

The Public

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

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The Negro in the Prize Ring.

American Negroes are jubilant about the prize fight victory of Jack Johnson, one of their own race, over a white champion. Their sense of race patriotism is stirred by it. Nor is their enthusiasm over an event of that low grade any indication that the Negro is behind the white man in civilization—not the American white man, at any rate—or, if behind, not more than fifty years behind, which is only a moment in the life of a race. Some of us are old enough to recall the shrieking patriotism of American white men in 1860 over the news that "America had licked England" in the Heenan-Sayers prize ring. Even now white Americans are affected dolefully and to the point of race anger by the defeat of Jeffries, quite as generally as Negroes are affected jubilantly by the victory of Johnson. A race war is predicted in consequence, and little race riots have already broken out.

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We might go further. The most popular American of the hour—more popular than Jack Johnson with Negroes, or than James Jeffries would have been with white men had he won the prize fight—this most popular man is popular for no other apparent reason than that he is a very type of the prize fighter, albeit he sings of the joy of the fight and the thrill of victory with reference to bloodier contests. All the way from Long

Island to Alameda one can almost hear his teeth gnashing at the necessity (springing out of the decent regard of a practical statesman for the prejudices of the pious) for playing mollicoddle in the midst of the excitement over Jeffries and Johnson. Isn't their sport also of "the manly" kind, though in these days of sporty battleships a trifle obsolete?

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It must be admitted that Johnson, the Negro prize fighter, has won with his fists and the brain behind them, a victory not only over Jeffries in the prize ring but also for the Negro race everywhere. He has given his despised race an uplift. Condemn prize fighting as you will, you must nevertheless grant that he has proved his superiority in the kind of contests which, in one form or another, white men themselves make the test of superiority—a fighting contest. Nor was it by brute strength that he won; the white man was bigger and stronger. He won by superior fighting science and superior fighting skill. The race that produces a man who, by brain more than brawn, can win in such a combat—why may not such a race produce superior men for winning battles in war or swinging big sticks in politics, if given a chance? Would the unfairness of these larger contests tell against the qualifications of one who wins under the fairness that governs the prize ring?

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While adopting the declaration of the Rev. E. A. Wasson in *The Crown* for June, that he does "not approve a prize fight," we also agree heartily with him in his estimate of the civilizing effect upon both blacks and whites, of the Negro's victory in the prize fight at Reno:

Regrettable as it may be, probably nothing that could take place in our present fallen and imperfect state would do so much to elevate the Negro race as the success of Johnson in this fight. . . . Taking men as they are, the white man's appreciation of the black man will move up many notches, if the black man knocks out the white man. Those who doubt that the Negro is a man will doubt it less. And those who recognize him as a man will recognize him as a good deal more of a man. Booker T. Washington is doing much to elevate his race. Jack Johnson, if he wins, will do much too; and, from some remarks of his I believe Washington thinks so. Progress does not move in the nice conventional grooves laid out by parlor philosophers. It cuts out its own rough, unpredictable channels. The greatest need of the Negro race is the respect of the white race. If white people thought more of Negroes, Negroes would think more of themselves. We are all apt to live up or to live down to the

opinion held of us by our neighbors. If they respect us, we will respect ourselves.

To the good people who put their hands to their faces in shame that a clergyman should hold such unrighteous opinions of a brutal sport, we commend the remainder of that clergyman's article—a vigorous article unashamed—in the *June Crown* (738 Broad street, Newark, N. J.), and by way of sample make this further quotation:

If prize-fighters are brutes, just because they are prize-fighters, a good many church-going, Europe-going, thorough-going gents are worse than brutes. Prize-fighters don't hurt themselves, nor anybody else that is not willing to be hurt. But what of these "gentlemen," who take the weak and helpless by the throat, and who choke the babies, to reap fortunes that they don't need any more than I need rings on my fingers and bells on my toes? Brutes indeed! Yet bishops and college-presidents and charity-workers chase after them and sprawl down on their bellies to lick up their spit,—for the sake of their blood-stained dollars. And the prize-fighter, who fights fair, who fights a man of his own size, who fights only the man who wishes to fight, who fights in the open, with judges and referees and watching thousands all around him, who does not fight a man when he is down, nor when he is getting up, who doesn't hit beneath the waist, who doesn't employ any weapons but the hands that the Lord gave him, and them gloved, who quits when his opponent is knocked out, and quits anyway every two or three minutes, for a breathing space, who divides the winnings with the loser,—these men are perforce brutes, and the others are Christian and Jewish gentlemen! Good Lord, deliver us! What cantists our self-appointed moral guides are, to be sure. . . . Is there a greater joke than these moral spasms? Proctor's is a funeral in comparison.

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The Peoria Conference.

When the Peoria conference assembled last week (p. 611) to consider the break down of representative government in Illinois and propose measures to restore it, there was no certainty and not much probability that it would take the bold step it did take. But Senator Bourne's speech at the night meeting of the first day's session, was so convincing as to the merits of the Initiative and the Referendum as a remedy for misrepresentation in government that on the following day the conference declared unanimously for their adoption. The value of the Initiative and Referendum as adjuncts to representative government has been so thoroughly demonstrated in Senator Bourne's State, Oregon, and the facts are coming to be so generally known—thanks in no small part to Mr Bourne's speech in the Senate (p. 616),—that their opponents cannot much longer hinder their adoption everywhere.

We have been accustomed to boast of our representative government, and now we are beginning to deplore its breakdown. But the truth is that we have not had representative government. No government is representative over which the people lose control as soon as the ballots at elections are counted. Our so-called representative government is really delegated government. At elections we delegate law-making authority — delegate it so irrevocably that, once in office, legislators may pass such laws as they please and refuse to pass such as they please. They can defy the people who elect them. But with the Initiative and the Referendum they would become truly representative. If they refuse to enact laws the people desire, the Initiative enables the people to enact the laws over their heads; if they enact bad laws, the Referendum enables the people to say "We veto!" Yet all the time, as to the laws they enact and the bills they defeat acceptably to the people, they are representatives of the people. It is only when they misrepresent the people, that the Initiative or the Referendum may over-rule in particular cases their delegated authority. This simple and effective method of appeal to the people when their delegated authority is abused, is an imperative necessity under representative government in order to prevent misrepresentation. In proposing the Initiative and Referendum for the restoration of representative government, the Peoria conference has taken a long stride in the right direction. It remains now for the committee appointed at the conference to organize the State in furtherance of its action. As the people of Illinois have already by advisory Initiative under the Public Policy law, voted overwhelmingly—something like half a million to a hundred thousand (vol. vii, p. 712; vol. xi, p. 684)—in favor of the plenary Initiative and Referendum, it is evident that the Constitutional amendment advised by the Peoria conference will be adopted by the people if the legislature offers the opportunity which that conference demands. To refuse this opportunity would be pretty conclusive evidence that the legislators who vote against it wish to perpetuate misrepresentation.

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Folk's Presidential Candidacy.

In another column this week we publish an Editorial letter on Gov. Folk as a Presidential candidate. The letter is from D. K. L., whose acuteness of observation, calmness of judgment and directness of expression (vol. xii, pp. 942, 1184; vol. xiii, p. 509), have won for him in con-

nection with other subjects, the confidence of our readers. We regret that he finds himself unable to estimate the Folk possibilities at a higher value; for Folk is the only Democrat as yet standing out for the Presidential nomination, whom his party can nominate without again encountering the experience of the Parker year. But it is best that his friends in Missouri and over the rest of the country be advised in time of his weakness. That D. K. L. advises them rightly, we confidently believe. That they will profit by it, we as earnestly hope.

* *

How Slanders Outlive Vindications.

Nearly a year ago the Chicago papers were alive with accounts of an attack by the State's Attorney, Mr. Wayman, upon the jury commissioners of Cook County, one of whom was William A. Amberg, a man of high character and until then of absolutely stainless reputation, as doubtless also were his official associates. What the motive of the attack may have been is not clear. But the report of three judges who were called upon to investigate the charges, is unanimous in finding that they were false. The reputations of Mr. Amberg and his associates are restored by that finding; but as there is no news "story" in this, it does not get prominently reported, and the baseless slander to which Mr. Wayman gave life a year ago is living still. The publicity that set the slander agoing does not attend upon its complete refutation.

* *

Labor Injunctions.

Complaint of unfairness by organs of business interests is made by Samuel Gompers in the current issue of the Federationist. He charges those organs with deliberately concealing the essential point when they argue that injunctions against labor organizations are in the same legal category with ordinary injunctions. He is right. Ordinary injunctions are for the protection of property rights from threatened and irremediable civil injuries. There is in those cases no accusation within the criminal law. Consequently the right to jury trial for alleged crime is not abrogated. But labor injunctions fall into a radically different category. In the first place they are not for the protection of property rights. No one any longer has a property right in the labor power of another, there being no contract. In the second place, they are in restraint of alleged crime. These two differences completely distinguish the labor injunction from the ordinary injunction. The second difference attaches

to labor injunctions a fundamentally vicious characteristic. Not that crime ought not to be prevented. It ought to be, if possible. But injunctions can no more prevent crime than statutes can. All that either can do is to prohibit crime and authorize punishment of criminals. The essential difference between them is that punishment under crime statutes cannot be inflicted until a jury has determined the guilt of the accused; whereas punishment under an injunction may be inflicted regardless of guilt, without jury trial for protection of the innocent, without even the appearance of witnesses in court, but upon mere affidavits prepared by the complaining parties out of court, and simply upon the arbitrary say-so of a judge. The labor injunction is a subterfuge for evading jury trial in the interest of business classes and against working classes. All this is so well known that it is difficult any longer to believe in the good faith of any writer or speaker who defends labor injunctions as being legally identical with ordinary injunctions. All intelligent writers and speakers on the subject must know that the element of property right is absent from labor injunctions, that the element of criminal accusation is present, and that either absence of the former or presence of the latter vitiates all injunctions except labor injunctions, and would have vitiated these before corporation lawyers on the bench made their new departure in injunction law.

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Another form of deceit which is very common with writers and speakers who oppose labor organization has to do with the recent action of the Senate in striking out from a trust prosecution bill (p. 603), a House clause intended to protect labor organizations from unlawful persecution by Federal officials and at public expense. President Taft insisted that this clause must come out, giving as his reason that labor organizations must not be allowed by law to violate the law, for that would be class legislation. There is a guilelessness about Mr. Taft, a mental drowsiness, which will tempt considerate persons to attribute his misrepresentation of the labor clause in question, to "any old thing" rather than an evil purpose. But the New York Times, the New York Sun, the President of the National Association of Manufacturers—these and their like are not lacking in wakefulness; and they, like President Taft, refer to that clause as if it would have exempted labor organizations from prosecutions for lawlessness. What it would have exempted them from, and all it would have protected them from, was

not lawlessness on their part, but persecution by an Interest-owned government for acts not unlawful. Read the rejected clause yourself, and see. So definite were the terms of this rejected clause, that only three inferences regarding those who oppose it, from the President all along the line, are possible. First, ignorance of the fact that the clause exempted labor organizations only from prosecution for lawful acts; second, malicious indifference to that fact; or, third, desire to leave the way open for the Federal law department to attack labor organizations merely as labor organizations?

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While writing of labor injunctions, we find it necessary to note that Judge Windes of Chicago appears to have given labor organizations a surprise in connection with the taxicab strike. An injunction issued by him, is reported in the local press as the most sweeping labor injunction ever issued. We are not yet able to speak positively upon that point. It may be that this injunction is no broader than Supreme Court decisions have made necessary. It may be that the attorneys who drew it, in regular course of practice, have made it more sweeping than Judge Windes supposed. At any rate no one should lightly conclude that a judge of his reputation regarding "government by injunction" has freely and purposely enlarged the sweep of labor injunctions.

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Chicago Traction.

Municipal ownership and operation of the Chicago traction service is supposed by some who favor it to have been prejudiced by a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois to the effect that the accumulated fund (55 per cent of net receipts), which, under the "settlement ordinances" (vol. ix, pp. 1163, 1178, 1184, 1211, 1225, 1232; vol. x, pp. 1, 8; vol. xii, pp. 203, 243, 254, 338, 348, 555, 1257) is set aside for purchase, may be used for subway construction. We do not so regard the matter. Nothing can operate to the prejudice of municipal ownership and operation of Chicago traction. This policy, defeated at the city election of 1907, was then defeated finally. Chicago traction is consequently owned at and operated by New York. The "settlement ordinances" of 1907, under which this is done, made municipal ownership and operation impossible so long as the traction companies oppose it.

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Pittsburgh's "Hungry Club."

We did not intend to slander the Hungry Club of Pittsburgh (p. 564) when we described it as

a millionaires' luncheon club. But our statement appears to be regarded in Pittsburgh as libelous. It was not always so. The Pittsburgh rich have, however, been getting found out, and the thing has an odor. It seems that "if there is one thing in the world which the Hungry Club is not, it is 'a millionaires' luncheon club.'" What it is may be inferred from this description: "When Chas. F. Weller, the general secretary of the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh, came to Pittsburgh from Washington in September, 1908, he brought with him the idea of a weekly conference of men interested in civic and social work, at which, as he expressed it, 'the half-baked ideas of the members of the club might be worked out.' This 'get-together' idea was something of a novelty in Pittsburgh, and it took hold immediately. From a membership of six or eight, the Hungry Club slowly grew until now there is an average attendance at its Monday luncheons of forty or fifty, comprising men in various lines of social and civic work in Pittsburgh, as well as young professional and business men interested in those problems. The first argument in defense of the charge that the Hungry Club is composed of millionaires, appears in the statement that it is largely made up of social and civic workers. As additional defense, is the fact that if the table d'hôte luncheon which is served the members of the Hungry Club once a week cost more than 50c, it would be a serious matter to keep the club going. The Hungry Club has an aspiration, tempered with due humility, to some day become a full-fledged City Club, an institution which many of us feel would be a great thing for Pittsburgh. When that time arrives, we may, in order that there may be no question as to the real democracy of the club, admit to our membership millionaires. However, they will only be such millionaires as give evidence of a desire to reform."

* *

Death of Estella Bachman Brokaw.

All readers of Henry George's "Standard" in the early nineties, knew of W. E. Brokaw, and his devoted work in "spreading the light" that had come to him; and few of them but knew also of Estella Bachman, whom he married in 1894, and who died on the 26th of last month in California—"escaped from her life-long hampered body," as Mr. Brokaw describes her passing away. She was the author of "The Soul of the World" (vol. xii, p. 909), a book in which she used the fiction form to explain and propagate economic theories which she and her husband had developed together. At one time, early in their married

life, they edited and published at St. Louis the Single Tax Courier, an organ of the organized single tax movement, of which Mr. Brokaw was the official editor, and which has now come to be the Single Tax Review. This devoted woman, hampered through life by deafness and latterly by the progressive paralysis of which she died, gave herself freely and unreservedly to the service of her moral convictions. And she and her husband were one. Neither of them counted the cost, either to pocket or person, when things they believed in needed volunteers. It is not impertinent to say what all their friends well knew, that their whole married life was passed in poverty; nor is it out of place to add that this need not have been so, if they had selfishly preferred physical comfort to the promotion of their ideals.

* *

The British Land Values Movement.

Readers interested in the tremendous and successful work of the British leagues for the taxation of land values, should send for copies of the third annual report of The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values. The Committee offices are at Broad Sanctuary Chambers, 20 Tothill street, Westminster, London, S. W. This report is an illuminating side history of the Budget fight, from the introduction of that historic measure by Lloyd George on April 29, 1909, to and including the organization of the "land values group" in the present Parliament. The names of this group, numbering 105, are given, as are reports of meetings, conferences, and Budget demonstrations in which the Committee took part. There are also sketches of the general election and the London County Council election, showing the active, strenuous and effective work undertaken by the United Committee. An account is given too of the municipalities and associations that supported the Budget and the taxation of land values. Short reports from the leagues and branches of leagues for the taxation of land values show how the activities of the United Committee have been supported all over Great Britain. The report closes with the plan of campaign for the future, from which we quote:

We have secured, in the Budget, provisions for a complete valuation of all land. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the land values taxes of the Budget are small and discriminating and do not put the principle for which we stand into operation. When the business men and the masses of the people raise their voices insistently for the taxation of land values then will the political leaders examine the principle and find its worth, and not until then. There is yet a hundred times as much ground to cover and a hundred times as many vic-

ories to be won before our object is achieved. This then is our work. We have to interest and educate the people. We must go to them in their homes and show them how their emancipation from monopoly is wrapped up in the taxation of land values. The magnitude of the task cannot be overestimated, but there is no reason why it should not be accomplished. Cobden succeeded in a similar campaign for the repeal of the Corn laws, and with persistent effort we can succeed in establishing freedom and justice; equal opportunities for all, privilege for none.

* * *

NATIONALIZATION OF MEDICAL MANAGEMENT.

Several Congressional measures for the establishment of a national health Department—five bills, as we are informed—were pending in Congress at its adjournment. The controversy over them, which has become bitter to the point of vituperation on both sides, is likely to grow in bitterness; and in the interval between the Congressional sessions they should be considered by the people with as much freedom from partisan bias as possible.

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On the one hand, it is charged that these measures are intended to establish a medical trust.

On the other, it is retorted that the opposition is inspired and paid for by persons interested in unwholesome proprietary medicines.

The sponsor for the measures is a "Committee of One Hundred on National Health," under the leadership of Irving Fisher, professor of political economy at Yale. According to the opposition, that committee is the "alter ego" of "The American Medical Association," the exclusive and powerful union of the allopathic school, which has for years been lobbying for a national health Department.

The organization opposing the measures is the newly formed "National League for Medical Freedom," of which B. O. Flower, editor of the *Twentieth Century Magazine*, is president. It is accused by the other organization of being a mask for patent medicine manufacturers and enemies of pure food laws.

In both organizations are persons who not unlikely deserve the denunciations of the other side. It is only fair, however, to notice the fact in passing, that the opposing organization, in response to insinuations that the source of its income is illegitimate, has offered to disclose the source of its income to "one or two representatives of the Committee of One Hundred, say Rev. Lyman Abbott, Joseph H. Choate, Walter H.

Page, Melville E. Stone, Henry Phipps or Edward K. Bok." Until that offer is accepted (or shown to be disingenuous, if it be so), no further insinuations or accusations against the opposing organization can be treated with respect by fair minded men. But while both organizations may have in their membership persons whose motives, records and expressions might warrant vituperative attacks, this is far from true of the membership of either as a whole. The intent of most of the individuals of both organizations is in our belief, above reasonable suspicion; and this judgment is emphatic as to Prof. Fisher, the leading advocate of one of the pending bills, and Mr. Flower, the leading adversary of them all.

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The pending bill which the "Committee of One Hundred" supports, is known as "the Owen bill." It was introduced in the Senate by Senator Owen of Oklahoma, as to whose good faith we heartily repeat our estimate regarding Mr. Flower and Prof. Fisher.

But the merit of the bill is not to be determined by the good faith of its proponents. No dangerous legislation is more dangerous than that which is proposed for a good purpose in good faith, but ignorantly or recklessly with reference to its inherent powers of evil development.

The so-called "Comstock laws" of Congress, for instance, were proposed merely for the suppression of salacious literature, an object so beneficent that few wished to oppose them and most of those who wished to, dared not. Yet they lodged in a Federal bureau a new power, which, partly by supplemental legislation and partly by bureaucratic development, has reached a point high up in the scale of despotic government. One Department can now absolutely deprive any man of legitimate postal rights for life, upon a charge of petty fraud and without a judicial trial (vol. xii, p. 700). Another Department can prevent the return from a trip abroad of any American citizen, whether native born or naturalized, upon a mere charge, without judicial trial, that he is a foreigner and comes within an immigrant exclusion law (vol. viii, p. 98, vol. xiii, p. 388). The Comstock laws were not intended to develop any such revolutionary and despotic results; but in less than forty years they have done it.

Would it not be wise then to reflect upon the despotic possibilities of the Owen bill, rather than sanction it upon no better basis than that in some respects it is desirable and that its proponents' intentions are good?

This bill establishes a Department of Public Health under a Secretary of Public Health. With powers carefully defined, that part of the bill would be unobjectionable. If the defined powers were strictly appropriate to national administration and not otherwise capable of the best execution, it would be desirable.

The bill consolidates all existing health bureaus (except army and navy) into the new Department. To this there can be no reasonable objection, provided the act of consolidation does no more than to consolidate.

The remainder of the bill is so general in its terms that no one can tell in advance what the department's jurisdiction might not be.

If the courts were construing Federal laws as they used to, the very vagueness of the bill might be a guaranty of safety; for vague clauses would be strictly construed against the Department. No power would be recognized by the courts unless clearly expressed or a necessary implication. But inasmuch as the courts now construe Federal laws liberally in favor of grants of power, it is impossible to foresee the dangers that may lurk in those vague and general terms.

If the Owen bill specifically restricted the powers of the proposed Department to the preservation of the public health, if it were clear that the bill grants no further powers than Prof. Fisher thinks it does when he says that "a Department of Health has really nothing to do with the medical art," but "is really for the purpose of preventing diseases by preventing the pollution of streams, by preventing the adulteration of foods, by preventing the importation of bubonic plague and yellow fever, by investigating health conditions and disseminating information"—if these and kindred purposes were so specified in the bill that the new department could not spill over into a national bureaucratic regulator of medical practice, the bill would deserve the most cordial support of everybody. National sanitation has become a necessity. But Prof. Fisher's present understanding of the purpose of the Owen bill will be no factor in its interpretation by the Department or by the courts if it becomes a law.

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It is interesting, though not reassuring, to know that Prof. Fisher thinks the opponents of the Owen bill "seem to have overlooked the fact that the Federal government has no power to regulate the practice of medicine, or to restrict medical freedom, even if this were intended, which it is not." But some at least of the op-

ponents of the bill have not overlooked Prof. Fisher's confidence in that respect. One of them is Edmund Vance Cooke, whose open letter on this point to Prof. Fisher is well worth quoting as a thoughtful, fair minded, courteous and readable contribution to this controversy:

I am sincerely interested in the conservation of the public health, and just as sincerely interested in medical freedom, as are you, but I own I am not yet able to look upon the establishment of a bureau of health or a National Department of Health, without suspicion.

Part of this suspicion is based upon the arbitrary and sometimes outrageous acts of municipal and State boards of health already constituted, and to the unjust and sometimes malicious prosecutions under some of our medical laws in various States. I hardly need to call your attention to instances of these, though I can do so if you desire.

Without questioning your fairness of intent, or that of the Committee of One Hundred, many of whom I respect and admire, as every man must, for their various works and accomplishments, I would ask what reason there is for supposing that a national bureau would be any less biased than a State bureau, especially if under the control of medical men, as it naturally would be?

Please note that I am not a Christian Scientist, nor any similar cultist, have patronized members of various schools of medicine, have no commercial interest in any direction either for or against, and number warm friends among the physicians. I feel therefore that I am not speaking from prejudices, unless it be a prejudice in favor of human freedom, along with human health, when I say that, in my opinion, physicians as a rule are not qualified to be trusted with the absoluteness of executive power appertaining to a Departmental head.

Some of them are, of course, but more are not; not from any lack of personal probity, but because of temperament and training. The autocracy of the sick room becomes temperamental. When you, as a professor of economics, make a statement in favor of free trade, there is a protectionist bureau handy to contradict you (if it be possible); when I write a poor article there is a conscientious editor handy to waste-basket it; when a lawyer cites poor law, there is an opposing attorney ready to take advantage of it. But when a physician says thus-and-so to a patient, who is there to say him nay?

Generations of this have generated an autocratic form of thought, both personal and professional. The average physician is impatient of the smallest contradiction or opposition by a layman, and physicians as a class are extremely sensitive to the demands of "professional courtesy" and the esprit de corps of their calling. Their professional "class consciousness" is out of all proportion. The rest of us would be the same if similarly trained, so this is not urged against the physician personally or professionally, but departmentally, statistically, scientifically.

The second part of the suspicion I have mentioned comes from some internal evidence in the documents you submit. You state that the Federal government could not, if it would, regulate the practice of

medicine. Doubtless you refer to Amendment X to the Constitution. But if anything could abrogate this Article, a Department would be the very thing to accomplish it.

For example, Amendment V to the Constitution states that no man shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. But the circular of the Public Health Defense League which you send, shows how this Article is abrogated, and gloats over the accomplishment. It points out how forty-three persons were led into a "clever trap," and how fifty-two were barred from use of the mails, the specific order being "to treat as fictitious all mail addressed to the parties listed," this being done as far as one can see from the reading, "without due process of law,"—that is to say, without a trial either before a court or a jury, and in some of the cases evidently without a hearing even by the post-office inspector.

Of course it will be urged that those men were "frauds," "criminals," "violators of laws and morals," or even "unspeakable fiends," as the circular phrases some of them. But while this may make a defense of their rights a little repugnant and ungrateful in the eyes of thoughtless people, it is none the less our earnest duty (yours, mine and that of all the rest of us) to defend those rights.

How do we know they were frauds and criminals? From the pamphlet submitted, we have nothing but the word of those called upon or hired to prosecute or entrap them and the decision of a minor Departmental official.

Now, please note (again according to the circular) that these people were deprived of all use of the mail, not only for the prosecution of these allegedly fraudulent businesses, but for all purposes. That practically bars them from every legitimate business, does it not? It bars them from receiving mail from every source—a man from his wife, a mother from her child, etc. If this be not the same in these cases (there is nothing to show that it is not), it has been true in other cases.

Now, as society is at present constituted, if this is not depriving the victims of liberty and "property," even the right to make a living legitimately, what is? And it is done "without process of law," accomplished through a Department of our government (and a necessary Department), and made a matter for congratulation on the part of a society whose purpose is to defend the public health.

There is an illustration for you of how little the Constitution matters between friends, when administered Departmentally. I am sure that you must agree that this is a more serious matter than the alleged violations of law which it is said it remedied. I am sure that you will see that once we agree to and submit to such arbitrary Departmental ideas of justice, it will be just as logical for a Department of Health to forbid the mailing of anything which it conceives to be "fraudulent," or even for a department of political economy to interdict the literature of the New England Free Trade League.

It would be impertinent in me to point out to as learned a man as you that infringements upon human liberties uniformly begin upon the most defenseless classes, and that if we would keep our own rights, we must defend the rights of the weakest, or even the most vicious.

I have every desire to further the "regulation of misbranding foods and drugs," to guard against "the pollution of streams," to further sanitation, and in other ways to promote the public health, but let us be very sure what we are doing before establishing what may become a Departmental autocracy.

Very truly yours,

EDMUND VANCE COOKE.

30 Mayfield Rd., Cleveland, June 18, 1910.

P. S.—I trust it is plain from the foregoing that the objection is not to the punishment of frauds, but to the punishment of alleged frauds "without due process of law."

Frauds, impostors, charlatans, criminals ought to be punished, but punished for definite offenses, definitely tried. Even "quacks" should be punished (if we can determine what a quack is), and "regulars" as well, for definite offenses.

Apropos of quacks, in the court cases cited in some pamphlet of the Public Health Defense League, there are two advertisements which upon their face are entirely unobjectionable, one of an osteopath, one of a hydropath. The record merely says that they were fined under Section 163, but the definite offense is not given. Section 163 is capable of so broad an interpretation that one is justified in asking, were they fined for definite offenses, or merely because they were "quacks"? If because they were "quacks", what is a "quack"?

In another part of your literature, you refer to the opposition of "a Denver quack." Do you, or do you not, refer to Dr. J. H. Tilden of that city? If you do, why is he called a "quack"?

These questions are not unimportant, as they determine to a large extent your attitude of mind, and, in so far as you represent the Committee of One Hundred, the Committee's attitude, and, by inference, the probable attitude of a "Department of Health."

E. V. C.

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With the history of the aggressions of Washington bureaucracy, including the refusal of the courts to protect individual rights which the Departments override—with this history before us, we are not so keen as some of our good friends would have us be, to urge the passage of the Owen bill, without better assurances than any of its friends have yet given, that it would not result in establishing a national bureaucratic censorship of private medical practice. Nor are we quite sure that it might not cap a climax of medical despotism by establishing under bureaucratic coercion the hellish desexualization proposals which some sociologists, some penologists, some surgeons and some other "scientific" degenerates are urging.

A national sanitary Department? Yes. But a Department empowered to perform any function "not inconsistent with law," as the Owen bill provides, No.

A Department "to supervise all matters within the control of the Federal government relating to the public health and to diseases of animal life," which the Owen bill also provides, No.

A Department to establish not only chemical and biological, but "other standards necessary to the efficient administration of said Department," as the Owen bill further provides, No.

Why object to those clauses? Because no one can discern their boundaries. What functions of such a Department might not be held to be consistent with law? What "diseases of animal life" might not be considered both human and Federal? What "standards" are necessary to the efficient administration of the Department?

If those general words are not designed to authorize Federal control over the medical art, they are dangerously loose. If they might authorize Federal control over the medical art, they are contrary to Prof. Fisher's statement of the intent of the bill. Fair dealing with the public demands that limiting provisos be inserted in the bill so as to keep its operation clearly within the scope which Prof. Fisher indicates when he says the bill is for the purpose of "preventing diseases by preventing the pollution of streams, by preventing the adulteration of foods, by preventing the importation of bubonic plague and yellow fever, by investigating health conditions and disseminating information."

It would be a gross fraud if intentional, and an outrage any way, if on pretense of effecting only those purposes, ulterior powers were conferred upon a national medical bureau. Stamping out unorthodox schools of medicine, outlawing new schools as they may appear, enforcing vaccination crusades, promoting illicit sexual relations by enforcing medical rules in restraint of conventional marriage relations, and desexualizing by bureaucratic decree—all within the possibilities under the Owen bill if it becomes a law—are not to be tolerated without specific and unmistakable legislation, if at all.

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No measure for creating a national Department of health should be enacted without safety provisos definitely limiting the powers of the proposed Department. The crucial question is not one of intention on the part of promoters, nor of motive on the part of opponents, nor yet of the sources of funds used by either. The crucial question relates directly to the despotic Departmental powers which such a law, without safety provisos, might confer.

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It is the quiet years that are sometimes the most dangerous. Time gives a sanction to wrongs that at first seem intolerable. There is a kind of statute of limitations in regard to national mistakes and crimes.
—David G. Haskins, Jr.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

GOVERNOR FOLK AND THE PRESIDENCY.

Excelsior Springs, Mo., June 30.

Many democratic Democrats are inclined to look with favor upon the avowed candidacy of ex-Governor Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri, for President. They are satisfied, to a greater or less extent, with his record, and with the declarations of political faith which he has from time to time put forth. In a party situation characterized by a paucity of available candidates, he has appealed to many as the best solution of the Democratic problem.

A few weeks spent in Missouri is calculated, however, to dishearten the Folk advocate. There is no apparent possibility that he will have behind him a State delegation sincerely favorable to his nomination. There is every prospect, indeed, that, while the party machine is ostentatiously committed to his support, it will give him a State delegation that will plunge the knife into him at the earliest and most available opportunity.

One bitter anti-Folk Democrat in Kansas City admitted to me that such was the intention.

"We are for Folk for President," he said, "because we know he can't be nominated. We'll give him a delegation that will be for him until he has a chance to win. Then we'll roll him. Meantime, by setting him to chasing the Presidential nomination, we've eliminated him from the Senatorial contest."

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To an outsider it looks as though Mr. Folk had permitted his enemies to beguile him into the Presidential race and out of the Senatorial contest. Widespread disgust with the Taft administration is almost certain to sweep Missouri back into the Democratic column this fall, and William Warner, the present standpat-Republican Senator, will doubtless be succeeded by a Democrat. With Folk eliminated, the field is left to ex-Governor David R. Francis, of St. Louis, and ex-Mayor James T. Reed of Kansas City, either of whom is satisfactory to the privileged interests.

However progressive the rank and file of Missouri Democrats may be—and they have been accounted ultra-progressive—the undeniable truth is that their party machinery is in the hands of bourbons, reactionaries and mercenaries. The machine was strong enough in 1908, in a direct primary and with a reasonably full vote, to defeat Folk for the Senate and return the odorous "Gum-Shoe Bill" Stone, whose very presence in the Senate is a reproach to the Democratic party. And this machine counts upon its ability to control Missouri's delegation to the next national convention.

The machine has bowed to the popular will by ostensibly indorsing Mr. Folk for President; but, under cover of that concession to public sentiment and State pride, it will seek to select a delegation subject to its orders and which at heart will be disloyal to the candidate. The selection of such a delegation ought not to be a difficult task for the

machine, in view of its apparent accord with the popular will, and of the usual public indifference upon such matters.

Like all political rings, the Missouri organization is, of course, allied with and imbibes sustenance from every predatory corporation and privileged interest which does business in Missouri. Folk cannot be handled by these interests. He has tried to put their servants in jail—not, it must be admitted, with much success. But that is why the machine hates him, why it will never forgive him, and why it will oppose any aspiration, Senatorial or Presidential, which he may cherish now or in the future.

The liquor element, always allied with machine politics, has a special grievance of its own against Governor Folk. He enforced the Sunday law and other saloon restrictions while he was Governor, with the result that the entire "liberal" element of the State is bitterly hostile to him. The voting strength of this element in St. Louis and Kansas City, alone, not to mention the other smaller cities and towns of the State, is tremendous.

Missouri contains a large Democratic element, which, for want of a better term, must be denominated "mossback." With this element the beginning and ending of all things is party regularity. These people by the thousands have become convinced, through insistent machine insinuation, that Folk "is not a good Democrat." His tendency toward political independence is a sin, not a virtue, in their eyes. They honestly believe that his course has been responsible for the fact that the State has gone Republican in the last two Presidential elections, and especially do they point to the fact that the same election which made him Governor gave Missouri's electoral vote to Roosevelt.

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Mr. Folk is wanting in qualities of political leadership. He lacks personal popularity. It is no exaggeration to say that he is unpopular, especially with the urban dwellers of the State. What personal popularity he has is among the rural population.

Unlike some other reformers—La Follette, Cummins, Ben Lindsey and others—Mr. Folk has not had a succession of political victories to give him prestige, and to inspire fear in the hearts of his enemies. Only once has he won on his merits. That was when he was elected Governor. He was made circuit attorney by the St. Louis machine in the mistaken belief that he would prove pliant. The Governorship came to him as a result of his exposures of corruption in Missouri's public life. When he aspired to the Senatorship, while still Governor, he was beaten.

Many reformers and fundamental democrats do not take kindly to Mr. Folk. They regard him as a selfish man, bent solely on gratifying his own ambition. They call him platitudinous, and declare that his platitudes are not based on sincere conviction. His personal mode of life, it is charged, do not square with his public professions. Of course it is easy to pass such criticism as theirs upon any man, and it may not be fair to Mr. Folk. But the fact remains that, in face of generally recognized machine hostility, there is lacking on the other hand any spontaneous or enthusiastic movement in his behalf.

Take it all in all, it does not seem probable at this time at least, that Mr. Folk will be a commanding figure in the Democratic Presidential race.

D. K. L.

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THE OREGON GRANGERS.

Oregon City, Ore., June 30, 1910.

The Oregon Grange, which a year ago denounced the political machinists of Oregon, has this year again invited the agents, tools and newspapers of special privilege to count it among the progressive institutions of the country. The kind of men it condemned last year are trying this year to break down the initiative and referendum and the direct primary. But while the corporation agents and press were using epithets and appealing to prejudice in their attempt to persuade the people to return to the Sodom and Gomorrah days of Oregon politics and legislation, including the auction-block method of electing United States Senators, and to defeat the progressive measures to be voted on in November, the State Grange, at its annual meeting in Oregon City in May, urged all Grangers to study public questions on their merits, regardless of prejudice, names, epithets and personalities. The following "general report of the committee on legislation" was unanimously adopted:

We do earnestly urge the members of our order to study the science and administration of government in Oregon and in other States and nations. By such an example we believe our fellow Grangers can greatly aid in the progress of our State.

Among the subjects which we believe to be worthy of especial study are the forms on which the executive and administrative departments of our State and county governments are organized. The judiciary department is also justly criticised for delays and expenses in court proceedings. Many students say we could learn much from foreign governments and private corporations as to more efficient forms of organization in these departments of our government.

In this study we should always be on guard against our prejudices. Let us not forget that we owe Australia for our ballot system, Switzerland for our direct legislation, Los Angeles for our recall, ancient England for our Bill of Rights, as well as modern England for much of our corrupt practices law, and Wisconsin and Minnesota for the foundation of our direct primary law.

Therefore, we recommend to the members of our order that they shall be always on watch for other ideas and principles that can be profitably appropriated and adapted by the people in the Constitution and laws of Oregon. In doing this we should have no fear of names, either of principles or parties. The value of an idea cannot be lessened or increased by branding it "government ownership," "home rule," or "local option," either in bonding or taxation.

The value of a suggestion cannot depend on the popular name of those who present it, whether they be called "good road advocates," "Republicans," "socialists," "single taxers," "general property taxers," "prohibitionists" or "adventists." Let us consider the proposal rather than the proposer.

In conclusion, we do most earnestly urge the members of our order and the voters of Oregon, under all circumstances and at all times, to advocate and vote for every measure which will increase the power of the people of Oregon to control every department of their government, especially in applying just methods of taxation and the prudent spending of public money. The

voters can never get too much or too direct power of government, nor become too perfect in its practice.

These resolutions were adopted by the Grange upon the recommendation of B. F. Laughlin, J. E. Clark, W. Morrill, J. C. Miller and A. C. Staten, the committee on legislation.

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Perhaps, to a man outside of Oregon, those recommendations don't seem to touch any political jade on a raw spot; but the man on the inside sees that they are a left hook on an ulcerated political tooth belonging to special privilege, which is working three shifts a day this year to defeat the "more power" measures that will be on the ballot next November.

More power for the people means less power for special privilege, as special privilege has discovered since the initiative and referendum, the direct primary law, and other "people's power" measures have trimmed the politicians and ex-bosses up and down until they have to wear labels to recognize one another. The noise made by them and their newspaper organs is a daily reminder to the whole State of Oregon that if you walk through a bunch of cats and happen to step on one tail, you can always tell which cat that tail belongs to.

One might write a ream of what the special privilege corporations in Oregon are doing this year to defeat the "more power" measures; but what's the use? They are doing the same old things—including making promises to develop the State—and every man who knows why political wheels buzz knows what those things are.

However, the corporations in Oregon are doing one thing that is not on their program: They are convincing some men in Oregon who never believed it before that neither in this nor in any other State can the people have full self-government, and the best pocketbook results from government, until they own and operate their public utilities. For it is easier for a camel to turn a handspring through a napkin ring than for a corporation that has the taxing power to quit meddling in politics.

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The resolutions of the Oregon Grange, while they do not mention the instructive speech made by Senator Bourne in the Senate on May 5, are really a strong endorsement of all that he said about the value of people's political power as exemplified in Oregon. The Grange urges all voters to disregard names and personalities, and "under all circumstances and at all times to advocate and vote for every measure which will increase the power of the people." And, finally, it nails this truth to its flagstaff: "The voters can never get too much or too direct power of self-government, nor become too perfect in its practice."

That is the Grange's answer to the political machinists and corporation papers that are willing the people should have the initiative and referendum and other political powers—provided they don't use them.

But the people of Oregon do use their powers, and the way of the ex-boss is hard. No matter which way he turns he rips his trousers on a "people's power" barbed wire fence. Every time he

slips his hand into the people's pocket he finds it caught by direct primary, or initiative and referendum, or recall, or corrupt practices fish hooks. It's worse than anything a comet could do to him. He thunders in editorial columns at the "arrogance" and "rebellion" of the people against "constituted authority," and the voters go right along doing their chores until election day. Then they vote, and tie another rope around his legs.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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THE SINGLE TAX IN CANADA.

Winnipeg, June 24.

Prince Albert, Sask., a progressive town of about 8,000 population largely devoted to lumbering, milling and trading, is making an effort to secure legislation from the Provincial government to put a single tax system in force there. The Council has already unanimously passed a resolution favoring the single tax, and a committee is now busy going into the whole question. The move had its origin with Ald. O. B. Manville, who has given the taxation question a very considerable amount of attention.

Since Vancouver took the lead in adopting the single tax (p. 444), the municipal authorities in many western Canadian cities and towns have given the matter favorable consideration. We look for a marked movement in this direction. The experience of Vancouver has this year been one of unprecedented building activity.

ROBERT L. SCOTT.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

JOSEPH FELS IN DENMARK.

Olstykke, Denmark, June 17, 1910.

Two eminent citizens of the United States have lately visited Denmark: Mr. Theodore Roosevelt and Mr. Joseph Fels, the former in May, the latter in June. Mr. Roosevelt came as a whirlwind over our little country, raising a large cloud of dust, particularly newspaper dust. Mr. Fels came as a refreshing breeze on a sultry day, raising no dust of any kind, but giving new vigor to many of those who bear the burden and the heat of the day.

And sultry it is, indeed, in Denmark just now, that is to say, politically. The conservative and moderate forces have rallied against democracy, and are eagerly endeavoring to put the people in fear of socialism, single tax, equal suffrage, and the like. And they have so far succeeded that at the election in May they got the majority of seats in Folketinget (our House of Commons). Consequently our present Radical-Liberal ministry will have to retire, and we shall no doubt very soon have a Moderate-Conservative government, that will favor no radical measures.

As for Mr. Roosevelt, I did not long to see him. Quite the reverse with regard to Mr. Fels.

On Sunday, June 12, Mr. Fels visited the Housemen's agricultural college near Odense, where he spoke to an audience mostly consisting of small holders. The following days Mr. Fels was in Copenhagen, whence he made trips to the agricultural col-

lege at Lyngby and to the high school (peasants' college for young people) near Roskilde. Tuesday, June 14, Mr. Fels addressed Danish single taxers at a meeting in Grøndtvijs Hús, Copenhagen, about the land value taxation movement in Great Britain. At this meeting Mr. Fels made the proposal that a central office for single tax propaganda in Denmark be started in Copenhagen, and he surprised us by offering to give \$2,500 toward the establishing of such an office. This generous offer was received with great applause by the audience, and Mr. Fels' plan will most probably be carried out soon. At the same meeting two of our English friends, Mr. John Orr and Mr. Cawood, who accompanied Mr. Fels on his journey here, gave very interesting accounts of the energetic work which the United Committee for the taxation of Land Values is doing in Great Britain.

Wednesday, June 15, a festival dinner was given to Mr. Fels and his British companions at Lange-linies Pavillon, Copenhagen. Speeches were here made by Mr. Folke-Rasmussen, chairman of the Copenhagen Branch of the Danish Henry George League. Mr. Fels, Mrs. Signe Bjorner, Mr. S. Berthelsen, Mr. Wedel, Mr. Villads Christensen and the Minister of the Interior, Dr. P. Munch.

T. LARSEN.

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, July 5, 1910.

Republican Insurgency in Iowa.

When the county conventions in Iowa met on the 2d, the delegates recently chosen (pp. 561, 583) elected delegates to the State convention. From 58 counties the State delegations are Insurgent solid, and from 36 they are Standpat solid. The Insurgents are now expected to control the State convention by a majority of 155.

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A large number of the Insurgent county conventions not only endorsed Senators Cummings and Dolliver but also called upon President Taft to remove cabinet members who have attempted to read Insurgents out of the Republican party for insisting "that Congress redeem the pledges made at the last national convention." The principles of conservation as laid down by Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot were endorsed.

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Mr. Roosevelt and the New York Legislature.

At the request of Gov. Hughes, Theodore Roosevelt sent an open message to a friend in the New

York legislature advocating the Cobb direct primary bill, the consideration of which was one of the objects of the special session (p. 614); but the lower house defeated the measure on the 30th by the following vote:

Ayes—Republican, 40; Democrats, 40; total, 80.
Noes—Republicans, 50; Democrats, 12; independent, 1; total, 63.

The measure was defeated in the Senate on the 1st by 25 to 19. A resolution to adjourn on the 1st had been adopted by both houses on the 29th, and at the appointed hour the special session accordingly came to an end.

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A "Sane Fourth of July."

Movements for a rational and safe observance of Independence Day (vol. xii, p. 660) bore fruit this year in most of the larger cities of the country, the casualty lists being almost everywhere greatly reduced. In many cities parades and military tournaments supplied amusement in place of the prohibited fireworks. As an indication of the extent of the reform, reports from the Portland, Oregon, custom house show that practically no duty was collected on fire crackers this year, as against \$200,000 which the importations of crackers from China netted the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909.

NEWS NOTES

—William J. Bryan arrived at Quebec on the 29th from Bristol, England, after an absence of six weeks.

—The Iowa Socialists held their State convention at Des Moines on the 4th, and nominated John M. Work for governor.

—Port Arthur, in Manchuria (vol. xi, p. 393), on the 1st was thrown open by the Japanese to the shipping of all nations.

—The Chicago school board has consented to allow the use of assembly halls in the public schools for local social centers.

—A new Danish (p. 586) cabinet has been formed, with Klaus Bernstein, minister of the interior in 1909, as Premier and minister of defense.

—Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, died suddenly on the 4th, at his summer home at Sorrento, Maine.

—At the Republican convention of Maine on the 29th, President Taft's administration was endorsed and Gov. Bert M. Fernald was renominated.

—Samuel Douglas McEnery, Senator from Louisiana, died at New Orleans on the 28th at the age of 74. He was serving his third term as Senator.

—The American Federation of Zionists (vol. xi, p. 370; vol. xii, pp. 515, 1257) opened its 13th annual convention at Pittsburgh on the 3rd. A telegram from the London correspondent of a New York

Jewish newspaper was read, saying the Turkish government had conceded the right of Jews to hold property in Turkey.

—The Italian astronomer, Professor Giovanni Virginio Schiaparelli, who discovered the canal-like markings on the planet Mars in 1877, died on the 4th.

—President Taft and Theodore Roosevelt met for the first time since Mr. Roosevelt's return (p. 584), at President Taft's summer home in Beverly, Mass., on the 30th.

—John W. Daniel, Senator from Virginia, died last week at the age of 68. He was an officer in the Confederate army during the Civil war, and had been Senator continuously since 1887.

—The eighth international Railway Congress began its sessions at Berne, Switzerland, on the 4th, with 1,500 representatives of private and government railways in nearly all parts of the world.

—The British Budget for 1910-11 was introduced in the House of Commons on the 30th by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George. It is the same in substance as is the Budget of 1909-10.

—After a rehearing on the law for paroling prisoners which the Supreme Court of Illinois recently held to be unconstitutional (p. 181), this court, on the 29th, reversed that decision and sustained the law.

—Reading the Bible, singing hymns and praying as school exercises in the public schools of Illinois, were held on the 29th by the Supreme Court of the State to be a form of religious worship and therefore unlawful.

—Automobile campaigning through Illinois in behalf of woman suffrage was begun last week, the principal participants being Dr. Anna E. Blount, Catherine Waugh McCullough, the Rev. Kate Hughes, and Helen M. Todd.

—The Fourth of July prize fight at Reno, Nevada (pp. 585, 613), between James J. Jeffries, the white man champion, and John A. Johnson, the Negro aspirant, came off according to program, and Johnson won the fight in the fifteenth round.

—A general strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was directed on the 4th by the overwhelming vote of 18,771 to 615. The demand is for higher wages and shorter hours. The balloting had been in progress for three days at 79 East Tenth street, New York City.

—John Z. White is to lecture at the Elgin (Ill.) Chautauqua, Chautauqua Park, on the 14th and 15th: at 2:30 on the 14th, on Robert Burns; at 8 p. m. on the same day, on the Des Moines plan of commission government for cities; and at 2:30 on the 15th, on the French Revolution.

—The "Antigone" of Sophocles, with its ancient Greek done into English, was performed in the open-air Greek theater of the University of California at Berkeley, on the 30th, before 8,000 people. The part of Antigone was taken by Margaret Anglin. The performance is described as being most impressive and elevating.

—A bill to alter the coronation oath of the King of England (p. 468) from its old form, which is offensive to Roman Catholics, to a form in which the

King declares himself a faithful member of the Church of England and that he will maintain the laws securing a Protestant succession, passed first reading in the House of Commons on the 28th by 383 to 42.

—The city's share of net receipts from the Chicago traction companies (55 per cent), applied by the "settlement ordinances" to the purchase of traction property for municipal ownership, was held by the Supreme Court of Illinois on the 29th to be legally available for the construction of subways. At that time the fund accumulated amounted to \$4,338,563.32.

—The General Conference of Friends for 1910 will be in session at Ocean Grove, N. J., July 7 to 13. Scott Nearing of the University of Pennsylvania and Swarthmore College will speak on "The Place of Social Welfare in a Religious Program" on the 7th at 8 p. m. On the 8th at 10 a. m., R. Barclay Spicer, editor of the Friends' Intelligencer, will speak on "The Bible and the Child."

—At a meeting of radical-Liberal members of the British Parliament on the 29th, presided over by Sir Charles Dilke, a memorial to the Prime Minister was adopted which protested against any compromise on the question of abrogating the veto power of the House of Lords. It has since been reported, though not yet verified, that the conference on this subject (p. 613) has failed to reach an agreement.

—Dr. Alice Hamilton, a long time resident of Hull House, Chicago, received on the 30th the honorary degree of Master of Arts from the University of Michigan. Until recently she was assistant to Dr. Ludwig Hektoen, head of the Memorial Laboratory for the Study of Infectious Diseases. She is a graduate of the medical department of the University of Michigan, and has made special studies at the Universities of Munich and Leipzig and at the Institute at Frankfort. Her contributions to medical literature have given her distinction in the medical profession.

—A new free public bathing beach at Lincoln Park, Chicago, between Diversey and Fullerton avenues, was opened on the 3rd. Six thousand new bathing suits and towels had been provided. A system of lockers and checking stations has been installed. Each applicant is furnished with a bathing suit, towel and bar of soap free of charge. Twenty-four attendants look after the distributing and collecting of towels and bathing suits. Every bathing suit and towel is sent to the laundry immediately after using, and is thoroughly sterilized before being used again.

PRESS OPINIONS

Theodore Roosevelt, His Popularity.

The (Newark, N. J.) Crown, June (religious).—The people who were enthusiastic over Dr. Cook are enthusiastic over Mr. Roosevelt. They were no surer that Dr. Cook discovered the North Pole than they are that Mr. Roosevelt is a great statesman. Cook's fatal mistake was in running away. If he had stayed and bluffed it out, he would today occupy the place in polar discovery that Roosevelt does in

politics. A people who can get over the stench of the Roosevelt-Harriman corruption fund of \$260,000 would not balk at a little thing like the want of Polar proofs.

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Palsied by the Great Fear.

The Commoner (Dem.), June 10.—When it was proposed to publish Senator Bourne's speech on the Oregon use of the primary, the naming of senators by direct vote of the people, the initiative and the referendum, and the recall, Senator Gallinger objected. Admittedly Senator Bourne's speech was interesting and instructive. There are many calls for that speech. Why, then, did the Republican senator from Vermont object to its circulation among the people? The reason is plain. It is not to the interest of the Republican party that the people be educated in the way of making popular government practical and effective.

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Self-Government.

(Portland) Oregon Journal (ind.), June 19.—Plutocracy has been defined as the rule of the rich; aristocracy as the rule of the select; absolute monarchy as the rule of a man on horseback. None have been satisfactory. The people struggle for democracy, for self-government. We have that now in Oregon more than in any other State in this country. Public servants are more responsive to the popular will and to the needs of the masses than anywhere else in this country. Everybody assumes that the people are fit for self-government—for the reign of democracy. There has been a vast volume of vapid talk about it. But now, in Oregon, we have it, or something approaching it. It seems to be working fairly well. The democracy, the mass, the majority may make some mistakes. The people are in many ways imperfect. But they do not really need political guardians, advisers and managers as much as many who desire to be such guardians, advisers and managers imagine.

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Exports of Public Wealth for Private Use.

The (London) Land Values (taxation of land values), June.—Another illustration of almost fabulous land values is this week forthcoming from New York, revealed by the death of Count Waldemar Orlova, of Berlin, who has left estate valued at £3,600,000. He was the owner of tens of thousands of acres of the richest agricultural land in Germany and the noble castle of Budeshelm, but the bulk of his wealth lay, not in these, but in a small freehold plot in Wall street, upon which there stands a thirty-story skyscraper, land which came into his possession by his marriage thirty years ago with the American heiress, Miss Mortimer. This is a story from the Estates Gazette of May 7th. The Count took a prominent part in German politics recently. We are sometimes inclined to wonder where all the wealth comes from, the evidences of which are seen in such cities as London and Berlin. This story partly explains it. We are sometimes asked to admire the excess of exports from some countries over their imports, but we fail to see the advantage to Americans of having to send to Berlin substan-

tial wealth to the amount represented by the land values created by their industry in New York.

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How a City Creates Wealth.

The Saturday Evening Post (ind.), June 18.—New York was laid out in blocks that are very short north and south and very long east and west. This was wrong, because the main flow of traffic is north and south. There should have been as many streets running in that direction as running east and west. From Fifth avenue to Sixth avenue is more than eight hundred feet. Mayor Gaynor suggests that, to relieve traffic congestion, the city might open a new thoroughfare midway between those two avenues. This would involve buying a solidly built strip of land in the heart of the city, a hundred feet in width, from Fourteenth street to Fifty-ninth. A great many costly structures would have to come down. The cost is estimated at thirty-five to fifty million dollars. But it is estimated, also, that the new street would enhance the value of property between Fifth and Sixth avenues even more than that. If one man owned all the land and costly buildings between the two avenues he could make money by tearing down the structures on the hundred-foot strip and dedicating the strip to the city for a street. We mention this as an interesting illustration of the amazing power of a city to create wealth. If the proposed improvement were a park or fountain or new pavement it might not be quite so obvious that it would more than pay for itself in dollars and cents; but in most cases that would be the fact. It is interesting, also, because it suggests that the city might well claim a large share of the wealth which it is constantly creating for individual lot-owners.

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"But Ye Enter Not In."

The Fayette (Ohio) Review (ind.), June 16.—The fellows who own and drive the largest and most expensive automobiles don't know the first principle about the construction of an automobile and couldn't make the first part of one if they wanted to. The fellows who make these machines can't own or use any of them. The men who own the big estates in the world don't know anything about farming and couldn't manage them if they wanted to. The fellows who manage and farm these estates couldn't own them if they wanted to. The men who own the rights of the big and powerful and delicate machinery that does so much of the world's work couldn't make one if they wanted to. The fellows who make and understand every part of them couldn't own one if they wanted to. The fellows who own the railroads and the monster engines that transport millions of tons of freight and thousands of human lives to different parts of the world couldn't make an engine or build a railroad if they tried ever so hard. The fellows who make these machines and construct the cars, the locomotives and everything that is necessary in transportation, couldn't own an inch of railroad or the wheel on a locomotive no matter what their wishes in the matter. The men who own the richly appointed palaces and mansions in every part of the country couldn't make an intelligible drawing for a cupboard in those man-

sions no matter how much they tried. The fellows who construct these fine places for the sports of millionaires can't have any one of them, and live in shacks and hovels. It's so no matter where you look. The men and women in the world that invent and build have none of the things they make. The fellows who do nothing in the matter of production are the ones that own not only the product but the producer; not only the invention but the inventor; not only the construction but the constructor. Think of it a minute and then ask yourself if there isn't something radically wrong in a system that deprives a man of possessing the products of his own labor, and gives to the man that is not a producer and couldn't be if he wanted to, the labor and person of the other? O, yes, there's a remedy, but we are not trying to apply it; no, not even trying to learn what it is.

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The Uses of Logic.

Harper's Weekly (ind.), May 21.—No one is born to logic, more than he is born to virtue. We have painfully to learn the art in each case; but some are born with an aptitude, and, in the former case as well as the latter, that is worth cultivating. Virtue is always desirable, as the gorse is always in blossom, but logic at the moment is out of vogue. Yet it too is a great good, worth a great premium and a long apprenticeship, if only as subsidiary to the other. Logic never made a life easier, but it makes it wiser, kinder and far profounder. And beyond peradventure the life deep-rooted, high-reaching, the life which is lived not at the surface, but at the lower levels, is the life of blessedness. Vexations may fret the surface, and the storms of desire and dislike and distress may lash it to a foam, but in the depths where the great currents of cause and effect flow recognized and resistless, and the unutterable understandings, the vital passions, underlie all wanes and tides, there peace and power are one. . . . The world does not love pure reason—how, indeed, should the great, gross, overgrown world, with its rule-of-thumb, its rough-and-ready averages, love it? The world is just a big, absurd hobbled-hoy, and likes its own kind, the sort of Simple Simon that fishes for whales in a bucket and would buy ples without a penny. . . . Man thinks, but he also feels; he grows, but he never grows all around at once, therefore he is lopsided. Thus it comes that theory and practice never keep pace. They go together like glove and hand, but rarely are they found together. . . . Truly this is sad—but stay! At last it all works out to the good, to the bringing in of the kingdom. We can count on some to go beyond their bond, and on some one to keep the standard up. Even those poor beggars that do not the good they see, that follow the evil they would not, even they, when loving the unattainable good, abhorring the inexorable evil, with a passion no just man has ever dreamt of, serve the laboring world more strongly and more warmly than they deem. So this logic that lies at the very root of us lightens heaven and hell, makes a man strict with himself, merciful with his fellows, and patient and of good cheer whatever befalls. And, as nothing else can, it makes a man master of the event.

Mr. Roosevelt in England and Egypt.

The (London) Nation (ind. Lib.), June 18. On Tuesday (the 14th) Sir Edward Grey relieved Mr. Roosevelt of all responsibility for his Guildhall speech by adopting it as his own, and even stating that its author had communicated its substance to him beforehand. So far from embarrassing the British Government, or insulting them, it was both friendly and complimentary, and he had seldom listened to anything with greater pleasure. This astonishing statement was backed by a more guarded survey of the Egyptian situation than Mr. Roosevelt's. Sir Edward eulogized Sir Eldon Gorst—whom Mr. Roosevelt's speech had embarrassed and discredited—stated that the charges against him were unfounded and untrue, and added that the whole situation, though bad, had been painted in too dark colors. But he said that Wardani would be executed; hinted at martial law if political crime continued; insisted that the British occupation must remain, and developed a strange doctrine that there could be no further progress in self-government while the "agitation" against that occupation went on. Sir Edward Grey's speech was heard in silence on his own side, and Sir Henry Dalziel, criticising it on Wednesday, said plainly that his attitude to Mr. Roosevelt did not represent the party either in the House or in the country. Not a single Liberal paper had endorsed his speech. He wondered whether Sir Edward Grey would have received Mr. Roosevelt with the same cordiality if he had told us either to govern Ireland or "get out" of it. . . . If it is true of Mr. Roosevelt that he vulgarizes everything he touches, it is also true that he succeeds in stating an issue with a trenchant crudity that focusses public attention. We owe it to him that, twice in one week, the problem of Egypt has been under the review of the House of Commons. We have seen our imperialists range themselves behind his adjectives and his imperatives, to second his plea for some sharp assertion of British ascendancy in Egypt. We have witnessed the still more remarkable confession from Sir Edward Grey that the "big stick" which Mr. Roosevelt waved over the heads alike of Sir Eldon Gorst and the Egyptian people was placed in his hands by the Foreign Secretary, who avows that he watched the use which he made of it with approval and enjoyment. We have also seen a protest of a kind that has been too rare in recent years, from the Radical and Irish benches. Our own complaint of Mr. Roosevelt's interference is mainly that it was a display of ignorance and haste, that it reflected the opinions of a local clique, that it carried with it none of the authority of close study or temperate judgment, that it was calculated to inflame the passions of the Egyptians and the prejudices of the English colony, and, finally, that its manner and phrasing were models of tastlessness, violence, and conceit.

*See Public of June 10, page 541, and Public of June 24, page 591.

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I conceive it is indisputable that to pass over land in a balloon, at whatever height, without the owner's or occupier's license, is technically a trespass.—Sir Frederick Pollock, "Land Laws."

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE TROPICS.

For The Public.

"The legion that never was listed,"
 The soft-lilting rythm and song,
 The starlight, and shadowy tropics,
 The palms—and all that belong;
 The unknown that ever persisted
 In dreams that were epics of bliss,
 Of glory and gain without effort—
 And the visions have faded, like this.

A shimmering hell in a tropic sun
 Where the shadows lie blistered and burnt,
 And the long-drawn days in the blazing rays
 Pass drearily one and one;
 Where the hot palm droops in half-scorched groups
 And the flashing lizards run
 On their fickle ways, as the lightning strays
 And golden quests are won.

A brazen wrath is the river's path,
 Molten and sluggish and sullen,
 Where the lean dug-out and its rough-hewn snout
 Ripples the muddied bath;
 And a blistering strand of white, hot sand
 A quivering fury hath,
 Like a flame burst out from a furnace spout—
 A withering aftermath.

A torrid maze are the crawling days
 On the seared and fevered beaches,
 Where the false, cool mist by the dawn is kissed
 And turns to the fetid haze
 Of a jungle's breath with its threat of death
 And fever's grizly gaze,
 That has taken the grist—a ghastly list—
 To wait the Final Praise.

From dusk to dawn, when the heat is gone,
 The home thoughts nestle and throb,
 And the drifting breeze through the dim, grey trees
 Stirs up the fancies wan
 Of the old, cool life and a white-man's wife
 With a white-man's babes on a lawn,
 Where the soft greens please—yet each morrow
 sees
 The flame that follows the dawn.

From dawn till eve the hot hours leave
 Their mark like a slow-burned scar;
 And a dull, red hate 'gainst the grilling fate,
 Impulse and fevers weave;
 While the days to come—in years their sum—
 The helpless thoughts perceive
 As an endless state, sans time or date
 That only gods relieve.

Rubber or gold—the game is old,
 The lust and lure and venture;
 And the trails gleam white in the tropic night
 Where the restless spirits mould;

A vine-tied cross 'neath the festooned moss,
 Bones in a matting rolled;
 No wrong or right, the loss is slight—
 The world-old fooled of gold.

"The legion that never was listed"—
 The glamor of words in a song,
 The lure of the strange and exotic,
 The drift of the few from the throng;
 The past that was never resisted
 In the ebb or the flow of desire,
 The foolish, the sordid, ambitious,
 Now pay what the gods may require.

CHARLES JOHNSON POST.

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WAR AND MANHOOD.

From Dr. David Starr Jordan's Address Before the
 National Educational Association at the Harvard
 Stadium on July 4, as Reported in the
 Chicago Inter Ocean.

Benjamin Franklin once remarked that the standing army must eventually bring about its own abolition, because it diminishes the size and breed of the human species by monopolizing the flower of the nation, who, in general, cannot marry. Franklin also said: "Wars are not paid for in war times; the bill comes later."

It is not the presence of the Emperor which makes imperialism. It is the absence of the people, the want of men. The decline of a people has but one cause, the decline of the type from which it draws its sires. A herd of men is under the law as a herd of cattle.

Few historians have looked on men as organisms and on nations as dependent on the specific character of those organisms destined for their reproduction. The seeds of destruction are found alone in the influences by which the best men are cut off from parenthood.

More than 3,000,000 men are said to have been victims of the ambition of Napoleon. Millions on millions might have been, but are not, because the best that France could produce were chosen as food for powder. Napoleon seized the young of large stature and left them scattered over European battlefields, and as a result the French people who followed are mostly of small stature.

The marvel of Japan's military prowess in recent years, after 200 years of peace, has been again and again commented on, but that is just what we should expect after six generations, in which there has been no slaughter of the strong, no sacrifice of the courageous. In the peaceful struggle for existence the virile and the brave survived; the idle, weak and the dissipated went to the wall. No nation has ever remained virile and strong after 200 years of incessant battle. Other things being equal, the nation that has known least of war is the most likely to develop strong battalions, with whom victory must rest.

What would be the effect on England if the thousands upon thousands of her young men who have fallen in battle during the last generation could be returned to her, with those that should have been their descendants today? If we may personify the spirit of the nation, England grieves most, not over its unreturning brave, but over those that might have been, but never were, and who, so long as history lasts, can never be.

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SOME SUPPOSED JUST CAUSES OF WAR.

An Address Delivered By Jackson H. Ralston of Washington, D. C., At the New England Arbitration and Peace Congress at Hartford, Conn., May 9, 1910.

Diplomatists and statesmen—we must mention both, for all diplomats are not statesmen and all statesmen are not diplomatists—agree often and so express themselves in treaties, that for honor and vital interests nations may wage what is dignified by the title of “solemn war,” and they must be permitted so to do, at their good pleasure, even though the doors of The Hague tribunal of arbitration swing freely upon their hinges, and possible judges wait the sound of the footsteps of the representatives of litigant states. Honor and vital interests—how sonorous these words sound! Resolve them into their elements: passion, avarice, commercial and territorial aggrandizement; and the result is verbiage so crude as to grate upon modern susceptibilities. Let us continue to use grand words, to conceal ignoble thoughts.

But it is only those aggregations of human units that we call nations, that slay without crime and without judicial punishment—slay, burn, rob and destroy. Why this logically should be the case we are at a loss to understand. Why the inherent rights of the individual to determine such questions as concern his honor or vital interests should be mercilessly abridged, and why cities and towns, and not nations, should be deprived of the full and free exercise of their most violent passions, one is unable to comprehend. Should not the power of both city and nation, or else, of neither, be submitted to the ruling care of the judiciary? Is there anything peculiar about the situation of a city or a state which should deprive them of the free exercise of their faculties? Let us examine into the question by considering first a couple of supposititious cases, either of which may find its full parallel in history, and offering a justification for war fully as well founded as the justification furnished for many wars of the past between nations.

New York, as we all know, is a great collection of human beings, greater than was boasted by all the cities of Greece of whose wars we read with

sanguinary pleasure; greater than Rome possessed after she had subdued all Italy. New Yorkers are overflowing her civic boundaries into New Jersey, even as Japanese are overflowing from Japan into Korea or Manchuria. Let us listen to the musings of a future chieftain of Tammany Hall, whose domain is co-extensive with that of Greater New York. He says: “New York is imperial, and every New Yorker feels the slow, patriotic pride when he gazes on the vast fleets coming from all quarters of the globe to share in the profits of her commerce. The bosom of every home-loving New Yorker must swell with pride as he contemplates her magnificent structures, at once index and emblem of her greatness. Here liberty reigns, here the son of the poorest immigrant, as illustrated in my own person, may become ruler. But with all this, New York is in her swaddling clothes. Imaginary lines bound her on the north, while to the west the jurisdiction of the city is limited by the North River, beyond which a New Yorker may not go without being in danger of losing his political allegiance and being absorbed by an alien community. Every patriotic instinct demands that New York should extend her boundaries so that her sons may have room in which to live and contribute to the glory of their native city.” And with all a subconscious voice whispers, “Let this come to pass and greater will be Tammany and more luscious the spoils thereof.”

What more effective appeal to true patriotism could be made, and when you add the promise to the valiant son of the Bowery or of the Harlem, that the rich lands of the Jerseys shall be theirs, that the super-abundance of their neighbors in cows and corn and strawberries shall be their abundance, can you not imagine with what fervor the embattled warriors of Yorkville and the Bronx, the Bowery and the Battery, would fall upon their weaker neighbors across the North River and openly put to the sword each offending owner of a herd of cows or of a promising strawberry patch? And the cause of war, that is, the ostensible cause of war? No matter. Perhaps a bibulous New Yorker, suffering from the Sunday drought of his city and seeking consolation in Hoboken, has been arrested somewhat roughly and given a disagreeable sample of Jersey justice, against which every city-loving citizen of Manhattan raises protest and cries for war. Anything will do as long as the desire exists for dominion over rich lands across the river, as long, in other words, as the “vital interests” of New York rulers—money always being vital—demands an extension of New York’s power. And now that we have the honor of New York assailed in the person of her intoxicated citizen, vital interests compel war.

And yet we live in such an unmanly, effete and degenerate age and country that should the mighty cohorts of Tammany, desisting from the milder

pleasures of Coney Island, advance upon New Jersey, the United States, whose peace had been disturbed, would speedily put them to rout.

But withal, reason would rest with the Tammany Chieftain. His orators could with propriety contend that the entity he represents was old enough, big enough, rich enough, to be allowed to fight without foreign interference. With patriotic pride could they point to examples of cities less important whose struggles, based upon identical principles, occupy many interesting and laudatory pages of history. With swelling pride could they repel the idea that Californians and Kentuckians and Vermonters, having no knowledge of or sympathy with their patriotic aspirations, should band themselves together to subdue the manly New Yorker struggling only to advance his peculiar civilization.

Their logic, from the standpoint of the Englishman subduing the Boers, the Japanese seizing Manchuria, yes, the American pursuing the Filipino or forcing him to take false oaths of allegiance, would be irresistible. But logic does not always rule, and the New Yorker would find that save by the permission of the Jerseyites and with the leave of yokel representatives gathered in Congress from all parts of the Union and the consent of the New York legislature, the rule of Tammany must remain confined to such parts of the State of New York as the State shall permit.

But let us approach the problem from another point of view. Great as is New York, let us imagine that Boston rivals her in the commerce of the world; that every favoring breeze brings to Boston the largess of the whole globe; that despite all of Gotham's efforts, Boston's growing commercial advantages directly affect New York, whose rent rolls steadily diminish. Figure to yourselves that there arises a new Cato, whose morning and evening editions print at their top in blood red letters, "Delenda est Boston." The public mind becomes attuned to the cry. In an unlucky moment, a Bostonian in New York whose unhappy pronunciation of the letter "a" reveals his origin, becomes involved in difficulties necessitating a visit to the Tombs. Boston peremptorily demands his release. New York scornfully refuses, and New Yorkers are insulted by Boston's wrathful rejoinder. Here again, honor and vital interests demand blood, and under the old logical rule, the solemn arbitrament of war must determine the issue. Alas! once more the men of other places, heedless of the honor of the two cities and blind to all interests save their own, step forward and forbid resort to any other instrumentality than the artificial one of courts if a legal injury may be said to exist. Alas, again, the insult to the honor of the two cities does not constitute an injury of sufficient gravity to be considered by any national court.

But if these suggestions seem the wild vagaries

of imagination, let us take more concrete examples. The drainage of the City of Chicago pours itself out into the Illinois River, and diagonally across the State the current flows to join the purer waters of the Mississippi. Soon the flood reaches St. Louis, and endangers the integrity of its water supply. Shall not every stalwart Missourian who feels his bosom beat with love for his State, fly to arms, cross the Mississippi and relentlessly fall upon the luckless citizens of the State of Illinois? Shall the health, the comfort, the prosperity of Missouri be ruthlessly attacked by a neighboring State and the injury not be wiped out in blood? Must the Missourian stand supinely by while the population of his State becomes decimated by disease set at work by the carelessness of people alien to his State government, and whose actions have conclusively shown their lack of courtesy and civilization? Are not such people worse even than persons whose skins are black or perhaps yellow? Is it not the high mission of St. Louis to carry civilization even to the banks of the Sangamon? Is it not part of the Missourian's share of the burden of humanity to teach the true gospel of the golden rule to the backward denizens of Pike, Cook and Jo Daviess counties? Must not these questions be answered in the affirmative but for the fact that Missouri and Illinois recognize as a common superior an artificial entity called the United States, which forbids such war and relegates both parties to peaceful courts, where, with the assistance of bacteriologists, lawyers, and judges, the issues are fought out without the pomp or circumstance of war. Are we not indeed living in a dull, uneventful age, and inflicting upon the young men of both States the canker of peace? But once again the logic of war is denied and the manly virtues remain undeveloped.

Yet another illustration. The State of Kansas contends that the waters descending from the mountains of Colorado should be allowed by Colorado's citizens to pursue their way unvexed and undiminished, to render more fertile the plains of the Sunflower State. The vital interests of the States collide. Shall the interest of bleeding Kansas be allowed to suffer because of the selfish and grasping policy of the men of Colorado? Invoking the soul of John Brown as it goes marching on, let the Kansans march upon the sons of the Centennial State and slaughter them until they learn how to live and let live. Alas! once more, war which, like poverty, is justified because we have always had it and the contrary is against human nature, is suppressed and the great sovereign States of Kansas and Colorado are forced to bow to the dictations of nine men in black robes, only one of whom, and he by chance, happens to be a citizen of either State.

I have given you two imaginary and two actual illustrations of circumstances which, by all the

books, would justify war. In two cases honor dictates, and in all four, vital interests demand it. The only restraining thing is that the contending parties are, in each case, subject to the control of a judicial body. In vain could any of the States named declare their right to determine for themselves what was needed to satisfy their own honor, or to maintain their own true interests? Always their neighbors insist upon their own superior right to preserve the peace of the continent.

But so little civilized are we internationally that books are written on the rules of war, that the right of blockade is recognized between nations, that because of brawls with which no outside party has any concern the commerce of neutrals is interfered with, the property of their citizens often exposed to the ravages of war on land, while neutral Governments, unlike the on-lookers at a street fight who content themselves with making a ring about the contestants, accept limitations upon their own conduct made by the fighters themselves. Can we not learn that there is no more dignity, no more glory, about a national dispute, about a national conflict, than there is in a duel between two neighbors over the proper placing of a line fence?

And if the well being of the community demands that the quarrels of neighbors shall be determined by a legal court, if the rivalries of cities and States must find in this country their settlement in dispassionate tribunals, why should there not be, judicially at least, the United States of the World, with a tribunal capable of passing upon all international questions without restrictions?

We may here pride ourselves on believing that we are going with the swing of international feeling; that with the spread of intelligence, with a greater recognition of the equality of human beings, which in the last analysis denies the right of one man to require another to sacrifice his life and property without just cause duly ascertained by cold and competent tribunals, there must come a time when war will be looked upon as the crime that it is. The stars in their courses fight for us.

Let it not be said that I am unappreciative of the dignity of war and of the importance of the causes leading up to it. War has no dignity. It offers a tragedy and a farce. With the tragic element we are all too familiar. With the farce of it all we are less familiar for it is one of those obvious things—so obvious and so accustomed that, like the movement of the earth around the sun, eons of time pass by without its realization. What can be more farcical than that human beings should be dressed up in gold lace and waving plumes to go forth to slay other human beings in waving plumes and gold lace? Why should bearskin shakos be used to add ferocity to their ensemble? Why should the common people whose interest in the matter is nil, make themselves food

for powder, all for the benefit of the few whose tinsel decorations blind their own eyes and those of the beholders? And why should parents who love their offspring rush into opportunities of bequeathing to them legacies of national poverty and debt as the result of a display of passion on the part of the fathers? And when all this is the work of sentimental human beings, may we not wonder over their effrontery in speaking of themselves as reasoning creatures? Are nations so rushing into conflict wiser than the mad bull in the arena that with lowered head dashes upon the sword of the matador? May we not conceive of a real philosopher looking down with wondering and puzzled contempt and amazement at our bloody antics over baubles?

For as yet we are but children and have the ways of children. Between the childish disputes—"It is," "It isn't," or "I want to swing," "No, I won't let you swing,"—and the average differences between nations leading to war, there is in essence no distinction; nothing save the age and number of the disputants and the consequent variance in the objects which interest them. Relatively the contest is unchanged, and equally it should be adjusted without killing and without the slow sapping away of life through taxation.

But if you tell me that such doctrines as I have tried to set out are opposed to patriotism, let me say to you that patriotism is not a fixed, but a growing term. When the first Englishmen planted themselves on the borders of Massachusetts Bay, their patriotism was bounded by the fringe of woods concealing Indian enemies. Later, it meant a special sense of duty to those within the widening boundaries of the Provinces. Yet a few years and with the birth of a new nation all who lived within the bounds of the thirteen original States were recognized as their brothers. Then by leaps and bounds it came to pass that the teeming millions of human beings from the Atlantic to the Pacific represented the solidarity of the country and all were recognized as brothers under a common flag, and between such brothers war was a crime and all troubles to be determined in a peaceful manner.

But one step is left. We have to recognize the brotherhood of the human race, and the infinite crime of bloody contests between members of a common family. When the day of such recognition arrives we will love our immediate neighbors no less and for them reserve the special offices that our finite strength limits us to giving to the relatively few, while the narrower features of the patriotism of today will be swallowed up in a broad consideration for the rights of humanity and all men will be brothers.

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The rise in value which the industry of others providentially gives to the land of the wise and good.—W. D. Howells, "A Hazard of New Fortunes."

BOOKS

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.

Social Solutions in the Light of Christian Ethics. By Thomas C. Hall, Professor of Christian Ethics in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Eaton & Mains, New York; Jennings and Graham, Cincinnati. Price \$1.50.

A revision for more general use, of technical and academic lectures to successive classes in a divinity school, this book, by one of the sons of the Rev. Dr. John Hall, himself a clergyman hardly less distinguished now than his eminent father two generations ago, inquires into the obligations of Christian citizenship for the benefit of Christian citizens. It rightly assumes, therefore, without any attempt at proof but simply as the major premise of all discussions of Christianity among Christians, that the life and purpose of Jesus is not only authoritative, but is the highest authority. The one question, therefore, which it puts to all reformers is, "What do you promise us as members in the future kingdom of God?"

In answering that interrogation, however, it introduces what is somewhat of a novelty in books of this kind when dealing with social reforms of a radical type. The author has gone to the actual sources, examining, for example, "not what men say Henry George taught or Karl Marx believed, but what they themselves actually wrote."

The subject is considered in three divisions: reforms emphasizing the individual, those emphasizing the group, and those that are only ameliorative. It is deliberately that the author considers the difference between individual and group as one of emphasis merely, for he distinctly states that "the group and the individual are really not separable." This distinction is eminently sound. If it were more generally recognized there would be a better understanding between democratic disputants who stand for socialism and those who stand for individualism. Their differences are largely of emphasis.

Beginning with the emphasis upon the individual, because "it generally happens today that the emphasis lies there," Mr. Hall takes up in succession the Manchester school of political economy, individualism in the United States, Josiah Warren's individualism—"atomistic anarchy," for want of a better name,—the individualism of the single tax, and individualism and democracy. He describes Warren's individualism, as formulated by Benjamin R. Tucker, as "clear cut and far more respectable than the somewhat muddled thinking of Herbert Spencer," but utterly unsound as a philosophy because it is not man merely, "but the man-woman-child group," that constitutes the unit of society. In this connection the "save-your-own-

soul" individualism so popular in some Christian churches is hit hard with the verdict that getting "a man to save himself first and then go to work to save others, is the wrong way to go about the Father's business," for "the man that starts in to save the group and redeem others will get all the salvation he really needs, as a by-product—that is, if he starts in about it as Jesus did."

Turning next to a consideration of the group emphasis, Mr. Hall describes the rise and purpose of socialism, making a special study of the Marxian type and of the Bismarckian (state socialism) type, and briefly surveys other continental types of socialism, including that of Bernstein and that of the "syndicalists."

It may be doubted if Mr. Hall has very clearly seen those automatic effects of the single tax for the realization of which socialism looks to an elaborate reorganization of society. His scholarship having somewhat over-fastened his attention upon the details of artificial social adjustment, his imagination seems not to serve him well in considering the far reaching effects of fundamental adjustments. But his book is absolutely fair. Its appeal is simply for an open mind to social problems by the churches. "The churches must learn," he writes, in his summary chapter, "not to be afraid of hearing from all earnest men;" for they "need to know all the forces that make up our complex life," and no partisan spirit should stop them "from becoming intelligent by hearing what others think."

A concluding chapter on selected bibliography greatly facilitates minute study of the subjects which the volume itself spreads intelligently, broadly, and in truly religious temper before the reader.

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THE LINCOLN CENTENARY.

Abraham Lincoln. The Tribute of a Century. 1809-1909. Commemorative of the Lincoln Centenary and Containing the Principal Speeches made in Connection therewith. Edited by Nathan William MacChesney. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co. 1910. Price, \$2.75 net.

Mr. MacChesney was secretary of the Lincoln Centennial Memorial Committee of One Hundred, appointed by the Mayor of Chicago. The story of this committee is told by him and he contributes also a thoughtful appreciation of Lincoln. The oration at Chicago, by J. A. Macdonald, editor of the Toronto Globe, is given in full. Besides the Chicago commemoration those at Springfield, Bloomington, Peoria, Hodgenville (Ky.), New York, Boston, Cincinnati, Rochester, Madison, Denver, Washington, Philadelphia, Cornell University, Pittsburg, Janesville, Manchester (England), Berlin (Germany), Paris (France) and Rome (Italy) are reported in this well-edited and attractively printed volume, which is abun-

dantly illustrated and contains speeches from some of the most famous men of the time. Among the speakers were Wm. J. Calhoun, Woodrow Wilson, Frank Hamlin (son of the Vice-President of Lincoln's first administration), S. S. Gregory, Emil G. Hirsch, Rev. A. J. Carey, Nathan William MacChesney, John C. Richberg, William J. Bryan, President Roosevelt, Gov. Folk, Lyman Abbott, Chauncey M. Depew, Gov. Hughes, President C. R. Van Hise, Jenkyn Lloyd Jones and Booker T. Washington. There are poems by Edwin Markham, Julia Ward Howe, William Morris Davis and Wilbur D. Nesbit. The poems (like most poems ordered for, but not inspired by, an occasion) fall short, in each instance, of the writer's powers; and some of the oratorical tributes make one wonder at the agility which can so applaud Lincoln's democracy in the abstract or with reference to ancient issues, while rejecting it for the practical purposes of the present. But the volume is in every respect well worthy the occasion it commemorates, though in some respects it be more so and in some less. Of the work of the editor and the printer nothing can be said but in praise.

* * *

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE.

A Forward Step for the Democracy of Tomorrow.
By William Thum. Published by the Twentieth Century Company. Boston. 1910.

The author writes under the inspiration of the idea that "democracy that is worthy of the name cannot be possible until a great majority of the citizens possess both a good general education and a special education in some economic field." He suggests the following plan: Let two boys cooperate, one working in the forenoon and going to a high school or polytechnic school in the afternoon, and the other working in the same establishment in the afternoon and going to the same school in the forenoon. This might be done without alteration of economic conditions. But the forward step would be still greater if with the extension of public operation of public utilities the boys were able to work their half day each in public works and get their alternate half day of schooling at a "public works high school." Beyond its direct educational suggestions, the book pre-

sents numerous propositions for minute economic reforms but with an educational background and foreground.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Coming Religion. By Charles F. Dole. Published by Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. 1910.

—Routledge Rides Alone. By Will Levington Comfort. Published by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia and London. 1910.

—Social Insurance. A Program of Social Reform. By Henry Rogers Seager. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

—History of the Great American Fortunes. Volume III. Great Fortunes from Railroads (continued). Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, \$1.50.

—The Transition in Virginia from Colony to Commonwealth. By Charles Ramsdell Lingley. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. XXXVI., No. 2. Published by Columbia University, New York. Longmans, Green and Co., Agents. 1910.

—Standards of Reasonableness in Local Freight Discriminations. By John Maurice Clark. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. XXXVII., No. 1. Published by Columbia University, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., Agents. 1910.

PERIODICALS

—The movement for a national Department of Health seems on the face of it so meritorious that the Twentieth Century (Boston) for July would be a valuable number if for no other reason than that it carries an editorial statement by Mr. Flower, the leader of the organized opposition to that movement and editor of this magazine, in which his reasons for opposing the movement are presented. Persons interested in the health department movement, either way—and everybody ought to be, one way or the other—should read Mr. Flower's article in opposition to it.

* * *

A teacher in one of our elementary schools had noticed a striking platonic friendship that existed between Tommy and little Mary, two of her pupils.

Tommy was a bright enough youngster, but he

A Big Dollar's Worth.

As a reader of *The Public*, I need not remind you that it's almost as cheap as real estate at 52 times for a \$, but I will remind you that you can safely mention this in soliciting a subscription from a friend.

The fact is that to produce it for a dollar a year *The Public* must nearly (not quite) *double* its subscription list.

Another fact is that if its present subscribers will all secure only one new subscriber, the doubling will be done.

Cincinnati, July 4, 1910

DANIEL KIEFER.

wasn't disposed to prosecute his studies with much energy and his teacher saw that unless he stirred himself before the end of the year he wouldn't be promoted.

"You must study harder," she told him, "or else you won't pass. How would you like to stay back in this class another year and have little Mary go ahead of you?"

"Aw," said Tommy, "I guess there'll be other little Marys."—Tit-Bits.

+ + +

Should the cost of living much higher grow—

And it surely will, the pessimists say—

You'll see the ultimate consumer go

Down into the ultimate consommé.

—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

The garden of the new house of the Rev. Mr. Brown backed against the plain yard of an orphan asylum. Eight-year-old Johnny Brown was allowed to scale the fence and play with the orphans. Presently Mrs. Brown noticed that her apple barrel was

dropping low. She asked Master Johnny if he were not eating a good many apples for a small boy.

"Yes, mother," he replied; "I gotto."

"Oh, indeed?" queried Mrs. Brown; "are you quite sure?"

"Oh, yes, mother; they're needed. I just gotto eat all I can stuff down."

"But why, my dear?"

"Because," said Johnny earnestly, "the orphans need the cores."—S. E. Post.

+ + +

"That comic opera of yours gave me a pain," said the critic.

"Well," replied the author of the opera, "you shouldn't have laughed so much!"—Yonkers Statesman.

+ + +

An assault case involving two Chinese merchants was being heard in a local court several days ago.

Li Ho acted as interpreter.

During the course of the trial the district attorney

The Tariff:

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Whom it Benefits.

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Revenue:

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

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Franklin and Freedom

An address by Joseph Fels to the "Poor Richard" Club of Philadelphia, January 6th, 1910.

Benjamin Franklin

as a Free Trader;

on War and Peace;

on the Land Question; and

on the Single Tax.

Price: Five cents a copy, postpaid;

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told Li to ask one of the merchants whether he was present at the time the alleged assault took place.

The interpreter asked the question.

The Chinese merchant who was questioned in answer spoke for a period of about ten minutes.

He then stopped. The interpreter turned to the judge and said, "Him say no."—Philadelphia Times.

✦ ✦ ✦

Urchin: "Is this the office of the Bugle? Well, sir, I have come to subscribe for your paper."

Editor (with a genial smile): "Why, sonny, you don't look quite big enough to do such a thing as that."

Urchin: "Sir, if a man has to be measured for his subscription at this office I shall subscribe for the

Palladium, just across the street. Good day, sir."—Chicago Tribune.

✦ ✦ ✦

According to the following story, economy has its pains as well as its pleasures, even after the saving is done.

One spring, for some reason, 'old Eli was going round town with the face of dissatisfaction, and, when questioned, poured forth his voluble tale of woe thus:

"Marse Geo'ge, he come to me last fall an' he

From Our Readers:

MILWAUKEE, June 24, 1910.

I see that my subscription to The Public has expired. Enclosed cheque is to pay for the ensuing year. I suppose I could get along without The Public, but I shouldn't want to at many times its price. Wishing you and the Cause all success, I remain, Yours sincerely,

WM. H. BOWERS.

BOW, WASH., May 31, 1910.

Dear Friends: I wish to inquire whether the offer of three subscriptions for \$2.00 was withdrawn. I have a half dozen subscriptions and several more promised at that rate. [It has not been withdrawn—keep up the good work. —S.]

In soliciting subscribers one so often meets this objection:

"I am already taking more papers than I can read and wouldn't have time to read another even if I could afford it."

Nearly all of them on inquiry are found to be reading one or more daily papers. These people should read and digest what Bolton Hall has to say about so much reading and particularly about the daily papers.

I used to think the daily paper a necessity. It is for some business men—but it positively is not for the professional man or laborer. It is a nuisance. I "cut them out" and find that with little more than half the money I can get infinitely greater value from the weekly and monthly periodicals. I believe it was Richter who said, "If I had read as much as other men I should have been as ignorant as they." Of all the agencies for promoting ignorance, the modern subsidized or corporation owned daily paper is the most effective.

Let's cut some of them out and make room for The Public, LaFollette's, the Commoner, American, Hampton's, Pearson's, Everybody's and others. Let's patronize more of the "muck-rakers" who skin the "muck makers."

Sincerely yours,
G. W. CHENEY.

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say, 'Eli, dis gwine ter be a hard winter, so yo' be keerful, an' save yo' wages fas' an' 'tight.'

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* * *

Champ Clark, at a dinner at Bowling Green, said of the trusts:

"The feeling against monopolies has reached even to the nursery. I saw a little girl the other day slip

something beneath her plate. Then she murmured angrily:

"I wish there was an anti-crust law."—Washington Star.

* * *

"Uncle John," said little Emily, "do you know that a baby that was fed on elephant's milk gained 20 pounds in a week?"

"Nonsense! Impossible!" exclaimed Uncle John. "Whose baby was it?"

"It was the elephant's baby," replied little Emily.—Woman's Journal.

Women's Trade Union League of Chicago
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Take the Garfield Park Branch of the Metropolitan Elevated Road to 48th Avenue Station, at 48th Avenue and Harrison St., then the Chicago, Riverside and La Grange suburban car at 2 p. m., or take Madison Street Car, transfer at the barns to 48th Avenue Car and change at Harrison Street. Ride to end of car line at Stone Avenue, La Grange, walk north to Brainard Avenue, and again north to "Myers' Woods." Guides will meet the 2 o'clock car and take you to the woods. Lemonade will be furnished by a La Grange friend. Bring luncheon.

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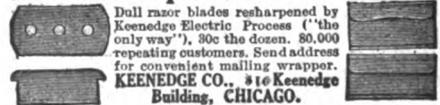
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