

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

The New York Governorship.

A very much worse nomination for Governor of New York could be made than that of the New York World in naming Thomas Mott Osborne. He has demonstrated his ability in public service and his democracy in politics. A man whose political antecedents run back to Republican associations when that party was democratic, his work in the Democratic party has been consistently in the direction of restoring to it the spirit of democracy which it lost under slavery influences and which it trifles with under the temptations of plutocracy.

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History Repeating Itself.

Senator Bristow of Kansas made a clear cut and concise statement of the essence of present political issues in an address at the Winfield (Kan.) Chautauqua on the 9th. "The conflict in American politics today," he said, "is based upon the same fundamental principles as was that which preceded the Civil War. The corporate interests of the country have dominated the affairs of the nation as completely as did the slave interest in the days of its greatest strength. Just as every effort made for the restriction of slavery was resisted by the slave power, so every effort made to protect the people from the injustice of corporate greed is resisted by the great corporations of this time. The representatives of the slave power had

seats in the halls of Congress and contended for the perpetuity of slavery because of their financial interest in the institution. And now the gigantic monopolies of this day have representatives in the halls of Congress whose sole purpose is to protect their interest and to keep open the opportunity which they now have to plunder the American public." This political analogy, which democratic Democrats have been proclaiming, lo! these many years, having now begun to focus in the vision of democratic Republicans, American plutocracy will be prudent if it learns wisdom from the history of the follies of American slavery.

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Democratic Conference for Illinois.

Led off by Henry T. Rainey, one of the most efficient and democratic of all the Democratic members of Congress, a large number of Illinois Democrats have issued a call for a party conference at Lincoln, Ill., on the 20th. While this call suggests the policy of redeeming the party and the State by nominating and electing good men instead of bad men to office, it is not limited to any such feather duster proposal. It couples its "good man in office" proposal with a declaration that "radical and heroic action" is required, including the adoption of "*efficient measures to hold legislators responsible at all times to their constituents.*" This clause can have but one meaning under existing circumstances. The evident meaning is that both bad men and good men in office must be at all times subject to the initiative and the referendum—and better still, to the recall as well. How can they otherwise be held responsible to their constituents *at all times*?

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More power to their elbows will be added thereby if they really are good men and continue so; while, if they prove to be "good men gone wrong" or "bad men found out," the people can promptly protect themselves. Efforts are being made to sidetrack this feature of the Lincoln conference call, but the conference must soon realize that it might as well not have come together, for all the useful influence it can have, if it falls at all short of advising what the Peoria conference (pp. 611, 626) advised. Elect good men! Wasn't Senator Holstlaw a "good man" when he was elected? Yet he stands alone now as the one Democrat in the Illinois legislature whose guilt nobody disputes, not even he himself. The policy of nominating only good men, is a favorite policy of all the political crooks and of all the Big Business crooks be-

hind the political crooks. They approve anything that won't baffle their projects. But when you propose to strengthen good men in office by weakening bad ones, through any such simple and easily workable and effective a method as the initiative, the referendum and the recall, the practicability of which has been proved in Oregon, your political and business crooks cry out.

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We trust that democratic Democrats of Illinois will attend the forthcoming Lincoln conference in such numbers and in such spirit as to prevent any such anti-climax as the adoption of an unguarded policy of electing good men. Let that policy be fortified as it has been fortified successfully in Oregon, and the Lincoln conference will accomplish results—results that good men in or out of office will be proud of, and that only bad men will deplore.

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Walter Macarthur for Congress from California.

Since James G. Maguire was in Congress, the Interests of California and vicinity have been studiously and industriously represented. His successor has seen to that. But the people have been without representation in respect of everything in which their interests and the interests of the Interests are hostile. The election this fall will probably determine whether the place that Maguire honored shall be occupied any longer by a Congressman whom the San Francisco Star denounces as "the slavish, selfish servitor of the Associated Villanies," or be honored by a man worthy to sit in Maguire's place. The people of the district will have an opportunity to vote for such a man unless plutocratic Democrats at the primaries next August prevent the nomination of Walter Macarthur.

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Mr. Macarthur is a sailor turned editor, a high type of editor. For many years he has edited the Coast Seamen's Journal of San Francisco. No paper more ably or honestly edited, comes to our overflowing table of exchanges. It is a labor paper for sailors. But it is not a sailors' paper merely, nor an organized labor paper merely; it is a labor paper in the broadest human sense, knowing no class as a finality but only men, and no interest divorced from rights. Mr. Macarthur is a fundamental democrat. As he is also a party Democrat he must for necessary distinction be called a democratic Democrat. His fidelity to organized labor, which he carries to the point of candor in criticis-

ing them, as well as vigor in fighting for them, has won him their confidence and the respect besides of all fair-minded men. Those who have heard him, give him high commendation as a forceful speaker, and whoever may have read his writings or come in contact with organized workingmen who draw inspiration from them, must recognize his power and acknowledge his lofty purpose.

+

If Walter Macarthur is nominated by the Democrats to displace Kahn in Maguire's district, and William Kent is nominated by the Republicans (p. 434) to succeed McKinlay in the neighboring district, a great opportunity will be afforded the democratic Democrats and the democratic Republicans in both districts.

+ +

The New National Educational Association.

To the unsophisticated in the tricks and the manners of the National Educational Association, the election of Ella Flagg Young to its presidency (p. 659) may seem to be no more than the triumph of a woman candidate over a man in educational politics. It may, therefore, be deplored or boasted of, according to one's notions of woman's proper place in the community. But it has a deeper meaning. It is prophetic of a new National Educational Association. Not a new organization, but a new spirit and policy in the old one. It means to that organization what Mrs. Young's superintendency has meant to the public school system of Chicago—its democratization.

+

Heretofore, the National Educational Association has been governed by a clique springing out of university cliques and Big Business affiliations. The plan of organization has been shrewdly adapted to the self perpetuation of this control, against the autocracy and the plutocracy of which the Chicago Teachers' Federation, under the leadership of Margaret A. Haley and Catherine Goggin, have long fought in vain. They share now in the triumph for which, through many years and against dispiriting odds, they pioneered the way. For Mrs. Young's election signifies what she in her inaugural distinctly sets out as her presidential policy—democratization.

+

It may not be possible to accomplish this in one term. When the Association was incorporated by Congress under the lobbying of its governing clique (vol. viii, pp. 218, 225, 232; vol. ix, pp. 26, 107, 1115, 1217; vol. x, pp. 124, 533; vol. xi,

p. 340), care was taken to make democratization difficult, so that the clique could not be divested of its powers until its "slate" had been broken several years in succession.

+

But the devotion of those teachers whose weariless and patient work has resulted in Mrs. Young's election, may be depended upon either to keep her in the presidency of the Association, or to fill her place with other able and democratic educational leaders; and to do this year after year, until the National Educational Association is rescued completely from the arbitrary control of the faculty ring, the school book trust, and Big Business politicians, and has been firmly established in accordance with Mrs. Young's declared policy, as the faithful representative of the whole teaching profession of the United States—whether of public university or public school, whether of men or of women. Unless the great mass of democratic educators begin preparations at once to strengthen Mrs. Young's policies at the convention in San Francisco next year, they will risk the loss of most that has been gained by her election at Boston this year.

+ +

If a Sport, "Be a Sport!"

The boasted superiority of white men over black men has been pretty badly strained by white men themselves since the Reno prize fight (pp. 625, 637) between Jeffries, the white man's champion pugilist, and Johnson the Negro. That successful pugilism does not offer the best test of racial superiority is true. But it does offer one test—the most popular test, probably, among white men. It is one form of fighting, and fighting is the supreme test of superiority to which white men appeal. Does not Mr. Roosevelt, the most popular American today, apotheosize fighting? and has he not approved and practiced even the identical fighting art in which Johnson, Jeffries, Sullivan, Corbett, Fitzsimmons, Morrissy, Sayers, Heenan, etc., have excelled? And next to love of fighting, your white man, especially your "superior" white man, dearly loves a "good loser"—a fighter who when he loses can nevertheless "be a sport." But when the "nigger" worsted the white champion at Reno nearly every sport among white men forgot to "be a sport." The circumstances considered, this prize fight, which reflects no glory on the white man, does reflect some on the Negro. No more, of course, than a sport so low can reflect; but it does not reflect even that much on white men. The Negro champion, who proved himself the supe-

rior fighter, turns out to be a generous winner, for he does no boasting, and to have the spirit of a "good loser," for he is modestly patient in the face of racial bitterness among the whites. As to peaceable citizenship, the conduct of himself and his race at this crisis is certainly superior.

* * *

Twentieth Century "Democracy."

"Perceiving that the people do not know what they want we will give them what we know will do them good—using no more force than necessary."

* * *

"THE GRAVITY OF MERIT."

Every Fourth of July brings the usual crop of tory editorials. As Lincoln predicted, our American royalists still find the Declaration of Independence a hard nut to crack.

*

One editor says that our Charter declared that all men were "created free and equal"; but—

Passing this error in quotation which the Tories are always making, let us come at once to the editor's difficulty.

"But," he says, "you cannot upset the gravity of merit!"

This solemn utterance, made in this connection, is calculated to convey the impression that John Hancock, and Benjamin Franklin, and Sam Adams and the rest of the immortal Fifty-six worked off on the world a monumental piece of demagoguery.

Of course we all supposed that the purpose of the Declaration was to upset the gravity of merit! How very good therefore of the Tories to rescue us from this Jacobin delusion!

*

Thomas Jefferson was not writing an editorial for *The Outlook*. He was not splitting hairs in a Harvard class room.

In the white heat of a great crisis he forged a phrase that will live forever. As all right-minded men understand it, this phrase is the eternal truth.

No one finds it a stumbling block, save the Tories, and they quibble about the phrase because its spirit is not in their hearts.

But returning to our editorial, mark the vicious circle of its logic.

You cannot upset "the gravity of merit." Strength must inevitably surmount weakness. The Declaration of Independence has given us equality before the law. Therefore all the inequality that remains must be due to "the gravity

of merit," the inevitable surmounting of strength over weakness.

Of course this is Fourth of July rubbish, and our Fourth will never be quite sane until this kind of editorial becomes extinct with the fool and the firecracker.

*

The Declaration of Independence has not given us equality before the law. It has given us the ideal, but the ideal has never been realized. The inequalities that remain cannot be cited as proof of "the gravity of merit," while the law still has its favorites.

The laborer in a mine is worthy of his hire. The man who invests real capital to build mills and sink shafts is entitled to his reward. But mine workers and operators must first pay royalties to mine owners.

There are individuals in Duluth whose Mesabian royalties are estimated at a million a year. If these owners rendered any service no one would begrudge them a commensurate reward. But what do they do?

They perform no labor. They invest no real capital. The investment they make is not at all essential, but really a hindrance to the industry.

In the zinc mines of Missouri I found a miner working a lease-hold of about twenty square yards, upon which he paid a royalty to the owner of twenty-five per cent. What the miner had left for his labor amounted to from two to three dollars a day.

Of course royalty-fed children are larger and healthier and have a better start in life than the children of miners. Until the principle of the Declaration of Independence is applied to the economic relations of men, you can no more tell about "the gravity of merit" than you could tell the direction of the compass with a needle distraught and dancing in the field of a powerful magnet.

Nice arrangement, is it not? Have a law which takes from the labor of one man to feed the children of an idler. Half starve those who work, and give every advantage of nourished body and trained mind to the sons of Privilege. Then invent a comforting phrase to explain the differences that follow.

*

"The gravity of merit."

The wise man who fools himself with this phrase warns us against the foolishness of the Declaration of Independence.

It will be soon enough to look into these phrases, when we have put an end to the inequalities that are plainly created by law. The Declaration of

Independence, like the Sermon on the Mount, has never been tried.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

† † †

LAND CONSERVATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

We must turn to the British administration of Northern Nigeria for an example of systematic conservation of all natural resources by government; but popular impulses in the direction of this policy may be observed almost everywhere if we do not allow mere form to hide the substance from us. Although the policy assumes different forms in different localities, everywhere there is evidence of a growing appreciation of the substantial truth that "God made the land for the people."

Long lived and almost universal as the notion has been that monopolies of natural resources, whether by landlords under feudalistic survivals or by capitalists under perverted capitalism, are both useful and just and must be perpetuated, that notion is rapidly losing ground. In Northern Nigeria (p. 580) it is struck down quite candidly. In Great Britain (p. 507) it is the central issue of politics, as it is coming also to be in Denmark (p. 586). And both in Northern Nigeria and Great Britain, as well as in Germany (pp. 486, 497), Australia (pp. 411, 535), and Canada (p. 540), there is a distinct recognition of city sites as being among the natural resources to be conserved for the people, a recognition which is not less emphatic—even more so, we should say—than the recognition, as in that category, of forests, mines and soils. So also with methods of correction. The Canadian city of Vancouver, for instance (pp. 243, 252, 434, 444), by exempting improvements from taxation in order to encourage improvement, and taxing building sites *ad valorem* to the full (whether used or not), in order to weaken land monopoly, is conserving her natural resources.

In the United States but little progress has been made governmentally for the conservation of natural resources in any form. The Iawson Purdy tax regime in New York City (p. 34) has done something toward it by making the difference between site values and improvement values stand out so distinctly that one must be somewhat more stupid than a wayfaring fool if he does not see for himself that the latter represent commodities produced by workers, and the former privileges conferred by government. Cleveland also has made that difference distinct (pp. 604, 608) through the new tax board of Cuyahoga county,

of which four out of the five members were Tom L. Johnson men at their election and three of the four are disciples of Henry George. Other communities in the United States have also in one form or another, officially recognized the importance of conserving their natural resources for the common welfare and in the common right. But on the whole it is true that all forms of conservation in the United States are still in the agitational stage.

One of the conservation agencies in this country, however, impresses us as having exceptionally large possibilities. We refer to the National Conservation Association (p. 83), of which Gifford Pinchot is the president.

†

This Association makes no extreme demands. It is very conservative in management, very superficial in its proposals. Any single tax convert, though newly made, could point out errors in its political economy and expose the insufficiency of its program. Any socialist could do the same from the socialist point of view, though in a way the program is rather socialistic than otherwise in its modes. But superficial as that program may be, it seems to us to give fair promise of soon becoming, with reference to progressive politics in the United States, what the Lloyd-George Budget has been to progressive politics in Great Britain.

The Budget was superficial in its proposals. It could not stand in the face of radical criticism. There wasn't a single taxer nor a socialist in the United Kingdom who didn't know how flimsy it was. The less wise among them were therefore only lukewarm supporters of the Budget; the lesser wise refused to take any part, and the least wise were inclined to fight it. But that superficial measure, besides securing an official valuation of all the land of Great Britain, now in progress, and laying the basis for a permanent policy of progressive land value taxation, tending toward the abolition of land monopoly, has turned all Great Britain into a debating society on the subject of the relations of the people of a country to the land of their country.

The Budget was more effective than a perfect measure might have been, because the perfect measure could hardly have secured a favorable hearing, whereas the imperfect one has secured a favorable hearing, and not only for its superficial proposals but in even greater degree for the fundamental principles which those proposals involve.

It is in some such way that the work of the National Conservation Association gives promise, in our view, of a great crusade for justice with

reference to land in the United States. It may not unlikely turn the United States into a debating society on the question of the relation of the people of these States to the land where they live—whether it be forest or water course or soil or mineral land, which the Association specifies, or city sites, also, which it does not mention but which are none the less involved in the principles it declares.

The National Conservation Association of the United States was organized at Cambridge, Mass., July 20, 1909 (vol. xii, p. 922), on the basis of declarations of a conference of the Governors of States held under call of President Roosevelt at the White House, Washington, on the 13th, 14th and 15th of May, 1908 (vol. xi, pp. 174, 179). It succeeded the Conservation League, of which the active president was Walter L. Fisher of Chicago, with President Roosevelt as honorary president and Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan as honorary vice presidents (vol. xi, p. 579; vol. xii, p. 105). Originally its president was Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University; but upon the dismissal of Gifford Pinchot as chief forester in the Federal service (pp. 50, 51, 60) for insubordination in frustrating the efforts of the Taft administration to give away public lands to powerful land-grabbing interests (vol. xiii, p. 460), Dr. Eliot resigned as president of the Association and nominated Mr. Pinchot in his place. Mr. Pinchot, soon after his dismissal from the government service, appeared at the meeting of the Civic Federation at Washington to keep a speaking engagement on its program which had been made with him while he was still in the office he had for many years managed with intelligence and fidelity. He was received (vol. xiii, p. 60) with tumultuous and unexpectedly unanimous applause. It was the first pronounced indication of public sentiment regarding his dismissal. Immediately thereafter Dr. Eliot's suggestion was adopted by the Conservation Association. His resignation was accepted, he was made honorary president (an office created especially for him), and Mr. Pinchot was elected president (vol. xiii, p. 83). At the present time, consequently, the officers of the Association (with headquarters at Washington, D. C., in Colorado Building), are as follows:

Honorary President, Charles W. Eliot.
 President, Gifford Pinchot.
 Vice president, Walter L. Fisher.
 Treasurer, Overton W. Price.
 Secretary, Thomas R. Shipp.
 Assistant secretary, James C. Gipe.
 Counsel, Philip P. Wells.

The progressive possibilities of this Association are obvious in its statement of principles, which we quote:

Believing it to be of the utmost importance that the natural resources of the Nation shall be comprehensively and vigorously developed and utilized for the promotion of the public welfare, without waste, destruction or needless impairment, and subject always to their intelligent conservation and the effective preservation of the rights and interests of the future generations of our people;

And in order to secure the recognition and support of these principles by the people and by their representatives, we hereby unite in the National Conservation Association, and adopt for ourselves the following, taken directly from the Declaration unanimously adopted by the Conference of Governors, convened by the President of the United States, in the White House, at Washington, on May 13, 14 and 15, 1908:

"We do hereby declare the conviction that the great prosperity of our country rests upon the abundant resources of the land chosen by our forefathers for their homes, and where they laid the foundation of this great Nation.

"We look upon these resources as a heritage to be made use of in establishing and promoting the comfort, prosperity and happiness of the American People, but not to be wasted, deteriorated, or needlessly destroyed.

"We agree that our country's future is involved in this; that the great natural resources supply the material basis on which our civilization must continue to depend, and on which the perpetuity of the Nation itself rests.

"We agree that this material basis is threatened with exhaustion.

"We agree that the land should be so used that erosion and soil-wash shall cease; that there should be reclamation of arid and semi-arid regions by means of irrigation, and of swamp and overflowed regions by means of drainage, that the waters should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation, to enable the arid regions to be reclaimed by irrigation, and to develop power in the interests of the People; that the forests which regulate our rivers, support our industries, and promote the fertility and productiveness of the soil should be preserved and perpetuated; that the minerals found so abundantly beneath the surface should be so used as to prolong their utility; that the beauty, healthfulness and habitability of our country should be preserved and increased; that the sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of the People, and that monopoly thereof should not be tolerated.

"We declare our firm conviction that this conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance, which should engage unremittingly the attention of the Nation, the States, and the People in earnest co-operation.

"We agree that this co-operation should find expression in suitable action by the Congress and by the Legislatures of the several States.

"Let us conserve the foundations of our prosperity."

We, therefore, form this Association to advocate and support the adoption by the people themselves

and by their representatives of definite and practical measures to carry the foregoing principles into effect, and to oppose in all appropriate ways all action which is in conflict with these principles, whether such action is attempted by individual citizens or by legislative or administrative officials.

Following these general declarations with the declaration that "among such measures are the following," the Association's statement formulates for immediate purposes a specific program with reference to forests, waters, soils and minerals, to which it adds that—

the foregoing enumeration is intended to indicate the general character of some of the measures which this organization believes should be adopted to carry the principles of Conservation into practical effect. It will, however, co-operate in every appropriate way with other organizations and with the State and national officials to cover the entire field of the conservation and development of our natural resources, and to bring to this co-operation the vigorous support of an intelligent and disinterested citizenship.

In addition to its statement of principles the Association makes these further explanations of its purpose:

The Association urges the protection of the source waters of navigable streams through the purchase or control by the nation of the necessary land within their drainage basins; . . . the separation for purposes of taxation of the timber from the land on which it grows; . . . the incorporation in all future water-power grants by State or nation, of adequate provision for prompt development on pain of forfeiture, payment of reasonable compensation periodically readjusted, the limitation of the grant to fifty years, and recognition of the rights of the appropriate public authorities to regulate rates of service; . . . legislation whereby the title to the surface of public lands and to the minerals therein shall be granted separately; . . . the retention by the Government of the title to all public lands still publicly owned, which contain phosphate rock, coal, oil or natural gas, and their development by private enterprise under terms that will prevent extortion or waste.

Most important of all, however, is the purpose which the Association declares in this clause of one of its explanatory pamphlets:

"That conservation means the use of our natural resources for the benefit of us all and not merely for the profit of a few is already household knowledge. The task which the National Conservation Association has set itself is to get this principle put into practical effect. The question is not simply whether our natural resources shall be conserved or whether they shall be destroyed. The ultimate question is this—For whom shall the natural resources be conserved and who shall reap the benefit? On one side are the highly organized forces which have fattened upon un-

regulated monopoly and which are striving for government by money for profit. On the other side are the plain American citizens who are striving for government by men for human welfare. The real reason why conservation has the support of all the people is that it is a moral issue."

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This Association, which we unreservedly commend as a powerful instrument in this country for furthering here the world-wide movement for fair adjustments of the relations of mankind to the planet upon which and from which in successive generations they must live, admits both men and women to all its forms of membership. Its central idea is proclaimed to be the furnishing of a medium through which the individual citizen can express himself on conservation. It has members in every State, and is working toward a membership of 100,000 as the minimum. The terms of membership range from \$2 a year for Members, through \$5 and \$25 a year for Active Members and Contributing Members, respectively, to \$100 a year for Patrons, and \$1,000 in all for Life Members.

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The advantages of membership as stated by the Association suggest all the progressive possibilities to which we have alluded. "To every man or woman who stands for conservation," the invitation reads, "membership in the Association means the best and nearest opportunity for united and effective work. Acting individually, American citizens cannot get good conservation laws passed and keep bad laws from passing. Acting together, they can conserve the foundations of our prosperity. They can see to it that the resources of the public domain, of which every American citizen is part owner, are used and held for the permanent benefit of the whole people. They can stop unregulated monopoly of our natural resources. They can insure that resources already privately owned but essential to the public welfare are held not merely for personal gain, but as a public trust."

We heartily agree with Gifford Pinchot when, in his public letter on the subject, he says that "our waters, forests, lands and minerals" "should be developed and used wisely in the interest of all the people and for the welfare of those who come after us. The American people are agreed on that. The line is clearly drawn. It falls between the privileges of the few and the rights of the many. On the one side is the united and organized strength of all the forces that stand

behind politics for profit. On the other side is the plain citizen who is striving for a fair chance for comfort, decency and right living. Conservation is a moral issue. The National Conservation Association offers to every patriotic citizen an immediate opportunity to unite with the other men and women who stand for its principles. I believe no other one organization has a larger opportunity for service to the nation, or greater possibilities for effective work. The Association is on the firing line in a great fight. Will you give it your membership and individual help?"

Not only do we believe with Mr. Pinchot that this organization "is on the firing line in a great fight," but we also believe that victory there will be followed by victory after victory on firing lines farther advanced in the direction of the total abrogation of privilege; not only do we believe with him that the National Conservation Association has "a larger opportunity for service to the nation" and "greater possibilities for effective work" than any "one other organization," but we venture the hope that all persons who, realizing the deadly power of land monopoly over industry, are eager for opportunity to serve in abolishing that monopoly, will recognize those possibilities and avail themselves of that opportunity.

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This organization seems to us, let us repeat, as offering to progressives in the United States very much the same opportunity that the Lloyd-George Budget furnished to the progressives of Great Britain.

If we felt the slightest doubt, we should be reassured by Mr. Pinchot's letter to Frederick C. Leubuscher as president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club (p. 201), in which he acknowledged the club's words of encouragement and said: "Now that the lines are being drawn between the special interests and the rest of us in the fight for conservation and the square deal, we shall win, for the people are on our side."

If we had doubts after that reassurance, we should cast them aside upon recalling a significant quotation from Mr. Pinchot's carefully prepared speech at the New York University Club last January (pp. 10, 11), in which he said: "We must face the truth that monopoly of the sources of production makes it impossible for vast numbers of men and women to earn a fair living. Right here the conservation question touches the daily life of the great body of our people who pay the cost of special privilege."

If doubts arose again they would be completely allayed by Mr. Pinchot's St. Paul speech (pp. 553,

560), in which he said that "all monopoly rests on the unregulated control of natural resources and natural advantages."

In those last words Mr. Pinchot sounded the economic depths of the social question. By that sign shall the conservation movement progress sanely, and the people win over land monopoly a perfect and lasting triumph for equal opportunity.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

TWO ARENAS.

Boston, Mass., July 9.

I was present at the great meeting in the Harvard Stadium on the afternoon of the Fourth of July, addressed by the President of the United States. It was the public opening of the convention of the National Educational Association, for which so great a multitude of the teachers of the United States have come to Boston.

Fifteen thousand teachers were present at this memorable meeting, one of the most impressive and inspiring occasions in our whole educational history. Three-fourths of all those present there on that beautiful afternoon to listen to those noble utterances were women; and no one forgot that the proportion of women in the great body of the teachers of our American public schools is larger still. If I were to name any group of our people as in my judgment pre-eminent among the real defenders of the Republic and its high interests, it would be this great body of the teachers of our schools.

Yet, with but the slightest exceptions to prove the rule, no one of these thoughtful, noble women can express by her vote her judgment as to who shall administer public affairs in her town or city, or what the policies of the city of the State shall be. In that impressive presence in the Harvard Stadium, the thought of the waste and the wrong of it—waste and wrong to the Republic—was a startling thought.

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In another American arena, on that afternoon of the Fourth of July, were gathered fifteen thousand men and more. It was at Reno in Nevada.

They, too, had come together from all parts of the Republic. The character of those who came and the purpose for which they came have been only too well made known by the public press. The publicity and the event are alike the country's shame today.

Almost every person present in that horrible arena was a man—we shudder as we read that there were a few women. And these men all belong by our law to our kingly class, to the rulers and voters of America. This is what the patriot remembers.

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There may be rational grounds of discrimination between classes fit to vote and classes unfit; but as one contemplates the assembly at Harvard and the assembly at Reno, it is with a solemn sense that the ground which we have hit upon is not the rational one.

No argument can prove the Reno ruffians the better qualified for control of our American political

life; and no sophistry about the power to fight as a cardinal condition of suffrage will much longer blind our people to the imperative fact that the true cardinal condition is the power to think and to serve.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

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 12, 1910.

Republican Politics in Ohio.

Rumors from Ohio point to James R. Garfield (pp. 553, 559, 561), Mr. Ballinger's predecessor as Secretary of the Interior, as the probable Republican candidate for Governor against Governor Harmon, the Democrat recently renominated (p. 612). What is regarded as a formal step toward this end is the dollar dinner to Garfield at Cleveland on the 11th. The tone of Garfield's letter of acceptance of the invitation was reported by the Plain Dealer of the 2d as having thrown Republican leaders of the State into a panic. "It gives greater indication than ever," said the Plain Dealer, "that the Progressive fight is to be waged hotter than ever, and the leaders are more firmly convinced, since having a glimpse of the letter, that the Progressives must certainly be getting words of comfort from Theodore Roosevelt." As to the local Progressives, the Plain Dealer described them as jubilant and as having "lost no time in circulating word of the Garfield letter over the State," thereby sounding "the rallying cry in every quarter," and raising expectations that "out of the movement may yet come the nomination of Mr. Garfield for Governor on a platform written by himself." In this letter Mr. Garfield said:

It is most timely to consider what the Progressive movement means and what action it calls for. Those who seek to drive the Progressives out of the Republican party are blind to the conditions and needs of our people. Such partisans would save the word but kill the spirit. The Republican party was born because its fathers believed the nation could not endure half slave and half free. The progressive men fought that great battle to a finish; there was no half way ground. Then human liberty was at stake and the life of the nation was threatened with disunion. Today political liberty is at stake, and the life of the nation is threatened by great special interests who would control our political activities for their own benefit, regardless of the common good. There is no half way ground in the fight of today. The special interests must be driven out of politics and kept out. The Progressives of today will win

this battle. I propose to speak on this general subject, and to consider the course that should be taken to carry this contest to a successful issue.

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At the dinner, Mr. Garfield's speech made his promise good. Regarding State politics he came out for the Recall as "the most direct, most efficient way that the people have of dealing with the unfaithful servant," and urged regulation of corporations, a workmen's compensation act, and the strengthening of child labor laws. Of national politics, he said, as reported over the wires:

At the coming election we are to choose between two great national parties. The Democratic party, while declaiming against special interests, has, when in power, allied itself with special interests. Many of its leaders have been and are the recognized representatives of special interests. In our own State the Democratic Governor failed to be on the people's side in the fight for a public utilities bill, and the Democratic Senators defeated that measure. In the recent Democratic convention the progressive Democrats were ignored. I can see no hope for better things from Democracy as now controlled. How is it with the Republican party? It likewise has among its leaders some who are allied with or represent special interests, but, on the other hand, it has progressive, aggressive leaders who are the people's representatives. The country owes a debt of gratitude to the Insurgents in Congress, who made the fight against the domination of special interests and who placed the common good high above party regularity. The real friends of conservation relied upon Insurgents and their progressive allies for the protection of the public domain against the assaults of special interests. Insurgent Senators prevented the passage of the Alaska bill, which, in its original form, might have turned over the untold wealth of Alaska to a favored few.

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Standpat Republicans of Ohio are reported as insisting that the State convention dare not nominate Garfield because of the implied blow at President Taft, but members of the Cuyahoga delegation have announced themselves as Insurgents and Garfield men.

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The Hennepin County Platform.

A platform in line with the recent speeches of Pinchot and Garfield at St. Paul (pp. 553, 559, 560) was promulgated at Minneapolis last week by the newly organized "Progressive Republican League of Hennepin County," Minnesota, of which James A. Peterson, Albert H. Hall, George S. Grimes, Paul W. Guilford and Maxil D. Robb are leading spirits. The opening declaration is significant of the tendency of the platform, as a whole:

Believing that the Republican party in this country was founded on and has stood in the past for a moral purpose and principle in the political life of the nation, and that if it is to continue to enjoy the

confidence and support of the people it must return to the support of principles and measures demanded by the increasing sense of moral responsibility in business and political life which the people recognize; and believing that in Hennepin county, and Minnesota generally, the time has come for a movement which shall give expression to and assist in bringing to fulfillment this sentiment in our community, we do organize ourselves as the Progressive Republican League of Hennepin County, Minnesota, and do hereby announce the following declaration of principles.

This clause is followed by demands for reduction of protection to differences in the cost of production at home and abroad; denunciation of the influence of Big Business interests in the Republican party of Minnesota; demands for conservation of natural resources for "the benefit of the whole people rather than of the privileged few;" "extension of the principles of democratic government by the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall in local and State governments;" county option liquor law; primary election system to apply to all State officials and United States Senators; the income tax amendment; election of Senators by direct vote of the people; and civil service merit laws. In its tariff clause this platform reads:

Affirming our belief in the policy of a protective tariff, we hold that this policy has been converted by greed and selfishness, in many instances, into a prohibitive tariff, that eliminates competition and fosters monopoly to such an extent that the owners of the protected industries by unlawful combinations have been enabled to control legislation, rob the consumers and oppress labor. We believe that the so-called Aldrich-Payne tariff bill was not an honest attempt to redeem party pledges, and declare most emphatically that the time has now arrived for the Republican party to shake off the domination of the direct beneficiaries of the present tariff; to remove the duties upon large numbers of articles where the cost of production in the United States is less than that of Europe, and to reduce all others to rates that will fairly compensate the American manufacturer for the difference in the cost of production. We favor the creation of a genuine tariff commission, with full power to ascertain the cost and conditions of production both at home and abroad, and to make public the facts ascertained.

Following is its declaration in full on conservation:

We favor the enactment by congress of laws for the conservation of our natural resources, the basis of which shall be the benefit of the whole people rather than of the privileged few, providing among other things for leasing instead of giving away for a nominal consideration all mineral lands on payment of fair royalties; leasing or licensing the use of streams for power or irrigation purposes only when fair compensation is received and ample supervisory powers retained; for the sale of timber on public lands at its fair value in such manner as to husband the supply for present and future gen-

erations of our people. We emphatically indorse the conservation policies of Roosevelt, Garfield, Pinchot and Glavis, and commend them personally for their loyalty to the interests of the people and their unflagging devotion to duty.

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Bryan in Nebraska Politics.

In a statement made public at Lincoln on the 5th, William J. Bryan said: "I am not a candidate for any office; I desire nothing at the hands of my co-workers. They have already rewarded me, and I am indebted to them for whatever influence I may have." He gave notice in the same statement of his intention to oppose the liquor interests through county option measures (p. 52), consideration of this subject having been forced upon the Democratic party in Nebraska, "not by the advocates of county option but by the opponents of it." In explanation of this he is quoted by the dispatches as saying:

If I had had the hearty co-operation of the two Democratic candidates for governor, Governor Shallenberger and Mayor Dahlman, and the support of the World-Herald, the property of Congressman Hitchcock, one of the candidates for the United States Senate, the special session would have been called before this, the initiative and referendum would have been submitted, and we would be ready to challenge the Republicans to defend their national measures.

His own county convention at Lincoln on the 9th, is reported to have been dominated by Mr. Bryan, who made a strong speech against the liquor interest combination, and, as chairman of the committee on resolutions, carried through a platform demanding a plank in the State platform committing the Democratic party of Nebraska to county option. The State convention, at which Mr. Bryan is to head the delegation from his own county, will meet at Grand Island on the 26th.

* *

Progressive Democracy in New York.

The meeting place of the Democratic conference of July 4th (p. 492) having been changed from Syracuse to Albany, about 70 persons attended from 14 counties of the State. Frederick C. Leubuscher, the temporary chairman, in stating the object of the conference, explained:

The Democratic machine in this State is influenced by beneficiaries of special privilege and is not progressive. The Connors leadership, now happily ended, was both a tragedy and a comedy. While the Dix leadership is more respectable, yet it was largely brought about by what is known as the "Wall Street crowd", consisting of the recipients of the bounties of traction and telephone interests. The State convention is only a few months distant; but the organization does not present a constructive programme. Its professions of confidence in the coming campaign are founded entirely on the dissatisfaction of the people with Republican dishonesty

and mistakes, national and local. The Republican politicians are generally considered to be the lackeys of the corporations, but in this State at least the interests buy the Democratic politicians more cheaply. Governor Hughes, in his efforts to bring about some reform, is supported by a majority of the Republican legislators, but opposed by practically all the Democratic. . . . We progressive Democrats are not here representing any interests except fundamental democracy, or any men except the whole people. Each one of us has come at his own expense and has no axes to grind. It would hurt the influence which we hope to exert if we advocate the nomination of any man for governor. As I conceive it, our function is to declare what we believe to be Jeffersonian principles and measures in the light of modern conditions, and to picture the kind of man that would best represent such principles and measures, but not to suggest any name or means. What is the best machinery for you to employ is for you to determine—whether the selection of a committee to confer with the State convention, or the formation of a permanent body, or both.

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The conference chose A. J. Elias of Buffalo for permanent chairman, and perfected a permanent organization under the name of "Progressive Democracy," with headquarters at 4 Monroe street, Albany, and Frederick Cyrus Leubuscher, Leonard Tuttle and William Lustgarten, as chairman, organizer and secretary, respectively. A committee of 15 was appointed to confer with all Democratic bodies of the State for the purpose of securing the adoption of the platform and the nomination of fit candidates. The following address of the conference to the people embodies the platform:

The Democratic organization in New York State does not represent the Democratic voters. Progressive Democrats will vote only for candidates who embody real democracy; but progressive Democrats have no representation inside the organization. Conservative Democrats have formed a Democratic League which has shown its ignorance and contempt of the people's wishes by presenting to the legislature a fraudulent primary reform bill which would leave the political control in the hands of the bosses and of the interests they represent. A combination of the Democratic machine and the Democratic League will not voluntarily write a platform and nominate a ticket that progressive democrats can support. What then shall the majority of Democrats do? They cannot support Hearst, because he is a Republican on the issues of protection, ship subsidies and imperialism. The secret of Hearst's power is that he stands for some progressive reforms that the people desire. These reforms are democratic, and the Democratic ticket and the Democratic platform must embody them. Then progressive Democrats will support their party.

We know that we voice the real Democratic sentiment when we demand: (1) Direct nominations, applicable throughout the State to all elective offices so as to abolish nominating conventions; (2) the initiative, referendum and recall—the people's rule; (3) home rule for municipalities and counties,

including power to own and operate public utilities if voted for by the people; (4) home rule for cities and counties in taxation, so that each city and county shall have complete jurisdiction over the method of raising its own local revenue; (5) the adoption of the Constitutional amendment giving the Federal government power to impose an income tax; (6) the development of the water power, forests and other natural resources of the State under public ownership and control; (7) pending the acquisition of power to elect U. S. Senators by direct votes the nomination by the Democratic State convention this year of a candidate for United States Senator for whom Democratic legislators shall be pledged to vote; (8) candidates for Congress who oppose the tariff as a fraud and a sham, and who will work for the largest possible extension of the free list; re-nominations to be refused to the "Cannon" Democrats from New York.

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Convention of the National Educational Association.

The 48th annual convention of the National Educational Association (vol. xii, pp. 685, 697), the only important educational organization in the United States, was distinguished by the election of a woman, Ella Flagg Young, as president. This convention met in Boston on the 6th. A strong movement of women teachers (supported by men, and including the State Superintendent of Schools of Illinois), in favor of the election of Mrs. Young, was under way when the committee on nominations assembled. She was proposed for president in the committee, but was defeated 28 to 19 by Z. X. Snyder, principal of the Colorado State Normal School. In the majority report of the committee her name appeared as a candidate for one of the vice-presidencies, but she declined this through R. M. Hitch, a Chicago public school principal. On the floor of the convention Katherine D. Blake of New York presented a minority report (without precedent in the history of the association), naming Mrs. Young for president, and the minority report was adopted by 617 to 376.

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Ella Flagg Young (p. 540), the first woman president of the National Educational Association, also the first woman superintendent of public schools in any large city (vol. xii, pp. 745, 756), and president of the Illinois Teachers' Association (p. 15), stands in the first rank of educators, a place to which she has risen, step by step, from a primary school teacher in the Chicago public schools, in an almost unbroken service of nearly fifty years. The significance of Mrs. Young's election was emphasized by her inaugural speech in which she said:

I am aware that in one year the president may not accomplish great changes, but may be the conservator of all that is good in the educational work done and may see to it that there are no backward steps. There are many things to do now. Chief

among them is the ending of distinctions in memberships between those who can afford to pay the comparatively large active membership fees and those who cannot. This organization never can be a truly democratic association worthy of its name and ideas until all men and women teaching can be in, of, and for the Association in every act of membership. I hope I may do something to advance the democratic spirit of the Association until every teacher in every city, town, and school district may join in helping forward the work.

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Before adjourning the convention adopted the following resolution:

The National Educational Association reaffirms its unalterable opposition to any division of the public school funds among private or sectarian schools, and believes that appropriations from the Federal or State treasuries in support of private educational institutions is in direct contravention of the fundamental principles upon which our system of American public school education has been founded and has prospered.

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The Sagamore Sociological Conference.

The fourth Sagamore Sociological Conference (vol. xii, p. 663) held its sessions at Sagamore Beach, Mass., from June 28 to 30. In the discussion of the liquor problem Mr. Henry Sterling, ex-secretary of the Typographical Union of Boston, quoted Frances E. Willard as saying she had changed her first belief that intemperance is predominantly the cause of poverty, to the faith that poverty is more generally the cause of intemperance. Increased wages and shortened hours of work have again and again been shown to make for greater temperance. If you solve the "unemployed" problem, you will go far to solve the liquor problem. Dr. George Sale, of the United States Commission to Liberia (p. 321), in speaking of the race problem in the South, said that in spite of the laws recently passed, depriving the Negroes of some of their rights, he believed there is a new and truer "reconstruction" now in progress than that which so embittered the South after the war. Signs of this appear in the fact that the strongest utterances against race prejudice and in favor of the Negro during the last few years have come from Southerners, in the new spirit showing itself in Southern universities, and in the development of agricultural interests among Negroes. The children of the workers and working children were presented by John Spargo and Florence Kelley. Dr. Josiah Strong of New York laid emphasis on the economic causes of nearly all race hatreds. Mr. Henry Sterling declared his belief that poverty is the nexus of all the problems so far treated by this conference—drink, Negro, and child problems; as long as we permit poverty to continue, we may pull here and there individuals out, but the slums will still seethe. Professor C. P. Fagnani, of Union Theological seminary, also

laid emphasis on poverty as the underlying support of our problems. The platform of the Conference declared imperative to all who really desire the coming of God's kingdom on earth, the establishment of social justice, and the realization of brotherhood., the consideration of such problems as:

- The fair distribution of the products of labor.
- The reduction of the hours of labor.
- The establishment of minimum wage-boards.
- Hygienic conditions of living.
- The abolition of the exploitation of child-labor.
- The problem of unemployment.
- Working men's compensation for injury to life and health in industry.
- Special attention to the education of immigrants.
- One day's rest in seven for all workers.
- Marriage and divorce laws.
- Abolition of the saloon evil.
- A constructive programme for recreation.
- Compulsory insurance against illness, unemployment, old age, and death.
- Public ownership of public utilities.
- The abolition of privilege and monopoly.
- Income and inheritance taxes.
- The abolition, by taxation, of the monopoly in land.
- Promotion of all forms of association for mutual help and social betterment.
- The bringing together, through common interests, of people of different races and religions.
- The perfecting of our democracy through (a) direct legislation and the referendum and recall; (b) the maintenance of free press, speech, and assemblage; (c) the conservation of natural and social resources; (d) the enfranchisement of women.
- World organization for peace and justice between nations.

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Land Values Taxation in Wales.

The British United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values has extended its work into Wales, where, until now, it has not been represented. On the 18th of June an influential committee, says the South Wales Daily News of the 23d, editorially, "representative of leading public men in Wales and Monmouthshire was formed to conduct a campaign in the Principality for the taxation of land values," to which it adds:

It may be recalled that Alderman Raffan, M. P., the president, in his address at the inaugural meeting on Saturday, pointed out that they could not rest satisfied until local authorities were able themselves to rate land values and mining royalties for local purposes, and that there was a deep and real feeling about the land question in Wales. . . . The first meeting in connection with the movement was held last night at Abergwynfi, where the leading speaker was Mr. Edward McHugh, the well-known authority on this great question. It was evident from the meeting that the campaign will be as successful as the sanguine pioneers anticipate; it is at least certain that the question affects Wales in a peculiar sense, and nowhere can more striking

examples be given of the injustice and inequalities of the present system of landlordism. Mr. McHugh's contention is that the fairest system is to tax the value of the land that a man holds, and he urges that it would solve the problem of unemployment by forcing unused land into use, lead to the abolition of slums, and the raising of wages. The contention cannot be challenged. The Chancellor accepted and enforced the principle in his Budget; and it is, we take it, generally admitted that a tax upon the value of unused land would force the land into use, and thus open up the way for many of those social reforms which now exercise the minds of our statesmen. It would be a just tax; it would appropriate for the benefit of the people what results from their own efforts at the betterment of a community. It is not here and now necessary to re-state local examples of how the land is held up, and how communities are penalized by a system of which many land owners take full advantage. Time and again we have shown how the principle of freedom of access to land is essential to the highest welfare of the people; and we strongly support the new campaign in Wales, which has opened under auspicious circumstances, and will be pursued with enthusiasm and enterprise.

Mr. Beddoe Rees, who moved the organization resolution (which was seconded by Mr. Vaughan Edwards), is reported by the News, from which the foregoing editorial is quoted, that support is promised by Mr. Wm. George (brother of the Chancellor), Mr. Evan R. Davies, Pwllheli; Prof. Levi, Aberystwyth; Rev. Gwynfryn Jones, Barmouth; Mr. W. Roberts, Llandudno; Mr. C. Breese, Portmadoc, and Mr. Cory Yeo, Swansea.

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Religious Freedom in Spain.

Religion is the subject of violent debates in both houses of the Cortes (p. 613). As reported from Madrid on the 6th, the Bishop of Madrid, leading the attack in the Senate, claimed that the laws of the church are the laws of the country, because the constitution makes Catholicism the state religion. Premier Canalejas in reply declared that the invasion of state sovereignty by the church was no longer tolerable. Commercial bodies, according to reports of the 7th, had signed a petition to the government in favor of limiting the growth of monastic orders. They asserted that the orders are monopolizing many branches of industry and commerce. The Republican organizations had pledged support to the government's religious program. The King signed on the 7th a bill forbidding further religious orders to enter Spain until the pending negotiations with the Vatican for a revision of the Concordat (p. 613) are ended. The measure was then to be presented to the Cortes.

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Somewhere in this broad land of ours, possibly obscure and unknown, dwells the next member of the Ananias Club.—Puck.

NEWS NOTES

—In the garment makers' strike at New York (p. 637) 75,961 have quit work.

—The Social Democratic referendum to nominate a State ticket for Wisconsin, nominates for governor W. A. Jacobs of Racine.

—A man's league for the promotion of the cause of woman suffrage, has been organized in Des Moines, with E. A. Nye as president.

—The fourth international conference of American States, known as the Pan-American Conference (p. 518), opened at Buenos Ayres on the 10th.

—Governor Jared Y. Sanders was elected United States Senator from Louisiana on the 5th to succeed Samuel Douglass McEmery, deceased (p. 636).

—The Social Democrats of the Fifth Congressional district of Wisconsin announced on the 5th the nomination through referendum of Victor L. Berger.

—Progressive Democrats of Illinois, led by Congressman Henry T. Rainey, have issued a call for a conference to be held at Lincoln, Wednesday, July 20.

—Henry C. Niles of York, Pa., former State chairman of the Lincoln party (vol. ix, p. 750) announced on the 9th that an independent State convention would be held in Philadelphia on July 27 and 28.

—J. Eads How, the "millionaire tramp" of St. Louis (vol. xii, p. 244), was locked up by the police at Philadelphia on the 5th when he attempted to hold an open air meeting for the unemployed, for which the department of public safety had declined to issue a permit.

—The Woman's Journal, founded by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, and edited by their daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, with which Progress is now merged, has been made the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with its price reduced to \$1 a year.

—The National Catholic Educational Association convention at Detroit ended on the 7th with a public mass meeting addressed by Archbishop John J. Glennon of St. Louis. Cardinal Gibbons was elected honorary president, and the Rt. Rev. J. T. Shanahan of Washington, D. C., was chosen president general.

—Theodore Roosevelt was reported on the 7th from Oyster Bay as making this announcement to the press: "Mr. Foulke and Mr. Swift came to Sagamore Hill last night and spent the night here. They came to request me to go to Indiana and speak in behalf of Senator Beveridge. I promised them that I would."

—Three women are reported from Spokane to have been appointed members of the police department. They are Captain Bertha Smith of the Salvation Army, and Mrs. Ella Jones and Mrs. N. W. Alexander of the Volunteers of America. Their quarters are in the city jail, and they have full charge of all women prisoners.

—Debate on the conciliation woman suffrage bill (p. 613) began in the British House of Commons on the 11th. It was opened by David J. Shackleton (Labor party) who moved the second reading of the

bill, it being his bill. William Redmond (Irish party) and Keir Hardie (Independent Labor party) were among those who spoke for it.

—The Federal Circuit Court of Appeals sitting at Chicago—Judges Grosscup, Seaman and Kohlsaat—have granted a stay against the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission reducing rates for upper berths in Pullman cars (p. 348); on condition, however, that security be given for refunding the excess to passengers if the order be in the end sustained.

—The teachers of Buffalo, N. Y., have organized themselves into a Federation and, following the example of the Chicago Federation (vol. viii, pp. 146, 154, 177, 195; vol. x, p. 99; vol. xi, p. 709; vol. xii, pp. 222, 701), have affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They are backed by the labor department of the Western New York Federation of Women's Clubs.

—Fighting between the Madriz and Estrada forces continues in Nicaragua (p. 543). The Madriz government has ordered the "reconcentrado" system, that Weyler put in force in Cuba, to be applied in the vicinity of Granada, where all the inhabitants of the region, regardless of age or sex, have been ordered to assemble at Granada, on pain of being treated as revolutionists.

—President Taft signed orders on the 7th withdrawing 35,073,164 acres of coal lands from the public domain in the States of North and South Dakota, Washington, Utah, Colorado and the Territory of Arizona, under the law passed at the last session of Congress, which definitely authorized the President to withdraw various lands from entry pending their classification and special disposition by Congress.

—New York dispatches of the 7th reported plans by Wall street and affiliated political interests to secure the presidency for Woodrow Wilson in 1912, the first step to be his nomination next fall by the Democrats for governor of New Jersey. The names given in connection with this movement are ex-United States Senator Smith of New Jersey, George B. M. Harvey of New York, and Roger C. Sullivan of Chicago.

—Dispatches of the 11th from Winnipeg, Province of Manitoba, Canada, told of a great reduction at the provincial elections on the 11th (p. 540) of the Parliamentary majority of the Roblin ministry, but later dispatches say that only one ministerial seat was lost. The campaign, reported as unusually exciting, appears to have been over a ministerial policy of public ownership of public utilities, including the grain elevator systems of the Province.

—An electoral reform program for France, outlined by the Premier, Mr. Briand (p. 275), is thus summarized by the Chicago Record-Herald: "It will abolish single-member constituencies in favor of larger districts returning a number of deputies, and it will introduce proportional representation. What is most important, the term of the deputies is to be made six years, and the Chamber will be, like the Senate, a continuous body, only a third of its membership being elected every two years."

—Governor Harmon, of Ohio, suspended Herbert Atherton, Mayor of Newark, on the 11th, upon charges of official culpability for the lynching on

the 8th of Carl Etherington, an anti-saloon detective, who had killed a saloon proprietor. The vice-mayor, J. N. Ankele, immediately removed the chief of police and a police captain for non-enforcement of the county option law. Governor Harmon has set the 23d for a hearing in the case of the suspended mayor.

—The organization committee appointed by the Peoria conference (pp. 611, 626), and consisting of Walter S. Rogers (La Grange), as chairman; Merritt Starr (Chicago), George E. Cole (Wilmette), George L. Carpenter (Amboy), Fred A. McFarland (Galesburg), A. L. Surran (Decatur), and Frank H. Bode (Springfield), met at Chicago on the 11th to begin the work of State organization on the basis of the Peoria resolutions. They arranged for permanent headquarters at both Springfield and Chicago, for mass meetings throughout the State and for a State wide distribution of pamphlets.

—Without explanation or warning, the Western Union Telegraph Company discontinued its service on the 7th to brokers in ten cities of New York and Pennsylvania. Executive officers of the company stated that under advice of counsel they could not discuss the company's policy. Hitherto the Western Union has always taken the stand that as a common carrier it has no right to refuse any business offered in decent language. It argued that any attempt by it to investigate the private affairs of its customers would be inquisitorial and intolerable. On the 9th the company as mysteriously resumed service to the brokers it had cut off.

—The City Council of Chicago on the 5th unanimously pledged itself to the policy of public ownership of docks and wharves along the Lake front, by passing without a dissenting vote Alderman Dever's resolution directing the committee on harbors, wharves and bridges to take steps at once to procure a permit from the Government to construct a dock system, and the finance committee to appropriate sufficient funds to carry out the provisions of the Council order. In addition to endeavoring to get a permit from the government, the committee is instructed to take steps to obtain from the legislature at its next session such legislation as may be required before the city can begin actual construction.

—The South Dakota Republican convention at Sioux Falls on the 6th declared "determined support of those great policies developed under Theodore Roosevelt," and demanded "that they be given full effect in legislation and administration," commending "President Taft for his repeated declarations of loyalty to these principles," and indorsing "his administration for the many substantial measures of reform it has written into our statutes," assuring "him of our approval and support in all efforts to secure further effective reform in legislation and administration." The platform also asserts that while the Aldrich tariff bill is a step in the right direction, it should have given at least free iron ore, lumber, and coal, and should have made material reductions in many other schedules. A permanent and non-partisan tariff commission with ample power and duties to be fixed by law, is favored. The convention also declared for the physical valuation of all railway property of the country, this being held absolutely necessary to an intelligent adjustment of

railway rates and charges; and it favors the proposal to grant to Congress the power to levy a graduated income tax; declares for a thorough system of Federal regulation of corporations in interstate commerce that will prevent and suppress unlawful monopolies; asserts that new legislation should not modify the Sherman anti-trust act, but should aid in its enforcement; comes out strongly for the conservation of natural resources; recommends necessary modifications of the rules of the national House of Representatives so as to curb further the arbitrary influence and power of the Speaker, and opposes the appointment to Federal judgeships of corporation lawyers whose environment is such as to create distrust or weaken public confidence in cases where such corporate interests may be involved.

PRESS OPINIONS

Real Estate Graft.

The Lincoln (Neb.) Wage Worker (Labor), June 24.—Glory be! Here come the Traction Co. attorneys with a single tax argument that is unanswerable. When I read the following from the protest of the Traction Co. against its assessment I jumped straight up into the air and sang the Doxology: "There is every reason for taxing real estate to the full limit and no reason for laying excessive tax burdens on street transportation; the real estate of this county has appreciated in value in the last fifteen years approximately four-fold; this increase is purely a social value; it was not created by the labor or thrift of the individual owner, but is the result purely of the growth of the State and the nation. On these unearned values the owner is permitted to demand an income, and high rents based on the enhanced value of real estate have greatly increased the cost of living to the general community. Because this unearned value in real estate is a free gift of the community, the owner should in all fairness be required to contribute liberally to the revenues of the State." That's the milk in the coconut—the men who create the values get nothing in return. The men who profit by the increased values do nothing to create them. While the great body of workingmen give without getting, the few get without giving. And the only solution of the problem, the only way to make everybody bear their just burden of taxation, is to levy the taxes on the value of the land for use and occupancy, thus putting an end to the foolish system of taxing enterprise and putting a premium on sloth.

✦ ✦

Roosevelt's Leadership.

Milwaukee (daily) Journal (ind. Rep.), June 18.—What Mr. Roosevelt will do with the authority of party in the hands of other men is not to be determined in considering what he did when it was in his possession. Another ox is gored. But the Journal is not one of those who believe that Mr. Roosevelt can wreck the Progressive movement or stay the tide of democracy. He may go with it and share in the honors of its victory. He may oppose

it and be crushed. For a day he might bring confusion to those in the front ranks that have looked to him for leadership, but he no more could check it than King Canute could stay the tides of the ocean. Democracy has had many great captains. The history of mankind is a history of the struggle of the masses and of the classes—one to seize and hold privilege, the other to resist and overthrow it. There have been Washingtons and Jeffersons and there have been Bonapartes and Diazes. In our civilization and day no Diaz can flourish. He must have existence in a foreign atmosphere. Roosevelt may make his choice. He may adhere to his decision to follow the example of Washington, of Jefferson, and justify the faith of his countrymen. But he cannot, if he would, turn backward the onward march of the American democracy.

✦ ✦

Prize Fight Pictures.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind. Dem.), July 8.—In the midst of much aimless or prejudiced discussion regarding the exhibition of the Jeffries-Johnson prize fight pictures in Cleveland and elsewhere, comes a calm and sane letter from a Cleveland minister. He is a white man, and as such he laments the attitude of his fellow Caucasians in the present controversy—an attitude which, he insists, is unworthy of the race. "While I deprecate the prize fight," this minister writes, "and the display of the brutal in these moving pictures, I believe there is in this matter an issue more serious than the fight itself. It is the race prejudice that it reveals. The prize fight has always tended to arouse the brute in man, but why should the matter be treated differently when a Negro participates? Race prejudice is a contemptible passion, and is only aggravated by the present discussion. Reports show that white men have been the great offenders in the post-fight disturbances—men who are not sportsmanlike enough to wish to see the better boxer win. If the white man had won, the white man would have exulted, the Negro would have borne defeat, and the pictures would have been shown. The disgrace is to the white man whose mean intolerance belies his boasted superiority. Isn't it possible that a higher service might be rendered to humanity if the pictures should be shown and every white man who cannot see a telling blow delivered by the Negro without an outburst of race hatred should be treated by the law as an unsafe citizen? And the quiet witnessing of a fair contest throughout the North might be a wholesome object lesson to the prejudice inflamed South. It is a pity to degenerate into lovers of the prize fight; but it is a greater pity to become self-confessed slaves of an intolerance that is bigoted and fanatical."

✦ ✦ ✦

Having occasion in the regular course of business, to purchase a few Congressmen, the Ultimate Consumer took up the matter in the usual manner.

Imagine his consternation when he discovered that prices had about doubled.

"The Trusts control everything!" he exclaimed bitterly, and forthwith gave himself up to despair.—Puck.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE NEW CREED.

For The Public.

Three mysteries there are:
 Life, and its errand here;
 Love, with its smile or tear;
 And God behind the star.

Clearer these riddles run
 To whom all Life and Love,
 And God who dwells above,
 Are Three, but Three in One.

And less profound and dim
 Seems this, the later creed,
 Wherein Life, Love, we read
 As other names for Him!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

* * *

A LESSON IN CHEERFULNESS.

**William Allen White, of the Emporia (Kansas)
 Gazette, Makes the Gazette Account for
 Some of Its Prosperity.**

Ten years ago the Gazette moved to its present quarters. Then Merchant street was a residence street with not very important residences upon it. It was the back door of Commercial street. But the government had bought a lot for a post-office site next to where the Gazette bought, and sooner or later it was evident that the postoffice must come. Well—the postoffice came. The back door to Commercial street became the side door. People began walking to the postoffice on Merchant street past the Gazette office. The telephone company moved around here. The Aerodome came. The street livened up. The valuation of the lot upon which the Gazette building was built grew. The present owner did little to make the increase. And still it grew.

This week the postal savings bank law was passed in Washington. It may be a good, bad or indifferent law, but it puts the government bank next to the Gazette office. The Gazette is now at the bank corner. The back door of Commercial street has changed. We are now in the front yard.

And the Gazette has done precious little to earn all the money that has come with the increase in the value of his land. There should be an increment tax on land. Such values are due to the community. They come not from the individual, but from the community. Foresight is something, but not much. Anyone has sense enough to buy cheap land. The community should take a share of the profits of increased values. A tax should

be levied upon all land so that unearned increases will go in some degree to the people. When this building which cost \$6,000 is sold for what it is now assessed at—that is, \$9,500—the people should have under the law at least twenty per cent and justly more—some of that unearned increase. They did it. They should have it. But will they get it? Well, hardly. The people will not get a cent of the value of their own activities until they take it. All the people get without taking it is a pleasant look and a kind word. Even so good, so true and so beautiful a man as the editor of the Gazette will hang onto his unearned increment like a sick kitten to a hot brick. But for making a bank corner of a cow-path he desires to thank the people, and to show them where they are losing enough money every year to pay all the expenses of Lyon county without levying a dollar's worth of taxes. Just take twenty per cent of the increase in the price of every foot of land every time it is sold, and hold the deed until the taxes on the increment are all paid.

But will that be done? Nope, it will not. We are all a little too selfish yet. We are afraid to break away from our right to put both feet in the trough, and will not pass laws that will curtail ourselves, however fair they may be. Other countries do this, and profit by doing it. But there the land is in fewer hands than in our country, and it is easy to reform the other fellow—especially when he is only a few. So the Gazette sits on the bank corner and puts its unearned increment into a new brick veneered wall of gaudy color, and is as cheerful as it can be in a solemn world.

* * *

NEED AND WASTE.

**From the Phi Beta Kappa Address Delivered at
 Stanford University, May 21, 1910, by
 William Kent.**

Democracy is the goal to which the world is tending, and equality of opportunity is its prerequisite. The needs of a democracy comprise those things that the average man may reasonably expect to obtain by an amount of effort that shall neither blight his health nor narrow his life. The old aristocratic scheme, under which the lord ate the chicken, while the gizzard and feathers were for the mob, is abhorrent to our thinking. While it is practically impossible to draw sharply defined lines between the needful and the useless, we may at any rate suggest some approximations.

The Need for Food.

First of all, we require food, wholesome, palatable, and in adequate quantity. Doctors and faddists will wrangle eternally over what is wholesome. It is a consoling fact that all over the world are well developed and vigorous people who have adapted

themselves to what is at hand. There are mild eaters of meat and ferocious drinkers of milk. There are insect eaters, and wild honey people. Our race has grown great on a mixed diet of bread and meat. One thing in common is shared by all men, the necessity of repairing to the earth for food. Hardship follows when this is made difficult. Man also needs a varying amount of clothing. This need is not dependent upon fashion, as a traveler from Mars would suppose, but upon climatic variations; for this, too, he must go to the land, and the same is true of shelter and fuel. Unless we believe that certain men should be starved or frozen or forced into servitude, we must accord equality of opportunity to seek the bounties of our common mother earth. That mother cannot furnish the average man such banquet dishes as Roman emperors considered needful. Palo Alto would exhaust the supply of nightingales' tongues in a day and without appreciable benefit. The earth cannot provide aigrettes for all vain women, or game preserves for all men who joy in killing. We have never tested the measures of earth's bounty. Instead of cherishing her, we have often looted her, and upon us and those after us must fall the burden of her quiet punishment.

For the sustenance of life, we must look to the great mother and to her husband, the great, good sun. For whatever else, we must look to ourselves and to each other and to the power behind all that works for righteousness. We must not, like apes at a banquet, grab and destroy, but we must conserve and share in good will, else many suffer and the successful have little joy of their success.

It is required in a democracy that there should be a happy childhood, of long enough duration that little shoulders shall not be bent by overloading.

The Need for Work.

It is required that there shall be a busy youth and prime of life, with a chance to work, so that the work shall count in the general product, and so that the fruit of toil may go to the producer without diminution from unproductive privilege. It is no less a requisite that man should be able to look serenely forward to a well provided and self-respecting old age, and further, that he be defended against the want that may come from the accidents of life. These provisions are now monopolized by the well to do, who often fail to see how needful they are to the happiness of all.

The Need for Good Will.

Length of days may be but elongated lethargy, or misery. It is of no value for or in itself. Life has other dimensions than those of the line. It is more than a connection between the prenatal and post-mortem mysteries. The primal social need is good will to men, and good will is not born of want or of repletion, of successful greed or of sullen envy. It must rest in a sense of justice that keeps alive a righteous dissatisfaction, until equal-

ity of opportunity is the common lot. That smug so-called philanthropy which is evidenced by the bestowal of surplus and perhaps ill-gotten or unearned wealth, can never take such pleasure in obsequious expressions of gratitude as may come to every one of us when our fellow men say, "Neighbor, you have tried to help; brother, you have played fair."

Knowledge adds to the breadth of life and should be denied to none. Our public education is as totally withdrawn from the overworked as from those living beyond its pale. The fine arts should be the common heritage of all of us just as they served the whole people of Athens.

Waste Must Be Eliminated.

These are some of the real needs of democracy. They can only be met for this and coming generations by a system, a scheme of things that will conserve and develop what is worth while to the elimination of the useless. Weeds and melons cannot grow in the same bed. However generous the earth may be, there cannot be support for drones except at the cost of workers, and the workers must employ themselves productively else they, too, are but a burden on those well employed. The waste in the world is the world's great problem. Our country is doubtless the most prodigal of all. Its developing riches have thus far saved some of us from the pinch that will, ere long, teach the lesson that all of us must learn.

In outline let us consider a few matters that seem to disclose our prodigal heedlessness, our economic blindness, and suggest the way that we must travel.

The food supply of civilization is the joint product of land and labor. Upon that food supply rests human life and all its content. Lacking rice, fish, and millet, the voice of Confucius would not have been heard.

Lacking grain and meat, there would have been no theater to echo the philosophy of Shakespeare; spectral bards would have sung to an empty world, and the great message of love would have been undelivered.

The ancient nation-cities sent their armies and navies to loot the world of food. They enslaved men that they might fill the mouths of non-producers, and finally they went down to destruction under the artificial conditions they had created.

Sometimes there has been too little land, at other times too little labor; there has been soil exhaustion and erosion, and the drying up of water sources, and always, everywhere, an overwhelming burden on the food supply. Mechanical reapers and mowers, gang plows, wonderful systems of transportation come to relieve the situation, but the relief seems but temporary even in our favored country, and now we are facing the great problem of an increased cost of living, not only in terms of dollars but in terms of day labor, which is life.

More Eaters Than Producers.

We who have been the greatest exporting agency in the food market are feeling the pinch with all the rest of the world. In a market more clearly open to the play of supply and demand than is any other market, we are bidding up the staples of life. Many factors enter into this problem, but the one most frequently neglected is the many-phased factor known of old, the excess of demand over supply, the disproportionate increase of the army of eaters, relative to the army of producers. To this is related certain increased costs of production despite the advent of labor-saving farm machinery.

Up to the present time our expansion into new fields has more than made up for the exhaustion of old fields. We have not begun to pay the penalty which we shall have to pay for soil exhaustion. But our agricultural industries are underworked while in every other field we are working overtime. Access to the land is constantly being made more difficult and expensive by rising land values.

We have, first of all, considered the food question because while the most vital it is the simplest in its terms. The other real necessities of our complicated social system are farther removed from the action of supply and demand.

Wool and cotton fiber for clothing are in part high in price, owing to agricultural conditions. Wool is further enhanced to the consumer by the tariff and the trusts.

We possess the cheapest iron ore in the known world; we assemble coal and iron by the most economical transportation systems; we manufacture it by the most scientific methods, and then under our tariff system and an unregulated monopoly we sell the product cheaper to foreigners than to our own people. All of us are paying tribute and we are forcing the export of two natural resources that cannot be replaced—coal and iron.

Trusts and Tariff.

Trusts and the tariff meet us everywhere; they increase the cost of what we consume, and we must seriously seek for benefits on the other side of the ledger, for generally distributed democratic benefits; else we cannot justify their action. We are everywhere met by the tyranny of our servants, the railroads, with their varying theories of "what the traffic will bear;" their charges enter into the cost of living: are those charges justified or not? It is worse than a Fifteen Puzzle until we look at the solution furnished by railroads and trusts, in the dividends paid on stocks and bonds that represent the hopes and not the actual investments of their promoters. The price charged for monopolized anthracite coal depends far more on the dividends paid on watered securities than on the cost of its production. A few Guggenheim grabs, and we would be forced for all time to beg for the

privilege of warming ourselves. That is under existing law.

The prices of those things we need in addition to food are regulated largely by combined and uncontrolled selfishness which in a measure also acts on the things we eat. We have granted the power of life and death along with the grants of land and natural resources and the licenses to incorporate. The index of how this power is used is seen in the stock market, in the thousands of millions of capitalization made good by the privilege of picking our pockets, and in rising values of city and rural land.

If Harriman, Rockefeller, Carnegie and Morgan have done service as captains of industry, can we rest quietly in the assumption that they and their heirs and assigns can exact their tremendous tribute from all the people forever? These men, after all, are but names in the longer vista. There is no use exciting ourselves in hostility against them personally, as economic factors. They are shining lights as beneficiaries of special privileges which in many forms work to the common impoverishment.

Inequality Is Waste.

It may be urged that the capital piled up by special privilege is not lost to productive enterprise; that inequality is not waste; and that what is taken from the unorganized many is better used by the organized few. This is an economic argument although socially iniquitous. True, we can never go back to the simpler stages of production. We can never dispense with the economy and power of co-operating dollars any more than we can go back to a barbarous condition of self-sufficient anarchy. It is clear and obvious that progressive democracy will use the device of incorporation with its massing capital. "Peopleization of industry" will not come through the purchase of watered stocks fortified by special privilege, but it is sure to come gradually in some form or other.

As against the helpful tendencies of present-day co-operating capital, we have the destructive tendencies of economic waste wherever capital is massed, tendencies that lead to luxury and extravagance, that lead to misdirected effort, and this to such an extent that the benefits of the system are absorbed and the labor-saving devices count but little in the life of the average man. . . .

The natural richness of our country has saved us thus far, but it can no longer stand the strain. There are days of want ahead of us unless we cut off special privileges that more than any other thing lead through unfair distribution to malemployment.

The Menace of Privilege.

From many quarters there comes up a cry for business men and business methods of administering the commonwealth, and simultaneously we

hear a protest, backed by indisputable facts, against the methods and aims of what is called "Big Business." The different points of view are not hard to understand; both can be honestly taken. Certainly we should have business men and business methods, but the national business, unlike private business, must take a view that goes beyond any single human life, else all the sacrifices made for us in the long struggle for liberty may be annulled in a single generation.

National business must be a combination of far-sighted altruism and social justice; this is statesmanship and patriotism.

To turn our natural resources over to private development without let, hindrance or control; this is the kind of business that will not even now greatly benefit living men and is sure to despoil our descendants. . . .

The conservation movement is the beginning of a great crusade that will turn men's minds toward equality of opportunity and social justice. It is a movement that has just begun; but it is so strong in logic, so eternally right in its trend that it can not be curbed or diverted by the unfortunate reaction in Washington. In it all reasonably intelligent and unselfish people can and will unite. We cannot predict how far it will lead, nor do we care, so long as justice and true patriotism are its inspiring ideals. Who helps this cause is the friend of his country; who hinders it is a public enemy; although his ignorance may palliate the guilt of his offending. To demand that the remainder of the public domain should be squandered because most of it has been heedlessly handled in the past is to present the argument that the prodigal's father should have settled with those barkeepers who had missed getting their portion of the prodigal's substance.

Some Suggestions.

The end of this necessarily discursive story is this:

If we are to prosper and to succeed as a democracy, we must keep our wants within reasonable bounds. A democracy unaided by slave labor can never wallow in luxury, and this is good.

We must root out special privilege which reaps where it does not sow, unfairly absorbing the fruits of toil.

We must jealously guard the great gifts with which nature has endowed our country, remembering that we are but tenants with the briefest of tenure and a vast responsibility heavy upon us.

We must apply ourselves thoroughly to useful work, else whether in idleness or useless endeavor we are but a burden to the earth.

We must strive for justice between men and must do our best to provoke respect for law by obtaining laws that in wording and interpretation work for ameliorating the lot of the average man, for this is what justice means.

The spirit of good will, kindness and human

sympathy can never fully bloom except under democracy. This spirit is the richest endowment of all. Honest thinking will bring you out, whatever trail you pursue, to the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth.

+ + +

WOLVES.

For The Public.

When grandsire used to hear them bark
Around his cabin door,
He'd scatter far the yelping pack,
Then sleep with peaceful snore.
Why, why is it I lie awake
And toss and ponder deep,
On how on earth I ever can
One wolf its distance keep?

SHIRLEY SHERMAN.

BOOKS

LIVING UNDERNEATH AMERICA

Our Slavic Fellow Citizens. By Emily Greene Balch, Associate Professor of Economics, Wellesley College. Published by the Charities Publication Committee, New York. 1910. Price \$2.50 postpaid.

"Back of all political developments, of all social institutions, lie the two great fundamental facts of human history—land and men."

Those two primary facts, the fact of land and the fact of men—the only primary facts by the way, and as fundamental and inclusive with reference to daily industry as to historic institutions, but the importance of which in that connection is usually invisible to economic experts in the maze of economic detail—this author sets out as the basis for her minute and comprehensive examination into the Slavic strain in American life.

The first half of her book is devoted to a study in their native land, of this race which constitutes "a large part of our total immigration" and an "important element in our permanent population." The latter half deals with them after they have come to our land.

It is quite impracticable to summarize in this notice a mass of detail so voluminous, but there is one touch of Slavic industrial life in America which impresses us profoundly, as it did the painstaking and judicial author. She quotes a Slav leader: "My people do not live in America, they live underneath America. America goes on over their heads. America does not begin till a man is a workingman, till he is earning two dollars a day. A laborer cannot afford to be an American." And here is the author's interpretation and sensible comment: "Beginning at the bottom, 'living not in America but underneath America,' means living among the worst surroundings that the country has to show, worse, often, than the public would tolerate, except that 'only foreigners' are

affected. Yet to foreigners they are doubly injurious because, coming as they often do with low home standards, but susceptible, eager, and apt to take what they find as the American idea of what ought to be, they are likely to accept and adopt as 'all right' whatever they tumble into."

Then she pointedly adds, what since her writing the Pittsburg Survey has proved and what before she wrote was plain even to the wayfarer in those regions: "I have been in places in Pennsylvania where all one can say is that civilization had broken down."

From those brief quotations the reader will feel the spirit of Miss Balch's book.

In substance, it is an able and conscientious contribution to sociological literature, indispensable alike to the student of industrial conditions or of the history of the American people.

+ + +

Peleg had his choice of two sweethearts, Shawomet girls, one of whom owned a cow. That was

the one he married. He explained to his friends at the wedding:

"By Crinus! there ain't the difference of a cow between any two women living."—Washington Post.

+ + +

"And how," asked the fond father when his son had returned home after his first year in college, "do you like the president of the institution?"

"I've never seen him."

"What! You have never seen him? That's strange. I shall have to look into this matter. I sent you to that college because of the faith I had in the president of it—because he has the reputation of being one of the ablest educators in this country. I shall insist on knowing why you have never seen him."

"The whole matter is easily explained. He's been so busy raising equal amounts that he couldn't devote any time to the running of the college."

"Raising equal amounts?"

"Yes. Every few days some millionaire offers to give the institution several hundred thousand

"EASY"

You may not know that your friend or neighbor would hail The Public's weekly visit with as much enthusiasm as you do; not all of them of course, but those with whom you have had an occasional heart to heart talk, and who rather agree with your brand of philosophy, etc., etc.

Cincinnati, July 11, 1910.

DANIEL KIEFER.

"COMMON HONESTY" A Study of Fundamental Principles and their Relation to the Labor Problem. By Orren M. Donaldson, of Oak Park, Ill. Louis F. Post says: "As a discussion of elementary industrial principles, it delights me." The Public (June 10, 1910): "An exposition of the land reform ideal which we confidently recommend to those wishing a brief explanation." "This little book is as logical and convincing as it is direct, concise, interesting and sound." Bound in cloth, 128 pages, price 80 cents postpaid. Address Van-American Press, 823 Kimball Hall, Chicago.

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dollars if an equal amount can be raised from others. You haven't any idea how busy a man is likely to be kept raising equal amounts."—Chicago Record-Herald.

+ + +

Ella was seen one day before the mirror on a chair scrutinizing her face in the glass. With a deep sigh, she remarked:

"I don't see how God could have given me such a nose, when He knows how particular I am."—Harper's Weekly.

+ + +

Patient: "Tell me candidly, Doc, do you think I'll pull through?"

Doctor: "Oh, you're bound to get well—you can't help yourself. The Medical Record shows

that out of one hundred cases like yours, one per cent invariably recovers. I've treated ninety-nine cases, and every one of them died. Why, man alive, you can't die if you try! There's no humbug in statistics."—Lippincott's.

+ + +

"He was once a member of the Legislature, was he not?"

"Oh, yes. And ever since he has been living on the reputation of the reputation he might have made."—Puck.

+ + +

"So you don't want the earth?" said the sneering acquaintance.

"No," replied Mr. Dustin Stax, calmly; "if one man

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owned all the real estate in existence it would be too easy to assess taxes."—Washington Star.

+ + +

"I think," said Mr. Poppleigh, "that our little Alfred is going to be a financial genius."

"Oh, I had so hoped that he would be a great pianist," replied the child's mamma; "he would have such lovely hair for it."

"Nope. You may as well have it shingled. He

got the boy next door to give him three cents, a few minutes ago, for the privilege of riding his own velocipede."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

A Chinese laundryman in Oakland, California, recently had his troubles with a watch that habitually lost time. So he took the timepiece to the nearest watchmaker.

"Watchee no good to Charlie Lee," said he briefly,

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is the best and easiest way of washing. If Fels-Naptha didn't do what we say it will, no woman would buy a second cake. Yet more than a million women use Fels-Naptha every washday. And the number is increasing as fast as its value becomes known.

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THE PUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

pushing it across the counter. "You fixéé him, eh?"
 "Certainly," said the watchmaker. "What seems to be the trouble with it?"
 "Oh, him too muchee by 'n' by," said Charlie Lee.
 —Harper's Weekly.

* * *

In a little village there once lived a boy who was supposed to be dull-witted. The men of the village used to find great amusement in offering him

the choice between a threepenny bit and a penny, of which he invariably chose the penny.

A stranger one day saw him choose the penny rather than the threepenny bit, and asked him the reason.

"Is it because the penny is larger?" the stranger asked.

"Naw," was the response, "not 'cause it is the biggest. But if I took the threepenny bit they'd soon stop offering it."—The Tatler.

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

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

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