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

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Heroisms of Peace.

Whoever wants war for the sake of its opportunities for and its examples of heroism, may find both in the dreadful death on duty last week of nearly a score of Philadelphia firemen (and policemen assisting them), and of more than a score of Chicago firemen. Physical bravery belongs at best to the barbaric rather than the civilized order of courage; but our civilization is not so far advanced as not to have need for it, and no fallen soldier ever faced death more bravely in efforts to destroy than did those men of Chicago and those of Philadelphia in their efforts to save. Theirs are shining examples of physical heroism without war.



Would that we might say of the Chicago heroes that they were not wantonly killed. But that is something which no one can say. Had the culpability been thoughtless, a temporary negligence, an oversight which, having once occurred, would not occur again—were this the fact we should wish to pass it over in silence. Nothing that might hurt the offenders could restore the victims. But the indifference to human life which opened those graves was not of the moment. It was habitual, and will continue so until the community learns to distinguish between service through business and murder by business.



A reckless truck driver, half as responsible

morally for one death in the street as is the business Control of the stockyards for the death of those Chicago firemen, would be railroaded to prison for manslaughter. But the stockyards Control is immune, for it is part of Big Business, and the principal business of Big Business is to subordinate men to money.

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The Rev. R. Keene Ryan, pastor of Garfield Boulevard Presbyterian Church, Chicago, was right when in his sermon at the funeral services of Charles Moore, one of the fallen firemen at the stockyards, he delivered, as the local papers report him, "a philippic against industrial conditions in Chicago, which, he said, were responsible for 'just such tragedies.'"

+ +

Wars and Rumors Thereof.

Noble thoughts and also acute, and splendid words withal, are those of David Starr Jordan in his lecture on "The Old Peace with Velvet Sandaled Feet." He tells how the peoples are in pawn, how "the men who make the war loans control all the civilized nations;" and he explains how "nine-tenths of the war scares in Europe and elsewhere are made by crafty statesmen and a yellow press to divert the attention of the people from reforms they are demanding." He has no fear of a war, and he is right. As he says, "there is no danger of war, but there is grave danger that the war debt will be doubled." The reason is that the great pawnbrokers—Rothschild and the rest—do not want war, but they do want preparations for war. War itself imperils investments; but preparation for war increases and strengthens them. "Something more than a question of finance," says Dr. Jordan in his lecture, is "the spending of money for armaments, the borrowing of enormous sums and shouldering the debt upon future generations, to be taken in taxes from the peasants." It "is a moral question."

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Good it is to hear the moral keynote struck again at the universities, whence have come in the past quarter century such a volume of unmoral sound. This Stanford president's lecture looks to the restoration of the broken link that binds the expedient and the moral; for it proclaims that "the measure of a nation is not in its rich people and how they get along," nor in "the number or greatness of its universities," but "in the welfare of the great mass."

A Touchstone for Democracy.

Never did Elihu Root utter truer words than when, in his speech as permanent chairman of the Saratoga convention last fall (p. 922), he read the signs of the political sky in these terms, as he was quoted by the Associated Press reports from Saratoga of September 28: "The Initiative and Referendum, the Recall, the direct election of Senators and direct nominations are all evidence that the people of our country feel our forms of political organization do not adequately furnish the voters of our political parties with the means to give effect to their political will."

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Much testimony like that may be found on all hands. Even the corporation-inspired Constitution for New Mexico goes to show it. That document is a confession that the Interests fear the Initiative and Referendum and the Recall. And how splendidly this confession is confirmed by recent history in Colorado, Arkansas, Oregon and Illinois! The time has come when opposition to these measures of People's Power can no longer be excused on pleas of ignorance. They are already a fair touchstone for any public man's democracy. The public man who opposes them is either wrapped too profoundly in civic ignorance to be a leader of democracy, or else his professions of democracy are suspicious. To advocate government by the people, and in the same breath to oppose the Initiative and Referendum, is to prate, unless it is to pretend.

+ +

Frivolity Among Dogs.

A dog party at Boston furnishes new material for criticism of the over-rich and their imitators. But why shouldn't dog parties be given by anyone who wants to give them? Is it anybody's business how other bodies spend their own money, so long as they don't harm anybody else? Yet the giving of dog parties and monkey fetes and otherwise indulging in fantastic expenditures in the midst of appalling human suffering from underpay for work, does jar one's sense of the deencies of life.

+

The question is why? As matter of contrast there is nothing less objectionable in spending money to keep dogs the year around where workers are in want, than in giving a party to dogs attended by men and women. If it were a party of men and women attended by dogs, no one would wonder or criticize. The truth is, we suppose, that fantastic expenditures of money accentuate a

thought, latent in the public mind, that the persons who spend it do not earn it, and that underpaid workers who don't spend it do earn it.

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Postage on Periodicals.

The Postmaster General's recommendation that low rates of postage by the pound on periodicals be abolished as to advertising matter in the magazines, may be an official hit back at magazine "muckraking." Magazine publishers suspect it, and possibly they are right. But whether they are right or not, nothing can be said for cheap postage on the advertising pages of magazines upon the basis of the idea that cheap postage on periodicals is for the promotion of public intelligence. It is a business subsidy and nothing else. And as a subsidy it discriminates in favor of the big advertising mediums.

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The whole question of allowing advertisements to go at periodical rates of postage narrows down to the simple one of postal business policy. If the postoffice makes more through the high letter postage rates which advertisements in periodicals foster, than it loses by low periodical rates for advertising pages, then low rates may be good business policy. Otherwise they clearly are not. The same reasoning applies to the whole periodical—reading matter as well as advertisements. Low postage rates for periodicals unfairly favor one class at the expense of others, and the richer of that class in far greater degree than the poorer. As a money-making postoffice policy this may be defended, if it be a money-making policy, but otherwise it is totally indefensible. Rates of postage should rest upon cost of service. And cost of service might be greatly reduced by charging against all government departments but the postal the value of the franks they use, and putting a stop to railroad graft.

+ +

Ship Subsidies.

President Taft has not yet explained why all the benefits of a ship subsidy would not be as well accomplished if the government built the subsidized ships and owned them, as if it gave the money away to private owners. The greater advantage of the latter plan to subsidized ship owners is obvious enough; but what about the government? Socialism for the government to own merchant vessels? Possibly, but we think that private ownership of merchant vessels built with public money might worthily bear even a harsher name.

Senator Newlands seems to have had the right idea of subsidy if subsidy there is to be. It relates to a proposed subsidy of thirty millions for steamship lines to Central and South American ports. "Senator Newlands," says the San Diego Sun, "proposes this plan: Instead of giving thirty millions to private enterprise, let us build thirty ships costing one million dollars each. Let us lease these ships to organized commercial bodies in various seaport cities, so that they may develop foreign trade for both local and national benefit, paying a rental which shall cover depreciation and reasonable interest on the investment. Let us enroll the seamen employed on these leased steamships as members of the auxiliary navy, paying them a monthly bonus out of the national treasury, sufficient to make up the difference between foreign and American wages, and requiring them in return for this bonus to accept training and discipline under naval officers. If we do this, what shall we then have in place of subsidized private lines? We shall have thirty independent steamship lines, controlled by the business men of thirty American seaports. We shall have thirty splendid ships ready to serve as transports on short notice, manned by crews of American seamen, trained for naval service by naval officers. This plan will not cost the nation a dollar more than the scheme of ship subsidies proposed. It will have the further advantage of enriching the nation instead of private corporations."

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Municipal Ownership.

The tainted news bureaus (p. 1058) are respectfully referred to Edmonton (p. 1086), up in Canada, for a municipal experience to put their wits to the test in twisting the truth to suit the purposes of private monopoly. Upon the authority of the Edmonton Bulletin, of November 14, it appears that "three out of Edmonton's four municipally owned public service systems will show surpluses for the year," and that the reason "the fourth does not also show a surplus is nothing to occasion either surprise or worry." The Bulletin further explains:

The street railway system was installed years before a company would have been willing to put money into such an enterprise. The end sought was not to make money but to accommodate the people, and in the desire to attain that end "we incurred some risk of having for a few years to run the venture at a loss. Against the fact that the system is not yet able to pay its way must be put the fact that it has served and is serving the main end of its existence. If it is not paying in money it is in service, and it was service and not money we wanted to get

out of it. So far nothing has come out of the pocket of the rate payer to make good the loss, the deficit of last year being carried forward as a charge upon the system for the present year. Presumably the adverse balance of this year will be treated the same way, and the course followed so long as the financial integrity of the enterprise is not imperiled. It is worth noting that were we obliged to make up at once the deficit for the current year this could be done without taking money from the general funds, by appropriating the surpluses from the other three enterprises owned by the city. There may be objection to taking money from one enterprise to help out another, but it is theoretical rather than of practical consequence. It certainly is much less objectionable than appropriating the earnings of a public service system to defray current expenses which should be met by the revenue from the taxes. So long, as at present, the loss on one of our enterprises is counterbalanced by gains on the others, the whole group, taken as a group, will be self-sustaining. That is to say, the aggregate capital put into these concerns is earning the interest payable on itself, meeting the sinking funds necessary for its repayment and the costs of operating the systems. And by its employment in this way we have good telephone, electric light and water services, and a fairly extensive street railway service; all of them at reasonable charges and free from the unsatisfactory features frequently found in such services when privately owned; and we are holding as public property four franchises, each growing in value every year, and each bound to be worth a large amount of money in a few years. Municipal ownership as a civic policy is fully justified by its results in Edmonton.

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THE CHICAGO SCHOOL LAND LEASES.

By their decision in the case of the Chicago Tribune's amended school-land lease (pp. 220, 232, 677, 885), the Supreme Court of Illinois have put upon that extraordinary document the stamp of legality. It is unassailably legal now, no matter how profitable it may be to the Tribune, no matter how detrimental to the public schools of Chicago.

And so of all the other school-land leases similarly amended—those of the Daily News, of John M. Smyth, of Hanna & Hogg, and the rest.

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The incontrovertible and undisputed facts regarding the Tribune case are these, as anyone may assure himself by reading the opinion of the Court:

The Chicago school board was, as it still is, the trustee of the school lands of Chicago.

As such trustee it was the custodian in 1895 of all public rights under a ground lease to the Tribune having 90 years yet to run—until 1985.

By the terms of the lease the Tribune was the tenant under the school board (as trustee), of the

three lots of school land on the east side of Dearborn street nearest the south corner of Madison, one of them being the corner lot with a depth of 120 feet on Madison street.

The rentals were to be readjusted every ten years by appraisements definitely provided for in the lease, and the year 1895 was one of these readjustment periods.

The readjustment of 1895 was duly made, pursuant to the terms of the lease, and the rentals were thereby fixed for the next ten years in so far as the then existing terms of the lease were concerned.

The amount so fixed for those three lots for those ten years was \$30,000.

The next year for readjustment as provided by the lease was 1905, when a reappraisal would have increased the rental of \$30,000, or diminished it, according to circumstances.

Immediately after that rental had been so fixed, the school board (as trustee) modified the lease by striking out the readjustment clause.

The only consideration for that modification was an agreement by the Tribune to pay the appraised annual rental of \$30,000 for the ten years ending in 1905—a period that had but just begun, and a sum it was already legally bound to pay,—and \$31,500 annually for the remaining 80 years of the term.

One of the school board members who was active in securing that alteration of the lease, was habitually employed by the Tribune in its libel litigations, and had been for a number of years.

At different periods thereafter, ranging from two years and a half to four years and a half, the Tribune acquired from other school-land tenants school-board leases to three adjoining lots on Dearborn street, also expiring in 1985.

Following the precedent of the school board of 1895, the school boards of 1897 and 1899 canceled the decennial reappraisal clauses in those other leases after the Tribune acquired them, the rental consideration being about the same, proportionately, as for the alteration of the original Tribune lease; but a requirement was then made that a modern building be erected, and this has been done.

The building requirement had been distinctly rejected when the lease to the first three lots was altered.

In 1895, when the original Tribune lease was altered as stated above, a universal business depression existed. Chicago land values were consequently low, as were land values everywhere. When the Tribune began building, land values had begun to rise again. The present rental value of the Tribune lots, tested by neighboring sites, is very much higher than in 1895, and all indications point to an immensely higher value long before the leases expire. [The statements in this paragraph may not appear definitely in the Court's opinion; but they were proved beyond dispute in the case, and in part they are in that realm of common knowledge of which judges take the same conclusive notice that all other intelligent men do.]

Concurrently with the alteration of the Tribune's lease in 1895, similar leases were similarly altered by the school board (as trustee), and in those cases

no building requirements were made, either in the original or any subsequently acquired leases. Nor have improved buildings been erected, except in some instances, by third parties, who at heavy premiums bought leases altered as described above. The rentals thus relinquished by the old school-board's alterations of school land leases have made the altered leases of enormous value. Except for the absence of a building requirement, and the fact that an appraisal for 1895-1905 had not yet been made, and the further fact that these lessees were probably without any member of the school board whom they habitually employed in other affairs, the circumstances of the alteration of their leases do not differ from those of the alteration of the Tribune's. [The statements in this paragraph do not appear in the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Tribune case. We make them in order to complete the story of a legally closed controversy, and to indicate the effect of the Supreme Court's decision in the Tribune's case as a decisive precedent in favor of all school-board tenants similarly situated.]

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Upon the basis of the facts outlined above regarding the Chicago Tribune, the Supreme Court of Illinois has now decided that the action of the school board in amending the Tribune's lease is binding upon the people.

A decision of the same court many years earlier created a precedent which, for \$40,000, has diverted from school purposes to land owners the "unearned increment," through 70 years past, of nearly one square mile of school lands in the heart of Chicago—worth scores of millions now. The decision of last week makes a precedent under which the "unearned increment," through 75 years to come, of the remainder of that square mile of school land will be diverted from school purposes to lease owners.

Such is now the law.

Having been so decided by the highest tribunal, all citizens will acquiesce in it for the present. What the future may bring forth with reference to the appropriation by individual interests of the values of social growth, remains for determination by other departments of popular government.

Meanwhile, the Tribune is excusably joyful in an editorial way over its victory. So was Lee O'Neil Brown over his. And the Tribune has good right to be joyful, for as the matter turns out the law of the case is with it.

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But the Tribune makes too much of this decision of the Supreme Court as a certificate of character.

All the Court *decided*, or could decide, was the law of the case.

It might, with conventional propriety (for judges often do it), and quite pardonably (for judges like other men are somewhat lower than the angels), have gone out of its way to say nice things about the Tribune's high sense of morals and corporate honor, and its civic patriotism in the matter. This could have done no harm, the case being first decided; and it might have been prudent, for the Tribune is a powerful paper, which can make and unmake judges of the Supreme Court of Illinois as easily as it can make and unmake school-board leases. But with a restraint which under the circumstances borders upon the angelic, the Supreme Court seems to have done no more than coldly, dispassionately, impersonally to decide the Tribune case in favor of the Tribune according to the law as its judges unanimously understand the law of the case to be.

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It is to be regretted, of course, that the "Dunne school board," which instituted this losing law suit, should have been as "ignorant" a lot as the Tribune adjudges them to be. But such is life! And Governor Altgeld also was ignorant, for he called attention officially at its inception to the Tribune's altered lease, which he regarded as at best a manifestly improvident bargain by public trustees. Judge Tuley, too, was ignorant, for he, unofficially but frequently, criticized the transaction as of very doubtful validity.

But the Tribune should be somewhat grateful instead of vituperative. For if the "Dunne board" had not been so profoundly ignorant, they might not have brought the suit; and in that event the Tribune's profitable bargain with the Board of Education would have continued to rest under suspicions of being illegal as well as profitable. That imputation is now removed.

No matter how profitable the bargain may be to the Tribune, and other school-land lessees, no matter how prejudicial to public school interests, and quite regardless of all mere moral and civic considerations, the Tribune is at least acquitted of illegality.

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If our intellectual part is common, the reason also, in respect of which we are rational beings, is common; if this is so, common also is the reason which commands us what to do, and what not to do; if this is so, there is a common law also; if this is so, we are fellow-citizens; if this is so, we are members of some political community; if this is so, the world is in a manner a state. For of what other common political community will any one say that the whole human race are members?—Marcus Aurellus Antoninus.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE ROCHDALE PLAN IN IDAHO.

Boise, Idaho.

The State of Idaho raises about Four Million Dollars' worth of raw wool per year. This raw wool is sold, shipped across the continent and made into garments on a far seaboard; it passes through various hands, and is freighted back over a three-thousand-mile-haul to supply the needs of the people of Idaho at an outlay to them of Twenty Million Dollars per annum. Here is a difference of Sixteen Million Dollars between the raw product raised in the State, and the finished product used in the State. Moreover the raw product shipped East is pure wool; the finished goods that come back are more often shoddy than pure.

It is therefore proposed to build up a co-operative wool manufacture here in Boise, which will take the raw wool from the raiser at market prices, make it into pure woolen goods right here within the State, and sell it back at the cost of manufacture—plus a fixed percentage, to go to capital, labor, producer and consumer in the form of "patronage earnings." "The Rochdale plan" is to be applied in toto, here in Idaho, to the business of getting wool from sheep to man—from the agnine to the human back.

The estimate is that the Sixteen Million Dollars' difference as figured above will be sufficient to ensure the success and carry on the business side, of the proposed enterprise! Not only that, but the Four Million Dollars' worth of raw products can be distributed in the form of finished goods for Eight Million Dollars, or less, to the consumers—that is, the customers in this State and elsewhere. And besides, the major portion of the difference involved in these latter figures, that is to say, Four Million Dollars, will be distributed entire as profit-dividends to labor, capital, and patronage.

The six thousand Frangers of the State are taking an active interest in the plan. It has the endorsement of the National Wool Growers' Convention held at Ogden last January; also, the approval of the Farmers' Union representing 3,500,000 farmers, in National Convention—potential patrons of the enterprise. The necessary plant calls for an investment of only seventy-five thousand dollars, to be retired within twelve months from preferred to common stock through the increment of patronage earnings.

H. L. PICKETT.

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MR. PERKINS AND PROFIT-SHARING.

Fairhope, Ala.

"He may not yet understand the profit-sharing idea. It is the first thought of minds just awaking to social injustice, and it is the constant thought of those intent upon perpetuating injustice." This is part of a comment in The Public on Mr. Perkins's profit-sharing plan for removing friction between employer and employed.

The editor cannot mean the "constant thought" of those who propose profit-sharing for the object proposed by Mr. Perkins.

For a quarter of a century and more I have been studying plans for the immediate improvement of workers that will work in any country, and will place the workman and his family in the way of life instead of death. In this quest I translated the work of M. Godin, "Solutions Sociales." The "Famillistère," which he founded over thirty years ago, is a profit-sharing institution.

Godin died in 1888. In his work he distinctly states that the "Famillistère" is not a gift in any sense; but that his object was to demonstrate practically that capital can afford all the benefits of the "Famillistère," including education from the kindergarten up, the day nursery or creche, medical and lying-in service, the use of steam laundry and various kinds of baths, water, gas, park, pleasure grounds, etc. All this capital can afford from its profits of well-paid labor, and the rents of the apartments, and yet realize the legal profit, 6 per cent, on its investment. That he succeeded in this demonstration is beyond question.

And let it not be forgotten that through their profits in the business which Godin insisted should be paid in stock in the concern, the workmen now own the entire plant of millions of francs.

Mr. Perkins knows, doubtless, that this is no experiment, and I trust he is studying Godin's plan, which might include the isolated cottage for all those who preferred greater isolation.

There is nothing in the principles of Henry George against the organization of a profit-sharing plan, that I can see. Everything must be consonant with those principles that looks to the establishment of better conditions of the producers through justice and humanity.

MARIE HOWLAND.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before, continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, December 27, 1910.

Death of Fire Fighters.

Twelve firemen, with fifteen policemen assisting them, lost their lives at their work on the 21st fighting a fire in Philadelphia. More than twenty others were badly wounded. The fire swept away a five-story leather store on North Bodine street. First the south wall fell, burying every fireman on that side beneath the mass of bricks; then the west wall fell killing and wounding many more. The policemen were killed a little later by the fall of the north wall.

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One day later a similar catastrophe occurred in Chicago. Chief Fire Marshal James Horan, Sec-

ond Assistant Fire Marshal William J. Burroughs, Captain Dennis Doyle, Captain Patrick E. Collins, Captain Alexander D. Lannon and eighteen other firemen were crushed and burned in a collapse of the walls of the burning Morris plant at the stockyards. Besides those twenty-three killed outright, seven other firemen were wounded, one of whom afterwards died. An explosion of some kind within the burning building is supposed to have toppled over the wall.

* *

Labor Politics in Chicago.

The political action committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor (p. 758), appointed on the 24th by John Fitzpatrick, president of the Federation, is composed of—

Charles Dold, W. W. Rodriguez, William Taber, Hugh Brady, A. W. Smith, J. E. Quinn, William Neer, Oscar F. Nelson, M. B. Philp, V. A. Olander, Charles Fry, W. F. Moran, Joseph Thornton, Joseph J. Galvin, James McGuire, Charles Earnst, John O'Neill, G. Dal Jones, C. D. Wheeler, Joseph W. Winkler and Miss Margaret A. Haley.

* *

Step by Step in China.

The Regency's refusal of the Imperial Senate's demand for a constitutional cabinet (p. 1211) was followed by the preparation on the 24th by the Senate of a defiant memorial, in which it was argued that a constitutional regime had already begun, and that therefore the government was no longer vested in its entirety in the person of Prince Chun, the Regent, and the Throne had not the right to autocratically reject the proposition for a constitutional cabinet. This memorial was not, however, presented, for on the 26th the Throne issued an edict which, though non-committal, was interpreted as a call to the people to prepare for a program providing ultimately for the establishment of a constitutional cabinet. This was accepted by the progressives as an Imperial pledge that their demands will be eventually granted.

*

A report from Hong Kong states that six wealthy elderly Chinamen of that city recently publicly set an example to their fellow countrymen by cutting off their queues, and that the movement had been so widely followed that in Hong Kong alone in three days 11,000 men had voluntarily followed their lead.

* *

Final Result of British Elections.

Later reports from the British elections (p. 1210) slightly alter the result, though not in any important respect. The only change is in the relative strength of the two factions of the Na-

tionalist (the Irish) party. Following is the revised returns:

	Old. Parliament.	New Parliament.
Liberal	275	271
Labor	40	43
Nationalist	71	73
Independent Nationalist	11	11
Tory	273	272

Thus the Liberals lose 4, the Labors gain 3, the Nationalists gain 2, the Independent Nationalists make no change, and the Tories lose 1. If the Independent Nationalists voted with the Tories, which is where their sympathies lie, the Ministerial majority would be 104 as compared with 102 in the old Parliament; if they voted with neither party, it would be 115 as compared with 113 in the old Parliament; but if they vote with the Ministry, as it is assumed in the dispatches that they will, the Ministerial majority will be 126 in the new Parliament as compared with 124 in the old one.

*

While these elections were in progress, the cable dispatches as printed here gave confused accounts of a speech by Lloyd George (p. 1140) which drew a bitter response from the Duke of Marlborough. Following are the principal parts of the speech as reported by the London Daily News of November 22. It was delivered on the 21st of November at the Paragon Theater, Mile End (in the East End of London), to an audience of 5,000. Mr. George said:

It was the rejection of the Budget that precipitated the crisis we have come together tonight to confer about . . . and now that I have come to the East End, where I started my campaign for the Budget, I have got to give an account of what I have been doing. The Budget has been in operation six months; some resolutions have been in operation eighteen months. Out of the money from the Budget we voted twenty millions last year to raise the old people above need. What more have we done? They talk as if we had done nothing for the Navy. Why, out of the money raised by that very much abused Budget we have spent ten millions more upon building ships and upon the equipment of the Navy, and we have found every penny of it. But that is not all. We are going to bring in an additional 200,000 poor old people who are now branded with pauperism. We are going to make them state pensioners—like the Dukes. What is more, we have got the cash to start an insurance scheme that will insure two millions of workmen against the evils of unemployment. That is not all. We are starting a scheme next year, and all the money is arranged to ensure 15 millions of work-people—men and women—against the anxiety and distress that come to households when the bread-earner's health breaks down. All the taxes are coming in, including whisky. All the estimates have been justified. We have these great schemes for keeping the invader from our shores—yes, for keeping hunger and want away, and distress from

invading the hearths of the people—all that is in this Budget; and they threw it out, these Lords, as if it were an unclean thing. We will reckon with them when we get back. Why did they do it? We dared—we dared—to touch the Ark of the Covenant—the land. We taxed the landlords' rents. They will say to us, Raising money is not the sole test of the Budget. No; it is not. You must raise money in a way that does not injure business, trade, commerce, and industry. Of course, you must. That is why I object to tariffs. Now, did we injure trade? Before the Budget, trade was depressed; we were down in the trough of the wave. Since then the good old ship has been rising, and rising, and rising, and we are not yet on the crest. Since the Budget, trade has gone up. Our foreign trade is leaping up by millions. Is that all due to the Budget? I don't say so. All I say is, by means of this fiscal instrument we have extracted 25 millions a year without injuring business. Not only has the Budget been a complete financial success, but trade and industry and commerce have improved since then. But, said Mr. Balfour the other day, What about the building trade? Well, before the Budget was brought in there was no doubt the building trade was in a very bad way. Things have improved ever since. The figures of unemployment in the building trade during the last six months are better by forty per cent than they were in the month before the Budget was introduced. I do not say it is what it ought to be, but it has improved, and it is going to improve. I believe the Budget will open a new era of prosperity for the building trade. It has unlocked the land, for you notice how the landlords are beginning to sell. I knew they would do it sooner or later, but I never thought they would begin so soon.

But stop a minute. It is not the Budget that is worrying us. We are doing all this at the dictation of Mr. Redmond. The Tory party must always have a bogey. There are certain tribes in this world—savage tribes—who are addicted to devil worship. The Tory party are one of those tribes. Last election the Germans were the bogeys. In 1900 it was the Dutchmen. In 1895 it was the Irishman. In 1885 it was Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Now, having exhausted the list, they are going round to the Irishman again. But he is a different Irishman from the Irishman of '95. That Irishman, if you remember, was a midnight assassin—ragged, tattered, fierce. But the Irishman of today is a gilt-edged bogey—he is framed in American dollars. What I should like to know is this: Since when have the British aristocracy started despising American dollars? [A Voice: "Marlborough."] I see you understand me. Many a noble house tottering to its fall has had its foundations underpinned, has had its walls buttressed by a pile of American dollars. I am credibly informed that there is a newspaper, even in London, a Tory paper, run by American dollars. [As-tor's.] What about the Irish landlords and their cruel rack rents? Who paid these rack rents? The children of the Irish peasants, driven across the seas into exile in far-off lands, used to send their earnings to Ireland to keep the poor old people from being thrown out of the cottage they had built with their own hands. Do you know how many American dollars passed from America to Ireland to pay Irish

landlords in twenty years? It was all in a Royal Commission—eighty million dollars. The leader of the Tory party in the House of Lords, who flung out the Budget, was an Irish landlord. Had not he better ask how many American dollars he received? Let Mr. Balfour ask him before he delivers his next speech. Mr. Redmond went over to America and appealed to these exiles to help the old country. He said, "You are wasting your money. Help us to get liberty for Ireland, and then the dominion of these landlords will be at an end." And they subscribed—not 80 millions—but a very considerable sum, it is true, to carry on the campaign. Let me say this: Was it all American dollars? A large proportion of it came from Canada. Since when has Canada become a foreign country? When Canada and Canadian statesmen are to be used as an excuse for taxing the bread of the people, these Canadians at our kith and kin beyond the seas. But when Canadians subscribe money for the purpose of enabling Ireland to win the same measure of self-government as they themselves enjoy, these Canadians are "aliens," tearing down the Constitution. . . . We stand absolutely by the position we have taken up in the matter of self-government for Ireland—the position taken up by the Prime Minister in the Albert Hall speech. But the House of Lords is just as much a barrier to relieving Ireland of its wrongs and its oppressions as it is to the democracy of England, Scotland and Wales.

Schemes for reform we can consider at our leisure, say the Lords, and they have taken over thirty years to do it; but they are hurrying up just now. They are calling out excitedly, "Don't shoot, and we'll come halfway down," and we'll say, "Clear out, please."

There is but one thing we must insist upon, and that is that when the people of this country, after reflection, have decided that certain measures shall become part of the law of the land, no man, be he great or small, shall have the right to stop them. The Liberal party is not a junta of party leaders, it is the executive Government of the country—if it is chosen by the people. A Liberal House of Commons is not a party convention. They are not delegates at a great party conclave. They are the chosen representatives of the people in the House that is to shape its laws; and if you defy them, reject their measures, mutilate them, tear them, trample upon them, you are not defying the Liberal party—you are making a mockery of free institutions. So we go to the country to put an end to that forever.

+ + +

A legislator is the only man who can tell whether or not a law ought to be passed.

An executive is the only man who can tell whether or not it ought to be enforced.

A judge is the only man who can tell whether or not it has been violated.

A lawyer is the only man who can tell how it may be violated with impunity.

A layman is one who cannot possibly know anything about a law without seeing a lawyer.

A criminal is one who would rather take chances than see a lawyer.—Life.

NEWS NOTES

—By an explosion at the Little Hulton colliery near Bolton, England, on the 21st, more than 300 miners lost their lives.

—Completion of preparations to proceed against the electrical trust (vol. xii., p. 410) was announced at the Department of Justice at Washington on the 24th.

—Representatives of American boards of foreign missions in China report famine in the northern part of Kiang-Su and An-Hui provinces, affecting 3,000,000 of people.

—The county option tax amendment to the Oregon Constitution (p. 1135) was adopted by 2,044 majority instead of 1,655 as at first reported. The vote was 44,171 for the amendment and 42,127 against it.

—Again a record for altitude in a heavier than air machine has been made (p. 1189), this time by Archibald Hoxsey, in a Wright machine, rising from Los Angeles in a forty-mile-an-hour gale. Mr. Hoxsey reached a height of 11,474 feet, more than two vertical miles.

—The first death of a non-unionist in the garment workers' strike occurred on the 20th, when John Donnelly, a driver for a non-union tailoring contractor, was shot in his wagon by unknown persons. The other three men who have been killed were all strikers (p. 1212).

—A petition for the recall of Hiram C. Gill, Mayor of Seattle, for permitting gambling and other vice by syndicates which pay for the privileges, was filed on the 20th. It contains 11,300 names, 631 being of women. The recall election must be held within forty days.

—Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati (pp. 733, 806) has arranged to do legislative work this winter in the Central and Eastern States in behalf of direct legislation and the Des Moines plan of commission government for cities, keeping incidentally lecture appointments on Sundays, for which his engagements for the winter are full.

—Henry George, Jr. (pp. 991, 1057, 1082, 1092, 1095, 1133, 1141, 1144), Congressman-elect from New York, is to make a lecturing trip under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association (356 Dearborn street, Chicago) as far West as Omaha in January and February, and then by way of Winnipeg to Victoria, going south to San Diego and back to the East through Salt Lake City, Denver and Chicago.

—The so-called "padlock bill," passed by the Senate of the Spanish parliament November 4 (p. 1073), was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on the 28th, after a stormy session, by a vote of 108 to 20. As originally drawn, the bill prohibited the creation of further religious establishments in the country until the revision of the Concordat (instrument of agreement with the Vatican) had been completed or definite laws on the subject passed. In the Senate the Government accepted the amendment of Baron Sacre Lirio limiting the period of interdiction against new congregations to two years.

The passage of the bill scores a notable victory for the Premier, Mr. Canalejas.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 1142) for November, 1910, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash.....	86,683,885.80
Total	\$236,683,885.80
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1910	250,490,783.79
Decrease	\$ 13,806,898.99

—John D. Rockefeller severed his relations with the University of Chicago on the 20th, celebrating his withdrawal with a gift of \$10,000,000, which makes a total of \$35,000,000 he has contributed to this University since 1889. Of the last gift, Mr. Rockefeller requires that \$1,500,000 shall be spent for a chapel to be the chief architectural feature of the campus for the purpose of emphasizing the religious object of the University.

—The latest primary law of Illinois (p. 1001) is imperiled by a decision of the Supreme Court of the State on the 21st. Judges Cartwright, Carter, Hand and Dunn sustain its constitutionality, while Judges Vickars, Farmer and Cooke hold it invalid. The validity of the law as a whole is therefore sustained by a bare majority of the court; but one of the majority judges is at variance with his associates on some of the particulars of the law.

—The committee report confirming the election of William Lorimer as Senator of the United States from Illinois (p. 1211) was received by the Senate on the 21st and laid upon the table for future action. Senator Frazier of the sub-committee reserved the right to file a minority report, and Senator Beveridge of the whole committee, but not of the sub-committee, demanded time to examine the testimony and consider the briefs before declaring his position.

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government (p. 1142) for November shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911:

Receipts	\$283,508,401.39
Disbursements	294,579,429.54
	\$ 11,071,028.15
Repayment of unexpended balances..	2,309,774.11
Ordinary deficit	\$ 8,761,254.04
Panama Canal deficit.....	16,613,179.48
	\$ 25,374,433.52
Public debt surplus.....	5,163,643.65
Grand deficit	\$ 20,210,789.87

—An explosion on the 25th in the Llewellyn iron works, a non-union concern at Los Angeles, is alleged by the owners and the police, as in the case of the Los Angeles Times (p. 1131), to have been produced with dynamite by labor unions, though both owners and police admit that they have no clew. Fred C. Wheeler, president of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, said: "The fact that the Llewellyn Iron Works is in warfare with organized labor is all that our enemies need to endeavor to lay this outrage at our door. Every true friend of the cause

of labor knows that violence injures our cause more than those against whom it may be directed." The strike in which the Llewellyn company is involved, is a strike of metal workers which was begun June 1, 1910, for the purpose of securing an 8-hour work-day and minimum wages of 50 cents an hour.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Hard Times of 1910.

Market Letter (of Warren W. Erwin & Co., 26 Beaver street, New York) Dec. 12.—Judging by railroad earnings, bank clearings, steel orders, idle cars, etc., the business depression of 1910 is growing worse rather than better. We think it probable that industry will continue to decline until next spring. While banking conditions appear to be improving, and while cheap money usually lays a basis for prosperity, yet we do not look for very cheap money—unless for a short period—and we do not look for much investment-buying of stocks in the next six months. We adhere to our opinion that the buying power of the public is at low ebb and that until there is somehow a better adjustment of wages and salaries to the cost of living there will not be much saving of capital for investment in anything.

* *

Swapping Men for Wealth.

The San Diego (Calif.) Sun (ind.)—Proud old Iowa is still doing the biggest sort of business in the way of farming. In the past ten years the value of her agricultural lands increased by the enormous figure of \$1,542,273,000. That's the cheerful side. In the same ten years Iowa lost 10,490 of her land-owning farmers. She gained 2,303 tenants, while the number of farms operated by hired managers increased over 21 per cent. . . . Is it the old story of progress and poverty, and of the land where wealth accumulates and men decay? Looks a little like it, doesn't it?

* *

What Mr. Roosevelt Needs.

The Milwaukee (daily) Journal (Pro. Rep.) Dec. 15.—Mr. Roosevelt has broken his silence, though it would have been better for his reputation if he should have held his peace, at least, until he had something to say. . . . A radical at Osawatomie, he stood pat at Saratoga. . . . While Mr. Roosevelt was in Africa, the American people had been at school. Their teachers were efficient. . . . The line was clearly drawn between the public interests and the Privileged Interests. . . . It was no longer an issue of party—it was an issue between the people and those who exploit them by grant of law, between Progressivism and Toryism. Mr. Roosevelt returned. The people looked to him for leadership, but not in the old way. . . . He could not hear the call. He has not heard it yet. He has learnt nothing. He is still a radical in one breath and a conservative in the next, still blowing hot and cold, still the weaseled word Progressive that drove the Progressives to despair in Indiana and left Beveridge without hope. "I am a radical," he told the members

of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce and their guests, "but I am a radical who most earnestly desires to see a radical program carried out by conservatives. I want the Progressive movement to take place under sensible men, not under Democrats." . . . In the very speech that asserted that Democrats were not even sensible men, he congratulated President Taft because he had appointed a Democrat as Chief Justice. . . . Mr. Roosevelt's radical toryism emphasizes how greatly out of touch he is with the American people—how thoroughly he fails to grasp the fact that they are in no mood for his tight-rope performances. . . . What Mr. Roosevelt needs is convictions.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

"THE KING IS DEAD! LONG LIVE THE KING!"

For The Public.

"The king is dead! Long live the king!"
O'er hill and valley, ring, bells, ring!
Let hearts that long have suffered pain,
Revive, and thrill with hope again.

Good-bye, Old Year! A long farewell;
What Time may bring we cannot tell;
We greet the New Year, good or ill,
With faith and courage, come what will!

HENRY COYLE.

* * *

A LEADER OF THE BLIND.

After Bolton Hall.

For The Public.

"Hurray for Roosevelt!" cried the Voter.
"Why?" asked the Janitor.
"He'll make the Trusts come to time," said the Voter.
"How?" asked the Janitor.
"He is honest and a fighter; he knows what the people want and how to get it," said the Voter.
"Do the people also know this?" asked the Janitor.
"No," said the Voter, "the people are blind. He will lead them."
"Where?" asked the Janitor.

G. A. B.

* * *

RESIST NOT EVIL.

For The Public.

If a festive mosquito, in a piratical mood, should light upon a tender part of your anatomy, resist not evil, but overcome evil with good by opening the window and inviting all the mosquitoes in the neighborhood to a picnic.

If a friendly foot-pad should hold you up in the night and make free with your valuables, resist not

evil, but overcome evil with good by telling him what time you will be along the next night.

If an amiable trolley magnate should bribe the city council into making him a present of the most valuable part of your principal streets, resist not evil, but overcome evil with good by throwing in the back streets and a few valuable terminal sites also.

If the health department should roughly detain you and forcibly vaccinate you, resist not evil, but overcome evil with good by offering yourself as a sacrifice to any other viruses or lymphs he may have in the shop.

If a trust philanthropist should, out of the kindness of his heart, insist upon charging all the traffic will bear, resist not evil, but overcome evil with good by going to church and finding out how to become more forbearing.

ELLIS O. JONES.

BOOKS

TALKS WITH A YOUNG GIRL.

Confidences. By Edith B. Lowry. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago, 1910. Price, 50 cents.

Imperfect though they may be in their attempts at sex instruction, the mere fact that such books as this are being written and published is a hopeful sign of social convalescence. Intended for girls between ten and fourteen years old—fitted for the former, surely not the latter age, one should say—the little book does not thrust upon the young girl the sex-problem,—merely tells her gently and daintily about her own body and its care looking toward maternity, discloses only so much as is necessary, and advises her to ask her mother about anything she does not understand, instead of talking with her playmates, "who may not know."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—For Freedom. By Will Atkinson. Published by Will Atkinson, Metropolitan Press, Seattle, Wash., 1910.

—The Tongues of Toil, and Other Poems. By William Francis Barnard. Published by the Fraternal Press, Chicago, 1911.

—Import and Outlook of Socialism. By Newton Mann. Published by James H. West Co., Boston, 1910. Price, \$1.50; postage 12 cents.

—Anarchism and Other Essays. By Emma Goldman. Published by Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 E. 13th street, New York, 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Bulletin of the International Labor Office. Volume V., Number 2. Published by the Labour Rep-

resentation Printing & Publishing Co., 3, New Road, Woolwich, England. October, 1910.

—Report of the Education Department of New Zealand for the year 1909. By George Fowlds, Minister of Education. Printed by John Mackay, Wellington, New Zealand, 1910.. Vol. 1, General Report. Vol. 2, Primary Education. Vol. 3, Native Schools. Vol. 4, Special Schools and Infant Life Protection. Vol. 5, Manual and Technical Instruction. Vol. 6, Secondary Education. Vol. 7, Higher Education. Vol.

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, according to the principles of fundamental democracy, expressing itself fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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* * *

Patriotism is your conviction that this country is superior to all other countries because you were born in it.—George Bernard Shaw.

* * *

"Dolan," said he, "what does them letters 'MDCCCXCVII,' mean?"

"They mean eighteen hundred and ninety-seven."

"Dolan," came the query, after a thoughtful pause,

"don't yez think they're overdooin' this spellin' reform a bit?"—The Green Bag.

* * *

"Well, my man," said the house surgeon, cheerily, to the new patient, "how do you feel?"

"He seems all right," said the nurse, "I've just taken his temperature."

"Good. Have you had anything to eat, my man?"

"I had a little, sir."

"What did they give you?" "This lady gimme a piece of glass to suck, sir."—London Globe.

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