trading enterprises were only equalled in brutal energy by his relentless foreclosures of New York mortgages, and his fraudulent grants of New York realty.

The Astor and all other huge fortunes have common traits. Quoted records disclose that a large share of the land, early and late, which formed the substance of these vast fortunes was literally public domain, city or national property, and was cajoled, bribed and stolen away by the million acres and the million dollars' worth from its actual owner, the whole community. Further, the greatest and most abiding land fortunes came from and remained in urban not country land. The Astor and Goelet and Field real estate revenues come from New York and Chicago city blocks.

The author's chapter on "The Origin of Huge City Estates" is a little dissertation on land ownership:

Fortunes based upon land in the cities were indeed with a mathematical certainty and perpetuity. . . . The wealth of the landowners soon completely eclipsed that of the shippers. . . . The landowner had an efficient and never-failing auxiliary. He yoked society as a partner, but it was a partnership in which the revenue went exclusively to the landowner. . . . Every street laid and graded by the city; every park plotted, and every other public improvement; every child born and every influx of immigrants; every factory, warehouse

and dwelling that went up—all these and more agencies contributed toward the abnormal swelling of his fortune. Under such a system land was the one great auspicious, facile and durable means of rolling up an overshadowing fortune.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

+ + +

SOCIALIZATION BY BUSINESS METHODS.

Effective Industrial Reform. By David C. Reid, pastor of the Congregational Church, Stockbridge, Mass. Published by the Author. 1910.

A proposal for economic reform, designed to effect the purpose of Marxian socialism by business methods. It contemplates "collective control over our whole industrial and commercial system," by means of a single business corporation in each community and ultimately for the nation, in which everyone shall be a shareholder. Evidence of a grasp by the author of elementary economic principles is not marked in the book. Perceiving the injustice of present economic distribution, he ignores the possibility of causes lurking in the social system in violation of natural social law, and assumes a necessity not for economic readjustment but for conventional reconstruction. The author accepts as right Marx's dictum that "all our industrial and commercial activities must be owned and controlled by the sovereign will of the people," as he states it, but rejects Marx's method of accomplishing that result, and then elaborates his own plan, the essential characteristic of which is as stated above.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**The Motor Maid.** By C. N. and A. M. Williamson. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1910. Price, \$1.20, net.

—**Today's Problems and Their Solution.** By 150 able writers. Trade Union Book Concern, Chicago, Ill. Price 5 cents in Chicago—outside 10 cents.

—**Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, May, 1910.** Containing Cost of Living in Germany in 1907-8; Trend of Wages in Germany, 1898-1907; Wages and Hours of Labor in Austria, 1906 and 1907; Decisions of Courts affecting Labor. Published by the United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C., 1910.

PERIODICALS

"Land Values" (London) for August issues in a special supplement of eight pages, a full "land values" return blank which the Lloyd George budget requires to be filled up by owners of land. The same number of this long established and aggressive advocate of land values taxation, contains a thoughtful

leading editorial on the political outlook in Great Britain, by the editor, John Orr; and, also by Mr. Orr, an account of the single tax trip of himself, J. A. Cawood and Joseph Fels to Denmark, (pp. 635, 687).

*

One wonders how long it will be before the great fact will come home to the minds of the masses of our people "that the ownership of land by the man who tills it is the very first condition of our national health and character." The quoted words are a part of the first sentence of a striking editorial in the World's Work for August, but the editorial would be far more valuable if it told how the growth of tenantry and absentee landlordism which it laments could easily be discouraged and checked. Is it not time that those who are preaching "conservation" and "rural betterment" should come out plainly and advocate the taxation of land values? How long will it be before we shall quit "dallying with the napkin"? In the same number of the World's Work there is an interesting article on the late Professor Sumner, giving some of his intimate opinions on public questions.

J. H. D.

* * *

"If I am born into the earth, where is my part?
Have the goodness, gentlemen of this world, to

show me my wood lot, where I may fell my wood, my field where to plant my corn, my pleasant ground where to build my cabin."

"Touch any wood or field or house-lot on your peril," cry all the gentlemen of this world; "but you may come and work in ours for us, and we will give you a piece of bread."—Emerson, "The Conservative."

* * *

"Senator," asked the beautiful girl, "are you a regular or an insurgent?"

"I must decline, my dear young lady, to answer that question. It is my hope that the two wings of the party will have come together before it is necessary for me to again seek an election."—Chicago Record-Herald.

* * *

"Yes," said a traveling man last night. "I was once out of sight of land on the Atlantic Ocean twenty-one days."

There was a small-sized crowd sitting around. Another man spoke up.

"On the Pacific Ocean one time I didn't see land for twenty-nine days," he said.

A little bald-headed man knocked the ashes from his cigar.

"I started across the Kaw River at Topeka in a

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skiff once," he said, "and was out of sight of land before I reached the other side."

"Aw, come off," said the man who had told the first tale. "The Kaw isn't more than three hundred feet wide at Topeka."

"I didn't say it was," said the little bald-headed man quietly. "The skiff turned over and I sank twice."—Denver Post.

* * *

To turn a landed proprietor out of the seat you have once allowed him to occupy is about as pleasant

as trying to root up a live oak with a pocket-knife.—E. C. Grenville Murray.

* * *

A boy who had been going to one of the public schools in Buffalo left school to go to work for a small manufacturer.

The boy was dull, and his stupidity annoyed the manufacturer greatly. After two weeks of trial the manufacturer discharged the boy at the end of the week on Saturday night.

"You're discharged," the manufacturer said. "Go and get your pay, and let that be the last of you. You're discharged."

On Monday morning the manufacturer was much

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surprised to see the boy in his former place at work.

"Here!" he shouted. "What are you doing in this shop? I discharged you Saturday night."

"Yes," said the boy, "and don't you do it again. When I told my mother she licked me."—Saturday Evening Post.



Extract from a young lady's letter from Venice:
"Last night I lay in a gondola in the Grand Canal,

drinking it all in, and life never seemed so full before."—Lippincott's.



"I met Dunkey today for the first time in years. He hasn't changed much."

"Oh, he hasn't changed at all, but he doesn't seem to realize it."

"How do you mean?"

"Oh, he's forever talking about 'what a fool he used to be.'"—Catholic Standard and Times.

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knows the difference between poor books and good ones, and has an interesting way of its own in talking about them. This is what it says of "Social Service," by Louis F. Post:

"It is a philosophy of life, based on the fact that we live by serving one another, money being only a system of tokens of service rendered. Properly speaking, there is, says Mr. Post, in effect, no such thing as profit in a sane world; all one gets or should get is wages—pay for services, symbols of service done or to do by us. Developing his theme in conversations, Mr. Post shows how the truth of this doctrine has been distorted, how it has come about that some get wages who do not serve and some serve who get no proper service in return. The paid who don't work, get power to compel service through privileges that give them control of opportunities to give service for service. They are the parasites. Those who serve are thus measurably enslaved, when cut off from opportunity. And chiefly they are thus cut off by being debarred from the use of the earth on equal terms with others, with all. The book is dedicated "to Tom Loftin Johnson, who also sat at the feet of Henry George," and it is a wonderfully linked chain of logic leading to a climactic Q. E. D. Why not?"

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Such men were trained, most of them, by hard work on a farm—in the open, teeming fields, under the blue skies, driving the patient, toiling horses, caring for the cows, ducks and chickens, doing the manual training of chores; playing hard when they had a chance, in meadow, forest and brook—living helpfully in that world of which we are a part, and upon which our life depends.

The old education, when it found good human material, produced sound bodies; strong, capable hands; mental alertness and horse sense; an oak-like character. It made leaders of men—practical geniuses—constructive geniuses.

INTERLAKEN reproduces some of the best of these old conditions. It adds some modern ideas. It is a boarding school upon a large farm for boys between the ages of nine and eighteen. Most of them are preparing for college. Most of them are the sons of business and professional men—the directing classes of our civilization. All are being trained to become fit leaders of men in this industrial Republic.

INTERLAKEN offers the usual course of our best schools. By the sound and careful teaching of old essentials, it gives a thorough preparation for any American University or Technical School. By efficient individual instruction—one teacher to six pupils—it does this at a great saving of time—from one to two years.

But INTERLAKEN does more than prepare for college. IT PREPARES FOR LIFE. The boys not only get the best out of books, they get knowledge of the practical world through work and experience of actual life. They make their own apparatus used in Physics and Chemistry. For Geography they make excursions into the surrounding country to study the formation of the valleys and hills. They make maps and clay models of the country. They learn thoroughly THE THREE "R's." FRENCH, GERMAN, SPANISH and ITALIAN are taught by constant practice in speech.

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this early work—and there are many opportunities for it—they learn the value of a dollar.

INTERLAKEN makes a point of THE STUDY OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS. Most of our schools are out of touch with the business world, yet business men are anxious that their sons should be heirs of their own practical knowledge. Classes from INTERLAKEN are constantly visiting factories and scenes of great industrial enterprises, such as the building of Gary, the construction of a railroad, the damming of a river. They see physical, mathematical, economic laws at work. Instead of merely hearing of them in the class room,

AT INTERLAKEN, PHYSICAL CULTURE, and much of the MENTAL CULTURE is carried on out of doors. There is free use of Nature's gymnasium. There are open air activities for all instead of special athletics for the few. Every day of the year, and in all weathers, the INTERLAKEN boys have some out-of-door work and play. They swim, boat, skate and play ball. They make excursions to neighboring cities and into the country afoot, by wheel, wagon or sleigh. They camp out for the night with their teachers, and cook their own meals by the roadside.

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