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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

Garfield in Ohio.

Garfield's candidacy for the Republican nomination for Governor of Ohio is a welcome surprise. The democratic Democrats as well as the democratic Republicans of Ohio, are doubtless looking forward to it with hope revived.

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Drudgery and Poverty.

"There is nothing but drudgery and poverty for a working girl in the country, and toil and hunger in the city." So the Cincinnati papers report a factory girl of 19 who had come from the country to work in the city, and, driven to suicide, was brought back to life at a hospital. While she was starving on the pitiful wages she got, a Cincinnati manufacturer at a luxurious luncheon table—the despairing girl would have thought it so—was bewailing a shortage of factory help, and a Cincinnati representative of organized labor was nominating him for membership in a branch Ananias club. Interesting remarks on the same general subject from other houses were also getting into print in the Cincinnati papers; among them being a statement that employers take advantage of the reduced living rates in charitable institutions for "deserving work people," by reducing wages accordingly. It does seem inhuman, this turning of charitable aid into a leverage for reducing wages, and one feels like kicking the employers who do it. But really what are employers to do?

They are quite right when they argue that they must pay the wages they have to and not the wages they would like to. But do they ever ask themselves and each other why they have to pay less than they would like to? Some do. And these, though they pay only what they have to—as they must or go out of business—are sincerely and earnestly using their influence to turn the business imperative the other way around. To such employers we should offer a hand instead of administering a kick. But what of the employers who do not ask themselves this question, either from indifference to human suffering through injustice, or because they rather approve of it so long as they and theirs are not its victims? Such as these might be kicked all the long distance from their business ethics to their religious sense, without getting their deserts.

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Natural Equality.

"I believe," said Robert Cumming, in an address in a Presbyterian church at Peoria, "that all men are created equal. But I assume that every one in this audience has the intelligence to know that I do not mean and that the signers of the Declaration of Independence did not mean, that all men are created six feet tall with black hair and brown eyes, but that they are created equal in their rights before God and should be equal in their rights before the law." This true doctrine, so simply stated and clearly defined by Mr. Cumming, cannot be too often repeated. It is denied everywhere and by many persons; yet, paradoxical as this may seem at first, the doctrine is never really denied. Those who deny it do so with reference to others, not to themselves. No one ever denies that he himself, in his rights before the law, should be equal at least to everybody else.

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Roosevelt and La Follette.

In an editorial on Roosevelt's leadership, the Denver Post proposes this test:

Take the case of La Follette. No man in the whole country has done more to secure and shape legislation intended to benefit the many rather than the few, and this in the days when the Aldrich-Hale combine was all powerful in the Senate. Yet now he faces a desperate fight for re-election, himself penniless, his enemies able to marshal millions. Colonel Roosevelt has been most emphatic in declaring that he will go into Massachusetts, and help the corrupt Lodge against Butler Ames, an honest man, a popular champion. Why doesn't he say something about helping La Follette? Why doesn't he go into Wisconsin and insure La Follette's re-election by one or two powerful speeches setting forth the man's value

to the country, his wonderful work for the people? That is the way to prove that he has indeed "come back."

But in the itinerary he announces, Mr. Roosevelt has named Milwaukee for a speech on the 7th of September. Let us wait and watch and see—that which, peradventure, we shall see.

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Personal Responsibility for Corporate Crime.

In charging the Federal grand jury which is now investigating the beef trust, Judge Landis pulled off the mask from a growing tendency in the criminal law—under the fostering care of corporation wet nurses on the bench and at the bar—by saying:

It sometimes happens that a person about to violate a law takes a name other than his own. If your investigations disclose such a case do not indict a mere alias, but follow the trail wherever it may lead until you have located, identified and pointed out the real offenders.

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Governing New Jersey From New York.

The political duty of the Democratic party of New Jersey is now as plain as a pike staff. It is to nominate and elect Woodrow Wilson of Princeton to the Governorship this year, as a step toward nominating and electing him to the Presidency in 1912. This is the duty of New Jersey Democrats because it—so say the news dispatches—"was decided upon at a conference between Pres. Wilson and a dozen or more prominent New Jersey Democrats at the Lawyers' Club" in New York City. When a "dozen prominent" Democrats of New Jersey meet in New York to adjust a political program, the event is likely to mean much the same thing to the public interest, though in enormously greater degree, that a midnight meeting of prominent connoisseurs of poultry under a henroost would mean to the owner of the hens.

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Stand Pat Spoilsmen.

The true spirit of that Republicanism which the Insurgents are repudiating and denouncing, finds its frankest expression in a letter from Senator Heyburn's nephew, a protege of Secretary Ballinger, in charge of the land office at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, which Collier's reproduces in its issue of the 16th. In explaining the withdrawal of land office advertisements from newspapers that had become critical, this specimen of the decadent Republican office holder writes with refreshing candor. "Naturally," he says, "under a Republican administration" public advertisements

"go to Republican papers;" but "only so long as they" continue to be conducted "properly in accordance with Republican principles." A Republican paper that has "published an editorial in which the good faith of Secretary Ballinger, Senator H—— and" the Senatorial nephew is "questioned," is not entitled to public advertisements; and so, with reference to "the contest in the House of Representatives" over the autocratic rules question, of "an editorial attacking Cannon." But if "in the future conduct" of such a paper, "these political acrobatics are eliminated," the matter will be reconsidered and the repentant paper be accorded "full consideration." Could the spoils spirit of the Standpatter be better expressed? Mr. Taft would not express it in such direct and simple terms, but he doesn't need to; his actions are sometimes plainer than his plainest words.

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Automobile Prosperity.

The automobile habit which the average Kansas farmer has contracted, and which has done faithful service—lo, these many moons—as evidence of agricultural prosperity, is now explained with little or no reference to the prosperity question. The explanation comes in the form of a news item from Kansas City, Mo., which states that—

the bankers of Kansas City and of the southwest dependent on Kansas City have agreed to lend no money to anyone who intends to use the cash for the purchase of a motor car. This boycott is brought about, the bankers say, by the extravagance of the country in the purchase of automobiles. Thirty-two million dollars were invested in motor cars in the last year in Kansas. One million dollars may be added to this to keep these motor cars in repair for the same twelve months. "We'll have no more of it," say the cash holders. "If this thing keeps up there's no telling what condition the finances of the country will be in a year from now." One Kansas City banker stated to-day that his safe contained fifty-two real estate mortgages, the money for which he knew went for the purchase of automobiles.

It is crops of farm mortgages then, instead of profitable produce, that Kansas farmers have prospered on! Will the jaunty prosperity makers at Washington continue to claim credit when foreclosures set in?

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Progress Through Tax Exemptions.

An interesting comparison of two cities, with reference to the effect of different taxation methods, is made by J. J. Pastoriza, of Houston. The cities are Houston and Mobile. As a citizen of Houston, Mr. Pastoriza might be suspected of

falling under the influence of a spirit of local patriotism; but he proves his case with facts. The taxation policy of Mobile eases the burden upon the value of building sites and casts it upon industry, whereas that of Houston casts it upon the value of building sites and eases it upon industry. To be more explicit, Mobile allows her old real estate taxes to stand, falling back upon business or vocation license taxes for additional needs for city revenue; whereas Houston, following the wise suggestion of a former city attorney, H. F. Ring, not only imposes no vocation license taxes, but assesses real estate improvement values low and land values high. These opposite policies have had the natural effect of encouraging business enterprise in Houston and discouraging it in Mobile. Consequently, although Mobile was settled 200 years ago and Houston only 70, and Houston has no natural advantage over Mobile, the population of the latter is only 70,000, while that of the former is 100,000, and building has almost ceased in Mobile while Houston is prospering. As Mr. Pastoriza explains, "Houston's policy of taxing land heavily has not driven land out of the city, from the simple fact that land cannot be moved; Mobile has taxed business heavily and land lightly, with the result that business has ceased to increase and buildings have ceased to multiply."

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The policy in Houston is, as will be observed, what may rightly be called "the Canadian plan." This plan has been very effective in western Canada. It appears to have begun early in the Province of British Columbia, where in several municipalities the fiscal custom has long prevailed of valuing improvements at a fraction of market value and land at full value. The extreme of "the Canadian plan" has recently been reached in the city of Vancouver (p. 444), which began by valuing land at 100 per cent and improvements at 75 per cent of market value, then reduced improvements to 50 per cent, then to 25, and finally to zero. The final basis—100 per cent for land and zero for improvements—was reached last spring, and its result, so similar to that of Houston as described by Mr. Pastoriza, is thus described by ex-Alderman John Macmillan (p. 473), one of the leaders in the Vancouver reform: "We are having the greatest building activity in the history of the city, but a pronounced lull in speculation in real estate. I am asked every day by real estate dealers: 'What is the matter—so much building but people afraid to buy lots unless they want to build?' As yet the speculators do not

see that the effect of the single tax is to kill speculation and promote improvement. After a while they will see this, and then will come a struggle by the speculative element to repeal the law. Just now even opponents of the single tax are delighted to find that they are not taxed on their homes, lawns and shrubbery, and that the unkempt vacant lot next to theirs (which they had wished to buy, but found the price put up a notch or two every time they tried), pays as much taxes as theirs with its improvements."

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Protection Prosperity.

Our English brethren whose memory or reading does not go back to the "hungry forties" of British protection, and are therefore easy dupes of plutocratic employers and politicians who plead for a revival of British protection under the name of "tariff reform," might find food for thought in the report just issued, of a special committee of the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

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This committee consists of the Rev. Charles Stelzle, chairman, and the Rev. Josiah Strong and Paul U. Kellogg,—all of high standing and wide fame in this country. It was appointed to investigate a labor strike at the South Bethlehem steel works (p. 254), part of the steel trust, which is one of our highly protected interests. The special occasion for its appointment was the fact that a question of Sabbath observance was involved in that strike. It is evident from the lengthy report that a thorough and impartial investigation was made.

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The strike appears from the report to have originated in a demand by the workmen for abolition of unnecessary Sunday work, but to have extended as it progressed, to demands also for higher wages and a shorter work day. Not only is Sunday work mercilessly exacted of more than a quarter of the workmen, but the work day for more than half is 12 hours long, and the tendency with the rest is steadily toward that inhuman limit. When the 54-hours a week workmen of "free trade" England incline to listen to the siren song of British protectionists who call themselves "tariff reformers," let it be remembered that at South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in "protected" America, the workmen in one of the best protected of all our industries, have to work from 70 to 80 hours a week. And let it be noted that for this

killing pace, they are paid on a scale of wages which, though it may "look good" in money terms to British workmen, "leaves no option," according to this church report, "to the common laborers but the boarding-boss method of living, with many men to the room," and that under it "American standards are impossible."

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Another American document that should interest the British workman who wants Great Britain to return to protection for the sake of the British workingman, is a recent report by the Department of Labor and Commerce, on wages in Germany. This report of the protection officials of a protection country, upon wages in another protection country, both countries having wildly boasted of their prosperity under protection, shows that on an average the workmen of Germany do not get wages enough to cover the cost of living. Although their average income is as high as \$521.72 a year, their necessary living expenses average \$531.70—making a deficit of \$9.98.

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All of which goes to show from experience that however advantageous protective tariffs may be for some employers, they fall upon workmen as a heavy burden.

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Tax Reform in Michigan.

An elaborate leading editorial on taxes in Michigan, which appeared in the Grand Rapids Herald on the 6th of June, although suffering from intellectual wanderlust, makes an excellent suggestion. In its wanderings the article refers to the ore mines of the Upper Peninsula and the salt mines of the Saginaw valley, apparently approving a proposition that the product be taxed by tonnage. This seems to be the demand of the farmers' organization. But evidently such a tax would become part of the cost of production and tend to increase prices and to obstruct industries affected by the cost of producing ore and salt. The true kind of tax is *ad valorem*, and the true place for it is not upon the product but upon the mines whether they are used or not. It is urged that an *ad valorem* assessment of the mines is impossible. This is a pretense. Any mines that are capitalized and have stocks and bonds on the market can be valued. Even if not so capitalized, the physical property can be appraised. There is never any difficulty in valuing property except when the owners are politically powerful and want to sidestep their obligations. But passing from that

point to land of the non-mineral kind, the Herald states that land values are assessed at nearer their full value in large centers than in rural regions. If this is true of Michigan that State is exceptional. Whether it is true or not, however, the Herald makes the absolutely sound suggestion, one that applies to all kinds of real estate as well as to farms, when it asks if there should not be "one general ratio of assessment which should be applied without fear or favor to every kind of land value in the Commonwealth, regardless of the geography." In that question the Herald shows that it "hears the bell ringing" whether it knows "where the clapper is" or not.

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Private Ownership of the Nations.

A marvel of clear perception and compact statement is the reported remark of David Starr Jordan that the "nations on the continent of Europe are so loaded with debt that their sole ownership is in the hands of the bond holders." Let it be added that the same loading tendency is driving all other nations, our own included, toward the same ownership, and you have a picture of present day civilization. It is quite in order, then, for some one to say that ownership of bonds is more dangerous than monopoly of land. But what is the difference between the two? A bond is a government pledge to tax the people for the benefit of bondholders; a deed is a government pledge to support land monopolists in collecting taxes in the name of rent. Interest on government bonds is stationary, or may be reduced by refunding; but rent rises with social growth. Otherwise the two are essentially alike—public taxation perpetually for private use. If land monopoly were as concentrated in control as bonds, and the two were held by different groups, the land group would knock out the bond group; but as both are tending swiftly to concentration in the same group, the industrial masses will have to tote along the best they can or get mad and unload.

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THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE'S SCHOOL LAND LEASE.

Judge Charles M. Walker having sustained the Tribune's school land lease (pp. 220, 232), the Tribune naturally makes much of the fact.

But the question that concerns the people more than this dubious triumph of the Tribune, is whether the Big Business school board of Chicago will appeal the case, as Big Business men always do when beaten by the lower courts in pri-

vate lawsuits of great magnitude. Or will they be content officially with a decision against their public trust, though that decision involves millions of dollars, and is by only one judge who is not only on the lower bench but is as yet unrecognized for high judicial qualities?

Any one, be he lawyer or layman, who reads Clarence N. Goodwin's brief in behalf of the school interests in the Tribune case, will find it difficult to regard the school board as acting in good faith if it does not carry this case to the highest tribunal with jurisdiction over it.

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The case is said to be technical, and therefore beyond the mental horizon of laymen.

Taken in all its aspects, it may indeed be involved in too much of legal technicality for laymen to pass judgment on the merits of Judge Walker's decision. But would not this fact alone make it important that the judgment of the highest court be obtained?

One of the points in the case, for example, raises the question of the power of the school board to lease for 99 years without consent of the City Council, in the face of a statute forbidding sales without such consent. This is, of course, a technical question. It would seem to the layman, however, that every reason for forbidding sales by the school board alone, would apply to long leases; and some lawyers regard a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the State as conclusive against the Tribune on this point. It is to be remembered, too, that friends of the Tribune on the school board did their utmost with great eagerness, as soon as possible after that decision, to secure—in the guise of an educational law (vol. xii., pp. 555, 579), legislation authorizing 99-year leases by the board without the consent of the City Council. But as we have said, this question may be too technical for the layman; for which reason alone, however, the case ought to go to the highest court.

Too technical also may some of the other questions be, one of which rests upon the fact that the Tribune's own lawyer was a member of the school board at the time the lease was made over for the benefit of the Tribune, and took a leading part, as a board member, in making it over.

But if these questions are too technical for laymen, there is at least one question in the case which is not. Let us try to explain that question.

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The Tribune's lease from the school board once

contained a clause requiring a readjustment of ground rent every 10 years during the term of 99 years.

To make that clause effective, it provided for the appointment every ten years of three appraisers to make those decennial readjustments of ground rent, their report to be binding on both the school board and the Tribune.

These decennial periods were required by the lease to be calculated from the year 1885.

At the beginning of the period extending from 1895 to 1905, three appraisers were appointed in accordance with the terms of the lease.

They appraised the property (then comprising only three of the six lots now occupied by the Tribune—the three on Dearborn street at the Madison street corner) regularly as required by the lease; and, in accordance with its terms, they made their report.

In that report they fixed the ground rent for the ten years from 1895 to 1905 at \$30,000 a year.

Thereby an absolute legal obligation was fixed upon the Tribune, under that 99-year lease, to pay \$30,000 a year until 1905, the time for the next decennial readjustment of ground rent. Please observe that this was an absolute legal obligation. So, at any rate, any fair and intelligent layman would say; and, while there has been much evading of the point by lawyers friendly to the Tribune, we have yet to hear of the lawyer who disputes it.

Now for the question which we regard as non-technical enough for any intelligent layman's mind.

After that legal obligation to pay \$30,000 a year from 1895 until 1905 had been fixed upon the Tribune—*afterwards*, let the layman observe,—*after* that legal obligation had been fixed for ten years to come, the school board struck out the clause of the lease requiring future readjustments of ground rent, upon the Tribune's promising to pay \$30,000 for ten years, and \$31,500 for the remaining eighty years.

They therefore struck out that valuable clause *without any consideration whatever*.

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Incidentally it should be noted again that the Tribune's lawyer was most active among the school board members in securing this inexpensive favor for the Tribune; also that most of the other Chicago newspapers (interested in the same kind of school land graft the Tribune was getting) were daily making life unendurable for such of the 1895 board members as opposed the graft.

But the point we make needs no support from such suspicious circumstances. That point is this: *The school board of 1895 modified the Tribune's obligations under its lease, without consideration, by striking out the legally binding decennial re-appraisal clause.*

An agreement to build might have been a consideration, but there was no agreement to build.

The Tribune's agreement to pay \$30,000 a year until 1905 was no consideration; for this the Tribune was bound to do under the 1895 appraisal, which had already become a legally binding obligation.

Its agreement to pay \$1,500 a year additional after 1905 and during the remaining eighty years of the lease, was absurdly inadequate as a consideration for striking out the decennial appraisal clause. Considering the well-known economic history of the city, and the fact that the \$30,000 appraisal had been made at a period of great financial depression—in the midst of the hard times of 1893-98—the agreement to pay \$1,500 a year (in addition to the hard times appraisal of \$30,000), from 1905 to 1985, eighty years, was so grossly inadequate as in itself to stamp the whole transaction with the impress of collusion and fraud.

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Back of the Tribune in this controversy is the Chicago Daily News, which got some of the school land spoils in that generous distribution of 1895, and would have to disgorge if the Tribune has to.

Back of both is the Record-Herald, controlled by the News interest until recently, and not improbably still so controlled "at a show-down."

Back of those powerful engines of local influence are the State street school-land lessees, who were left out of the spoils distribution of 1895 and are trying to get their share now.

And scattered through the city are other interests of great and ramifying influence in helping folks who are "good" and hurting those who "ain't good," upon whose help the Tribune and its associates in school land ventures may depend.

In the face of such powerful and subtle local interests, it may be that Judge Walker and the Master in Chancery he sustains (pp. 220, 232) are so supremely courageous and judicial as to have held the scales of justice even, between the people and the Tribune. In deciding for the Tribune they may have decided without fear or bias. Far be it from us to hint otherwise. We do not sit in judgment upon them. We would not be inclined to, though they had been unfaithful and we knew it; for we realize the terrific enmities they would have

challenged, and the potent friendships they would have repulsed, by deciding against the Tribune in this case.

Yet we are conscious, as they must be, that their decision, if the school board does not carry it up to the highest court having jurisdiction over it, must always be overcast in the public mind with a cloud of doubt.

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It would therefore be only fair to the Judge and the Master in Chancery, for the school board to appeal this case. The affirmance by the highest court, of their judgment for the Tribune, would remove doubts that might otherwise gain lodgment in public opinion.

As for the school board members, nothing short of an appeal to the judgment of the highest court can relieve them of reasonable suspicion. Corporation directors do not yield up millions of dollars in a lawsuit upon the adverse decision of a lower court; and if the same men, as directors of a public trust, were to reverse their habitual business policy in that respect, to the possible advantage of one friendly newspaper directly and of other newspaper and business friends indirectly, a charitable inference would be well-nigh impossible.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

"WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH KANSAS?"

Topeka, Kansas.

This question became famous in 1896.

It was asked and indirectly answered with brilliancy from an editorial chair.

To sum up that answer with brevity and that justice which we direly need and cloudily demand, the matter was this: Kansas was "raising hell and weeds" largely because it was making a strenuous effort, misdirected by unknown heroes, leaders, to become more really American in its social adjustments.

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The question had been asked when in nearly every country school house in Kansas there could be found a group of men, young and older, in cotton shirts and overalls, with mother earth clinging to their persons in spots, making some apparent effort to understand social economic adjustments—to know how the iron highways, the measure of values (money), and the growing power of capital could be made to conform to that natural law of God that the wages of productive effort are what is produced by labor applied to God's earth.

Those groups of men were not conscious as a whole that they were doing this; but some of them were, and the rest were certain they were receiving much less than their labor produced.

This condition had come about through the efforts

of many men, some of them sincere, some of them political hucksters, all of them avowedly for the people's interests. From among the men who stirred up the farmers' alliances in Kansas until they formed a political party, the name of one stands out in bold relief. Jerry Simpson was in a measure the accepted leader; he was our never-beaten fighting hero, in that period from 1890 to '98. Jerry Simpson by his unturning logic and his humorous and swift debate, had captured the 8th Congressional district; had left to his host of political enemies no other argument than his personal habits and appearance, and had forever enlightened these groups of men, though few of us knew it then, by his unflinching refusal to consider any detail as of higher value to society at large than God's natural laws.

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During that period, towards the end of which the question quoted above was asked and indirectly answered so brilliantly, things in the people's interest had been done, had been attempted, and had been in their platforms but had not been done.

Among the things done the most striking was the passage of the statute called "the court of visitation." This court was to consist of three judges, with common-law and equity powers. It could compel, upon complaint, submission before it of rate schedules and special contracts entered into by railroads. It was to judge of the reasonableness of such rates and contracts. It could, to assist its findings, ascertain under its own authority the physical value of the entire property of a railroad, and its methods of handling and raising its funds. It could appoint receivers and decide as to what was fraudulent procedure for railroads. It was hardly passed before it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

The anti-trust law in use today in Kansas, and which defined trusts and the procedure to regulate or to oust them, was another of the things done. The uniform school book law, the bank commission law, the insurance legislation which stopped a plan then in vogue with some fire companies of compromising losses with men too poor to go to law, were also among the things done. And by no means the least striking law, the fees and salaries act, was another. This last was really original. The first officers whose fees and salaries were reduced and controlled by this act belonged largely to the People's Party—the party, that is to say, that wrote this law into the statutes of Kansas.

The People's Party platforms always contained the maximum freight rate, allusions to the initiative and referendum, and some promises regarding adjustment of taxation, and regulating interest rates. It might be said that along these three lines they did little or nothing. It is thought by many of us, who were units in those overalled groups of men struggling to understand and adjust social relations, as had their fathers and as their sons will, that what put the People's Party into the ranks of the "once lived" was the failure to write a maximum freight law on the statutes of Kansas, and to give greater coherence and power to the people's will.

An eminent jurist gave as his explanation of why the People's Party so completely passed out, that "Kansas only really thinks upon an empty stomach."

Some of us looking back toward Jerry Simpson meetings and those school house wars, believe that the worship of party and the envy, hatred and malice toward things and men possessing wealth, was what stopped the force and dissipated the units which gave that party its power. All of us who really lived then, are certain of this fact; that what of truth and justice lay in our efforts then will never die. What has died or is dying is our crudity, our worship of party, which is but a means, and our hatred of the wealthy merely because they had wealth.

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"What is the matter with Kansas" in Anno Domini 1910?

The same editorial chair, assisted by others who reveled in that brilliant question and the indirect answer, is very clearly and emphatically telling Kansas what is the matter. They are not only telling Kansas clearly and emphatically what is the matter, but they are putting their shoulders ably, tolerantly but unturningly to the wheel to remedy that matter—and not alone in Kansas but in the nation, through the Kansas Congressional delegation.

There are in Kansas, just as there were twenty years ago, leaders, heroes, telling Kansas "what all" to do. These leaders are some of them sincere, some of them political, all of them avowedly for conditions more in accordance with the American ideal—equality of opportunity to be maintained by really representative popular government. These editorial chairs and these heroes are rising up against slavery, just as their fathers did, and their sons must do. They have done things, and they promise to do things, and they agitate to get Kansas to see the need that it has, of a more businesslike adjustment of social relations.

They really began to do striking things in behalf of popular government in 1897. They wrote into the Kansas statutes the primary law, which upset the apple cart of a U. S. Senator, the mouthpiece of an Administration, just as another orator in the U. S. Senate got dethroned, though not so scientifically, 18 or 20 years before, because the majority willed it. Many a gentleman of the Democratic Party has declared this statute to be very imperfect. It is the pleasanter and easier method to agree to this fact. Truth compels one to add, however, that if the devil himself wrote this statute, Kansas had better never return to those mechanical conventions which were the conditions for selecting public servants before its arrival.

Kansas now has an appointed tax commission. This statute and this commission are also imperfect and not satisfactory to both Democrats and Republicans one hears and hears of. To this too it is easier to assent, but it must also in fairness be stated that before them, assessors were merely unscientific and on rare occasions charming despots in deciding values both of real and personal property. Then, too, no one had heard of the workings of a general property tax and how it prevented us from ceasing to tax what we wanted to increase in Kansas. The tax commission in their 1908 report advocated repealing this general property tax and separating the sources of the revenues of State and localities. Because they did this, comprehensively, too, behold; ten men have

heard about the unscientific despotism of the general property tax where one man had before.

Now all that is something, cuss these heroes or not, as you please.

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Kansas now has a board of railroad commissioners, elected. This board has a pretty broad statute behind it, and it must be said that less remarks are made in Kansas about the railroads, since these uprising leaders last amended and adjusted this law. Curiously enough when it was threatened to hold a special session of the legislature last year over the bank guarantee law, which was assailed and declared imperfect, several of the noted Insurgents proposed to change this commission into a court, that it might have a more recognized authority.

Since 1906 the prohibition law has so nearly prohibited that in justice it must be said that the present administration has made it prohibit. Men who loathe prohibition did in 1908 vote for this administration, because it had brought this about, not many of them, but some. You see they recognized that conditions were better if the people voted for the law they themselves loathed, that this law should be enforced.

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After stating emphatically their adherence to protecting labor and prohibiting sin by law, these Insurgent leaders have forcibly attempted and are agitating for many striking things for the people's interest. They put forward at the last legislature a public utility bill. This purposed to hereafter do away with franchises for a term and substitute indeterminate franchises—franchises dependent on quality of service rendered. This public utility bill contained things which had been the chief demand of Democrats since 1900. It was killed in the House. A few—no, not many—members of the Democratic party can never understand how this killing helped the people. The Insurgents, in this case, seemed Democrats to them.

They proposed a constitutional amendment for direct legislation by the initiative and referendum. The House failed by 4 votes to carry this; the Senate snowed it under. They proposed a constitutional amendment to abolish the general property tax, advised by the tax commission. The administration forcibly, by message, advised that it be submitted. It lost by a few votes in the House, and the Senate snowed it under.

They wrote into the statutes that cities could govern themselves by a commission directly controlled by the initiative, referendum and recall. Twenty cities in Kansas have taken advantage of this act, and though they still talk more of the men who are commissioners and their actions than of the splendor of the people's control, no one wants to go back to city councils.

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Those editorial chairs and the present administration and three of the Congressional delegation are not idle nor quiet now. They are out agitating for the short ballot, for the more businesslike plan of commissioners appointed by an elected governor, for the taxation amendment and for the public utility bill. Some of them, if not all, are agitating very ably

for direct legislation. It might be said with truth that Kansas insurgency has taken up the People's Party endeavors, has rendered some of them effective laws which no real Kansan would depart from, has enforced others, and is strenuously endeavoring to place upon the statutes other laws which that People's party of 18 years ago merely talked about incoherently.

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And what is Kansas doing?

Kansas is not saying much; what it will do will be seen in August after the primary.

As a straw indicates the direction of a sluggish stream, sometimes, so does this incident: There are 6 party Democrats the writer knows in this town, who will call for a Republican ballot at the primary. They defend this action by saying that they intend to have two more or less democrats to vote for at the election for Congress and for Governor. They add quietly that at that election they purpose to vote for the more democratic of the two.

And so it goes in Kansas, as it does in all the rest of the world more or less. The brass band and the quiet voice, the warfare and the quiet thought, the sincerity leader and the political huckster are all mixed up in Kansas today.

Some of us whom the indomitable humorous wit of Jerry Simpson woke up when Kansas was thinking with an empty stomach, are feeling exceedingly hopeful. Efforts are being made here today which will render the lives of our babies freer in Kansas and the United States in days to come. Men are contending for more justice and truth, contending unturningly. It is the same truth; the truth which compels against despotism and towards pure democracy.

GEORGE HUGHES.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A GLIMPSE OF PRISON LIFE IN GEORGIA.

Detroit, Mich., June 16, 1910.

It was my privilege a few weeks ago to visit the Stockade and Poor Farm of Richmond County, Georgia. We have recently had uncovered for us such a slough of horrid truths concerning prisons in general, that this one, by way of offset, gave me a real relief and pleasure. But at the County Farm I found that the Beast in Politics was as much at home as elsewhere.

The convicts are employed almost wholly out-of-doors—those who are able working the roads. There are about three hundred miles of roads in that vicinity, that are said to be as fine as any in the world. I toured by automobile from Augusta to Savannah with some people who had lived many years in Europe, and they agreed that they had never seen finer roads.

On this trip, we occasionally met detachments of the Chain Gang at work. They were for the most part courteous and interested, taking off their caps and smiling. Very few of them failed to meet our eyes, and they seemed unconscious of being criminals. I had frequently heard the Negroes compared

to irresponsible children, and I wondered then if their crimes were not due more to lack of self-control than to real wickedness. We hear that the brains of the patient with nervous prostration, and the criminal, are both not normal, and the out-of-door life is recommended to the former to restore sanity. Why not for the latter? Here it was being practiced. Those convicts who were old or weak, tended the vegetable gardens.

Their Prison, or "Stockade" as it is called there, was built entirely by convict labor, a \$35,000 building being put up for the cost of the raw material, \$12,000. The building looks like a large red brick High School, set on a rise of ground, and commanding incomparable air and sunshine. The inside was cement; and the beds were made by the convicts of iron pipe, and so arranged that they could be lifted and hooked to the ceiling, while the whole room was washed with a hose.

The women convicts are an adjunct of the Poor Farm, which is several miles from the Stockade. They work the gardens and do the housework for the old and helpless and the Tuberculosis Building, which is a second adjunct.

The man who had been County Commissioner there for thirty years, had been able to build two such buildings, one for the whites, one for the blacks, and a fine new hospital, without taxing Richmond County more than other counties, nor as high as many.

The convicts built the Hospital as they did the Stockade. But alas! When I was there politics had declared that the policy of this fine, unselfish man, had been too extravagant, and the new Hospital stood clean and empty with sufferers all around in crowded quarters. The Tuberculosis Building for the blacks stood closed, with tuberculosis raging among the Negroes more fiercely than among the whites. There were but four patients in the other building, the politicians having made it so difficult as to be well nigh impossible for anyone to get in. The kind nurses told us of the crying need among the mill people, and their own frantic desire to help. But in the place of the former county commissioner, a Commission of five politicians were drawing five salaries instead of one. Bath rooms, modern and clean, had been installed in the cottages of the old women, and the new Commission would not allow the running water to be turned into them, although it would have cost the County nothing extra.

We stood peeking through the high board fence watching the Negro-women convicts at their noon-hour recreation in the sunshine. They marched around in a single file, singing and laughing. They beat time to their songs, by dropping one knee, and clicking their fingers at the end of every measure. This is one of their songs—as much as I could catch of it—evidently of personal experience, chanted in an indescribably weird and mournful melody—if one can be said to "chant a melody"—and is it not suggestive of their irresponsible childishness that this solemn wall came to our ears interspersed with the merriest laughter!

My mother tuk an' tol' me.

Oh! Lo-o-rd, Lordy me,

She tol' me not to gamble,

Oh! Lord, Lordy me;

Piquette will hand you over,
 Oh! Lord, Lordy me;
 Judge Eve will find you guilty,
 Oh! Lord, Lordy me;
 Judge Hammond, he will hang you,
 Oh! Lord, etc.;
 Because he hung young Glover,
 Oh! Lord, etc.;
 My Lover was a murderer,
 Oh! Lord, etc.;
 I'm goin' home tomorrer,
 Oh! Lord, etc.;
 Say, Mother, "Here's your daughter,"
 Oh! Lord, Lordy me!

DOROTHY GRAY BOLTON.

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 19, 1910

Gifford Pinchot's Conservation Campaign.

On his way to California to speak for William Kent's candidacy for Congress against Congressman McKinlay at the Republican primaries (pp. 434, 651), Gifford Pinchot, President of the National Conservation Association (p. 653), stopped at Kansas City by appointment to speak before the Knife and Fork Club on the 15th. This is the club at which Speaker Cannon recently made an unrestrained attack upon the Insurgents. It happened that Mr. Cannon was passing through Kansas City on the 15th on his way to speak at the Winfield, Kansas, Chautauqua, and he was added to the Pinchot program at the club.

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Mr. Cannon spoke first. In the course of his speech he said:

J. W. Powell was the father of conservation. It was Powell who appealed to me when I was chairman of the committee on appropriations to do something for conservation. I sent Powell to Senators Hale and Allison, and the Senate, as a result of his conference with those Senators, started legislation to withdraw all public lands that could be irrigated, as well as all reservoir sites. The House was in favor of the legislation, but the Senate fought it; but in 1890 the civil sundry bill as passed contained a provision withdrawing all the water power sites, and that was the pioneer work of conservation. We lost in our fight with the Senate in our efforts to withdraw from entry all public lands that could be irrigated, but we won on the other proposition."

Turning to Mr. Pinchot, he went on:

I have the greatest personal regard for you, but I understand that you are now engaged in conserva-

tion work for the organization of a new party. I tell you, sir, that a party cannot stand on a single issue, although our party did stand on a single issue once in that great conflict between servile and free labor.

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As reported in the dispatches the significant parts of Mr. Pinchot's speech follow:

Theodore Roosevelt was the father of conservation in this country. The National Conservation Association is continuing the work he started. The last session of Congress did great work, and our Association was largely responsible for it. The withdrawal bill, as it passed, was due largely to the efforts of the Association. We now intend that the people be compensated for what private interests get. The old practice of giving perpetual grants to private interests is impossible and the future is safe against the oppression of monopoly. The fundamental idea of conservation is to make of this country a better home for the race and to make the race a better one in that home. The nation should think of its marvelous riches. Conservation does not mean to stop development, but so to use the country's natural resources that the people who come after us may also enjoy them.

I believe a new school of politics is coming in the United States. This new school will decide whether the country shall be governed by money for profit or by men for human welfare. I made a speech in St. Paul recently and in connection with that speech somebody mentioned the possibility of the organization of a new party. Mr. Cannon's reference to me in that connection doubtless is due to his having read some headlines at that time. The essential questions before the people now are outside of party lines. In looking over the names of those who voted for the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill I am led to believe that regular Republicans and regular Democrats are the same. I am a Republican, and I do not believe in the necessity of a third party at this time, and there won't be any. I am not a Cannon Republican or an Aldrich Republican, but I am a Dolliver, Cummins, Beveridge, La Follette, Murdock, Norris, Stubbs Republican, and I like to be counted among that kind of cattle. Mr. Cannon said a party cannot stand on one issue. Well, I know that people never will become enthusiastic on the one proposition of standing pat. I want to be counted with the men who go ahead. The ideals of public-spirited Democrats are exactly the same as the ideals of public-spirited Republicans. We must all work together to put the special interests out of politics. I am for the man who puts man above the dollar, progress above reaction, and the insurgents above the regulars. There is an overwhelming issue. It is this: Shall special interests run this country, or shall the people handle it themselves? I am sure the American people are tired of being ruled by a small self-elected body of men whose only motto is accumulation.

Upon rising to speak Mr. Pinchot was given an extraordinarily enthusiastic welcome.

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Conservation Congress.

Preparations for the annual congress of the Na-

tional Conservation Association (p. 653) to be held from the 6th to the 9th of September at St. Paul, have developed a significant controversy. The reports are not authentic, but the situation seems to be somewhat as follows: Friends of President Taft, Secretary Ballinger and others prominent in "conservation" policies which Mr. Pinchot has discredited, complained that the executive committee of the Association controlled by Pinchot supporters, had packed the St. Paul congress by putting upon the tentative program of speakers, ex-President Roosevelt, Francis J. Heney, Senator Dolliver, Congressman Madison, James R. Garfield and Louis D. Brandeis, and omitting the name of President Taft. Representing this complaint, a delegation appeared before the executive committee of the Association at its meeting at Chicago on the 14th. The delegation consisted of Gov. Eberhard, J. H. Beek, Charles Patterson, G. W. Gillette, H. A. Tuttle, and M. H. Hunter—known among Minneapolis and St. Paul progressives as "the Commercial Club bunch." They submitted this resolution, purporting to have been adopted by certain commercial interests and organizations of St. Paul and Minneapolis:

Resolved, That the Conservation Congress should be kept free from politics and controversial aspects; that the President of the United States should be specially invited to the Congress, and that upon the program should appear not less than five Governors of the following named States: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa and Wisconsin. Further resolved, that the chairmen of the Congressional Committees having special reference to the work of conservation, viz.: public lands, agriculture and forestry; irrigation and reclamation of arid lands, conservation of natural resources and mine and mining, should be invited, and that a member of the Department of Agriculture should be asked to address the Congress on the subject of good roads.

The executive committee of the Association announced that President Taft would be invited, and that the other demands would be considered at a meeting of the committee in the East the following week, and the St. Paul committee on local arrangements would then be notified of the final decision.

Garfield in Ohio Politics.

James R. Garfield's candidacy for the Republican nomination for Governor of Ohio has assumed definite form since the Cleveland dinner (p. 657). He was formally put into the field on the 13th by the delegates from his own county, Lake, and his headquarters were established at Cleveland immediately. The three candidates prior to the action of the Lake county delegates were O. B. Brown, Warren G. Harding and Carmi Thompson. They are reported as badly frightened, although collective-

ly they have the pledges of more than a majority of the delegates. The impression deepens that when these pledges are redeemed, none of the three having a majority, there will be a stampede to Garfield. "Garfield offers the rank and file of Republican voters in Ohio," says the Cleveland Press of the 16th, "a fighting chance to beat Governor Harmon and to restore their party to the public confidence and its old-time popularity. Garfield is showing the Republicans the way out of a swamp. Incidentally he would accept a nomination, but only if the convention first adopted his platform. Garfield's appeal is entirely to the delegates. He is proceeding on the theory, derided by the bosses, that the delegates constitute the real convention, that they can conduct its business themselves if they will, and that they surely will, now, when the very life of the party is at stake."

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Progressive Republicanism in Minnesota.

A meeting of Progressive Republicans (p. 657) at St. Paul on the 14th formed the "Progressive Republican League of Ramsey County, Minnesota," with an Insurgent platform declaring for "tariff revision downwards," and commending "those Congressmen who voted against the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill," which this platform "denounces as a repudiation of the pledges of the Republican party." Proceeding, the platform reaffirms "unalterable support of the policies promulgated by Theodore Roosevelt," and declares opposition "in national as well as in State political life to the vicious system and concentration of power known as Aldrichism and Cannonism," and commends "every effort and vote on the part of the representatives of the people to do away with this system and to down the men that perpetuate it."

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Insurgent Repulse in Indiana.

At the Republican convention in the First Congressional District of Indiana (pp. 347, 661) on the 14th, ex-Senator Hemenway was permanent chairman, and he and Congressman Watson made vigorous Standpat speeches, attacking the Insurgents and applauding the Taft administration. Resolutions were adopted unanimously and with enthusiasm endorsing President Taft and the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. The convention is reported as a complete victory over the Beveridge supporters, who withdrew. Frank Posey was nominated for Congress over John Brady by 71 to 33.

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The New British Budget.

Mail advices report that the second George Budget (p. 637) as explained in the Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, imposes no new taxes, remits no old ones; shows that the whole

of the deficit due to rejection of last year's Budget—\$135,000,000—has been practically wiped out; that there is the greatest growth of expenditure on the navy—from \$65,000,000 in 1886 to \$200,000,000 this year; that while the revenue has gained from the new whisky tax, there has been a great decline in drunkenness and a distinct gain to the community by the increase in the purchase of necessities; that the removal of the pauper disqualification from the 1st of January, 1911, will add 270,000 old people to the pension list; that unemployment and invalidity insurance—affecting 2,500,000 and 13,000,000 workers respectively—which was postponed by the rejection of last year's Budget, will be introduced next year on a contributory basis with a liberal state subsidy; that liabilities have been reduced last year and this year by \$95,000,000; and that last year's Budget, with all its accessory measures, will challenge comparison with any set of measures passed by this Parliament in the aggregate of human misery they have saved.

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Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

The debate in the British House of Commons on the Shackleton bill for limited suffrage for women, which began on the 11th with speeches for the bill by Mr. Shackleton, William Redmond and Keir Hardie (p. 661), was continued on the 12th, when it came to vote on second reading and was approved by 299 to 190, the affirmative votes being mostly those of Labor and radical Liberal members. After the vote the bill was referred to committee of the whole, which, as reported in the dispatches, postpones it indefinitely. Among others who spoke were Mr. Haldane, a member of the Cabinet as Minister for War, who supported the bill; Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, who spoke against it, as did Mr. Churchill and Lloyd George, the latter two on the ground that its limitations would unfairly increase the property vote. Austin Chamberlain opposed suffrage to women in any form. The bill would have conferred the Parliamentary suffrage upon all women now entitled to vote at municipal elections—those who pay local taxes.

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The Pan-American Conference.

The fourth international conference of American republics, now in session at Buenos Ayres (p. 661), has elected Antonio Bermejo as its president. Dr. de la Plaza, Argentine Minister of foreign affairs, and Philander C. Knox, secretary of state of the United States, were created honorary presidents. Dr. de la Plaza made the opening address of welcome on the 12th and Henry White, of the United States, replied for the delegates. The members of the delegation from the United States are: Henry White, former American Ambassador to France; Professor Paul Reinsch, University of

Wisconsin; Professor David Kinley, University of Illinois; Professor John Basset Moore, Columbia University, New York; Professor Bernard Moses, University of California; E. B. Moore, United States Commissioner of Patents, Washington; J. B. Quintero, lawyer and journalist, of New Orleans; Colonel Enoch Crowder, assistant judge advocate general of the army, Washington; Lewis Nixon, former naval constructor, New York; Professor J. B. Shepherd, Columbia University; George Cabot Ward, former Secretary of State of Porto Rico, and William T. S. Doyle, assistant chief of the division of Latin-American affairs, State Department. The Pan-American Scientific Congress (vol. xii, p. 15) is holding its sessions at Buenos Ayres in connection with the conference of the republics.

NEWS NOTES

—The first sham battle with aeroplanes was held at Paris on the 13th.

—The coronation of King George (pp. 613, 637) has been fixed for June 22, 1911.

—The 89th birthday of Mary Baker Eddy was celebrated by Christian Scientists on the 16th.

—A dirigible balloon fell a fifth of a mile near Cologne, on the 13th, carrying down to death its five occupants.

—A threatened strike of trainmen and conductors on the Pennsylvania lines east of Pittsburg, was averted by agreement on the 18th.

—Walter Clark was renominated on the 14th by the Democratic convention of North Carolina for chief justice of the Supreme court of that State.

—Herbert Atherton, Mayor of Newark, Ohio, under charges and suspension by Governor Harmon for responsibility for a lynching in Newark (p. 662), resigned on the 14th.

—Frank Buchanan was nominated on the 12th as the choice for Congressman of the Democratic organization of the Seventh Congressional district of Illinois (vol. xi, p. 466).

—President Taft withdrew more coal lands in different States of the West on the 14th (p. 662), thereby bringing the coal land withdrawals made by him up to the total of 71,518,588 acres. About half are new withdrawals.

—At his own request, David Lloyd George's name has been placed under the letter G—instead of L, as heretofore—in the Parliamentary division lists, thereby emphasizing the fact that his family name is not Lloyd-George, but George.

—After debating the question for nearly a week, the lower house of the General Assembly of Georgia adopted on the 12th the income-tax amendment resolution (p. 564) by a vote of 125 to 45. A similar resolution had been adopted on the 11th by the Senate.

—Mount Shishaldin, Alaska, is in brilliant eruption, according to reports brought by a steamer arriving at Seattle from Nome, on the 16th. A clear

column of flame, hundreds of feet in height, without smoke, had been blazing up from the volcano's crater.

—The committee of independents organized to arrange a State convention for the nomination of candidates in opposition to the Republican and Democratic State tickets in Pennsylvania (pp. 588, 613, 661), have called a convention to be held in Philadelphia July 28.

—Wilbur Glenn Voliva, successor to John Alexander Dowle (vol. ix., p. 825), has recovered possession of Zion City, Illinois. The receiver sold it to a real estate syndicate, organized for the purpose, for \$700,000 cash, and the syndicate sold it to Voliva for \$900,000, payable in eight years.

—After traveling by automobile over 400 miles through the state of Illinois on a speaking expedition for woman suffrage (p. 637), the suffrage leaders who made it closed their tour at Wheaton on the 15th at a meeting presided over by Charles A. Blanchard, president of Wheaton College.

—The eighteenth annual convention of the International Longshoremen's Association opened in New York on the 18th, with addresses by Samuel Gompers, John B. Lennon and Hugh Frayne, all of the American Federation of Labor, with which the longshoremen are affiliated.

—Carlos E. Restrepo was elected President of the Republic of Colombia (vol. xii, p. 829) on the 15th. He succeeds General Ramon Gonzales Valencia, who was chosen to fill the unexpired term of President Rafael Reyes after President Reyes had left the country (vol. xii, p. 681).

—A decree preëmptorily forbidding all Chinese who may be visiting foreign lands or residing there in an official capacity, for purposes of study, or in connection with industry and trade, from contracting marriages with foreign women, has just been issued by the Chinese Regent, Prince Chun.

—A crusade by the Women's Trade Union league of Chicago, under the lead of Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the organization, is being made against violators of the ten-hour law for working women, which was sustained (vol. xii, p. 1120, xlii, p. 393) last spring by the Supreme Court of the State.

—Women are to participate hereafter in the annual conference of the Wesleyan Methodist body in Great Britain. The Conference of 1909 adopted the principle, and 24 out of 34 of the Synods having approved it, the Conference in session at Bradford on the 18th, confirmed the proposal by a vote of 179 to 153.

—Dr. Harry B. Hutchins, appointed temporary president of the University of Michigan on the retirement of President James B. Angell (vol. xii, p. 973), has accepted the presidency of the university with the condition that he be relieved of the duties of office at the expiration of five years from the 1st of next October.

—Charles M. Walker, a Circuit Court judge of Chicago, decided on the 13th that the alteration by the school board of 1895 of a lease of school lands held by the Chicago Tribune (p. 232), by striking out the clause for readjusting the ground rent every ten years, although this was done without substantial increase of rent over the valuation of 1895, or other consideration, and while the lease still had 90 years

to run, and without the assent of the City Council, which is required for sales of school land, was a valid transaction.

—Prince Nicholas I, of Montenegro, with the assent of the other European nations, is to assume the title of King on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his accession, August 14. Montenegro (the black mountain) is a little country, perched high above the Adriatic, with Austria, Servia and Turkey as its next-door neighbors.

—Trainmen and conductors of the Grand Trunk Railway to the number of 3,500, and 350 of the Central Vermont, a line controlled by the Grand Trunk, quit work at 9:30 p. m., on the 18th, pursuant to an automatic strike order, following the decision of President Hays of the Grand Trunk not to accede to demands of the men for higher wages.

—An international railway commission with supervisory authority over the railroads of the United States and Canada is expected to result from the appointment on the 14th of Chairman Martin A. Knapp of the Interstate Commerce Commission, as the representative of the United States to confer with J. P. Mabey, chief of the railway commission of Canada.

—The Union Labor party of Arizona completed a preliminary organization at Phoenix on the 13th for the constitutional convention campaign preliminary to Statehood (p. 585), and the delegates invited Senators Gore and Owen of Oklahoma, Eugene V. Debs, Walter Thomas Mills and others by telegraph to tour Arizona in behalf of the Labor candidates for the convention.

—Dean C. Worcester, American secretary of the interior for the Philippines, while touring the island of Palawan, with the Provincial Governor, was on the 18th set upon by a band of renegade Moros (vol. xii, p. 663), armed with bolos. Quick action on the part of their escort saved the officials, three of the Moros being suddenly shot, and others wounded. The unscathed fled.

—The effects of breaking up the Russian village communal system, accomplished by Imperial decree in 1906 (vol. ix, pp. 824, 926), are becoming apparent, according to the London Nation, in a vast increase of crime in Russia. "A landless proletariat," says the Nation, "is being rapidly created, which manifests its discontent and attempts to relieve its misery by violent attacks upon property."

—The first formality under the first use of the direct primary law in California was completed on the 16th by the filing of nominating petitions for all State officers except legislative. Neither the Democratic (Theodore Bell) nor the Socialist candidate for Governor has any opposition. There are five Republican candidates, Hiram Johnson, Phillip Stanton, Charles F. Curry, Alden Anderson and Nathan C. Ellery.

—Ex-President Roosevelt announced on the 14th two speaking tours he intends to make in the fall. They are as follows: Aug. 25, leave New York; Aug. 27, arrive Cheyenne; Aug. 29, Denver; Aug. 31, Osawatimie, Kan.; Sept. 2, Omaha; Sept. 3, Sioux Falls, S. D.; Sept. 5, Fargo, N. D.; Sept. 6, St. Paul; Sept. 7, Milwaukee; Sept. 8, Freeport, Ill., and Chicago; Sept. 10, Pittsburg; Sept. 11, arrive New York. Oct.

6, leave New York; Oct. 8, Atlanta, Ga.; Oct. 10, Hot Springs, Ark.; Oct. 12, Peoria, Ill.; Oct. 13, speech in Indiana for Senator Beveridge at a place not yet chosen.

—The bill for the suppression of the autonomy of Finland, which passed the Douma (the lower house of the Russian parliament) on June 10 (p. 563), after debate was passed by the Council of the Empire (the upper house) in the exact form in which it left the Douma. Troops have been flooded into the doomed Grand Duchy to suppress any demonstrations. The London Nation reports that the Finns and Swedes (of Finland) stand firm, and have agreed to sink all party differences in order to make the more impressive the passive resistance which they are organizing.

—At 1 o'clock in the morning of the 13th, after a prolonged debate, the Democratic State convention of Wisconsin voted in favor of nominating a State ticket for the primaries, and unanimously named Adolph J. Schmitz of Milwaukee as their candidate for Governor. The resolutions favored home rule in municipal affairs and the election of United States Senators by direct vote, conservation and government control of natural resources, campaign fund publicity and a stringent corrupt practices law. Burt Williams was nominated for Senator. Resolutions favoring the initiative and referendum and a tax on franchises were voted down.

—Deaths from aviation become increasingly frequent. Fatal accidents with heavier than air machines in 1908 numbered one—Lieutenant Thomas Selfridge, the first man to lose his life in this new adventure (vol. xi, p. 613). In 1909 four men lost their lives. In 1910 up to June 1 three had been killed. Since then there have been six deaths—one in Hungary, one in Russia, one at San Francisco, one in Germany, one in France, and one in England. This last victim was Charles S. Rolls, who was killed at Bournemouth last week. Mr. Rolls was the first man to fly across the English Channel and back, a feat he performed on June 2 (p. 543).

—By a majority of one vote the Chamber of Commerce of Woolwich, England, has adopted this resolution on land values taxation: "That, having regard to the increase in local rates, the Chamber is of opinion that all interests which receive advantage from public expenditure should bear their fair quota of responsibility for that expenditure; that as there is a direct relation between expenditure from rates and the local value of land, the taxation of land values for local purposes would be a means of securing a more equitable method of meeting the responsibility of the rates, which at present is borne wholly by the occupiers of business and other premises."

—The International Railway Congress, in session at Berne, Switzerland (p. 637), adjourned on the 16th to meet at Berlin in 1915. The session was the eighth in the history of the congress and was attended by 1,500 representatives of government and private railways from nearly all the civilized countries. The United States was represented by sixty railroad experts. Franklin K. Lane, of the American Interstate Commerce Commission, and W. F. Allen, the general secretary of the American Railway Association, were elected members of the permanent international commission, and George W. Stev-

ens, president of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway company and a member of the same commission, was re-elected.

—Of Tom L. Johnson the Cleveland Plain-Dealer of the 15th says that he "has become a devotee of golf," having been "initiated into the mysteries of the game several weeks ago," and that "reports received from the New England summer resort where he is staying say he is now one of the game's strongest enthusiasts." The Plain Dealer continues: "Mr. Johnson is reported to be gaining strength rapidly. The severe bodily pain that he suffered up to two weeks ago has left him to a large extent and reports indicate that he rests better now than he has for months. The ex-Mayor will be fifty-six years old next Monday [the 18th], and Mr. Johnson's Cleveland friends are preparing to remember the occasion with an appropriate gift."

—The June statement of the Cleveland Railway Co. (p. 348) shows a deficit of \$8,221.26 on the basis of approved charges, but in actual expenditures there was a deficit for the month of \$48,927.85. Deficits are all in the maintenance item. Operating expenses show a surplus of \$2,633.75, but an increased wage scale had been in effect for only two weeks. "The \$48,927.85 deficit in actual expenditures is not all real," the Plain Dealer of the 17th explains; "part of it will be charged to capital account, but as it takes time to make the proper adjustments of charges to capital and maintenance, officials are not able to say just what proportion is actual deficit. On the three months' statement recently issued an actual deficit was shown of about \$68,000. But this has been considerably reduced by means of the proper sorting of the two accounts." The Press says that violations by the company of its franchise from March to June have cost \$141,151.90, thus turning a profit of \$62,272.90 into the deficit. The June statement is thus summarized by the Plain Dealer:

Gross receipts.....	\$515,503.66
Operating expenses.....	389,996.42
Operating revenue.....	125,507.24
Other income.....	4,999.44
Total income.....	130,506.68
Taxes.....	26,816.93
Net earnings.....	103,689.75
Interest.....	111,911.01
Deficit.....	8,221.26

A further loan of \$250,000 has been ordered by the directors.

—The Pennsylvania Single Tax League (1113 East Wilt St., Philadelphia) announces that in addition to Henry George's "Land Question," which they have been sending out without charge upon application (p. 518), they will mail upon request, postpaid, any one of the following pamphlets: "The Crime of Poverty," "Thy Kingdom Come," "Thou Shalt Not Steal," "Moses," "The Labor Question" (an abridgment of "The Condition of Labor"), "Land and People" (an abridgment of "The Land Question"), all by Henry George; also "The Case Plainly Stated," by H. F. Ring, "The Open Shop and the Closed Shop," by Louis F. Post, and "Herbert Spencer on the Land Question." The League also announces that they will be glad to lend from their library, which contains all of George's works as well as other single tax literature, any clothbound book, without requir-

ing any deposit, provided the borrower will pay the postage both ways.

PRESS OPINIONS

He Offers the Fox to Protect the Poultry Yard.

Puck (humorous), June 15.—President Taft, recognizing in Socialism the greatest problem that confronts us, pointedly suggests that the Republican party, because of the skill it has shown in handling great issues, should be retained by acclamation to handle this one. It is a beautiful notion; especially when we recall that the Republican doctrines of Privilege and Private Monopoly are largely responsible for Socialism's growth.

† †

The Progress of Lynching.

The (Cleveland) Gazette (Negro), July 16.—Not to be outdone by Ohio mobocrats who last week furnished the lynching of a young "white" Kentuckian, at Newark, who had shot to death a bartender also "white" "distinguished and chivalrous" residents (mobocrats) of Rayville, La., battered down jail doors (Sunday) and took out another of their own people and lynched him on the spot where he had recently slain the marshal of the town. Thus does the lynch-murder disease grow in the class or race that inaugurated and has carried it on, until now the mob must have victims from among its own. This is just as we predicted many years ago. We said that Negro victims only could hardly be expected to satiate the mob's desire for blood as time went on and the mob-spirit grew stronger and bolder. Within a week we have had a Northern and a Southern demonstration of the correctness of this prediction.

† †

How Joseph Fels Appears to Our Danish Friends.*

Ret (Danish organ of the George Movement, Slagelse, Denmark), June 24. (Translated for The Public by C. M. Koedt).—At last we have had the pleasure of seeing our good American-English friend, Mr. Joseph Fels, on Danish ground. On the 10th of June he was received in Copenhagen by Sophus Berthelsen, Dr. Villads Christensen, Jacob E. Lange, Folke Rasmussen and Miss Ida Wenersberg. Mr. Fels proved to be a man of small stature, modest and quiet, plain and straightforward in appearance. He has a gray streaked full beard, and a profile which somewhat reminds one of Henry George; also a pair of beautiful, knowing and sparkling eyes, which attentively follow everything, and in private conversation indicate an animation and an amiability which gain him many friends.

† †

Conservation—Fleckless and Proficuous.

The St. Louis Mirror (William Marion Reedy), July 14.—Fleckless is all the talk of conservation, if it only means locking up the government land from use. We don't want the land locked up. We want it used. We want the users to pay for it what it is

*See The Public of July 8, page 635.

worth and then to pay an annual tax of a certain substantial percentage upon each acre, at its actual value, as coal, iron, copper, asphalt, lumber or oil land. Without the application of the single tax principle to the further disposal of the at present unalienated public domain, conservation is ridiculous. The land must either be used or not used. If used, the people must be paid for it at full value. If not used, the holding of it out of use by the government simply helps to keep up the price of other land and its products controlled by the great syndicates. Conservation without taxation simply plays into the hands of all the forms of monopoly now basing on private monopoly in land. Simply holding out the land helps out the schemes of the speculators in land. The public lands should be brought into use, and their natural resource value should be taxed into the public treasury. There is no other way to make conservation effective against the private monopolists and in favor of the people.

† †

Bryan and Roosevelt Abroad.

The (London) Daily News (Lib.), June 23.—Mr. Bryan is in the surely unanticipated position of having been talked clean off the stage by the leader of a party which, a few years ago, was deriding Mr. Bryan as a conspicuous sufferer from a tendency of words to the mouth. Mr. Roosevelt has talked more, we suppose, since he first became President than Mr. Bryan has done in all the years during which he has been prominent in politics. And there have been other forms of self-expression. While Mr. Bryan had his newspaper, "The Commoner," Mr. Roosevelt had his Presidential messages to Congress—the longest ever known; and now Mr. Roosevelt has a newspaper, too, and he may be depended upon to use the opportunity. Mr. Bryan, it is true—though we would not say that he had gone extraordinarily deep—has always gone deeper than Mr. Roosevelt. He has struck notes of high enthusiasm and ringing challenge which are not in the register of his more loquacious rival. While Mr. Roosevelt has been earnestly and didactically business-like, Mr. Bryan has mingled much more of the style of the prophet with his nevertheless strongly practical utterances. The United States have shown which they prefer. It is not the man who was ready to confess to the Conference the other day that "it had seemed strange to him that nations whose people were followers of the Prince of Peace could not find a peaceful way of settling the differences that might arise between them."

† †

Ohio Politics.

The Commoner (Dem.), July 15.—Some of the corporation papers in Ohio are rejoicing over what they call Mr. Bryan's defeat. The turning down of the resolution in favor of nominating a Senator was not a defeat for Mr. Bryan; it was simply an exposure of the corporation tendencies of some of the Democrats in Ohio, and exposure of the inconsistencies of still others. Mr. Bryan can afford to be turned down by any State convention that cares to go on record as the Ohio convention did. He has been turned down many times before and there are

probably many such turn downs in store for him yet, but he still believes that the Democrats of Ohio could make a better fight facing the enemy than in running from the enemy; and Mr. Bryan believes that as long as the Democratic party has men like John R. McLean aspiring to the Senate it can not afford to leave the voters in doubt as to whom the Senatorial candidate is to be in case of victory. Governor Harmon may have satisfactory reasons for throwing his influence on the side of those who are opposed to nominating a Senator, but if so he has not yet made them public. Possibly he thought that the nomination for Senator might have lessened his chance of election, and his election may be so important at this time that Ohio can afford to throw away the chance of electing a Democratic Senator. That is a question for the Democrats of Ohio. But Mr. Bryan finds some consolation in the fact that the fight brought out a brave man, as it did in the case of Newton D. Baker, and it is worth a fight to discover a brave man. He finds some consolation also in the fact that there were about two hundred and fifty unterrified Democrats who stood up and voted for the nomination of a Senator in spite of the administration, the breweries and other corporations that do their work in the dark.

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Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), July 16.—Some of the machine politicians of the State are aghast at the prospect of the nomination of James R. Garfield. So unanimous is the opposition of the bosses that Mr. Garfield's boom was at first regarded as a harmless joke. But the joke has become more than serious. Convention delegates from every corner of the State are announcing their intention to break away from the masters, and cast their votes for the Progressive candidate. So great has grown the movement that even now the nomination of Mr. Garfield, in the face of the united opposition of the bosses, appears by no means impossible.

+ +

Conservation Principles.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (William Marion Reedy).—Among the best talkers of single tax talk in this country today are Gifford Pinchot, James Rudolph Garfield and all the Conservationists. They want to conserve for public use the values in the unalienated land of the country. From that it is but a step to conserving for public benefit the values in the alienated lands. They haven't yet found out that the values can be conserved and the lands at the same time released to public use, by a simple method of taxation that will make the occupiers use the land or let it alone. A tax upon the actual value of the land—the value the grabbers estimate, not the value at which they grab it from the government—would stop the grab. The solution of the supposed conflict between conservatism and development is as simple as A, B, C. If only Pinchot and Garfield could get this idea into the head of their great and good friend Roosevelt he might get up in his place and say something that would really make plutocracy tremble. He says he is not an economist, but a moralist; but robbing the people of their natural resources is a question for a moralist. Con-

servation without taxation at actual value is a farce. If the resources are only to be locked up, that will retard progress. Tax the resources and let them be free to the use of all who will pay what they are worth in taxes for the public good. Seems to me that Messrs. Pinchot, Garfield and Roosevelt have discovered a pretty bad case of a general disease, but haven't the nerve as yet to recommend the only possible cure. They'll all have to come to it, though, in the very near future. They opened an issue that can only be closed by the application of the philosophy of Henry George.

+ +

Government By as Well as For the Governed.

The Chicago Citizen (Irish-American), June 25.—Mr. Roosevelt poses as "a real and not as a mock democrat." Mr. Roosevelt may not know it, but most people of ordinary common sense and intelligent perception have quite a different idea; they are impressed with the conviction that Theodore Roosevelt has despotic tendencies so strongly developed in his character that under certain circumstances, favorable to his personal ambition, he might become a very dangerous man. . . . It may be fashionable among a certain class of bastard Americans to sneer at the principles embodied in our Declaration of Independence, . . . but a principle once true is true forever. . . . The Rev. Isaac T. Hecker, founder of the Paulists, and as good an American as Roosevelt, wrote: "The Republic of the United States is the result of the gathered political wisdom and experience of past ages, shaped by a recognition of man's natural rights and a trust in his innate capacity for self-government beyond what had found expression in the prevailing political systems of Europe." Father Hecker's "man" does not mean the Anglo-Saxon man, the American man, but all men, the Irish man, the Indian man, and the Egyptian man. . . . If we admit the right of might to decide who is and who is not deserving of liberty and self-government, how do we know how soon a man of Roosevelt's temperament, and perhaps greater and unhollower ambition, backed by the concentrated wealth of the few, and ministered to by the necessities of the many, may not decide that it is better for the American people that they be governed by a privileged few who will give them the best government they ever had—in the estimation of the governors? And if we rebel and demand the restoration of the Constitution of Washington and the Fathers, may not our plutocratic and aristocratic rulers decree that we are ignorant of what is good for us, that we are uncivilized, according to the standard of our rulers, and that weakness, timidity and sentiment on their part is worse for us than violence and injustice? And as a result may we not behold the American empire rise above the ruins of the American republic? This is no fanciful dream. We are nearer the monarchy than some people imagine. . . . If we do not soon get back to the religious and moral home life of our fathers, and to the letter and spirit of the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence, somebody—Roosevelt or somebody else—will be governing us for our own good without weakness, timidity or sentiment.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE CITY HUNTERS.

For The Public.

Ne'er can they roam across unfathomed seas,
Revive dulled senses where old cities roll
Romantic grandeurs 'fore the traveler's soul;
The intrepid hunter's jungle thirst appease;
Or seek the Ice God's uttermost degrees.
'Mong those who battle round one City's goal
They bear the life-sweat of man's struggling soul,
Striving for Babylon's seductive ease.

Some may attain her footstool, share her throne,
Where gorgeous social queens bejeweled blaze;
But many, stript and starved, lie lifeless, prone—
A footway for the City's hunting throng,
Mad for a quarry in commercial maze—
'Mid curses, prayers, groans, jeers and ribald song.

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

* * *

SPAWN OF THE DEEP.

For The Public.

I. The Skate.

There is a new dark mass on the beach this noon, where the tide has just ebbd far, that has a different aspect from the heaps of seaweed among which it lies,—of a fleshy sleekness, repulsive even at a distance.

Approaching it the curious explorer finds a dead skate, like some giant frog squatting for a leap, with wide-open eyes filmed over like blue jelly staring glumly, and grotesquely wide-slit mouth drawn down at the corners as if in a deprecatory grimace at this fate of being mere stranded jetsam.

When one raises the creature's upper jaw, the slimy gray tissues of the cavernous throat draw apart with a loud clucking, and the adhesive mucus stretches into ropy festoons from roof to floor.

What parody among created shapes is this huge porringer of flesh, with flat disk-head tapering to the muscular tail, purplish-brown of skin, and heavy as the fat jowls of a hippopotamus!

If even the little beached squids, blackening the sand about them from their collapsed ink-bags, taint the air with their decay, what catastrophe will the dissolution of this mass of the dead fish involve?

But the ocean has another purpose than to leave its eerie denizen to such humiliation. By night the northeast wind sends the scavenger waves of high tide crashing far up the strand, and like a mother that shields a dwarfish child from morbid scrutiny of passers-by, the deep takes the unsightly

bulk back again to the concealment of its charnel silence.

II. The Jellyfish.

Cyanea arctica.

Swayed and jolted over stones of the beach by the wave-edges, compressed and then outspread in limp surrender, a great crimson jellyfish marks the green water like a blot of red ink.

The puzzled observer at first glance mistakes the abhorrent, sprawling pulp for a growth of raw flesh cast from some ocean creature, so difficult is any organization to discern in the tumbled plaything of the tide.

Now in a moment of comparative repose, undulant skirts of brownish tissue uncover the central mass, and give sight of its surmounting ring of regular bulging mounds in exact semblance of a mold of translucent strawberry gelatin, rich in gorgeous ruby lights.

Beneath the sections an inner skin is visible, marked with latticed lines, suggestive of checked gingham, while from some orifice or rupture protrudes what might be taken for grayish sweetbreads, or some repulsive spilling-forth of lax brain-tissue from the jelly skull as the waves topple it.

From the periphery extend many long feelers like vermicelli in alternate hues of maroon, carmine and pale-yellow, that are made to writhe by the water in vivid mimicry of animation, till the whole drifted sea-thing suggests the bloody scalp of the Gorgon, ringed with thin serpentine locks.

Some of the streamers torn away on the stones strew the sand, and woe to the observer's bare feet if these are washed across them by the retreating waves, for let the poisonous strings lodge against the skin as they seem determined to, with the apparent malice of an exasperated wasp, and the in-step will smart for an hour from their sting!

A bather just come ashore from a swim is rubbing his legs ruefully, declaring they are a-prickle from the corrosive "saliva" with which the gelatinous sea-scorpions impregnate the water about them, where floating beneath the surface they are poised defiant in their ample habitat, like baneful purple cancers in the sea's green flesh.

Beside the largest of the stranded creatures, that spans a yard diameter with its hillock of garnet and gray protoplasm, a comely, sun-browned little boy in his bathing-suit, that leaves bare his dimpled arms and half the rounded thighs, stoops fascinated though afraid; and the bright smooth floor of sand becomes like the illustrative chart of a synthetic philosophy, presenting in these vivid models the stupendous gamut of the evolutionary process, from such mere nebular coagulum of physical being to the highly-organized, selective triumph of the thoughtful child.

What aeons and cosmic periods look from the boy's brown, wondering eyes, as they scan so tim-

orously this repugnant red concretion of primordial matter, that yet symbolizes the indispensable service of placenta in the birth of creation's nobler forms!

ELIOT WHITE.

* * *

SLAVERY AND LAND VALUES.

For The Public.

In histories of the United States we are told that slavery was originally introduced in the Seventeenth century into all parts of the country. But proving unprofitable, after long trial, in the North, it was there gradually abolished, beginning with Vermont, in 1777, and ending with New Jersey in 1804. In certain portions of the South, however, the system was so commercially successful that young and able-bodied slaves often sold for more than \$1000.

The market price of a slave, like that of a working horse, depended upon what he could produce for his owner beyond the cost of his keep. A speculative element was also introduced in this price from the uncertainty of human life and the future possibility of valuable offspring. If a slave had no actual or potential earning power beyond his cost of maintenance, he was worthless. It is evident that youth, health, strength and industrial skill all tended to increase the surplus product and market value of slaves who possessed them; while old, crippled or sick slaves were not accepted as gifts except by the charitable.

The land of the hill districts of the North was of so barren a nature as to give only a frugal living even to industrious white freemen; and the attempt to work it with African slaves, whom it was impractical to watch, was foredoomed to failure. In the richer valleys, especially those of the Central West, a surplus might have been obtained from slave-labor worked in gangs under overseers. But the cold climate was unfavorable to their health, and, before the bottom lands were sufficiently cleared and provided with transportation facilities for the profitable export of slave-raised products, a moral sentiment had arisen against slavery itself.

In the South there were practically no slaves in the mountain districts, which were left to the cultivation of the poor whites who were satisfied with the frugal living to be gained from land "on the margin of cultivation." But the rich Southern lowlands were so well adapted for raising rice, sugar, corn, and especially cotton, by slave labor, that the plantation owners enjoyed large incomes and vied in ostentation with the aristocracy of Europe. Had none of the Southern lands yielded more produce than was necessary to supply the subsistence of their tillers, it is safe to say that there would have been no slave question in our history.

The effect of the abolition of slavery on land values was obscured in the South by the general

industrial ruin left by the Civil War, but in the British West Indies it was clearly exhibited. Many philosophers, guided more by sentimental than scientific reasoning, had predicted that the planters would enjoy larger incomes with free than with slave labor, but the change caused results that differed with varying land conditions.

In Jamaica, where only a third of the land was cultivated under slavery, the freed Negroes were (unfortunately for land values) allowed to settle freely on the wild lands, where they easily raised enough for their simple wants, and only hired out at high wages, if at all, to their former owners. This higher labor-cost greatly reduced the land-owners' gains from the Jamaican estates, and, coupled with the decline in sugar prices (owing to the abolition of preferential duties for her colonies by England), caused the abandoning of 146 plantations between 1832 and 1848.

On the other hand, in islands like Barbados and Trinidad, where all the land was under private ownership, the freed Negroes had no other recourse than to work for their old masters. Production increased, owing to the superiority of starvation to the overseer's lash as an incentive to diligence, and wages were kept at about the level of slave subsistence by the importation of coolie labor from the Madeira islands and from Hindustan. The planters had no longer to risk their funds on the lives of sickly laborers, and the large sums received from the English government, as compensation for manumission, were available for the clearing of more land or the purchase of improved machinery. The net result of these various factors was an increase in the net as well as in the gross product of the estates, and a marked rise in land values in consequence.

These West Indian examples well illustrate the close economic analogy between chattel and land slavery. It was only in Jamaica, with plenty of available free land, that the Negro was able to increase his income after emancipation. In the privately monopolized islands the freeman received no better wages than had the slave.

R. B. BRINSMADE.

* * *

THE THREE GRACES AND JUSTICE.

For The Public.

Once upon a Time the Three Graces made a Poor Man the Object of their Solitude.

Faith thought that the Main Trouble was with his Soul, and preached to him.

Hope opined that he was afflicted with Acute Pessimism, and sought to relieve his Condition by presenting to him the Bright Side of Things.

Charity put a Patch on his Pants, and, congratulating him, said this would keep the Cold out for a While, anyway.

These well-intentioned Ministrations were re-

peated from Time to Time, until the Poor Man was well-nigh stark naked and about all in. Whereupon a Sense of Delicacy and a Feeling of Utter Helplessness prompted the Three Old Ladies to retire.

Just then Justice appeared on the Landscape. He saw the Awful Predicament of the Poor Man, and, without any Ado, took an Acre of Land from an Agent who was holding it for speculation, put the Poor Man on it and told him to scratch. And behold! in a Season's Time the Poor Man was strutting about in the Pride of Self-Respect and a new Suit of Clothes.

"You are an Anarchist!" cried the Speculative Land Agent. "You have confiscated the Property of my Client."

"Oh piffles!" replied Justice. "Wake up! Come to! Go to! The Title was vitiated when the first Man was separated from his Inheritance of a Place to live, move and have his being."*

"Why didn't you do it long ago?" said the Onlooker.

"Well," said Justice, irreverently, "that Bunch of Fussy Old Women wouldn't give me a chance."

HERMAN TIEDJENS.

+ + +

LAWSON PURDY.

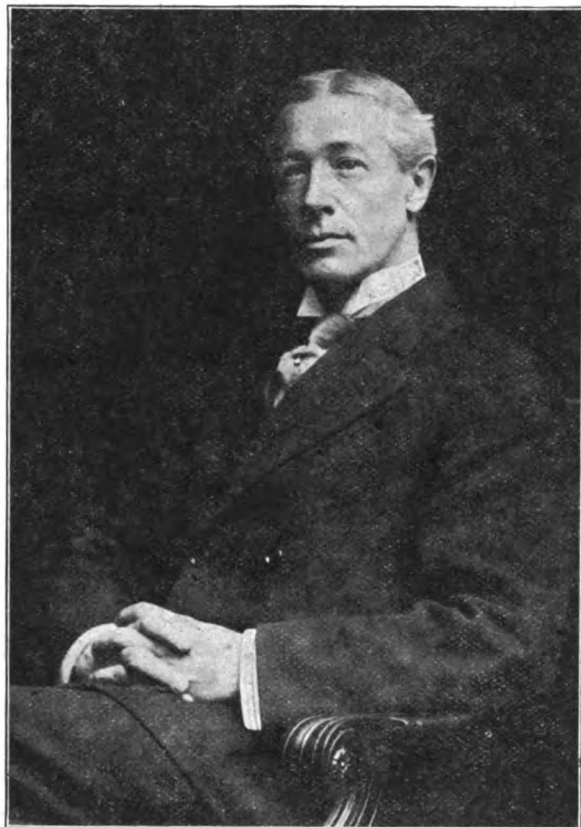
Among all the officials of the United States whose careers have been directed and their efficiency promoted by the influence upon them of Henry George's teachings, none has served better or achieved a wider and firmer reputation than Lawson Purdy. Under reappointment by Mayor Gaynor, he fills the office of president of the Department of Taxes of the city of New York, to which he was originally appointed four years ago by Mayor McClellan.

Mr. Purdy was born in Dutchess county, New York, September 13, 1863. He prepared for college at St. Paul's school, Concord, N. H., and graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. In 1885, the year following his graduation, he married Mary J. McCrackan, sister of William D. McCrackan, the author of "The Swiss Republic." Down into the early nineties Mr. Purdy was in business as treasurer of the New York Bank Note Company; but he left this connection to study law. He devoted himself at the same time to the management as secretary of the New York Tax Reform Association, a position he continued to hold after beginning the practice of the law and until his appointment as the head of the tax department.

Meanwhile he had perfected himself as a lego-economic expert in taxation. It was his superior qualifications in this respect that led to his appointment by Mayor McClellan, and, he having

*"Of course, whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once, vitiated."—Emerson.

made his administration of the tax department conspicuously successful, to his reappointment by Mayor Gaynor. He has well earned his right to be regarded as an expert, not only by his present official service but also by the fiscal monographs he has written, and by his service on the New York Advisory Commission on Taxation and Finance in 1905, and on the Special State Tax Commission in 1906. Both the legislature of Minnesota and the constitutional convention of Michigan have had him before them as an expert adviser on fiscal principles and policies; and he commands the



highest degree of public confidence in his own city and State.

It was through Mr. Purdy's leadership that the law was secured from the New York legislature under which land valuations and improvement valuations in New York City are distinguished for purposes of taxation and the results officially published in detail. This law has appropriately fallen to him more than to any other one official for execution, and the annual reports of the tax department of which he is at the head testify convincingly to the excellence of the work. One of its impressive revelations is the fact that the privately owned site of New York city is worth about twice as much as the privately owned buildings and other improvements within its boundaries.

"IF THE PEOPLE RULE WHY DON'T THEY GET WHAT THEY WANT?"

Answer of Daniel Kiefer in Bryan's Commoner of July 15, 1910.

It is not quite correct to say in answer that the people do not rule, but it is very nearly so.

Popular rule in the United States is subjected to so many restrictions and limitations that it can only be exercised with great difficulty. That is one reason why the people do not get what they want.

Another is that many of their desires are contradictory. They want the trusts abolished and cost of living reduced; at the same time, they want the protective tariff retained. They want transportation charges to be fair and reasonable; but they also want railroads to remain in the hands of private corporations. They want good times and high wages; but they also want natural resources to remain private property, and they furthermore favor the taxation of industry and its products. They want freedom; but they also want a lot of restrictive laws arbitrarily regulating nearly everything under the sun. They want graft eliminated from the government; but at the same time they want all kinds of opportunities for graft to remain in official hands, and even demand the creation of new opportunities of the same kind.

To get what they want, the people must not only discard all restrictions from the free exercise of their will, but they must also cease to harbor desires which can not be fulfilled without interfering with the fulfillment of other desires.

* * *

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

Rev. Charles H. Mann In the Christian Socialist (Chicago) of June 18, 1910.

It is generally imagined that to be philosophical one must be visionary, and the subject he presents must be obscure and abstract, and especially speculative and useless. Only those who are very learned, it is opined, can presume to treat of philosophy, and then provided they be unemployed in any undertaking worth while, and are of an impractical genius.

On the contrary, philosophy is man's conception of the reality of things; and man is compelled by the very nature of human thought to have such a conception behind, or within, all his ideas, his words and actions. But he may not so call it; and indeed he may not suspect that he is philosophizing at the moment he is doing that very thing.

The difference between the philosopher, so-called, and the non-philosophical person, is that the former knows when he is philosophizing, and that the latter does not. The practical man, who entertains a contempt for all philosophizing, who declares that he does not think much of this spec-

ulative hair-splitting; who believes, he says, in calling a brick a brick, does not realize that in this simple declaration he is uttering a most pronounced philosophical dictum, for he is in effect saying that the reality of things is according to their sense-appearance. This the most venturesome philosopher would not presume to affirm.

What philosophy is may be clearly understood by comparing it with science, for science and philosophy occupy two great and complementary fields for exploring and judging the experiences of life. The former observes and examines the objects of the senses. It analyzes, classifies and organizes the facts in this way gathered, and thus develops what is called a science. Philosophy, on the other hand, treats of the realities behind these things. The one devotes itself to the consideration of sense-impressions, and the other investigates the life they represent, or that mysterious impulse from which they have existence.

The reality of any order of life among men, and thus its philosophy, is to be found in the attribute of human nature to which it ministers, and which it represents. All institutions, thus all human social organizations, if they are real, have an anchorage in the nature of man as the very source of their substance; the sole foundation of their realism.

* * *

EASY ENIGMAS FOR EASY CITIZENS.

My first is in Washington, but not in virtue.
My second is in Protection, but not in justice.
My third is in party, but not in principle.
My fourth is in deficit, but not in economy.
My fifth is in magnate, but not in morals.
My whole rhymes with Taft, and is one of our chief national products.

My first is in politics, but not in statesmanship.
My second is in favoritism, but not in equity.
My third is in officeholder, but not in servant.
My fourth is in Treasury, but not in surplus.
My whole rhymes with Root, and is very popular in Washington.

My first is in material, but not in spirit.
My second is in arrogance, but not in meekness.
My third is in millionaire, but not in pauper.
My fourth is in munificence, but not in penury.
My fifth is in opulence, but not in humble.
My sixth is in nerve, but not in wisdom.
My whole sounds very much like Cannon, and is the ruling power of the nation.

My first is in crooked, but not in straight.
My second is in platform, but not in earnest.
My third is in duplicity, but not in patriotism.
My fourth is in intrigue, but not in candor.
My fifth is in promise, but not in fulfill.
My whole rhymes with Lodge, and is much used by politicians.

—Ellis O. Jones, in Puck.

BOOKS

UPTON SINCLAIR'S NEW STORY.

Samuel the Seeker. By Upton Sinclair, author of "Manassas," "The Jungle," "The Moneychangers," etc. Published by B. W. Dodge & Company, New York. 1910.

We must not call this book good fiction writing, for that might invite the just judgment of the authorities that we don't know what good fiction writing is. It may be as reckless to confess that when we began reading the story, we found no stopping place until we came to the end, and were sorry then that it didn't go on; but as this is the truth, though it be to our shame we record it and pass on.

One reason why the book is not good fiction writing is that Samuel isn't human, intellectually. He thinks too acutely for an unlettered and unsophisticated boy of his age. There is no accounting for him except as one of those babes and sucklings out of whose mouths come wisdom. The little worn-out factory girl, also, must be accounted for as of this babe and suckling class. You feel as to both that they are beings from another world, lost, like the babes in the wood, in the economic and moral mazes of this one. Literary critics might object that they are only marionettes which the author uses to talk through. They may deserve this criticism; but if so, the author's talking is worth reading and not tiresome, and for the most part it is true.

Samuel seems to stand out as a sort of mind-prober and conscience-thumper for the other characters. A country boy thrown upon his own resources, and obedient to a paternal injunction, "seek and ye shall find," he finds a good deal in the way of wisdom from time to time—though at no little cost to his own comfort—about social philosophy "as she is taught" and religion "as she is lived," and class differences where "there are no classes," and special privileges, etc.

Most of the other characters are pure human, and their experiences are not overdrawn. Among them are trust magnates who prove their superiority over the common man by successful robbery according to law or over and above the law, and a burglar who claims his in virtue of successful robbery against the law. There is also a fashionable clergyman who means right and tries to be an exemplar of Christianity, but fails abjectly when Samuel the Seeker officiously brings him a large-sized though only metaphorical cross to get himself nailed upon. Then there is the professor of political economy who exploits the "survival of the fittest" to Simon, and is speechless when Simon takes it logically and seriously.

The story is full of the incidents of our every-

day life, in which the rich whose wealth makes others poor and the poor whose work makes others rich, are the characters. With Samuel's seeking ever widening his own outlook upon the truths of life, and his unsophisticated devotion to the truth, though it make him or anybody else die a martyr or live as one, he gives the "fittest" no very comfortable time in their consciences nor easy one in their logic boxes. Just as he seems about to become a Socialist in exciting circumstances the story ends.

If all records of American life at the beginning of the Twentieth Century were lost, this picture of a slice of it, but with Samuel outside the book as a demonstrator instead of inside as a character, would tell the story pretty nearly right and very interestingly.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Wild Oats. By James Oppenheim. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1910. Price, \$1.20 net.

—Chords and Discords. By Walter Everett Hawkins. Published by The Murray Brothers Press, Washington, D. C. 1909.

—The Story of the Constitution of the United States. By Rossiter Johnson. Published by Wessels & Bissell Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Euthenics. The Science of Controllable Environment. By Ellen H. Richards. Published by Whitcomb & Barrows, Boston. 1910. Price, \$1.00, postage 7 cents.

PERIODICALS

The philosophy of "the comic" in human life is written of by John Jay Chapman in the Hibbert Journal (London, and Boston, 6 Beacon St.,) for July. Hebraic thought, and its derivative Christianity, look upon the true comic, says Mr. Chapman, as something outside. "A kind of irreducible unreason, a sceptical or satanic element." But the world of men is wider than Hebraism and Christianity know, albeit they are all akin and fed with one spiritual meat. "There is a kind of laughter that makes the whole universe throb. It has in it the immediate flash of the power of God. We can no more understand it than we can understand other religious truth. It reminds us that we are not wholly Jew. There is light in the world that does not come from Israel; nevertheless, that this is a part of the same light that shines through Israel we surely know." Of how the comic functions for truth, Mr. Chapman says: "As for our comic, of course—whatever laughter may be in itself—laughter will be most strongly evoked by anything that merely calls and vanishes. Such things are jokes, burlesques, humor. They state nothing; they assume inaccuracy; they cry aloud and vanish, leaving the hearer to become awakened to his own thoughts. They are mere stimuli—mere

gesture and motion, and hence the very truest, very strongest form of human appeal."

* * *

Lots and lots of good people never let their seventh day know what their other six days do.—Puck.

* * *

Benevolent Old Gentleman (who has just given a penny to Miss A., of Park Lane, who is selling

"Votes for Women"): "No, no, keep the paper, my good woman, keep the paper!"—Punch (London).

* * *

There are various kinds of traditions; such as the ecclesiastical tradition, whereby religion becomes so largely a matter of hats and harangues; the literary tradition, which keeps genius from ending its sentences in prepositions and otherwise getting the fat in the fire; the academic tradition, guarding the schools against the folly of teaching so much truth

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The St. Louis Mirror,

Edited by William Marion Reedy,

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

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

"Social Service," by Louis F. Post

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that they won't have the face to beg money; and the dramatic tradition, in accordance with which art holds the mirror up to Nature only when Nature is fussed for it. But they all serve the same general purpose of affording cheap fellows something to trample on, and thus win distinction with their feet. —Puck.

+ + +

Sybil (decorated with Unionist colors, indignantly to Nurse): "Nurse, it is perfectly absurd for baby

to wear blue! He cannot possibly understand anything about the election!"—Punch (London).

+ + +

Two Americans who were traveling in England made a devout pilgrimage to Stratford-on-Avon, and spent several days wandering about the neighborhood. One day they met a countryman, and, pausing, one of the pilgrims said:

"My friend, I envy you your life here amid the fields that knew the Great Poet's youth. What

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sublime thoughts must come to you as you tread the paths his feet trod!"

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it the Times?" the American inquired with infinite sarcasm.

"Oh, it warn't the Lunnón paper," the man said. "I know it was summat solemn like. I think it was the Bible, belike."—Harper's Weekly.

+ + +

Father: Baby is crying for the moon.

Mother: Tell him we will give it to him as soon as all babies ask for it.—Harper's Bazaar.

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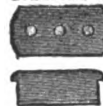
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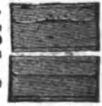
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