

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

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"My Brother Charles."

If President Taft did give credit for his election to "my brother Charles" a bit more than to ex-President Roosevelt, as the Saturday Evening Post of Philadelphia says he did, he showed a keen appreciation of relative values in President-making factors. President Roosevelt's service was strictly political, whereas that of "my brother Charles" was strictly financial.

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Progressive Republicanism.

Another Republican of party and personal standing above reproach, who gives promise of making a record as a democratic Republican, is Fletcher Dobyns of Chicago. He has joined with fervor in the work of the Committee of Seven of the Peoria Conference (p. 802), making his debut as a speaker in the movement at a meeting in Rockford on the 17th, where he spoke without any of the limitations of partisan restraint.

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Tariff Protection for Rubber.

Senator Aldrich is as ingenuous with his notion that he isn't protected by duties on rubber products because his trust is interested only in crude rubber, as the simple minded criminal who boasted that he had been completely exonerated because there was a flaw in the indictment. Given control of crude rubber, and who would get the benefit of tariff prices on rubber products? If the buyers

wouldn't pay the higher prices to the manufacturers they couldn't get rubber goods, for importers couldn't pay duties and sell for less. If the manufacturers wouldn't turn the rake-off over to the raw rubber trust, they couldn't get rubber. If they couldn't get rubber, they couldn't make rubber products. And if they couldn't make rubber products they couldn't sell them. It is really a problem for the infant class. No wonder if Mr. Taft really does feel, as he is reported, that Senator Aldrich's explanation has dug the hole deeper into which Senator Bristow had already dumped the Taft-Payne-Aldrich tariff bill.

* *

Mayor Gaynor's Assailant.

That the death of Mayor Gaynor (p. 782), who is now happily recovering, would have been a national loss is everywhere conceded, and that his assailant, whether sane or insane, is not a safe man to be at large will hardly be disputed; but the question of most importance in this relation, one that has received least consideration, is to what extent it may be possible to eliminate the economic causes of such crimes. It is clear enough that no punishment, no matter how severe, will have any effect in preventing similar assaults. However lax the administration of law may be in ordinary murder cases, very little leniency has been shown when assailants of high public officials have been prosecuted. Gallagher will probably be no exception; yet the next man with similar motives or impulses is likely to do the same thing, no matter what the outcome of this case may be. We are often told, usually by persons who do not wish to know better, that any man who wants a job can get one. If that were true, Gallagher would never have felt the loss of his two dollar job as such a disaster that to avenge it would be worth risking the electric chair or the penitentiary. If that were true, nine-tenths of the crimes against life and property would never be committed. Mayor Gaynor fell a victim to social disorders which tend to make men so desperate that they will rashly and blindly do things they would not think of doing under just economic conditions. As long as we have a social system founded on injustice, we shall continue to breed such crimes.

* *

Pittsburgh Astir.

Pittsburgh "Public Opinion" announces plans for securing the commission form of government for that city by charter amendment instead of an entirely new charter. The plan adopted by a committee for submission to the several city or-

ganizations for approval, preliminary to requesting the Chamber of Commerce to draft an appropriate bill for the legislature, proposes the following:

The Mayor's duties and powers to remain unchanged; the Council to consist of nine men constituting one legislative body, to be nominated and elected at large; Councilmen to serve four years, four elected at one time and five at another; compensation to be \$6,500 for each Councilman; Council to have power to fix compensation of all city officials, but no elective officer to have his salary changed during term for which he is elected; Referendum to be possible on all ordinances upon petition of 10 per cent of the voters at the last election; Initiative to be granted upon proposed ordinances upon petition of 15 per cent of the voters at the last election; Recall of all elective officials to be submitted to vote upon petition of 25 per cent of the voters at the last election; nominations to be made by petition of 5 per cent of voters at the last election; ballot to be non-partisan with no party names or symbols, and names on ballots to be arranged in order determined by lot.

The plan is excellent. Nothing could very well improve it but some of the Grand Junction features (vol. xii, pp. 1088, 1092), notably preferential voting. But even as it is its adoption by a city of the size and political record of Pittsburgh would mark a distinct advance in American municipal reform.

* *

The Rights of Accused Prisoners.

The better way in which some things are done in Great Britain than in the United States is illustrated in the Crippen murder case, not only with reference to respecting the rights of accused prisoners to immunity from police "sweating" (p. 750), but also with reference to newspaper "hounding" of persons under criminal prosecution. For having invaded Dr. Crippen's right to a fair trial in the latter respect, a London daily newspaper has been ordered by a British court, on application of the prisoner's lawyer, to show cause why its owners and editors should not be summarily punished for contempt.

* *

The law in those respects is precisely the same in this country as in Great Britain. Yet one of the commonest phases of criminal cases here, besides police "sweating," is the newspaper "hounding" of accused persons to a conviction, whether or no, while their trials are on; and without any attempt at interference by the courts, or prosecuting attorneys, or the prisoners' lawyers. Is this because the desire of judges, prosecutors and defending lawyers to stand well with newspapers outbalances their sense of judicial, official and

professional duty? Whatever the reason, results are not with the American practice, for Great Britain is confessedly superior in the inflexibility of her administration of retributive justice.

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Homicidal Policemen.

In putting the blame upon the superintendent of police of Chicago for criminal shooting by policemen of inoffensive citizens, the Inter Ocean is quite right. But to place unqualified culpability at the door of the present superintendent is hardly so. It was his immediate predecessor who ordered policemen to "shoot to kill" regardless of real necessity for it—the same superintendent who himself killed a boy he might have controlled with the grasp of one hand. Yet the present superintendent assumes responsibility if he does not revoke his predecessor's murderous order, and especially after the warnings he has had. Twice have men been wantonly shot by Chicago policemen in citizen's clothes because they did not obey the shooter's command to stop, a command that might, for all they could have known to the contrary, have been the command of a highwayman. It is doubtful if any circumstances short of absolute necessity in self-defense can justify the shooting of a citizen by policemen, and this the policemen of all our cities should be given clearly and officially to understand. The policeman who, unassailed with extraordinary and immediately dangerous force, cannot perform his duties without killing men, is unfit, either physically or intellectually, for his place.

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Beef Trust and School Board—a Ligament.

Judge Landis's decision in the contempt proceedings against Mr. Urion—general counsel for the Armour end of the beef trust and consequently president of the school board of Chicago—will hardly bear any other interpretation than the Scotch verdict of "not proven," with the wild-and-woolly-west addendum of "Don't do it again!"

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Said the Judge: "I am of the opinion that the grand jurors were not at all irrational or unreasonable in concluding that such a thing could not happen without the lawyer's advice or direction." The "thing" referred to was the burning of stenographic note books in which beef trust stenographers had recorded matter, under dictation from "higher up," which the grand jury wished to read and which the trust preferred they shouldn't read. The grand jury sent for the books. But by a curious piece of good luck—for the beef

trust—the books had been burned "in regular course"; and by a further bit of good luck—for the trust—the burning had been done only the day before the grand jury asked for the books, or else the day after, and the witnesses (minor employes of the trust) were unable to remember which, notwithstanding that they were asked only a few days after the burning.

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Something quite as remarkable was the fact that when those witnesses were first subpoenaed by the grand jury, which was incontestably before the burning of the books, they obeyed the subpoena without saying a word to any superior about it, although the rules of the house required all employes to inform the general counsel of legal matters coming to their attention. Since their summons was to testify in a criminal investigation of the trust by the grand jury, and as Mr. Urion was the general counsel referred to in that important rule of the house, and it does not appear that any of the witnesses were disciplined for neglecting so important a rule, Judge Landis seems to have been rational enough in thinking the grand jury reasonable in suspecting that the books could not have been burned without Mr. Urion's advice or direction. Of course nobody believed the witnesses who said they couldn't remember the day on which the books were burned; but as there was no affirmative testimony, Judge Landis was compelled—though with evident and righteous reluctance, to dismiss the contempt proceedings as to Mr. Urion.

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Direct Legislation Campaign in New Mexico.

John Z. White (vol. vi, p. 530) is making a non-partisan speaking tour of the Territory of New Mexico in behalf of the Initiative and Referendum as a provision in the Constitution of that incoming State (pp. 585, 728). Members of the Constitutional convention are to be elected on the 6th of September, and the influence of the local supporters of President Taft is being used against the Initiative and Referendum proposal. Mr. White's list of appointments includes Raton, Las Vegas, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Tucumcari, Clovis, Roswell, Carlsbad, Artesia, Vaughn, Carrizozo, Alamogordo, Deming, Silver City and Las Cruces. Of his arrival for this work in the old Territory and embryo State, the Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen of August 17 said of Mr. White, who was already well known throughout New Mexico, that—

New Mexico, from one end of the Territory to the other, is to be honored by the appearance in public

platform addresses and debates of perhaps the greatest living exponent of Direct Legislation through the Initiative and Referendum in this country today. Arrangements have been made through the co-operative direct legislation leagues of the country to have Mr. White come personally to New Mexico for three weeks for the purpose of aiding in the effort to secure the Initiative and Referendum in the Constitution of the new State. Mr. White has already arrived in Raton and he will appear successively in Las Vegas, Santa Fe and Albuquerque, speaking on "The Initiative and Referendum" in this city Thursday night of this week. The interest in this subject and the prominence of the speaker insure him one of the largest houses ever gathered in this city. From here he will go southeast, covering every important town in New Mexico. . . . Mr. White is a debater of national reputation and he will meet any opponents of the Initiative and Referendum who may desire to discuss the issue.

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Judge Gilbert's Candidacy.

The candidacy of so distinguished a jurist as Hiram T. Gilbert for nomination as Democratic candidate for the lower house of the Illinois legislature from the Fifth Senatorial district (embracing all of the Sixth ward of Chicago south of Forty-third street and all of the Seventh ward except the part south of Sixty-third street and east of Cottage Grove avenue), is inspired, as will be at once inferred, by larger considerations than desire for office. Such official service he can give only at a sacrifice. His primary purpose is the furtherance of legislation for improving judicial conditions, particularly in Cook county; but he is also interested in securing Constitutional amendments establishing home rule for this Chicago county without prejudicing the interests of the rest of the State. The plan he favors in this matter would make no law applicable to the entire State unless—

It shall have received either a majority of the votes of the Senators and Representatives from Cook County, as well as a majority of the votes of the Senators and Representatives from the outside territory, or the approval of a majority of the voters of Cook County and of a majority of the electors of the outside territory.

And it would require that—

special legislation for Cook County be adopted whenever the same is demanded by a majority of her Senators and Representatives and approved by a majority of her voters; . . . a like privilege of special legislation, under like conditions, to be accorded the people of that portion of the State outside of Cook County.

Judge Gilbert's views on taxation are in harmony with his attitude toward home rule in general, and in all other respects he is the kind of citizen we

could well wish to see active no less in legislative than in judicial service.

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Public School Politics.

Two candidates for superintendent of the public schools of Cook County (excluding the Chicago schools but including Chicago voters) are men we gladly commend, one of them to democratic Democrats and the other to democratic Republicans.

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For the Democratic nomination, the candidate we allude to is G. Charles Griffiths, a long time principal of one of the Chicago schools. For the Republican nomination we allude to Archibald O. Coddington. Both are competent educational executives, and both have democratic ideals in education. The election of either would be in the line of democratic progress; the election of one or the other is greatly to be desired, and to that end it is important that each be nominated by his own party at the primaries.

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Samuel Gompers on Republican Insurgency.

Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, has taken another courageous step which should stand to his credit, along with that of himself and his associates in the Presidential campaign (vol. xi, pp. 82, 133, 418, 492, 578, 586, 781, 819) of 1908. In speaking in Wisconsin a few days ago he took an unequivocal position in support of the great political fight—we should call it a splendid fight, if that adjective were not belittling to devotion so profound and tenacious—that Senator La Follette is making in Wisconsin.

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Let no one suppose that a man in Mr. Gompers' position can do such things lightly. It would evidently be easier for him to follow the even tenor of his way as a straight out trade unionist, leaving politics alone. This was the right course when his career as leader of the Federation began. It is no longer the right course, because politics, plutocratic politics, won't let trade unionism alone. But changing circumstances are not quickly realized by all, and he who does realize them risks his reputation when he tells it to the rest. Easier, then, though it would evidently be for Mr. Gompers and such as he to continue silent and inactive politically, he is not insensible to his duty in that regard, and for this he should have the loyal support of those who agree with him and the respect of those who do not.

To do as he has done with reference to La Follette and Republican insurgency, is, we repeat, no light matter. It calls out naturally the criticism of strict trade unionists whose eyes are not yet open to "the changing order." It challenges the criticism, not always fair, of trade unionists whose political sympathies lie in other directions, either because they do not see the rising dangers he discerns or because they are guilty of what they mistakenly charge against him—of putting their politics before their trade unionism. When a man who has every temptation, as Mr. Gompers has, toward the close of a career upon the laurels of which he might rest, to keep out of political cyclones and hurricanes, yet resists those temptations, and not from any personal interest in politics but because he realizes ahead of the mass of his followers, what is the truth, that the cause of his life's devotion is at stake, is not a man to be weighed and measured by unfriendly standards.

* * *

THE DEMOCRATIC OPPORTUNITY.

Nothing has done more, and justly, to accentuate distrust of the Democratic party than the spirit and attitude of its managers towards the present political situation. They seem to see in Republican Insurgency, nothing but a lucky chance to "get in," to which end they are urging one another and all the rest of us to "get together."

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And what a "getting together" it is!

Take Chicago for illustration. All the Democratic factions are "getting together" as cozily as the traditional inmates of a prairie dog's burrow.

Here is Roger Sullivan, who threw Dunne in favor of Busse at the last mayoral election; and Dunne (a man of unimpeachable honesty and sturdily conscientious at all costs under temptations in the Mayor's office of a kind that few men resist), whom Sullivan threw because he had administered the mayor's office to his best ability in the public interest instead of Sullivan's interest; and Harrison, who ran away from Dunne in the election campaign after contesting the primaries against him and losing; and Hearst, who did as little as possible to prevent Busse's election because Dunne as Mayor couldn't "stand for" Hearst's unalterable nominee for chief of police, and who, for personal revenge upon Bryan for not trying to nominate him for President at St. Louis in 1904, managed a flank movement for Taft at the Presidential election of 1908; and O'Connell, whose official service under Dunne had the signal merit of winning him the contrapositive enmity of Hearst

and of Sullivan; and Alderman Dever, one of the very few noted public servants of Chicago in either party whose political purposes rise above the level of office holding, and whose courage of his convictions armored and weaponed with tenacity and intelligence, has on occasion and in trying circumstances gone far to prove his fitness for trusted leadership.

They are all trying to "get together."

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As with those elements in Chicago, so with similar elements in the Democratic party all over the United States. They, too, are trying to "get together."

For what?

Because they have, after all, found one another worthy of personal and political confidence? No. As in Chicago Hearst would still denounce Sullivan (or Bryan for shaking hands with him), and undermine Dunne and trample on O'Connell, and excoriate Harrison, and also find their respective candidates for office quite unfit, but for their "get together" concordat; and Sullivan and Harrison would be of like mind toward all but themselves respectively and their own individual choice of candidates—as this would be so in Chicago but for the "get together," so also but for that, would it be everywhere.

Is the "get together" movement, then, because incongruous elements in the management of the Democratic party have finally found common ground on some vital political principle or policy? Evidently not: at any rate they are not mentioning it.

Is it in order to co-operate with the Insurgent Republicans, who, having come to a realization, belated but not too late, of what some Democrats have proclaimed from the housetops since 1888, that the Republican party is the private property of plutocratic combines which put "the man below the dollar," are lining up with democratic Democrats for the common good? No; for none of that is the "get together" movement in the Democratic party.

Put it to the test wherever you find it, and you will learn, if you are astute enough to learn anything about it, that the sole object of those Democrats who shout loudest and coax softest for the "get together,"—like the object of their prototypes in Lowell's day—is only "to git some on 'em office an' some on 'em votes."

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We are not criticizing political combinations, even such as make a motley showing of bed fellows,

We recognize its necessity oftentimes for tactical purposes. Neither are we condemning any of the participants whose records are right; nor yet the candidates of any of the "get together" concordats, some of whom may be good, some indifferent, and some bad. We intend to deal with them as individuals. But political conditions throughout the country are not now of a kind to justify any one with a political soul above a constableness, in giving special aid and comfort to any Democratic concordats anywhere which have no better object than taking advantage of a Republican split to slip into office between the Republican factions.

So far as The Public is concerned, we have hoped too eagerly and waited too patiently for this Republican "split," to fall now into line with any Democratic movement for taking mere office-hunting advantage of the "split." Insurgency in the Democratic party has ebbed and flowed for two decades; and ever since The Public was born it has stood for that insurgency within the party, for democratic Democracy, in spite of all that was revolting or discouraging—and indeed there has been much, in consequence of the influence of plutocratic Democrats and spoilsmen Democrats and mere birth-mark Democrats.

Whether or in what degree it may have been influential in its devotion to that policy, The Public knows no better than its friends or its enemies; and it probably cares less, since caring for it would make no difference in the result. But its pursuit of that policy has been in the confident belief that there are democratic Republicans as well as democratic Democrats, and probably in larger numbers. It has pursued that policy consistently in the confident expectation that the time would come when democratic Republicans would do in their party what democratic Democrats were doing in theirs. It has pursued that policy in the hope, which it trusts may not have been in vain, that this democratic insurgency, when it had come in both parties, would produce, through one of them or the other, or else through a new party, as circumstances might determine, a vital and potent American democracy.

The time for realization of those expectations may not yet be here. But there is that promise of it in the Republican insurgency of the hour and the circumstances surrounding it and developing from it, which should prompt every democratic Democrat to be alert, lest in seeking office for himself or his friends, he do so in such manner as to trample upon budding possibilities in politics that he would wish to rank higher than any personal or partisan advantage.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE FINANCIAL STORM AHEAD.

Indianapolis, Ind., August 17, 1910.

If a little more care had been taken by business men in examining the Comptroller's Abstracts of the condition of National banks on March 29th and June 30th, enough ought to have been discovered to divest them of the idea that the West is more responsible than the East for present financial conditions and that Eastern business men must look to the West more than to other sections for relief from the danger they very evidently apprehend from inflation of national bank credits.

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The most enormous and rapid increase of "Loans and Discounts" that has ever occurred in the entire history of national banks is shown by Abstract 68 (reporting conditions on March 29th) to have been made in February and March of this year. In those two months the total increase was \$202,589,719.24, an average daily increase of \$4,134,484 for every business day. This is almost four times as large as the average daily increase since 1896, and twice as large as the greatest daily increase during any other period covered by any other Abstract of the Comptroller.

The Eastern States had quite as prominent a part in furnishing this unusually large increase as had the States of the Middle West; and no other State furnished so large a per centum of it as did the State of New York.

During these two months the central reserve banks had as reserve agents increased their holdings of the reserves of other national banks \$16,364,566, so that they held of their so-called reserves \$260,084,064; and had increased their holdings of other funds (not called reserves) of national banks \$24,304,320, holding of such funds \$528,741,482. In the aggregate, then, the central reserve banks on March 29 owed other national banks on those two accounts \$788,825,446. Not only was this entire debt payable on demand, but so also were individual and United States deposits and some other liabilities.

On the same date, March 29, the sixty central reserve banks then existing—38 in New York, 12 in Chicago and 10 in St. Louis—had not, if aggregated, a single dollar of available funds from which they could have returned any part of the reserves they held of other banks, or paid any other obligation if they had been asked to do so.

The twelve banks in Chicago were collectively short in their required cash reserves \$6,542,224.32, and the ten banks in St. Louis were short \$4,309,583.25. The thirty-eight New York banks had collectively, however, the relatively small sum of \$5,408,116.32 in excess of the amount they were legally required to hold in cash. The net shortage, when aggregated, of the central reserve banks that are the center, the most exposed and the weakest place in our national banking system, was \$5,443,791.25.

It was not possible, if it had been demanded, for

the New York banks, much less the banks of Chicago and St. Louis, to have returned to other banks their so-called reserves (to say nothing about paying other demand obligations) without calling in a large per centum of their loans and discounts.

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Now observe what occurred between March 29th and June 30th, and the condition of those banks on the last date. One new bank was organized in New York and one in Chicago, so that on June 30th the whole number of central reserve banks was sixty-two. It appears by the Abstract that these banks had since March 29th increased their aggregate individual deposits about \$62,000,000. United States deposits had been increased about \$2,000,000. About \$54,000,000 of their "Loans and Discounts" had been called in. This amount of loans paid in would release about \$13,500,000 of the cash reserves and would make available an amount of about \$67,500,000. On the questionable assumption that the \$62,000,000 of individual deposits represented cash, there was therefore available during the two months, \$131,500,000.

The Abstract shows that the banks were able to reduce their liability as reserve agents for the reserves of other national banks about \$23,000,000, and for other funds not called reserves over \$52,000,000. They decreased their liabilities to "State banks and bankers" and on account of "bills payable" over \$20,000,000, and increased their liabilities to "trust companies and savings banks" about \$60,000,000. They increased their showing of resources over \$100,000,000 by "exchanges for the Clearing House."

Without following out in detail all their changes in resources and liabilities the condition of the New York banks, in fact all the central reserve banks, on June 30th, as shown by the Abstract of the Comptroller, tells a story in the figures of which The Financial World significantly says that "some students of finance will search in vain for any great comfort."

On this date these banks held over \$237,000,000 of the reserves of other national banks, and over \$75,000,000 of their funds not called reserves; but collectively they held less cash than their legally required cash reserves by \$4,728,297. The ten St. Louis banks were short in their required cash \$777,653, and the thirteen Chicago banks were short in their required cash \$4,225,622. The thirty-nine New York banks had less than \$275,000 in excess of their legal requirements.

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Does this have the appearance of avoiding a crisis?

That it may be avoided will, of course, be the desire of "every well wisher of his country," but it requires extreme optimism to see in those figures anything to encourage the belief that they point to any "beginning of the journey towards stability and soundness."

There is not much either in the conduct of New York financiers to indicate that they are even moderately optimistic as to the future. It is very evident that they see danger and the probabilities of financial distress in the not distant future, and are

trying to keep the other sections of the country in an optimistic frame of mind while they prepare for their own safety when the storm comes by the organization of a currency association under the act of May 30th, 1908. When this act is measured by its purposes and possible consequences it is probably the most infamous legislative act in the whole history of bad currency legislation. It is doubtful if in the end it will accomplish what its promoters hope it will, but any benefit they may derive from it will be at the expense of other banks and of other sections of the country.

The Financial World of August 13th, page 3, reported a "high official of a leading national bank of New York City," as telling the country that "the New York banks are in splendid shape to help the West if aid is asked." This banker is further quoted as saying that his bank "has \$30,000,000 surplus cash that is not working but is ready to work if needed."

It would be interesting to know where this \$30,000,000 was on June 30th, when the last report of the condition of national banks was made and when it appeared that the thirty-nine national banks in New York City had in the aggregate less than \$275,000 in surplus cash.

It is possible that his bank had that amount of money. It is possible that some other banks had a considerable surplus in excess of their legal requirements. But if so, then some of the banks in New York City are in a dangerous condition.

If the Comptroller's Abstract of the condition of national banks on June 30th is correct, and similar conditions still exist—about which there can be little doubt—then the assertion of this bank official is pure "bluff."

The very fact, if it be a fact, that one or more banks in New York City have so large a surplus, when the aggregation of all reports shows a surplus so small, is in itself evidence that the optimism professed is fictitious, and that in apprehension, banks that can do so are, with sensible precaution, accumulating as large a surplus as possible—not to aid the West, but to take care of themselves when the storm comes.

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In another editorial on the same page The Financial World said that the Canadian banks have in New York, on call loans, nearly \$250,000,000.

If New York has that amount of Canadian money on call, and her national banks alone hold, of the reserves and other resources of other banks of the country, approximately \$750,000,000 payable on demand, the financial situation in New York is even worse than indicated by the Comptroller's Abstract.

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The patronizing air of some of the New York bank officials and financiers towards other sections of the country, borders on the ridiculous. If the banks outside of New York had back the money they have been foolish enough to send into that maelstrom of gambling transactions, that city would be financially helpless.

The "high official" injects into his interview something of the overworked fake about the cotton,

wheat and corn crop prospects, as though that could change conditions in New York, where the danger is. He reiterates the often repeated talk about "auto-madness and extravagances"—bad enough no doubt but nothing to compare in evil results with the never-ending schemes for the issue and sale of stocks and bonds that represent more "hot air" than tangible property and by which the unwary often do not get even an automobile for their money.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.

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SPANISH WRITERS ON PRIVATE PROPERTY IN LAND.

San Fernando (Cadiz), Spain.

As Henry George has said in his incomparable "Progress and Poverty": "It was the energy of ancient freedom that, the moment it had gained unity, made Spain the mightiest power of the world only to fall to the lowest depth of weakness when tyranny succeeded liberty." (Book X, Chapter 5.)

In those times of freedom the people had municipal ownership of the lands known as "bienes de propios," the rent of which was used as public revenue; they had "dehesas boyales," for free pasture; the "ejidos" for free threshing of corn; the "baldios" to distribute periodically among the peasants. Of all these institutions there still remain vestiges which have been preserved from time immemorial.

The "antecedents" referred to in *The Public* of May 6 (p. 429) by Dr. C. L. Logan, are as follows:

In 1526 the philosopher Juan Luis de Vives (born in Valencia, Spain, in 1492) published his book "De Subventionem Pauperum," in which he argues that land has been and must be common property. He conceived of the city as a living organism and said: "Neither in a Christian city nor in a heathen city where man lives under human law should it ever be suffered that while one set of men have plenty and spend thousands to gratify vanity—for mausoleums, towers, palaces, banquets and the like—that the chastity of a girl should be imperilled for want of a little money, or the health and life of a good man ruined because he could not support his family." He teaches that "he who will eat must work," but with the condition that "he who will work may find opportunity open forever."

The same teachings may be found in "De Rege et Regis Institutione," a book published in 1599, and written by Father Juan de Mariana, who was born in Talavera in 1536.

We may also mention Pedro de Valencia, born in Cordoba in 1554; Gonzalo de Cellorigo, 1600; and Lope de Dera, 1618; all of whom proposed such measures as to fix a maximum limit of extension for agricultural land, to prohibit sub-letting, and the like.

In 1785, Antonio Xavier Peros Lopez, born in Sevilla in 1736, published his book, "Principles of the Essential Order of Nature" (Principios del Orden Esencial en la Naturaleza), in which he asserts that "each man has an inalienable right to occupy enough land from which to earn a livelihood." These are his words: "It is impossible under natural order that one or several persons should in justice appropriate large tracts of land, leaving thousands landless—without a square inch of land which, I say, the Cre-

ator intended for all men and without which they can not live."

By this time Rafael de Floranes, born in Santander in 1743, had already written many books and pamphlets devoted to historical research, and had found that private property in land was introduced into Spain by the Romans. To this fact he attributed all evils, and the loss of peace and happiness which for centuries the Spanish people had enjoyed: "For the loss of men may be restored by the coming generations, but the quietness and tranquillity that of old the Spaniards enjoyed, and lost through the introduction of the strange system of private ownership of land—this is without remedy and is growing worse. Civilization is poisoned at the core and there is no remedy save death."

Francisco Martinez Marina (1813-1820), in his book, "Teoria de las Cortes," attributed the origin of poverty and all social disease to the unjust distribution of the products of land. He proposed to the House of Representatives the following remedies: (1) to bring into use all land by the state's renting it—without compensating the landlords who keep land out of use; (2) to prohibit the holding of great estates or "latifundiae."

Last of all comes the Spanish Wallace—the economist of Spain who, forty years before Wallace, advocated the nationalization of land after compensation—Senor Alvaro Flores Estrada. He is mentioned in the "History of Political Economy in Europe" by Adolph Blanqui, principal of the Trade School in Paris in 1837, as author of a notable book, "Curso de Economia Política," published in 1828. He was elected to membership in the French "Academy of Moral and Political Science" in succession to Frederic Bastiat in 1851. Seven editions of this book, "Curso de Economia Política," have been published: the first in London in 1828, the second in Paris in 1831, and five others in Madrid from 1835 to 1852. It was translated into French by L. Galibert in 1833.

Senor Estrada was a follower of Adam Smith and looked upon labor as the only origin of property. He wholly condemned private property in land, and to it attributed the poverty of the people. He referred to the teachings of Moses, Lycurgus, Licinius, and the Gracchi, as historical examples.

We may quote his own words: "Private property in land is against nature and is condemned both by natural law, and by its results." "The few having appropriated the land, the many can not work." "The working people do not have the full earnings of their labor and fellow men live in perpetual war with each other." "The source of the evils of poverty and war is the degrading poverty of the laborer who is legally deprived of the right to what he produces." "When understood, legal rights are a privilege by means of which the idle enjoy the fruits of the work of the people. The laws which uphold this private ownership of land are an offense to reason and the moral law." He concludes with the same remedy as Wallace: abolition with compensation, and for the state to assume the ownership of land and to rent it to the highest bidders.

For the propagation of this doctrine of land nationalization, he published in 1839 a pamphlet under the title, "La Cuestion Social" and an article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on "Private Property in Land."

Estrada was not confined to the advocacy of the nationalization of land in his writings only; he brought the question into politics as well. For when the lands of the Church were to be sold by the Government, he advised that the state take possession of these lands, and rent to the highest bidders. He proposed this plan to the House of Representatives in 1836, but it met with severe defeat—with only 15 votes in favor of the measure. This defeat banished him from politics, and he never was able to re-enter.

I am inclined to think that the cause of all these failures was the same as of the failure of the French physiocrats—they saw only a part of the truth, applying their theory only to agricultural lands, leaving urban or city lands untouched.

For the materials of this brief sketch I am indebted to the book "Colectivismo Agrario," by Joachim Costa, Madrid, 1898. Under this misleading title the author gives a brief summary of the teachings of Henry George, Alvaro Flores Estrada, and Alfred R. Wallace, followed by an account of the Spanish laws and customs as proof of the soundness of these theories. But he also speaks merely from the agricultural point of view.

Finally I must mention that the leader of the Spanish Federal Republican party, the late Senor Francisco Pi y Margall, introduced into the party platform on June 22, 1894, the nationalization of land.

ANTONIO ALBENDIN.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for observing 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 23, 1910.

Voting at Direct Primaries.

At the primaries in California on the 16th the recent Insurgent victory in Kansas (p. 755) was repeated with unmistakable emphasis. Wherever the Insurgent Republicans made a stiff fight they appear to have won. William Kent (Insurgent) whose nomination The Public editorially urged (pp. 434, 651), defeated Congressman McKinlay (Standpat) in the Second or Sacramento district by a sweeping majority, the details of which are not yet at hand. Congressman Hayes (Insurgent) was easily renominated in the Fifth over Davison (Standpat). W. D. Stephens (Insurgent) defeated Congressman McLacklan (Standpat) by a large but indefinitely reported majority in the Seventh or Los Angeles district. Congressman Smith (Standpat) is variously reported to have been renominated, and defeated, in the Eighth or San Bernardino district. In the Fourth or San Francisco district Congress-

man Kahn (Standpat) was renominated unopposed. For Governor, Hiram W. Johnson (Insurgent), whose platform is "down with the machine and put the man above the dollar," was renominated over Chas. F. Curry (Independent Republican) by some 40,000 plurality, and over both Curry and Alden Anderson (Standpat), who ran low third and lost every county, by a clear majority. At the headquarters of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League in San Francisco it was claimed on the 18th that not only would the Insurgents have nine-tenths of the delegates to the State convention which will adopt the party platform, but that they will control both branches of the legislature which will elect a successor to United States Senator Flint. They explained that notwithstanding a close advisory vote for United States Senator, the result of which the official count must determine, John D. Work, their candidate for the party indorsement, has evidently won by a wide margin.

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The Democrats nominated for Governor at the same primaries, Theodore Bell (vol. xi, p. 323), who had no opposition; and Walter Macarthur, democratic Democrat (p. 650) was nominated in the San Francisco district to contest the election with Julius Kahn (Standpat Republican), of whom the regular news dispatches report that he will have a hard fight for re-election against Macarthur.

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In Nebraska, also on the 16th, the Republicans nominated A. L. Sutton (Insurgent) for Congress from the Second or Omaha district. Congressman Norris (Insurgent) was renominated without opposition in the Fifth district, and John F. Boyd (Insurgent) defeated Congressman Brian (Standpat) in the Third. Senator Burkett (Standpat) was renominated; and Aldrich (county option) defeated Cady for Governor.

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Mayor Dahlman of Omaha appears to have received a majority of about 2,000 for the Democratic nomination for Governor over Gov. Shallenberger, who, however, is nominated by the Populists. G. M. Hitchcock, of the Omaha World-Herald, was nominated as Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator over R. L. Metcalfe of Bryan's Commoner, by a large majority.

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Roosevelt's Return to Politics.

Since his return from abroad, ex-President Roosevelt (pp. 636, 637, 661, 674, 685, 723, 769) has been cautious about identifying himself with either the Insurgent or the Standpat wing of the Republican party; but on the 16th the Standpat managers of the party in the State of New York took action which is regarded in political circles as a declaration of political war against him.

Having been asked, more or less authoritatively, whether he would accept the temporary chairmanship of the Republican convention of the State to be held this fall, Mr. Roosevelt indicated his willingness to do so, but with suggestions that prove to have been unacceptable to the managers—unless it may be that they had already set themselves against him, an inference which their recent defeat of a direct primary bill in the legislature (p. 636) in opposition to his request might confirm. When the State committee met at New York City on the 16th the nomination by Lloyd C. Griscom (chairman of the New York county committee) of Mr. Roosevelt for temporary chairman of the convention, to meet at Saratoga on the 27th of September, was defeated by 20 to 15. The majority of five, voted for Vice-President Sherman, who afterwards declared in newspaper interviews his intention to accept.

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Upon being informed of the committee's action, Mr. Roosevelt gave out this statement for publication:

To the various persons who asked me whether I would accept the position of temporary chairman of the State convention I said that I would do so only if they were sure, after knowing my attitude, that they desired me, because my speech would be of such a character that it might help if the convention nominated the right kind of man on a clean cut progressive platform, but that it would hurt if neither the right kind of a man were nominated, nor the right kind of a platform adopted.

For a few days there was much newspaper excitement indicating a rupture between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft, in consequence of which the latter was induced by Mr. Griscom, as Mr. Roosevelt's political representative, to authorize publication of a statement. It is long and circumstantial and discloses an attitude of neutrality. "Whenever my advice or assistance in reaching a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties arising has been sought," Mr. Taft concludes, "I have urged the necessity for the fullest conference with Mr. Roosevelt by the members of the organization." Part of the statement is regarded as involving Vice President Sherman ambiguously, but Mr. Sherman, when advised of the letter by President Taft, said he did not desire to see copies, and declined absolutely to make any comment or expression in reference to the matter. Mr. Roosevelt expressed his satisfaction with the President's statement.

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The Indians' Lands Investigation.

J. F. McMurray, who holds contracts with Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians for the sale for them of certain oil and mining lands for \$30,000,000 (said to be worth \$160,000,000) with a contingent fee for himself of 10 per cent, and who

needs the assent of Congress to complete these sales, was before the Congressional investigating committee (p. 782) at Sulphur, Oklahoma, on the 18th and examined all day upon the charges of Senator Gore that he, McMurray, had, through one J. L. Hamon, offered Senator Gore a bribe of \$25,000 and then \$50,000 to withdraw his opposition in the Senate to the land sales in question. He denied the accusation categorically. He also denied having offered a bribe of \$25,000 to the Choctaw lawyer, D. C. McCurtain. He further denied that any member of Congress or any employe of the government had any interest in his contracts.

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At the request of Senator Gore, the committee issued this statement on the 20th:

The committee has heard and carefully considered all the testimony submitted and is unanimous in the opinion that there is and was no warrant for any person to use the names of Vice-President Sherman and Senator Charles S. Curtis in connection with any improper relations with any Indian contract whatever.

Following is Senator Gore's formal request for the foregoing committee statement:

Neither the name of Vice-President Sherman nor of Senator Curtis was mentioned by me on the floor of the United States Senate. That the name of either of these persons was alluded to by Mr. Hamon was steadfastly withheld from the public until this investigation began. Their names are disclosed finally not with any view to inculpating them or with any view of suggesting guilt, but merely in order that the truth, and the whole truth, might be related with reference to the details of the conversation between Mr. Hamon and myself. While the public has had no reason to suspect any such improper connection, yet I would venture to request that the committee at the earliest practicable moment make an authoritative finding and statement to the effect that no evidence has been presented tending to establish any improper conduct on the part of either Vice-President Sherman or Senator Curtis respecting the subject of this investigation.

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Work of the Peoria Conference.

A report of the Committee of Seven of the Peoria Conference (p. 770), issued on the 16th by the chairman, Walter S. Rogers, from the committee headquarters, 1308 Unity Building, Chicago, to the signers of the call for the Peoria Conference, explains the Committee's work as follows:

As a general statement the committee is planning: (1) To get in touch, with a view to co-operation, with existing good government organizations and public spirited citizens who are willing to do something in the present political crisis in Illinois; (2) to prepare and distribute printed matter relating to political conditions in Illinois and the great issues before the people of the State; (3) to ask candidates to

pledge themselves to work and vote for a comprehensive State-wide civil service law, and an adequate corrupt practices act, and to pledge themselves to work and vote for an amendment to the Constitution providing for the Initiative and Referendum, to the end that such proposed amendment may be submitted to people of the State for discussion, consideration and decision; (4) to hold meetings and conferences throughout the State to further these purposes.

Successful meetings have already been held in Springfield, Bloomington and Galesburg, and plans for other meetings are already complete. In the present critical and chaotic conditions now existing in Illinois politics—many members of the brazen gang that has brought disgrace to the State are with insolent effrontery seeking re-election—there is much need for the active work of such a committee as that appointed at Peoria. The present aroused sentiment of the State should not only bring about a cleaning out of the discredited self-seeking members of the legislature, but result in a legislature responsive to public demands. For many years legislatures have either ignored or temporized with the great issues confronting the State. The scope of the Committee of Seven will be largely determined by the amount of money it can raise. The Committee of Seven turns to you and asks that you contribute, as liberally as you can and as generously as the great needs of the situation demand. Checks may be sent to Mr. George E. Cole, Treasurer, 86 Dearborn street, Chicago.

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The Coal Miners' Strike in Illinois.

At the special convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis, the first formal proceeding of importance after the 13th (p. 781) was the reference on the 18th, on motion of John Mitchell, of the Illinois dispute to a special committee of twenty-three appointed by President Lewis. This committee reported on the 20th. Its report indorsed the Illinois strike as well as existing strikes in all other districts, but criticized district officials for calling out engineers and firemen without the advice and consent of the International executive board, and recommended that the convention instruct all district officials to immediately order striking engineers and pumpmen to return to work and protect the property of the mine owners. On the question of financing the strikes the report recommended the levying of an assessment of \$1 a week on all miners at work, to be paid into the International treasury and distributed proportionately in all districts. To this report a delegate from the Ohio district, William Green, offered a substitute, which without reference to other strikes indorsed the Illinois strike specifically, ordered that the referendum vote of Illinois be counted immediately, and directed the withdrawal of International organizers from all strike districts. As reported by the Chicago Tribune of the 21st, "the principal point of difference between the committee report and the substitute was that in the latter

it was provided that district officials, as in Illinois, should be given full authority to negotiate contracts with the operators, without interference by the International officers," and that there was no indorsement of President Lewis in the substitute. On the question of finance the Green substitute left the entire matter in the hands of the International executive board. President Lewis ruled the substitute out of order, as in conflict with the convention call, as dealing with constitutional subjects at a special meeting, and as shifting responsibility for levying assessments from the convention to the executive board; and upon an appeal from this ruling the strength of the opposing factions was for the first time disclosed. On sustaining the ruling the roll call vote stood at 927 for, and 1,201 against—an adverse majority of 274. After adopting the substitute, thereby sustaining the Illinois contention and overriding the action of the Lewis administration with reference to the Illinois strike, the convention adjourned.

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Somewhat of the factional temper of the convention was exhibited on the 17th, when, after a conciliatory speech by John Mitchell the ex-President, his immediate successor President Lewis said, in evident allusion to Mitchell:

I do not meet in fancy clubs to discuss the labor movement.

To which Duncan MacDonald of Illinois retorted:

I don't know whether you call the blue room of the Claypool Hotel a fancy club or not, but you met the Illinois operators there and you met them alone. Then you called this special convention. I don't know whether they told you to call it or not, but they announced through the press that it would be called before any of the other miners' officers or members knew about it.

Verbal encounters in this spirit were loudly cheered on each side.

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In attendance at the convention as official guests were Charles H. Moyer (vol. x, p. 974; vol. xii, p. 86), president of the Western Miners' Union, and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to membership (p. 444) in which latter organization the former is now an applicant.

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Margaret Dreier Robins and Women's Work.

The following New York dispatch in the news columns of the Chicago Daily Journal of the 17th, bears so directly upon certain news and editorial matter (pp. 772, 773, 777, 780, 786, 788) of last week's issue of The Public, as to be of special interest to our readers:

"The condition of the Chicago working girl is much better than that of her New York sister. She

is stronger, she hasn't got the hungry, ragged look of the shop girls of New York, and she is better fitted to cope with the struggle of life." So said Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League, who has an intimate knowledge of the subject of which she speaks through her long study of industrial problems and a broad sympathy for the less fortunate sisters.

It was Mrs. Robins who spoke in the street outside Sherry's, from the rung of a stepladder, while a fashionable throng hurried to and fro. She was speaking in the interest of girl workers. She had come on here to organize the girls who had gone out on strike from the corset-making establishments, and who went back to work after they had lost their battle.

Mrs. Robins was seen at the old Dreier mansion, 6 Montague street, Brooklyn. Before her marriage she was Miss Margaret Dreier, eldest daughter of the late Theodore Dreier, who was a millionaire. Mrs. Robins was the first woman of wealth in the country to ally herself with labor unions. She became interested in Settlement work, and while she was engaged in it she met Mr. Robins, who was a worker in the Northwestern University Settlement and Superintendent of the Municipal Lodging House in Chicago. Mrs. Robins explained why she thought the Chicago shopgirl, although the conditions under which she earns her bread are by no means ideal, is better off than the working girl of New York. "Few of the girls in the West start to work at the ages of 12 and 13 years, as they do here," she said. "We have our child labor problems, but none like you have. The girl workers of your city belong to the second and third generation—a generation of which the mothers have been ground down by machine labor. In Chicago the sapping process has not got beyond the first generation. In consequence the women workers of Chicago have more vitality. "If emigration to this country should be shut off suddenly," she continued, "it would be only a very short time before we should feel our great physical loss. The strong peasant woman comes over here and transmits her strength to her children, and that is why our girl workers have more vitality than yours, for it is in the West that the peasantry of Europe settles. But I believe we are at the turn of the tide. I think that better times are coming for our women workers. The question is whether the intelligent women of our country will join with us to make the tide rise higher and hurry on that better day."

Mrs. Robins said that one reason why she spoke in Fifth avenue was that she wanted to get the ear of the wealthy women who trade in the shops there and who do not understand conditions as they are. "They are stupid," she said. "I don't mean naturally stupid. They are surrounded by a high wall over which they can not look and to the top of which they can not climb. It is these women we want to teach. It isn't that they have a lack of sympathy or that they wouldn't help if they knew, for I think they would."

Mrs. Robins said that in Chicago, while there is much room for improvement, the lot of the garment workers is not so hard as in this city. "Take the case of the corsetmakers," she explained. "The young women have been obliged to pay for the

thread with which they sew other persons' garments, and even for the needles. The purchase of the thread meant an expenditure of \$2.50 a week. As their wages were small this meant a great deal to them. The average wage of the woman worker is \$270 a year, and you must remember that average means below as well as above. In the textile industry something like two-thirds of the workers are getting \$6 a week. Deduct room rent and the price of meals from \$6 a week and what have you left?"

"Is it not very difficult for a girl to lead an honest life under such conditions?" Mrs. Robins was asked.

"Yes, and the marvel is that so many thousands of them are good women, as I know they are," replied Mrs. Robins. "Why, I have known girls to live on nothing but rye bread and olive oil in order to scrape together enough money to buy a new hat or a new dress. And, as many girls have starved themselves in that way in Chicago, I suppose that thousands are doing it in New York."

"What is the remedy for such a condition of affairs?"

"One remedy is trades unionism. Organize the women and teach them to think and act. Another is the ballot. I am an ardent suffragist. Everybody is who ever has tried to do anything for women workers. I believe in equal wages and equal opportunities for women as well as men. In this country the trouble has been that thousands are searching for every job instead of the job searching for some one to take it."

Mrs. Robins said she first became interested in the problems which now demand her attention when she was thinking of becoming a trained nurse in Brooklyn. She saw so much sickness and so much infant mortality that she set about finding out where the trouble lay. Since then she has devoted herself to the work of ameliorating the conditions of girl workers.

† †

War Ended in Nicaragua.

Insurgency in Nicaragua (p. 662) has won out, according to the reports of the last week. President Madriz fled from Managua, the capital, to Corinto on Sunday night, after turning the Presidency over to José Dolores Estrada, a brother of General Juan J. Estrada, the leader of the revolution. José Estrada immediately issued a proclamation declaring that he would turn the office over to his brother. General Mena's insurgent army entered Managua on the 22nd, and the insurgent faction took charge of the government. The Chicago Tribune thus summarizes the history of this little civil war: "The uprising in Nicaragua began in October, 1909. It was at first confined to the Atlantic coast points from Cape Gracias on the north to Bluefields on the south. The latter point became the headquarters for the revolutionary element under command of General Estrada. His first campaign resulted in the defeat of Zelaya's army at Rama. Later their attempt to advance toward the Pacific was repulsed and they were driven back to Bluefields. After a season of inactivity they

again pushed westward, scoring victory after victory until their capture of the capital."

NEWS NOTES

—General elections in Portugal (vol. xii, p. 1256) are to come off on Sunday the 28th. The Republicans are reported as being very active.

—Carl M. Koedt, formerly Danish consul in Chicago, will address the Chicago Single Tax Club (p. 468) on Friday evening, August 26, at 8 o'clock, on "Henry George and the Danish People."

—A meeting of 60 Negro editors in New York City on the 16th constituted the first annual convention of the Negro Press Association. Almost as many States were represented as there were delegates present.

—The annual Fels-fund fair among the summer residents of Merriewold Park, N. Y. (vol. xii, p. 796), which came off on the 13th, netted the Fund \$100, a sum that is supplemented with \$40 netted by the Merriewold children's fair on the Fourth of July.

—Competition with the Detroit United Railways on a great many of the important streets of Detroit is proposed by a corporation now being formed, to run regular motor car lines on schedule time between homes and working places at a fare of three cents.

—The International Esperanto Congress (p. 782) was brought to a close on the 20th. The claims of both New Orleans and San Francisco for the holding of the international congress in 1915 were laid before the delegates, but no action was taken on either invitation.

—Dr. Hawley H. Crippen and Ethel C. Leneve, accused of murder in London and fugitives taken into custody in Canada after discovery on an ocean steamship by wireless telegraphy (p. 750), were extradited to England for trial the 20th on board the White Star steamer Megantic.

—The National Assembly of Panama which will convene about September 1, will elect a successor to President Obaldia, who died March 1 of this year (p. 231). Dr. C. A. Mendoza, second Vice-President, and since President Obaldia's death Acting President, is a candidate for the office.

—John Barrett, Director of the International Bureau of American Republics, was on the 18th at Washington, D. C., re-elected president of the North American Esperanto Association (p. 782). Dr. H. Yemans of Detroit, Mich., was elected vice-president, and Dr. E. C. Reid of Columbus, Ohio, secretary and treasurer. The next meeting of the Association is set for Portland, Ore., in 1911.

—The Spanish government, according to dispatches of the 19th, from Madrid, had instructed Marquis de Gonzales, secretary of the Spanish embassy to the Vatican, who has been in charge of the embassy since the recall of the Spanish ambassador, to call the attention of the holy see to the violent sermons being delivered by Roman Catholic priests in Spain. The sermons, according to the note of instructions to Marquis de Gonzales,

are "insulting to the Spanish ministers and inflaming the passions of the people" (p. 780).

—The annual Congress of Negro Business Men of America (vol. xii, p. 877) met at New York City on the 17th. One of the delegates, Scott Bond, was reported as paying \$2,000 a year taxes in Arkansas, on the basis of 50 cents in the \$1,000—a taxable capitalization of \$4,000,000 of property which, as he explained, consists of his own farm, 19 farms rented to other Negroes, cotton gins, 20 general stores, and live stock.

—The Pan-American Congress in session at Buenos Ayres (p. 661), on the 20th unanimously approved a convention on patents, covering inventions, designs and industrial models, according to which an inventor taking out a patent in one of the signatory states will have the same protection for his rights in the other American Republics. The Congress also adopted a resolution recommending a uniform system of consular and customs documents.

—A bronze replica of Houdon's statue of Washington in the Statehouse at Richmond, Va., has been presented by the State of Virginia to the Republic of France. The ceremony of presentation took place in the Napoleon hall of the Palace of Versailles on the 18th, in the presence of the French Minister of War, General Brun; the French Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Jusserand, and his wife, and the American Ambassador, Robert Bacon, and Mrs. Bacon.

—Cholera is still rife in Russia (p. 782) and has made great headway in Italy. The Russian record for the week from August 7 to August 13 shows 23,944 new cases and 10,723 deaths, bringing the total number of cases in Russia this year to 112,985. Of these 50,287 have died, the mortality percentage being 44.5. In Italy stern quarantines and sanitary measures have been put into effect, and it is hoped that the epidemic will not escape from its points of appearance in south Italy.

—Frank B. Harriman, former general manager of the Illinois Central; Charles L. Ewing, former general superintendent of the Illinois Central lines north of the Ohio river, and John M. Taylor, formerly general storekeeper of the Illinois Central, were arrested at Chicago on the 19th charged with defrauding the railroad to the extent of \$1,500,000, through a side corporation organized for the purpose and participated in and promoted by men still "higher up." The defendants charged on the 20th that the moneys they are accused of diverting were diverted by their superiors and accusers to corrupt uses in connection with the murder, years ago, of Dr. Cronin, of Chicago, and its aftermath.

—Forest fires are devastating various parts of the northwest, causing vast losses of property and destroying many lives. Idaho, Montana, eastern Oregon and California are all suffering. Countless small settlements have been wiped out, and some large towns wholly or in part. Most important among these is Wallace, Idaho, the destruction of a half of which involved a property loss of \$1,000,000, and 25 deaths. United States troops and military supplies have been rushed by the war department to the stricken points. The discipline, valor and

general efficiency of the soldiers of the 25th infantry, who are Negroes, is eliciting the highest praise at Wallace, according to the dispatches.

—The Universal Peace Union and the Connecticut Christian Peace Society opened their annual conference at Mystic, Conn. (vol. xii, p. 828), on the 18th. Their declaration of convictions, adopted on the 20th, included, according to the press reports, the legislative abolition of capital punishment and the liquor business; that the ballot should be inviolate and without restriction as to race, color or sex; and that no deadly weapon should be sold without a special license or legal certificate. Appeal was made for a permanent court of arbitration or tribunal of justice to which all disputes that cannot be otherwise peaceably adjusted, even those involving so-called honor and vital interests of nations, should be submitted.

—Joseph C. Sibley, who secured the Republican nomination for Congress from the 28th Congressional district of Pennsylvania by 689 majority in the direct primaries early in the summer at an expense of \$40,698.83 (p. 587), withdrew from the campaign on the 22nd, and a few hours afterward was arrested at Franklin, Pa., upon the charge of "conspiracy to debauch voters." He was a Democratic member of the 53rd and 56th Congresses; a candidate for the nomination for Vice-President at the Democratic convention of 1896; a Republican member of the 57th, 58th and 59th Congresses; and the Standpat Republican candidate for the next Congress until his withdrawal. By repute he has long been an important political agent of the Standard Oil trust.

—Herbert S. Bigelow is making a lecturing trip across the continent for the Henry George Lecture Association, of which the reports are very favorable. At Winnipeg in particular, where he spoke several times, he made a deep impression. He spoke on "Les Miserables, the Book and Its People," "Direct Legislation," "Free Trade," and "Henry George and His Philosophy," at lectures before the Royal Templars of Temperance, the League for the Taxation of Land Values and other organizations; and he preached in a Presbyterian and a Methodist church to large congregations. Of one of his lectures the Winnipeg Daily Tribune said: "A man of rare power and boundless breadth of human sympathy born of a deep understanding of primary human motives, and gifted, besides, with a wealth of expression, both of tone and phrase—such was the impression of the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow carried away by a large assembly of people who heard him speak at the new Oddfellows' Temple."

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"I will not fight wind mills filled by the breezes from the lungs of political or personal enemies or cowards." "This is not a riot, your Majesty," said the minister to Charles X, "it is a revolution." So, too, that later Bourbon, Mr. Cannon, mistakes the motive power. It is not a breeze, Mr. Speaker; it is a hurricane.—Chicago Tribune of August 22.

+ + +

Society is in general the owner of the territory of a country, the source of national wealth.—Voltaire.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Correction.—A serious typographical error passed through this department in the issue of August 5—one of those exasperating errors which from the inadvertent omission of a single word reverse the sense. The omitted word in this instance was "no." The error occurs in our quotation from the Ottawa (Ont.) Citizen, under the caption, at page 735, of "Canada as a Pacemaker," and will be found on page 736 in the 19th line from the top. As printed there the statement is that an improved farm "should pay more taxes than the farm with equal possibilities" which is unused or poorly used. It should have read that the improved farm "should pay NO more taxes" than the other. We are obliged to the reader who has taken the trouble to call our attention to this misleading error.—Editors of The Public.

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Insurgency in California, and —

The Boston Herald (independent conservative), August 18.—Mr. Johnson, who was formerly city attorney in Sacramento, and as such engaged in a reform crusade, and who subsequently was connected with the Ruef prosecution, made his campaign for the gubernatorial nomination solely on the charge that the Southern Pacific Railroad interests are and have been for years in control of the politics of the State. He was formally backed by an organization of Republicans which took the name of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, a name which had no more significance on one side of the hyphen than on the other. There were four other candidates for the party honor, including Mr. Anderson, who was recognized as the candidate of the stalwart or regular Republicans, also the candidate of the railroad interests. Mr. Johnson is said to have carried the primaries by a majority of 50,000, and Mr. Anderson is among the also rans, being beaten by other candidates who ran solely on their personal strength. . . . The Lincoln-Roosevelt League of California fighting its local issue was fighting a national issue as well. The people of California protesting against the usurpation of railroad privilege were own brothers of the blood of the people of Kansas fighting against Cannonism, or of the people of Iowa fighting against Aldrichism. As we often have said the germ of political insurgency is the protest of the people against the powers of Privilege. The local manifestation of such insurgency is determined by the particular form of oppression in which such privilege manifests itself. . . . The ultimate nationalization of such an issue is inevitable and natural. Not only is there a common bond of sympathy between distant protestants, but the beneficiaries of Privilege find the control of national parties and political power natural and essential. . . . The national league of Privilege has been active in operation for many a year. It cannot be considered strange and unexplainable if finally a national league of Opposition to privilege should develop. Whether it involves a revolution in the organization and control of the present political parties, or whether it means the organization of a

new party accepting the battle against Privilege as the paramount issue, a nation-wide protest against the domination of Privilege is written on the wall. . . . In its outward appearance insurgency may be temporary and local. In its principle it is permanent and national, and must be recognized.

* *

Personal Property Taxes.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Aug. 16.—Year after year the assessors go through the solemn farce of asking men to list their personal property, though they know only a few will do it. We could understand this if Illinois were China, or looked on its laws, like those of the Medes and Persians, as unalterable. It is a puzzle. Here is a law which all sensible people and all who have anything to do with its administration agree is impractical, and yet it cannot be lifted out of the statute books. What is the matter with Illinois?

* *

Good Use for Soldiers.

The (Portland) Oregon Journal (ind.), Aug. 9.—At last a useful service has been found for the army. The soldiers have been called out to fight forest fires. No foreign foes are hovering on the horizon, except in the vision of jingo statesmen. No more do the red Indians menace the home of the settler. . . . But, here is a real great national danger—the annual destruction of forests by fires. The remnant of timber lands that has escaped the syndicates are menaced by flames. It is one splendid activity for our armed forces, and to suppress the attack the troops have been called out. Let the soldiers go to the front and remain there until the danger is over. Let the camp be in the forests instead of in the cities. There is a sane use for the army at last.

* *

Working Women in Politics.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (William Marion Reedy), Aug. 11.—Ware the women, O ye politicians—even in St. Louis! They have one bright victim in the person of the popular E. J. Troy, who ran for a representative nomination on the Republican ticket in the First Missouri district. Mr. Troy was a light of the Manufacturers' Association. He was, in his way, a sort of minor Van Cleave. He was against the laws limiting the working hours of women. He strove to get cheap foreign labor into the small towns of Missouri, where the labor laws applicable to the larger cities did not apply. He is a clever and likeable young man. He comes out for office, with the support of the Employers' Association. Then what happened? The Women's Trade Union League, headed by Mrs. D. W. Knefler, marked him for its own. One thousand women and girls in the unions went after him. They made a house-to-house canvass of the district against him. They told the people why he should be beaten. On the day of the primary thirty-five of the girls went to the polls to urge his defeat. They were well received by the men. Result: they "got" Mr. E. J. Troy, and "they got him good and dead." He was stupendously beaten in a district where but for them he would surely have triumphed handsomely. They said never

a word against him personally. They attacked his principles. They put him out of politics for good. And the daily papers that know the story refuse to tell it. They don't want to offend the Manufacturers' Association. But the story has its value just the same. It justifies the direct primary. Under the convention method the interests and influences behind Mr. Troy would have nominated him, through pull upon leaders and delegates. Organized working women and a free and fair primary "cooked his goose." Woman has to her record, therefore, a second, and much more creditable, fall of Troy.

* *

Land Values in South Africa.

(London) Land and Labor (Land Nationalization), August.—Two thousand officials, mostly married, will shortly be added to the population of Pretoria. In view of this fact rents are bounding up 25 per cent monthly. . . . Artisans in Pretoria are already paying a pound a month more in rent, and expect to have to pay another pound. . . . There is plenty of vacant land in Pretoria, but it is very tightly held, every Councillor being a holder. There, as here, the lesson is that the area upon which a town is built ought to belong to the community. Then it would be easily accessible for building purposes at a fair rent, and the whole of the unearned increment would go to the public exchequer.

* *

Prospects of American Peonage.

The Indianapolis Sun (ind. Rep.), Aug. 12.—In 1880 three men out of every four owned the land they cultivated. In 1900 two men out of every five were tenants. If this change of land tenure keeps up what will the census show in 1910? This movement, no matter what its cause, is the most serious reason for alarm in the development of the United States. . . . Down in Spanish America they call this tenantry business by another name. They call the tenants peons. They are bound to the soil even as the Russian serfs—even as those who wore the metal collar under the English manorial system. And in Porto Rico 65 per cent of the land is owned in Spain—10 per cent by men who live in Porto Rico. . . . The towns are full of men who do not own their homes. And now the country, too, is filling with men who do not own the land they plough. The question is whether the American nation will tell a new story. Will the every day American shake off the inertia of content and refuse to be a tenant—a peon? Otherwise the congested Roman proletariat—the mob—the paupers—and the peasantry on the Italian hills of Caesar's time have something to say to men today. . . . The tenantry—the peonage system—which is gaining a foothold must be met. Here is a task for all America. Here's a chance for you! It makes for the independence of the individual—the Rest of Us—You.

* *

Agriculture and Independence.

Summary of Editorial in El Ideal (Manila), July 5.—It is useless to try to escape from the prevailing trend of thought. Nowadays it is almost impossible to speak or write of anything unrelated to the one

supreme aspiration of the country. We have long intended to devote ourselves to the discussion of economic questions; but, pen in hand, fully determined to write along this line, we have been diverted by the recollection of a statement made by the Governor General in one of his speeches. "The Philippine people," he said in substance, "want independence. But to achieve this in any real sense they must devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil. This is a consideration of major importance for all countries which desire freedom, for the most important factor in the existence of any country is its agriculture." Coming from the lips of the Governor General, this is equivalent to saying: "Filipinos, I know you desire independence; but first your agriculture must be better developed. When that is done, my country will grant you your desire." Setting aside some aspects of the question which might well be considered, and without stopping to question whether or not the Governor is the official mouthpiece of the American people, we are convinced that if the Filipinos were consulted in this matter, their answer would be something like this: "Mr. Governor, we have been informed that, through the efforts of your country, the people of Panama, numbering less than two millions, as poor or poorer than we, and unquestionably far less civilized, are now enjoying independence. We remember also that when the Spaniards conquered Peru, they were amazed at the wealth and material progress of the great empire of the Incas, who, nevertheless, were wholly unable to defend their liberty. Where, then, is your proof?" Moreover, is it not true that agriculture can only produce great prosperity when it is undertaken on a large scale, which implies both labor and capital? But the right of free homestead tends to destroy this necessary co-operation between the laborer and the capitalist. The advantage which lies in the introduction of this new system of homestead rights, we are told, is that it will bring about equality. Well and good. But why, then, this effort to attract large quantities of American capital? If we are to have free homesteads, where does the capitalist come in? If we are to have the capitalist, why the homestead? We ourselves believe that the best hope for independence lies in the determination and persistence of our aspirations, and in the good will of the United States.

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Plutocracy Aforetime.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Aug. 12.—Forasmuch therefore as your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat: ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins; they afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate from their right.—Amos, v. 11, 12.

+ + +

O these English homes, what beautiful places they are! I wonder how many people live and die in the workhouse, having no other home, because there are people having a great deal more home than enough.—Hawthorne.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

WEEP NOT FOR THE DEAD.

For The Public.

Ah! Weep not for the dead; they do not need your tears.

They now are blest; at rest are all their fears.
In blissful quiet let them sweetly sleep.

Why should we weep? Why should we weep?

Sleep on, O Blessed Dead, sleep on!

The fight was hard, but in the end you won.

Now comes the rest for weary hands and brain—

Eternal rest. Ah, what a prize to gain!

Ah! Weep not for the dead; they will not hear your cry.

But for the living lift your voices high,

And cry aloud: There's suffering in the land,

And it is caused by man, inhuman man.

The oppressed, the over-burdened in the fearful strife,

The struggling masses longing for the light—

Demand for them the justice men withhold,

And in its place give little ill-got gold.

These men are called by the unthinking masses

(Who bray so loud you'd think they all were asses),
Philanthropists most charitable, Christian men and good—

Who build the churches with the people's blood.

They're rich and prosperous; and for them 'tis wise,

The way they fool the people, blind their eyes.

They bind them, rob them, take it all, alack!

And then to ease their conscience, give a little back—

Give a little back!

Oh, no, my friends; this bright and pleasant place,

A loving Father's gift to all the race,

Was not intended for a chosen few,

But each should have his share—yes, you and you!

A. W. RUST.

+ + +

SUMMER DAYBREAK ON THE MAINE COAST.

For The Public.

Stirred to emulation by a friend's claim to have seen the constellation Orion in August, and waking at three o'clock of a cloudless night midway in the month, I dress and go out to view the eastern sky, scarcely believing it possible that I shall catch a glimpse of the "winter groups."

But the report is true! There in the clear indigo depth above the first chrome light of dawn in silent majesty lies the glittering Hunter, while above him twine Aldebaran and the Pleiades, his recumbent form suggesting some valorous warrior

who has fought his way up from captivity and enemies in the darkness, and now rests here weary but free.

It seems that the air should be frosty-cold, and glimmering snow-fields spread far below these keen-jewelled figures that are usually seen so high only at the threshold of winter; I doubt if I can feel again until another year the thrill of that first vision of the whole sparkling array so unwontedly emblazoning the mid-summer day-break.

The Great Dipper is low to the ocean, as though it would plunge its scintillant bowl into the saffron-tinged depth below the strengthening dawn-light, and lift out so enormous a bulk as suddenly to lower the tide all along the coast.

Walking along the cliffs I find at last a peninsula where no shore impedes the view of sea and sky, and every detail of the celestial-pelagic drama now unfolding can be noted.

Boone Island Light is like a new-risen star near the horizon, of languorous, melon-yellow luster; above, vast tawny meshes and coils of thin, unthreatening cloud weave all across the sky, while the sea-floor beneath is figured with serpentine paths of wind-flurries on the swaying calm.

A few sandpipers flit past like wisps of smoke, cheeping faintly as the thin shrill note of wind in a ship's cordage. By four o'clock the day spring has welled high toward the undaunted stars and its chrome hue deepened to orange and smoldering red.

I had been confused during this time, like a geometer who has lost his base-line or an indispensable point in his problem, in tracing the great astral hexagon of the winter constellations—Capella at the apex and Pollux and Procyon, Aldebaran and Rigel, composing the sides, are brilliantly conspicuous, but where is the sixth jewel?

With leap of pleasure now I discern where he ascends among the dun cloud-coils above Boone Island, and flashes imperiously from the interstices, the regal, greenish-rayed Sirius, in electric defiance of the increasing daylight all about him, and completing in triumph the stupendous figure of the supernal geometry.

The cliffs extending on either side of my promontory are jutting into distinct relief as the dawn advances, with strange resemblance to stereoscopic pictures in their clear-cut and almost artificially emphatic perspectives; there is something also in the reflection of the lucent east, in the sea that sways with gentle sibilance against these tumbled prows of granite, that suggests the shore of Greece—this might be called "Sunrise on the Aegean" instead of on the Maine coast.

Abruptly now the high-flung meshes of cloud begin to kindle with glowing crimson, and the lonely observer feels almost crushed with the access of splendor above and below his watch-tower, as the beryl-green and pale-blue fissures of open

heaven become enwreathed with mauve, carmine and pollen-yellow cirrus, and the reflecting waves along the cliffs break in roseate foam.

The bay to the north has become a veritable vat of lilac dye, as it vaguely mirrors the cloud-Alps in bluish-cerise illumination that impend magnificently above it. Two fisher-boats, silhouetted black against the glowing deep, put out from the beach, but their rowers with backs to the morning leave the portentous responsibility of adoring all this splendor to me. What marvel, that such a spectacle should be thus prepared and enacted as though for but one pair of eyes!

The only stars still visible are the gems of the hexagon-corners, and ruddy Bételgeuse almost at the middle of the figure; truly these are the Morning Stars singing together on the temple-stairs of heaven among the fire-sinitten clouds, chanting as no human song may dare, the anthem of this auroral pageant.

Overhead Aldebaran holds his place the longest; I cannot forbear to call his name aloud as he follows his fellow-choristers back among the foldless blue curtains; there is an appeal in the very syllables—"Aldebaran! Aldebaran!"

At last the smoldering red at the horizon whitens at its core—as in a steel-mill when a candescent ingot is approaching the compressing rollers, its fierce heralding radiance prepares the waiting workman—and then as the amazing sun-brow protrudes from the unobstructed sea, the watcher rises to greet it and involuntarily the voice says "God!"

How the waves exult!—where the long, breeze-ruffled swells become squamous coils of a prodigious dragon with every scale aflash with ruddy sheen, and all the cliffs, like knights adorned with burnished chain-armor over scarlet tunics, seem marching forth to meet their prince through tumult of the golden foam.

On my homeward walk, with the cool dawn-wind rushing by me like a fleet runner over the moors, and the eager access of sea-born light flooding the bay like a brighter tide, comparisons suggest themselves between this sunrise and two others that will abide with it in memory:

The one seen on Mont Blanc, while ascending its eternal snow-fields above the Grands Mulets, when the marble pallor of the domed summit still far distant was first incarnadined with the leaping dawn, and then the attendant peaks, the billowing snow-slopes and the ribbed glaciers received enraptured the rose and aureate Niagara of day.

The other an Easter morning over the crowded tenement-roofs of New York's "East Side," when even the stained brick foreheads of that jumbled caravansary were counted not too sordid to share the resurrection-glory, and shine with pathetic prophecy of earth's nobler cities that shall rise.

ELIOT WHITE.

ANDREW P. CANNING.

Among the candidates for Congress at the Illinois primaries to come off September 15 is Andrew P. Canning who if nominated will be the Democratic candidate in the Tenth district of Illinois, now represented by George E. Foss, Standpat Republican. Mr. Foss will probably be nominated for re-election by the Republicans. In that event Mr. Canning is the only Democratic candidate at the primaries capable of making a hopeful contest at the election.

Should G. P. Engelhard, the Insurgent candidate at the primaries, win the Republican nomination, Mr. Engelhard's election would doubtless be assured, the district being overwhelmingly Republican. This, however, is a possibility, judging Mr. Engelhard by his platform, which no progressive Democrat need deplore; for he declares against Cannonism, for a tariff based only on the difference in cost of production between domestic and foreign commodities, and for conservation of natural resources. But if Congressman Foss defeats Mr. Engelhard for the Republican nomination, it is of the utmost importance that the Democratic candidate shall be a man upon whom both progressive Republicans and progressive Democrats would heartily unite at the election. And Andrew P. Canning is that man.

Mr. Canning is a Scot by birth, and by naturalization an American; by occupation a plumber with a large business, he is also a successful real estate operator and builder; and while in politics a Democrat, he is in political principle a Jeffersonian—such a democrat as Abraham Lincoln and Lyman Trumbull were.

Born in Scotland in June, 1869, Mr. Canning lost both his parents when only twelve years of age, and at thirteen he began earning his living in the coal mines of Lanarkshire. At fifteen he came to the United States with two older brothers, and until he was sixteen worked in the coal mines of Illinois and Missouri. While at this hard and poorly paid labor, he was so seriously injured by a fall of slate in an unprotected mine that he quit mining to serve an apprenticeship at plumbing, of which he had learned a little as a boy in Scotland. That change of occupation brought him to Kansas City, and at the age of twenty-one he left Kansas City for Chicago, working his way as helper on a stock train. He has ever since lived in or near Chicago.

Four years before coming here, in 1886, when Henry George was Labor candidate for Mayor of New York, Mr. Canning's attention was attracted to this world-famed democrat whose book, "Progress and Poverty," had already turned thoughtful men to asking themselves and one another whether the values that social growth gives to land should in justice go to landowners instead of the community that causes, maintains and in-

creases them. An habitual reader of classic poetry and serious prose—notwithstanding the harshness of his early working life, he is an unusually well-read man—Mr. Canning plunged into "Progress and Poverty," but the importance of the question it raised did not then impress him. The first man in public life to influence his thought on public questions deeply, was Governor Altgeld, of whom he came to feel as did the poet of his heart of another "whom canting wretches blamed," that—

with such as he, where'er he be,
May I be saved or damned.

His face thus turned toward democratic Democracy, and his thoughts stirred by reflecting upon



the unjust economic conditions of which he in his boyhood had been a victim and in his manhood had become a beneficiary, he found the teachings of Henry George growing within him until their full significance burst upon his understanding. He saw then that private monopoly of land, of the planet upon which and from which all men must live, is the fundamental explanation of poverty in the midst of plenty. Nor has he made any secret since of his devotion to the George idea.

But Mr. Canning is no dreamer. If his fellow citizens will not join him in doing social justice,

then he will, while waiting for the others to catch up to him in their understanding of property rights, utilize his business abilities to obtain for himself some at least of the common wealth which the majority improvidently and unjustly allow to go to those who have the ability to get it. And that is what he has done.

Insistent as ever upon the reform that Henry George's name stands for, he nevertheless has taken pains to prevent any one's pointing at him the finger of scorn and saying, "You are opposed to land monopoly because you own no land yourself and are envious of those who do." By contracting for vacant building lots running in price far up into the thousands of dollars, when he hadn't as many hundreds to begin with, he has diverted to himself the snug increases in value which those lots have acquired from the social progress about him. Many wise investors looked upon Canning's investments as wild; but he knew his Henry George, and now he has a fine reputation with even the shrewdest of them as an expert investor. But his zeal for justice in this matter has not relaxed. It is sturdier than ever. For now he knows from personal experiment that Henry George was right, and Mr. Canning is too big a man to deny the truth because he might lose money by it.

Mr. Canning married Harriet E. Cummings twelve years ago, and they have three children ranging from seven to eleven years. He is a member of the North Shore Congregational church and a worker also in the First Congregational church of Evanston; as a business man he is a member of the Cook County Real Estate Board, and of the Chicago Master Plumbers' Association; and as a public spirited citizen, of the City Club of Chicago.

In his campaign for Congress in the Tenth district of Illinois—which comprises all of the 24th and 26th wards of Chicago, precincts 17 to 24 inclusive of the 23rd ward, and precincts 41 to 69 inclusive of the 25th ward, and also Evanston, Niles, New Trier, Northfield and Lake county—Mr. Canning stands especially for the conservation of all natural resources by leasing instead of selling them, and for downward revisions of the tariff to the point at which it can no longer serve to enrich anybody at the expense of anybody else. His platform is "special privileges for none and equal opportunities for all," not as a campaign platitude but as a vital principle of social life to be applied in earnest to public affairs.

Andrew P. Canning is a man of rugged honesty, with a logical mind self trained and well trained, a forceful public speaker and ready debater, who is further equipped for public life by wide and wholesome reading and hard thinking together with the business experience that wins. With those qualifications supplementing his profound and intelligent democracy of the Jefferson-

Lincoln type, he is especially fitted and needed for public service, and nowhere better at this time than in Congress.

BOOKS

A SHORT STORY REVIEW.

No Story in Particular, Perhaps; But a Type. Not Necessarily for Publication, but Rather for Testing Editorial Patience, and Enlightening the Readers of Classics, If the Editor Lets It Pass.

Everybody likes a good story. If it is short and good, so much the better. If it is a good short story about some bad men or women, the relish of reading it is greater. If it is a bad story, short or long, about bad men, the shock to normal and reasonable minds is great but the circulation of the story may also be great. The latest that I have read is hard to classify.

It purports to be told by a C. E., who has built nearly as many miles of railroad as Harriman has merged, and whose vocabulary is picturesque and volcanic. Witness his description of one of the two bad men: "Walnut skinned, black haired, and black whiskered and black hearted, when he smiled and uncovered his yellow teeth your scalp rose and your diaphragm relaxed." Imagine the C. E. unloading this to a lot of other bad men, and you have the background to the moral and improving tale.

If we can further burden the imagination with the statement that Cal Moran, being one of the bad men, "was read up taut in Hell's Fourth Reader when Satan was spelling out crimes of one syllable in the Brimstone Primer," we are prepared for any depth of depravity. At this point the suspicions of the critical reader are aroused and he believes that the bad men are not half as bad as the description, but are playing a game of bluff on the community.

The depth of research involved in writing this sort of matter can hardly be imagined, and its effect on youthful imaginations may be traced in the criminal reports of some of our daily papers. But the course of the story brings from the Far East a youth who has graduated from "Cat Alley" and "Hogan's cellar," and who, with a strongly marked Jewish name, makes remarks in much the same vocabulary as the engineer, barring the long words. This only shows the difficulty of remembering just how people do talk, when you come to write it down.

The youthful newsboy has accumulated in his short career a large stock of tuberculosis, three rows of shooting irons reaching clear around his delicate waist, and a carpet bag full of similar ware. He reached Gallup, which will probably be hard to find on the map, and after climbing down

from the dusty caboose, collapsed and fell prone upon the carpet bag of shooting irons. Here is where the exquisite humor of the thing begins. The two bad men, with a torrent of barbarous sarcasm, couched in much the same vocabulary used by the C. E., tantalize the sick and suffering youth and rob him of the three rows of shooting irons. At this exhibition of delicate humor the whole population of Gallup are so convulsed with laughter that it takes them a week to recover.

The C. E. didn't join in the laugh, but made no objections to the robbery of the youth, having several big jobs of building bridges and bulkheading sands and standing in fear of the tremendously bad reputation of the two bad men. But the heart of the C. E. being better than his language, he proceeded to take the collapsed youth and his carpet bag to his shack, where he placed him on a diet of eggs and milk (right in the heart of the desert) and in the care of a half breed woman with a wide reputation as a nurse.

It is queer how such things as nurses and milk and eggs turn up just at the right place and time in stories of bad men, when in real life they are so hard to get.

The Navajo nurse fed the invalid on goat's milk and taught him to gamble with cards and dice, taught him so well that he won all the ponies owned by the relatives of the nurse. So much revived did he become that he took lessons of the expert shooter of the settlement and learned to perfection all the straight and fancy shooting that was ever heard of or invented by the story writers. Of course this part of the tale is sure to turn the mind of every boy that reads, against the vices of gambling and shooting at people. That is the reason it is put into the story.

To hasten to our conclusion, however, it is only necessary to say that with his new accomplishments of shooting and gambling our tubercular hero began to furbish up an old one in the way of jig and fancy dancing, to the great comfort of his half breed associates. The fame of the thing spread to the saloon of the two bad men, and the hero was invited to exhibit his skill at that commercial center. Having been nursing a grudge against these humorist robbers he refused the invitation and bided his time. Later he borrowed a linen duster from his benefactor, and putting it on wrong side out, bestrode his little brown Pinto and proceeded to collect his bill, against or from, the two bad men.

At the saloon a scene of wild excitement ensues. The bad men come at our hero with four loaded revolvers, and the wildest dance ever imagined came off, as it always does in stories of this kind, to the music of cracking pistols. The dance did not cease when the bad men's pistols were empty. Our versatile hero drew from the pockets of the linen duster (still worn wrong side out) pistol

after pistol, and circling around the astonished bad men inflicted divers and many wounds upon them, and scared the spectators each and every one from the scene of entertainment to the open street. Meantime two of the hero's friends arrived at the door, and the hero, dancing around the groaning villains to his friends, placed pistols in their hands and put them on guard until he had all the ready cash in the saloon in the pockets of the linen duster, still worn wrong side out.

To complete the discomfiture of the villains, he placed a pistol at their heads and ordered them to their feet, where he soon convinced them that they were not hurt at all, but only had a bad case of belief that would soon wear off. The shooting had all been done with wax bullets.

The hero collected his bill according to the story, but the equities of commerce are somewhat neglected by the narrator. Whether the value of the weapons taken from the youth by the bad men was equalled by the money taken in turn by the heroic boy is left in doubt. The pocket capacity and strength of linen dusters is left in such a cloud of suspicion that the story may not be true to nature. The conclusion is dramatic. And the bad men properly lost all their reputation for badness, so much so that the people lost all fear of them; and, their occupation being gone, they were obliged to remove to another community and build anew.

With a few amendments in these and other respects, and the cutting out of the reference to Satan studying the spelling book of crime, the story might be a safe one to place in some Sunday school libraries. If it were thought judicious to form whole libraries of that sort of thing, the supply would doubtless be ample.

GEORGE V. WELLS.

PERIODICALS

In *Land and Labor* (London) for August there is an editorial by Joseph Hyder on Colonial experience with land taxes from the point of view of land nationalization as opposed to land value taxation.

✦

Fortunes are made by brains, but if you are deluded with the idea that fortunes go to the men whose brains make them, guess again—after reading Tudor Jenks on "The Price of Brains" in the *Independent* for August 11.

✦

The August issue of *Everybody's* (New York) is especially interesting for our readers. Besides the light reading, which is good in its way, particularly Jack London's "Heathen," with its rich illustrations in color, and Lloyd Osborne's brilliant story—William Hard begins a unique series, though highly characteristic in style and cocksure in statistics,

upon "The Women of Tomorrow," and Frederic C. Howe contributes what is probably the most useful special article yet published on practical politics, "Ask Your Congressman." Acted upon generally his advice would revolutionize the national government with the resistless but peaceful power of a summer sun. Mr. Howe's explanation in this article of the mystical "Dutch standard test" of our tariff laws should be memorized by every voter; and this would be easy, for it is simply that the Dutch standard tariff clause, reduced to terms which the common man can understand, "provides that no sugar shall be imported save in such condition as to force it to the wharves of the sugar trust for refining." One feature of this issue of Everybody's, of exceptional interest, is the publishers' announcement of a series on Wall street, by Lincoln Steffens, beginning in the September number, and to be "not an exposure," but "an interpretation."

The principal articles in the Single Tax Review (New York) for July-August, are a translation by C. W. Sorenson from S. Bethelsen in "Ret" of the Danish peasants' political program; an account by

Erik Oberg of land value reform in New Zealand; and contributions by J. W. Bengough, Edmund Norton and Alex W. Johnston.

+

"The Herald of Madrid" of July 15 contains an article by Mr. Antonio Albendin on the economic condition of the agricultural population in Galicia, Spain. There has been an amalgamation of the different Grange societies there for the purpose of improving the situation. In comparing the crude methods of production employed by the Spaniards, with the advanced ideas applied in Denmark, Mr. Albendin gives some interesting data relative to the very heavy exportation of butter, eggs, poultry and live stock annually from Denmark, principally to Great Britain. Denmark has something like 250,000 land holdings. There are many exchange and savings banks run by co-operative societies. Scientific methods are used in fertilizing the soil, immense quantities of cotton seed oil cake being imported annually from New Orleans for that purpose. Regardless of the industry of the people and the up-to-date methods employed in production, Mr. Albendin calls attention to

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the fact that the lot of the producers in Denmark is anything but ideal, because of the unscientific system of taxation, which is almost universal. Most of the land is mortgaged to German capitalists, who receive interest annually to the amount of one hundred million dollars (Spanish money). Mr. Albendin advises his countrymen that the Danes have finally awakened to the fact that the producers can never reap the full product of their soil until they shift their taxes from

consumption to land values. He implores them to take heed of Denmark's experience; and in closing says: "Yesterday England, today Denmark, tomorrow Germany, and soon Sweden will be showing those who have eyes to see and ears to hear the way that leads to economic emancipation. No better program could be chosen by the Spanish producers."

C. L. L.

† † †

"Then you don't want to leave footprints upon the sands of time?"

"Nix," answered the politician, guardedly. "All I

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