

The Public

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

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Vol. XIII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JULY 29, 1910.

No. 643

Published by Louis F. Post
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post
Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

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John Lind Again to the Front.

A democratic Democrat in Congress, a democratic Democrat and efficient executive as Governor of Minnesota, a democratic Democrat in the ranks of citizenship upon his withdrawal from public life, John Lind's return to Democratic leadership is one of the most welcome of probabilities. An overwhelming sentiment for his nomination for governor is reported as the result of the Democratic county conventions of last week.

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Senator Bourne's Speech.

We recently published (p. 616) an extended summary of the speech of Senator Bourne, of Oregon, in the United States Senate, on "Popular vs. Delegated Government," and now are sending a copy of the speech in full to all our subscribers. Copies of this speech to the number of 800,000 have been distributed, mainly by insurgent Republicans, but also by Democrats, and by the American Federation of Labor, Direct Legislation leagues, and other non-partisan organizations. The demand now exceeds a million copies. The farmer organizations in many States, notably the granges, are planning to have the speech read and discussed in all their local lodges. It has been published in full in several papers and in extended form in many others. This tends to show how intense and widespread is the interest in the Oregon plan of people's government. The rapid ex-

tension of other movements for popular control, like the commission plan of government, the democratic federation for the establishment of the people's rule within the Democratic party, the proposed organization of a similar federation within the Republican party by progressive Republicans, and plans for greater aggressiveness politically on the part of non-partisan organizations, all indicate that with a little extra effort now, when primaries are being held, candidates selected and platforms written, the principle of popular control might be made the paramount issue in many States, or at least so much of an issue as to insure its becoming the paramount national issue at no distant day. These are among our reasons for sending a copy of Senator Bourne's remarkably convincing speech directly to our subscribers. We suggest that they put those copies to the best possible use to arouse or quicken interest. It is desirable that these be kept in active circulation. We will furnish additional copies on request. The fact that a million copies of this speech have been called for, should be enough in itself to arouse the interest of another million readers, if the fact and the reasons therefor are given sufficient publicity.

* *

A Romance in Statesmanship.

A romance in statesmanship is said to attach to Senator Bourne's "people's rule" speech. Mr. Bourne had represented Oregon in the Senate for three years before speaking on any subject. "He was a speechless Senator," says the Cleveland Press, which thus tells the story of his maiden speech:

Finally, however, the spirit moved, and Bourne wrote a speech. He intended to deliver it, orator fashion, but got buck fever and simply read it. In the Senate it fell flat. The United States Senate is not interested in treatises on "Restoring the Government to the People." But the people themselves got wind of the fact that Bourne had made a speech. They wrote in and asked for copies of the speech. So Senator Bourne had a few printed for distribution. Then he had some more printed. To date, nearly a million copies of the speech have been sent out, and the demand is as brisk as ever. Evidently the question of restoring the government to the people interests 'em. This is a boiled down version of the circumstances of Senator Bourne's speech on popular government in Oregon.

* *

An Objection to Direct Legislation.

In its muddled objections to the initiative and referendum in Oregon, the New York Times deserves sympathy rather than blame. Object it must, to anything like government of the people

by the people, except as an oratorical lilt; and Oregon is anyhow only a province far away back of New York's back door. But the Times is greatly disturbed because Oregon is to vote next fall on no less than thirty-two propositions. The Times thinks the people of Oregon can't handle all those propositions intelligently. Maybe not. But with terse arguments for and against each, written by authorized proponents for and opponents against, and placed in a handy printed volume into the hands of every registered voter in Oregon, as the Oregon law requires, they are at least as likely to produce an intelligent result at the polls, as by voting for representatives, like buying pigs in pokes, and leaving the rest to them. Besides, when Oregon legislatures realize that the Oregon initiative and referendum have come to stay, and that if legislatures block the way to desired laws, or enact bad ones, the people will take the matter into their own hands, there will no longer be as many questions for initiative or referendum action. Legislatures will then go seriously to work to represent the people's will instead of trying to thwart it. Our friends in that effete East where the New York Times is influential, may find a perfect answer to it in Mr. Eggleston's letter in Editorial Correspondence (p. 703) this week. We urge all our readers who may doubt the value of the Oregon plan of people's government, to read that letter; also to read Senator Bourne's speech when they get their copy from us, and to read it carefully and thoughtfully. Those who do not doubt, may strengthen their arguments by reading it, and promote a good movement by passing it on to some doubter they know, and then sending for more copies for other doubters.

* *

Women and "the Dirty Pool" of Politics.

Without personal animus but with all charity, Dr. Anna E. Blount made great good use, in one of her woman suffrage speeches last week, of the reply of Lee O'Neil Browne, the Democratic leader in the Illinois legislature, whose trial for bribery has resulted in a disagreement of the jury (p. 614), to an advocate of woman suffrage who asked his legislative support for a suffrage measure. Dr. Blount quoted Mr. Browne as replying: "I love my mother too well to allow her to descend into the dirty pool of politics." The simple comment of Dr. Blount was that Mr. Browne's characterization of politics as a "dirty pool," seems now to have indicated his own peculiar kind of politics. It is indeed coming to be a fair inference that politicians and business men who want to keep

clean people out of the "dirty pool of politics," are in politics for the dirt and where it is dirtiest, and that they don't want the pool drained.

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"Good Men in Office."

Raymond Robins made frayed ribbons of the gentle "good man in office" idea of your feather duster reformers, when he spoke at the Democratic conference (pp. 650, 661, 707) at Lincoln. "There is a kind of honesty down in the poor district where I live," he said; "there is another kind of honesty on the Lake Shore drive. There are men there who wear shirt fronts and swallow tail coats and think it wrong to steal a loaf of bread but if you steal a franchise it is a financial investment and high expression of ability. Those men and their kind of honesty are just as dangerous as the little graft kind of dishonesty. Let us get right to the little thieves and big thieves, and let us not let them put the big thieves over us." The point of it all is that your feather duster reformer is on such amiable terms with the big thieves, that he never thinks of their graft as being bad. Nothing would delight him more, and he would be excruciatingly sincere about it, than to have those "best citizens" who flourish by labor exploitation, come forward as candidates to run the government in the way they run their businesses. These feather duster fellows—especially while they are young, and after they are old and hardened veterans in feather duster politics—are persistent though gentle adversaries of the initiative and referendum, the only device for keeping legislation pure and legislators untarnished, regardless of whether the legislator would like to be tarnished or not, and whether with a big tarnish or a little one.

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Our "Favorable" Balance of Trade.

That brilliant democratic writer and usually clear thinker, Charles Ferguson, falls into confusion in his Hearst papers editorial of the 26th, over the "favorable" balance of trade (p. 709). He notes that the balance has "turned sharply against us"; that millions in gold have been sent abroad to settle our "commercial obligations" to the Old World; that the flow of gold has been "checked for the moment by the sale of great quantities of American securities abroad"; that "thus America is in the attitude of a profligate who pays his debts by mortgaging his estate," etc., etc. But Mr. Ferguson will find it rather difficult, we think, to show that our balance of trade isn't about as "favorable" as it ever was.

The statistics run pretty much as they did when President McKinley boasted of them. Why should we have to send abroad securities to settle our commercial obligations, when the trade balances for years show the obligations to have run steadily "for us" and not "against us"? Possibly Mr. Ferguson may explain by reference to ocean freights, tourists' expenditures, etc., which is the usual explanation. But it doesn't explain. No one has yet ventured to be specific in explaining how our long continued and enormous "favorable" balance puts us in debt.

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Yet the true explanation is not far to seek. Mr. Ferguson seems to have a feeling for it when he talks of American monopolies. But he doesn't touch rock bottom. The explanation may be illustrated by Lord Scully's case. He invested in American lands which now send abroad in rents (unearned increment) more every year than he ever invested altogether. These tribute payments increase our "favorable" balance of trade, for they are outgo without income—exports without imports. There are many such cases, and many more the same in principle, though not quite so in form. Consider this tribute, and the "favorable" balance of trade of which Mr. McKinley boasted, to be paid for he said "in pure gold," but which is now taking "pure gold" in the other direction, is explained. The more "favorable" that balance is, the more gold and the more securities must we export, in addition to merchandise, to pay off a debt which, by the treasury statistics, is due us. This makes one of the most interesting of problems. We have to mortgage ourselves to foreigners in order to settle the debt they owe us! With such a problem ready at hand for our amusement, why were we ever interested in "the age of Ann"?

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Sugar Prices.

In one of the concise and sharp pointed series of articles on "what the tariff costs us," which the New York Herald is publishing from the pen of Henry George, Jr., Mr. George makes an instructive exhibition of sugar prices. The retail grocer gets for a given grade, say 5 1-2 cents a pound, and yet he makes no profit. Sugar is to him what a bargain counter attraction is to a department store; it may foster custom, but it goes at no more than cost. But the sugar trust, which thus makes retail grocers its unpaid distributing agents, gets an enormous profit—some \$70,000,000 in excess of what would be reasonable. It imports raw sugar for 2 cents a pound or less, which it can re-

fine for one-third of a cent, and distribute for not more than half a cent, making the total cost within 3 cents. This would leave the grocer a profit of fully 2 cents a pound, if he got his sugar under competitive conditions and sold at present prices; or give sugar to consumers at not more than 3 cents a pound, if the grocer waived his profit as he does now. But the trust exactions here disclosed are, as Mr. George says, not the only exactions of the sugar lords upon the American people. "Look!" he exclaims, "at the price in rotten politics!"

* *

The New Jersey Governorship.

New Jersey Democrats of the democratic brand show distrust of the proposed nomination of Woodrow Wilson for Governor (p. 662), regarding it as part of the game of one of the New Jersey "Jim-Jims"—once United States senator "from Havemeyer"—to get himself back into that cosy seat where sugar schedules seem as interesting as the most exciting novel.

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One of the secondary "Jim-Jims," quite an important one, denies having been at the New York conference which picked out Woodrow Wilson for Governor, but there is testimony to the contrary.

*

A traditional Democrat like Mr. Wilson, a gentleman and scholar, who wouldn't do an evil thing and couldn't do a good one—not a dangerously good one,—would be just the kind of pawn on the political chessboard that one of those New Jersey "Jim-Jims" who can play twenty games at once, all different and with their eyes shut, would like to have in the forthcoming game in New Jersey.

* *

A Victorious Boycott.

In the case of the Buck Stove and Range Company, the labor boycott has won. That the company was losing trade in consequence of this boycott, was quite evident. Nothing kept it afloat but the financial support it received from outside business organizations. All they could do, however, was to pay for litigation and lost profits. But there was more involved. Though lost profits were made up, the vanishing good will of the business could not be restored. To conserve that, the fight had to be abandoned; and this was done upon the death of the stubborn head of the concern who conceived that he was fighting for a principle of industrial freedom when in fact he

was fighting only for a power of industrial dictation.

*

Organized labor will make a mistake, however, if it regards this victory as a test of the efficacy of the boycott. The boycotted establishment in this instance depended upon the custom of the very industrial class it was fighting. The harder it fought, therefore, and the greater the publicity of the fight, the worse for that establishment, as the event has proved and as might have been foreseen when the struggle began. But the success of this boycott doubtless turned upon the fact that the establishment did depend upon labor custom. It is not so certain that the controversy with C. W. Post, for instance, will work out in the same way. Publicity in his case may be profitable advertising for him. Though it might turn labor custom away in growing volume, as in the Buck case, it might on the other hand draw custom from classes out of sympathy with organized labor, who for that very reason might turn away from superior goods to help the boycottee. Whoever realizes the economic dependence into which persons of the type of this postum cereal man are trying to drive a class that organized labor is trying to protect, would naturally sympathize with the disinherited workers rather than the overbearing exploiter of workers, and many of these would from their sympathy prefer the goods of other makers. But it is not improbable that consumers of such goods are as a rule of the kind that like to think of themselves as in the class of the "upper dog." Still, even they may shrink from co-operating against organized labor with an "upper dog"—if he is "upper"—who gives his animus so badly away in the belligerent literature he distributes.

*

Regarding the injunction-contempt proceedings against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison in connection with the Buck case (vol. xii, p. 1188), the Buck company abandons it; but the litigating organization which has supported the Buck company financially, announces that the litigation will, nevertheless, not be dropped. We hope that this announcement is true. For the case involves more than a personal or business question, more than a labor question. It involves the right of judges to issue injunctions against publications in advance of publication, and thereby to get a strangle hold upon a free press by acquiring power, in the guise of proceedings for contempt of court, to try, without juries, the lawfulness of the

publication. It involves more. By issuing an injunction against any probable or possible publication, proceedings for contempt of court could be used to punish the publisher though his publication were absolutely lawful. This power, once established, would make freedom of the press dependent entirely upon the caprice of judges.

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In the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case, two judges have decided, a third dissenting, that this dangerous power exists in the courts. If that case is abandoned without a decision by the Supreme Court, where it is now pending on appeal, there is danger that the decision of the lower court may be followed by other courts and crystalized firmly into precedent. The situation would be no worse than it is, if the Supreme Court were to sustain the lower court; if it were to reverse the lower court, one at least of the dangers of government by injunction would be removed.

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Illegality of Labor Unions.

Of the intention of President Taft and the plutocratic interests surrounding him to subject labor organizations, simply as such, to the pains and penalties pronounced by law against the Big Business trusts, there is no other room for doubt than such as might come from an inference that they did not know what they were doing when they insisted upon striking out the Hughes amendment (p. 628) to the bill appropriating funds for prosecutions under the anti-trust law. Mr. Taft urges that labor unions must be law abiding or suffer the usual penalty. This was his reason for demanding that the Hughes amendment be struck out of that appropriation bill. But the Hughes amendment did not propose to shield labor unions from lawlessness. What it did propose was to prevent their prosecution unless they became lawless.

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The exact terms of the Hughes amendment were "that no part of this money shall be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the condition of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof *not in itself unlawful*." The House agreed to this amendment; the Senate rejected it, and, says the Coast Seamen's Journal significantly, "incidentally increased the sum appropriated for prosecutions from \$100,000 to \$200,000!" The Senate

refused to recede in favor of the Hughes amendment, and under pressure from President Taft the House did recede by consenting to strike it out. This means, as Congressman Hughes implied on the floor of the House—it can mean nothing else—that there is a deliberate purpose, backed by the Administration, to spend public money in prosecuting labor unions, *not for lawlessness*, but for organizing.

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Senator Beveridge.

We are admonished on good authority from Indiana, that our news article on the Republican convention in the First Congressional District of Indiana (p. 683), which we based upon newspaper dispatches, is misleading—especially the statement that the action of the convention was "a complete victory over the Beveridge supporters, who withdrew." Although it is true that Beveridge's tariff vote in the Senate was not approved by this convention, the district is in the heart of anti-Beveridge territory. In these circumstances a victory for his enemies in that district could hardly be regarded as an overwhelming defeat—not by well informed and honest correspondents. It is to be observed that news dispatches from other places than the First Congressional District of Indiana, have conveyed similar misleading information regarding Insurgent strength within the Republican party.

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Shippers, Freights and Consumers.

Attention is called by the Milwaukee Journal (one of the Republican dailies of the West), to an illuminative experience. It will be remembered that when the railroad freight rate bill was under consideration in Congress, Senator La Follette argued that while it protected shippers from extortion by railway combines, it did not protect consumers. In reply he was blandly told that shippers would protect consumers, since higher freight rates would necessitate higher prices, and shippers find difficulty in increasing prices. Senator La Follette, though unconvinced was beaten. And now it appears that George W. Perkins—the "left bower" in the Morgan Big Business "euchre deck"—has induced the manufacturing and packing trust interests to withdraw their objections to higher freight rates, arguing, as the Journal says, "that the higher freight rates would be shifted to the consumer, and that to prevent the railways from making the increases in rates would have an injurious effect upon the status of American securities in foreign markets."

Commenting upon the acquiescence of the shippers in this view of the matter the Journal drives home its point:

In the meat rates we have exemplified the force of Senator La Follette's criticism. The shippers have not protected the interests of the public, and the consumer in the East will be compelled to pay the increased rate to the seaboard. With industry centralized in so many directions, and with the ramifications of finance and industry so interwoven and far-reaching as they are, it is futile for the public to expect to be protected against the exactions of monopoly by the Big Business interests. Apparently the railway interests should be opposed to high duties on steel rails and railway equipment, but the same interests that dominate the steel trust control the railway and banking interests. The burden in any event is shifted to the consumer, while the profits of Privilege are reaped by the interests that seemingly may pay them. The beef trust loses nothing through higher freight rates. The consumer will have to bear the burden. But J. Ogden Armour and his associates in the packing industry are large holders of railway stocks. They will profit from higher railway rates. Big Business has things fixed so that whichever way the consumer turns, he is sure to be fleeced.

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Alexander Ure and Land Values Taxation.

A personal tribute to Alexander Ure, Lord Advocate for Scotland—an incident of interest wherever the British struggle of the people for their land is appreciated—was paid last month at the opening of new and spacious offices at 20 Tottenham street, Westminster, London, for the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values. Among the 50 guests were Sir Alfred Mond, C. E. Price, Josiah Wedgwood, E. Crawshay Williams, Henry George Chancellor, and Alexander Ure, all members of Parliament, and Mr. Ure of the Ministry also. The tribute to Mr. Ure was in the form of an illuminated address, signed individually by the members and officers of the United Committee, and by the chairmen and secretaries of more than 75 meetings in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, at which he had spoken in support of land values taxation. In acknowledging the compliment, Mr. Ure declared himself as at one with his hosts in promoting the taxation of land values, and expressed the hope that he and they would be working together for this purpose as long as there is occasion for it.

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Political Leadership.

A magazine writer who thinks the people must be governed by superiors, makes this classification of the governing elements: bosses, demagogues, and genuine leaders. He overlooks a powerful

class, plutagogues. But never mind; when you put his notion under the microscope, you find that all but the "genuine leaders" are bad and that the "genuine leaders" are of "our set." Same old story—lust of dominion; which is all right if it is our lust, but all wrong if it is the other fellow's lust.

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POSSIBLE FATE OF "VESTED RIGHTS."

A doubtful compliment at the best, was that of one of the Washington correspondents to the late Chief Justice Fuller's career upon our highest bench. It pictured him as a stickler for old time spelling but a revolutionist as to legal principles.

Nothing could have suffered very much if the Chief Justice had tolerated such spelling as "thru" for "through." But just rights of persons and property may have suffered sadly if he, as this correspondent reports him, is to be "found in the Supreme Court record reversing the applied principles of law which he brought with him to Washington."

The correspondent is Leroy T. Vernon. His doubtful compliment to the late Chief Justice appeared in the Chicago Daily News of July 8.

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We are aware of the prejudice that prevails against court decisions according to precedent; but it is an ignorant or thoughtless prejudice.

The old lawyers were right who insisted that it were better for judges to follow a bad precedent (leaving its correction to the legislature) than to nullify it from the bench. For men deal with one another upon the faith of past judicial decisions. If these are judicially reversed, the reversal is retroactive, and contractual rights and obligations are thrown into confusion, whereas a legislative reversal affects future contracts alone.

It must be admitted, however, that the courts are treating precedent with less and less respect. They are doing what Mr. Vernon compliments Chief Justice Fuller for having done—reversing the applied principles of law which they learned of their predecessors.

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Yet upon the whole this judicial tendency may not be bad in its outcome. Although very largely in the interest now of grasping corporations, and inspired by their lawyers, the tendency may be laying a broad and firm judicial foundation for better things.

When the courts are so constituted as to re-

spond to popular instead of corporate inspirations, they may wish to put an end to the pernicious doctrine of vested rights. If they should, they will be able to do it, not by reversing the principles of law, as Chief Justice Fuller is reported to have done, but by following the precedents which such as he and his compeers will meantime have made.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE OREGON BALLOT THIS YEAR

Portland, Ore., July 21.

Thirty-two measures will be on the Oregon ballot next November.

Six were referred to the voters by the legislature of 1909; one was ordered by referendum petition of the people against an act of the legislature; and twenty-five are proposed by initiative petition of the people.

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Seventeen of the thirty-two measures would not be on the ballot if the legislature of 1909 had really represented the people. So the incompetency or faithlessness of legislators is responsible for a fraction more than 53 per cent of the measures to be voted on.

For example, the voters of the State have before them eight new county or county division schemes, and a bill to refer all such questions to the voters of the territory immediately affected, not one of which should be on the general ballot, nor would be if the legislature had not jockeyed with the county division question. The corporation enemies of direct legislation point to these nine measures as proof that the Initiative and Referendum are a nuisance, but attempt to conceal the fact that the legislature refused to enact a law leaving the matter of creating new counties to the people directly interested.

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Year after year the legislature has played a juggling game with the matter of establishing normal schools, and with employers' liability; so there are three normal school propositions on the ballot, and two opposing bills for liability laws—one initiated by employes and one by employers.

Instead of providing for the enlargement of the asylum for the insane at Salem, the legislature referred to the people a bill to establish a new asylum.

To nullify the proportional representation amendment adopted by the voters two years ago, the legislature has referred to the voters an amendment that will be discussed in another letter.

Finally, to provide a method by which direct legislation may be abolished, the legislature submitted a bill to call a convention to revise and amend the Constitution. This matter also will be discussed in another letter.

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Seven of the measures to be voted on are: An amendment granting suffrage to all taxpayers, re-

gardless of sex; a referendum against an act of the legislature increasing the compensation of the judge of one district; a Prohibition bill and a Prohibition amendment; an amendment giving cities and towns exclusive power to regulate or suppress the liquor traffic; a bill to regulate fishing in the Rogue river; and a good-roads amendment authorizing counties to incur indebtedness in excess of \$5,000 to build roads.

The remaining questions are worthy of separate discussion at another time. They are: Four tax amendments; an amendment authorizing the creation of railroad districts, so that the people may provide transportation facilities for themselves when the railroad "magnates" and "empire builders" refuse to provide them; an initiative bill to extend the provisions of the direct primary law to Presidential nominations, Presidential Electors and delegates to national conventions; an initiative bill to create a board of "People's Inspectors of Government," and to establish an Official Gazette to give information to the people in regard to State, county and municipal government; an amendment making some radical changes in the legislative article of the Constitution; and an amendment revising the judiciary article.

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The people of Oregon are facing the important fact that direct legislation by the Initiative and Referendum enables the people to rule if they use their power, but does not prevent the legislature from making trouble; and behind the trouble makers in the legislature is franchise Big Business, which is now making a mighty effort to break down majority rule in Oregon.

They are facing the fact that real self-government is impossible as long as the people permit private ownership of public utilities. Such private ownership is valuable to the owners because it carries with it the power to tax, which is a function of sovereignty. Any surrender by the people of the taxing power is a surrender of sovereignty, for the taxing power is the most valuable power of a sovereign.

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Enemies of direct legislation make loud complaint that the power of voters to initiate bills and Constitutional amendments imposes a cruel burden upon the people, and that the voters have neither time nor intelligence to distinguish good bills from bad ones.

That looks somewhat plausible when we glance at the thirty-two measures on the Oregon ballot this year.

But there is another side and another view.

Six of the measures to be voted on were referred to the people by the legislature in 1909—about twenty-one months before they are to be voted on. The referendum against an act of the legislature was filed within ninety days after the legislature adjourned, or eighteen months before the election. Four of the measures initiated by petition have been under discussion since last fall, and all the initiated measures were filed by July 7, or four months before they are to be voted on.

All of these measures will be published in a pamphlet by the Secretary of State, with such arguments for and against them as may be offered, and a copy of the pamphlet must be mailed to each registered voter. Nothing is left to the chance of newspaper publicity, and wise provision is thus taken against tainted editorial opinions and deliberate misrepresentations by the corporation press.

It is fair to say, then, that the voters have two and a half months to consider the thirty-two measures on the ballot, or a fraction more than two days for each measure.

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Now let us see how much time the legislature has for "careful and intelligent consideration" of measures. In 1909 the legislature was in session exactly 28 of the 40 days allowed by law. The Senate had 626 bills and other measures to consider, which would give a fraction more than 22 measures to be considered each day; the House had 681 measures, or a fraction more than 26 a day for "careful and intelligent consideration." Having reported ten sessions of State legislatures, I have a fairly definite idea of the energy and mental horse-power of legislators. The legislator who actually works for the public four hours a day during a session is as rare as that "day in June," and almost as rare as a Chinaman with whiskers. But, to be generous, let us say the average is five hours a day. That would give 140 hours for a 28-day session. It would be difficult even for a penniless plute to believe that the most intelligent legislator can give "careful and intelligent consideration" to 626 measures in 140 hours, for that is less than 14 minutes to a measure.

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While the corporation newspapers assert that the people don't know what they are voting on, they carefully refrain from giving their readers any information about measures to be voted on. That is, they accept the money paid by the people to give the news, but don't deliver the goods. Which is a sanctum-onlous way of obtaining money under false pretenses.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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REPUBLICAN INSURGENCY IN THE MIDDLE WEST.

Sioux City, Iowa, July 23.

Insurgent Republicanism has been making its fight in the middle West, and the results are as satisfactory as the more conservative members in the movement could have hoped for. Primaries and conventions have been held in several middle Western States, and in three of them—Indiana, Iowa and South Dakota—the Insurgents have won clean cut victories by capturing control of the party organization.

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Here is a summary of the results:

In Minnesota, the Standpaters controlled the State convention, though the Insurgents were able

to force the adoption of some of their principles in the platform.

In Iowa, the net result was a decided victory for Insurgency, but the regulars renominated their present Governor and held a hotly contested Congressional seat, where a progressive victory would have been of great moral assistance.

In North Dakota, the result was a drawn battle.

In South Dakota, the Cannon Congressmen were renominated, but the Insurgents controlled the State convention and adopted an extremely progressive platform.

In Nebraska, the Insurgents have failed to perfect anything like a good working organization.

In Kansas and Wisconsin, the supreme test is yet to come.

The Insurgents have lost no ground. They have everywhere held what they already had, and have made some gains.

Here in Iowa, one prominent Standpat Congressman was beaten by a pronounced Progressive. In North Dakota, a Democratic Senator, serving by appointment of the Governor, will be superseded by an Insurgent Republican. These two places constitute the tangible gains which the Progressives have made thus far.

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The primary results this year have shown, however, that Insurgency is not yet at the high tide which its advocates hoped. The national Administration has developed great strength in States where it was thought that the feeling against it was overwhelming. The battle is far from won; though, when the situation is squarely faced, the Insurgents have cause to congratulate themselves on the progress they have made.

Two causes have combined to make the work of the Insurgents difficult. One is the hide-bound regularity of the average Republican. His tenacity in clinging to his party organization is amazing. The old appeals still have power to fire his heart in behalf of the "Grand Old Party." He reads and half believes that his party leaders are in league with greedy and predatory interests; but when the time comes to vote he is inclined to submit to party discipline, to acknowledge the supremacy of the regular organization, and to feel a thrill of pride in supporting the program of harmony and solidarity.

The second reason for the difficulty in uprooting Standpatism is the generally prosperous condition of the middle West. It contains few large cities where sharp contrasts are drawn between the very rich and the very poor. The farmer vote dominates in this great region, and farmers are cautious about disturbing the existing status. Even where the motive of caution does not control, the motive of indifference does, and in large numbers the farmers have absented themselves from the primaries.

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Still there has been a tremendous advance in public sentiment—a great quickening of the public conscience. Civic ideals are higher. A better and more honest standard is being exacted in the public

service. The old time outrages committed by the party organization are no longer accepted as a matter of course. Men no longer think in a rut. The platform adopted by the Republicans of South Dakota reads like a Populist output of the early '90's.

The public cannot be educated in a day. The average Republican, however progressive his ideas, is not a fundamental economic thinker. He is still wedded to the Protective heresy, and that heresy muddles up his whole current of political reasoning. Indeed it is greatly to be doubted if any permanent step toward real reform will ever be taken by a party which acknowledges as orthodox this monumental scheme of plunder. The result, in all probability, of the progressive Republican movement, will be to educate its adherents out of the Republican party and into a new party, yet to be formed, which will stand for real progress.

Insurgency, however, has roused the fighting blood of its enemies. "Uncle Joe" Cannon, raging in senile and impotent anger from the stump in Kansas, is merely the expression of how all the mossbacks regard this new movement. Several Democrats are going to ride into Congress this fall with the aid of Standpat votes. The scheme to elect one in place of Judge S. F. Prouty of Des Moines, the militant Insurgent named by the Republicans in the Seventh Iowa district, is already well under way. Standpatism has its back to the wall, and will fight in or out of the party to defeat the men who have raised the standard of revolt against ancient methods and time-honored corruption.

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But the Insurgent movement was not born to die.

If its adherents find that they are to be overwhelmed by the forces of reaction in their own party, they will not permanently remain in the party. Just now they are timid about any suggestion of bolting. It is a point of sensitive pride with them to assert their party regularity. The iron has not yet fully penetrated their inner political consciousness. But they will not submit indefinitely to the control of the old guard of plunder, corruption and spoils. This is particularly true of the younger generation, which has not the pride of party tradition.

Insurgency has been defeated at some points in this year of grace; but these defeats simply show that the war is not to be so easy as some Insurgents hoped. Final victory is not to be achieved in a single campaign; but the Insurgent movement continues to be the most portentous factor for good in American politics.

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D. K. L.

Cannon hurled threats at them,
Cannon shook fists at them,
Cannon in front of them
Volleyed and thundered;
Stormed at them for a spell,
Gave Mr. Bristow—well.
Anyhow, from Cannon's lips
Words that were sizzling fell!
All Kansas wondered.

—Chicago Record-Herald.

A LOCAL GLIMPSE OF CANNON IN KANSAS.

Winfield, Kansas.

When Speaker Cannon stepped from the train at Winfield, dressed in a cool, light gray suit, he looked comfortable and well and happy. He was greeted by Dr. Jarvis, Superintendent of the Chautauqua Assembly here, and by Representative P. P. Campbell, Joseph Laffrey his host, a group of reporters and several others. His voice rang out cheery and clear. The careful habits and genial personality of the man were shown in his gracious manner of meeting strangers. If he failed to catch a name in introductions, he asked it over and gave attention until he got it.

A full hour before the time for his speech, the large tabernacle was almost filled. By 2 o'clock it was packed, and many were standing on the outskirts. Illinois people were invited to the platform and came several hundred strong. Mr. Cannon was introduced to the audience by P. P. Campbell in a short speech praising the Speaker for a tremendous amount of legislative business transacted under his Speakership as compared with other Speakers.

When Speaker Cannon rose he was given a round of rousing applause, but there was no wild demonstration. The Chautauqua audience received him cordially, and respectfully, not to say tolerantly, as their distinguished guest, but their Insurgent temper was plainly expressed. At one time, when Mr. Cannon began a sentence thus: "In the words of William Allen White"—and paused, the crowd broke into cheers. It was at the mention of Mr. White's name. At another time when he asked if there were any admirers of Bryan present, there was a hearty response of affirmative applause.

The Speaker deviated from the speech given out in advance by the Associated Press, and it has been remarked by many here that the written speech was much the stronger and more logical. While speaking he often turned and addressed "Phil Campbell" by name.

The day was intensely hot, and he was evidently suffering. When near the close of his address he collapsed and was unable to finish. The crowd remained quietly in their seats while a few friends came near and offered assistance. The Speaker soon recovered, and coming forward, thanked the audience. He was then driven in an auto to the home of Mr. Laffrey, and later in the day it was announced that he was himself again.

Taken all in all the meeting undoubtedly disappointed the Standpatters and gratified the Insurgents. It was an idly curious crowd, serene in the strength of its own Insurgent position and kindly tolerant of the long-enthroned and mighty enemy whom it evidently felt is soon to be deposed.

DORA KERSHNER.

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JERRY SIMPSON'S SPIRIT IN KANSAS.

On the Road, July 22.

I met at Emporia, Kansas, that great man—Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Allen White. Walt Whitman used to wish he were a cow that he might stand in the

made and chew his cud and never have to bother about his sins. I wish I lived in Emporia, for then I would read the editorials of the Emporia Gazette, and insurge and insurge after the peculiar Kansas way, until the old order that changeth was altogether changed, and the last Cannon was spiked, and a man with William Allen White's vision was in the White House.

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Yes, I followed Cannon by a few days at the Emporia Chautauqua. This is the sensational truth about his meeting there. The pitiable old man did not get one approving hand, not one voice of approval, labor for it though he did; but if he but mentioned the name of Victor Murdock, or Bristow or White, up went the roof. The editor of the Emporia Gazette suggested that after his Kansas trip the Speaker of the House was now prepared to write a book on his Arctic experiences.

This is what has happened: The Speaker of the House, boasting himself to be a "died" in the wool Republican, finds in Republican Kansas, the enemy's country, while on his heels comes Victor Murdock—Jerry Simpson all over again and setting Kansas aflame with the new Republicanism which was Jerry's old democracy.

The short ballot, a non-partisan primary and the recall are the issues on which Governor Stubbs is making his campaign for the Republican nomination. It is understood that his message to the Legislature will include a demand for the Initiative and Referendum. His victory is certain. Kansas is going to rival Oregon as an experiment station in democracy.

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Oregon and Kansas are the most democratic States in the Union, also indisputably Republican. There's a reason. There is more democracy in the Republican than in the Democratic party.

Compare Missouri and Kansas. How Missouri ever got the Initiative and Referendum is a mystery. Dr. William Preston Hill forced it on her. That's about it. Kansas has not got the Initiative and Referendum but knows she wants it. Missouri has got it but she does not know it. If Missouri wakes up and does anything with direct legislation we'll apologize.

But watch Kansas. The soul of Jerry Simpson is marching on. Great is Kansas, and Bristow is her Senator, and Murdock is her Simpson, but William Allen White is her prophet.

Old Cannon says these are Democrats. Of course they are democrats. And so was Lincoln, and so are the masses of the Republican party. Insurgency is an insurrection of the democratic masses in the party of Lincoln, against the bourbon money changers in her temple.

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I hoped also to meet at Emporia Walt Mason. But if he was not in my audience I found his reason that day in the Emporia Gazette, stated as follows: "I'm tired of moving-pictures, and other glaring shows; I'm tired of hearing lectures delivered through the nose; I'm tired of stately shriekers who for an office yell, and weary of the speakers who'd bind me with a spell." HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE ON THE ROAD.

Chicago, July 18.

There is nothing original in the automobile idea that is being carried into effect by the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association. This has been a favorite method in England and in the East. But the idea, of covering a whole State of 102 counties, originated with Catherine Waugh McCulloch, legislative superintendent of the Association.

The newspapers waste much ink over the question of our militancy. If militant means warlike, fighting, then we are not militant, for we have made war on nobody except the forces of graft and corruption.

We are everywhere urging men to break the power of the Senate ring and the House ring, this year. We are doing this for two reasons: First: If we must live in a fifty percent republic, we would still like some economy exercised in the expenditure of our taxes, and some respect retained for the country whose name we bear. Second: We believe that a reform legislature in Illinois would be willing to enfranchise the other half of the adult citizens.

It was a revelation to me to notice how uniformly the men who favor decent legislation, are in favor of woman suffrage. And yet how could it be otherwise? The man who is not pursuing public business for private ends is very apt, even in the year 1910, to believe that all men and women, whether created equal or not, are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and he is apt to see the impossibility of pursuing happiness, even within the four walls of home, without the ballot.

To illustrate: Happiness in the home means healthy children; healthy children mean pure water and pure milk; dirty politics is apt to mean impure water and impure milk. So the woman gets to politics before she has pursued her happiness beyond the breakfast table. Almost any open minded man can see that.

In our two automobile tours just finished, we found the men and women, on the whole, most willing to be convinced. They welcomed us everywhere. There has been no disrespect, or derision, or opposition, but everywhere welcome and openhearted hospitality. Towns have been decorated in our honor, automobiles have met us and directed us, and even churches and Fourth of July celebrations have made way for the itinerant suffragist. Naturally we have become encouraged to believe that equal suffrage may speedily follow the coming of a reform legislature.

We think we have stood for suffrage long enough, and that it is time to move for suffrage, even if we take the pace of that modern invention, the automobile, or eventually the aeroplane. There is but one objection to equal suffrage in the mind of the average man; and that is that it is an innovation. We can overcome this objection only by trial of equal suffrage, or the study of nations that are trying it.

We must acknowledge that women have not always wanted to vote; but neither have men always wanted to fly in the air.

ANNA ELLSWORTH BLOUNT.

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 26, 1910.

Triumph of a Labor Boycott.

The boycott declared by organized labor against the Buck Stove and Range Company, out of which grew the injunction proceedings in the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case (vol. xii, p. 1188; vol. xiii, pp. 121, 627), affecting the question of freedom of the press, came to an end on the 19th, through the submission of the Buck company. The former president of the company, J. W. Van Cleave, had kept up the fight against organized labor until he died, the company being reimbursed by an employers' organization, for its legal expenses and loss of business profits. But the new management, realizing that the boycott was not only causing legal expense and loss of business profits, but was making the business itself melt away, entered readily into a settlement of the boycott.

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At the settlement conference on the 19th, at St. Louis, William H. Cribben and Thomas J. Hogan of Chicago represented the Bucks company, Samuel Gompers represented the American Federation of Labor, Joseph Valentine and John Frey represented the Iron Molders, T. H. Daly and Charles R. Atherton, the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union, Frank Grimshaw and J. H. Kaefer the Stove Mounters' International Union, and George Bechtold the Independent Brotherhood of Foundry Employees. The terms agreed upon by them were as follows, as reported in the news dispatches:

First—Within thirty days the officers of the organizations herein named shall meet with the manager of the Buck Stove and Range Company at St. Louis, for the purpose of determining wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment.

Second—That the agreement in regard to wages, hours, and conditions shall take effect ninety days from the date thereof, based on wages and conditions existing in the shops of competitors in the city of St. Louis, operating union shops; fair conditions being the purpose of this agreement.

Third—That the labor organizations in interest shall jointly make known and publicly declare that all controversy or difference with the Buck Stove and Range Company of St. Louis has been satisfactorily and honorably adjusted.

Fourth—That the Buck Stove and Range Company agrees that it will withdraw its attorneys from any case now pending in the courts which has grown out of the dispute between the American Federation of Labor and any of its affiliated organizations and the Buck Company and that the company will not bring any proceedings in the courts against any individual or organization growing out of past controversies.

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Immediately upon publication of this settlement, one of the lawyers for the American Anti-boycott Association, Walter Gordon Merrit of New York, issued a statement to the press, as reported in New York news dispatches, to the effect that in the litigation between the American Federation of Labor and the Buck Stove and Range Company, the Anti-Boycott Association is another party interested, having taken up the suits "at the request of the company," and having "borne the entire expense on the express understanding that they would be carried to a final conclusion and that the company would operate to that end," and that therefore the litigation will not be abandoned, notwithstanding the withdrawal from it of the Buck company.

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The Democratic Conference in Illinois.

The Democratic conference for Illinois, on the 20th, at Lincoln (pp. 650, 661), which was called to order by H. W. Clendennin, owner and editor of the daily State Register of Springfield, chose Congressman B. F. Caldwell for president and James B. Lloyd, owner and editor of the Lincoln Courier, for secretary. The resolutions committee, consisting of S. F. Gilmore as chairman, and Lewis Fitz Henry, James B. Lloyd, Louis F. Post and John S. Shepard, reported the following appeal to the Democratic voters of Illinois, which was unanimously adopted by the conference:

In the judgment of Democrats from various parts of the State, assembled in conference in Lincoln on July 20, grave political conditions warrant us in publicly condemning and repudiating the action of those who, elected as and affiliating with the Democratic party, betrayed the solemn and sacred trust committed to them when they bolted the Senatorial candidate of the party and cast their ballots for William Lorimer, a Republican, who is opposed to every principle and measure for which the Democratic party stands. We therefore, as Democrats, disavow, denounce and repudiate such action and absolve ourselves of all responsibility for such betrayal of a great public trust. It is, indeed, a deplorable state of affairs when men chosen for such high honors so act as to bring themselves, their party and their State into disrepute. But the situation is not without hope, for sovereignty still resides in the voters of Illinois and we earnestly and solemnly appeal to them to redeem the good name of this great State by electing none but men

of the highest character, fitness and honor to public office. We suggest and commend to the voters a remedy which can be applied successfully to the rectification of existing evils, and for the purification of politics in Illinois, namely, the adoption of a Constitutional amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum, whereby the voters will be provided with efficient weapons for the protection of their rights and liberties against the dangerous and insidious encroachments of hidden powers that operate by furnishing "jack pot" funds to buy legislation and debauch the men chosen as servants of the people.

In addition to the foregoing appeal the conference unanimously adopted resolutions recommended by the committee, endorsing the recommendation of the Democratic State committee that two Democratic candidates be nominated for the legislature in each senatorial district of the State; indorsing and commending "those twenty-four Democratic members of the legislature who demonstrated their loyalty to principle and devotion to public duty in upholding the honor and integrity of the Democratic party by their unwavering adherence to the primary nominee of their party for United State Senator, Lawrence B. Stringer;" repudiating "responsibility as a party for Lorimer's elevation to the Senate"; and denouncing "such legislation and administration as the 'corporations' and 'telephone' acts authorizing the formation of organizations repugnant to good government and trenching upon the people's rights, and the appointment of inefficient officers responsible for the loss of 300 lives in the Cherry mine disaster." There were in attendance at the conference representatives from 40 senatorial districts; and the principal speakers were Joseph Farris, George Schilling, Raymond Robins, State Senator Isley and Congressman Foster. Authority was voted to the officers to reconvene the conference in their discretion.

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Woman Suffrage Propaganda in Illinois.

Two automobile campaigns for woman suffrage through the State of Illinois (p. 685) have been carried on within the past two weeks, the first of which is described by Dr. Blount in our department of Editorial Correspondence this week (p. 706), and the third of which began on the 22d, with Dr. Blount, Mrs. Vandalia V. Thomas, Miss Jennie Johnson, Miss Dorothy Horning, Miss Albertine Hathaway and Mrs. Helen Roat as speakers. Its tour included Utica, LaSalle, Spring Valley, Ottawa, Lacon, Wyoming and Galesburg. On the 25th, the fourth tour, with the Rev. Kate Hughes in charge, began a trip to Monmouth, Roseville, Bushnell, McComb, Colchester, Webster, Burnside, Ferris, Carthage, Beardston, Astoria, Vermont, Duncan Mills, Havana, Lewiston, Canton, Cuba and Table Grove.

Woman Suffrage Parade in London.

What is reported as the most imposing of all the woman suffrage demonstrations in Great Britain (p. 586), came off in London on the 23d. Beginning in a parade of women from the Parliament houses, it ended in a mass meeting estimated at 500,000, with 40 speaking stands, at Hyde Park. The object was to urge the passage of the pending woman suffrage compromise bill (p. 684) through the House of Commons. Among the marchers were 617 women in prison dress who had served sentences for suffragette offenses. There were foreign sections in the parade representing France, Germany, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Canada and other British colonies, and the United States. Prominent among the latter were Inez Milholland of New York, Dr. Martin of Stanford University, and the Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, who led the section. In this section four American women carried bannerets inscribed, "Women Vote in Utah, Colorado, Wyoming and Idaho." At 6:30, at the sound of bugles, speaking at all the 40 stands stopped, and from each the resolutions were read and put to vote. They were carried with the same overwhelming expressions of enthusiasm that had characterized the demonstration from the start.

NEWS NOTES

—Through the blowing out of a breech block in one of the big guns at Fortress Monroe, during target practice on the 21st, eleven coast artillerymen were killed, and a half dozen more injured.

—Maj. Gen. Frederick Grant, U. S. A., son of President Ulysses S. Grant, has been transferred from Chicago to New York, as successor to Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, in command of the Department of the East.

—The people of Macoupin County, Illinois, at Carlinville on the 21st ceremoniously burned the last bond of an issue of \$1,500,000 for the building of a court house finished forty years ago. Governor Deen presided over the ceremony.

—It has been arranged that the Conservation Congress at Minneapolis (p. 369) shall open on the 5th of September instead of the 6th, President Taft to be invited to open it, and ex-President Roosevelt to speak according to previous program on the 6th.

—The Japanese steamer Tetsurei-Marui, plying between Kobe and Dairen, sank on the night of the 23rd off Chindo, Korea. Of the 246 passengers on board 40 were certainly saved. One hundred and five third class passengers and 59 soldiers got away in boats, and may turn up later.

—A Henry George association was formed at Victoria, British Columbia on the 21st of June, with W. H. D. Ariss as secretary. The organizing meeting was addressed by Frederick H. Monroe, of the

Henry George Lecture Association. Herbert S. Bigelow is announced to speak for the new organization in September, in honor of Henry George's 71st birthday.

—On the vote in the British House of Commons on the 22d regarding financial provision for King George, George H. Barnes, Parliamentary leader of the Labor party and Keir Hardie of the same party, opposed the ministerial amount, \$2,350,000 (the same as had been given King Edward), as excessive. They moved a reduction to \$1,925,000, but were defeated by 207 votes to 20. The larger sum was voted by 197 to 19.

—Antonio Maura (vol. xii, p. 1038), leader of the Conservative party in Spain, and Premier last year when the government put down the Barcelona riots and executed Francesco Ferrer (vol. xii, p. 1068), while alighting from a train at a Barcelona station on the night of the 21st, was shot at three times, one of the shots wounding him in the leg. A young native of Barcelona, Manuel Posa, did the shooting. He declared afterward that he simply desired to make a demonstration against the ex-Premier.

—Congressman Sulzer, who was reported in the New York City dispatches of the 20th to have secured the support of William Randolph Hearst for the New York Governorship, whether on Democratic nomination or as an independent, was reported in dispatches of the 22d as having had a long private interview with ex-President Roosevelt. Asked its meaning by reporters, he replied: "Ask the Colonel." Mr. Roosevelt's reported reply was: "I have had a very interesting talk on literature."

—The City Club of Chicago has established a "bureau of public efficiency," with a fund of \$130,000, and composed of: Alfred L. Baker, Onward Bates, William A. Bond, Clyde M. Carr, Chas. R. Crane, Dr. Henry B. Favill, Walter L. Fisher, Charles E. Merriam and Julius Rosenwald. Three of these trustees will retire each year, their successors to be chosen by the City Club directors. At the first meeting, the date of which has not been set, they are to announce their choice of a director to assume charge of the active work of the bureau.

—Five gypsy leaders representing, according to their own statement, all the tribes of gypsies in the United States, elected in Washington, D. C., on the 19th, Emil Mitchell of Louisiana "Chief of all the gypsies of the United States, with authority to do and perform all things and acts pertaining to the said office that he may lawfully do under the rules, customs and laws of the gypsy people and not in conflict with the laws of the United States or any sovereign state." The election papers were certified to at the Department of Justice and at the State Department. A new chief for the United States was made necessary because Zlatcho Dimito, the former chief, had moved over into Canada.

—At the fourth international conference on State and local taxation (p. 421) to be held under the auspices of the International Tax Association, Columbus, Ohio, and 29 Broadway, New York City, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on August 30, 31 and September 1, 2, 1910, the subjects for discussion in-

clude the effect of taxes when paid by producers, by distributors, by financial institutions, by owners of real estate and credits, on transfers of property, and on personal property, incomes and occupations. Papers are promised by Prof. T. S. Adams, K. K. Kennan, R. H. Shields, T. A. Polleys, Prof. Charles J. Bullock, Prof. John E. Brindley, Allen R. Foote (the president of the association), and William A. Robinson. Special invitations to attend comprise, in addition to members, Governors of States and Premiers of Provinces, presidents and heads of economic departments of Universities. Requests for information should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, A. C. Pleydell, 29 Broadway, New York.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (vol. xii, p. 758; vol. xiii, p. 564) for the year ending June 30, 1910, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for June, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise ..	\$1,744,966,203	\$1,557,854,854	\$187,111,349 exp.
Gold	118,563,215	43,339,905	75,223,310 exp.
Silver	55,286,861	45,217,194	10,069,667 exp.
Total	\$1,918,816,279	\$1,646,411,953	\$272,404,326 exp.
1909, total balance (vol. xii, p. 758)			410,383,527 exp.
1908, total balance (vol. xi, p. 638)			603,942,615 exp.
1907, total balance (vol. x, p. 469)			397,183,715 exp.
1906, total balance (vol. ix, p. 374)			480,941,163 exp.
1905, total balance (vol. viii, p. 249)			461,829,924 exp.
1904, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			474,333,007 exp.
1903, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			416,617,778 exp.
1902, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			496,446,285 exp.
1901, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			671,458,818 exp.
1900, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			571,677,235 exp.
1899, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			504,086,295 exp.
1898, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248)			534,624,851 exp.

Total export balance, 1898 to 1910...\$6,295,429,539 exp.

Total export balance, 1834 to 1910...\$8,918,048,856 exp.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 492) for June, 1910, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910 (vol. xii, p. 758):

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	100,490,783.79
Total	\$250,490,783.79
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1909	274,453,841.25
Decrease for fiscal year ending June 30, 1910.	\$ 23,963,057.46
ditto, 1909 (vol. xii, p. 758)	115,104,151.91
ditto, 1908 (vol. xi, p. 371)	29,023,444.35
ditto, 1905 (vol. viii, p. 250)	26,537,180.18
ditto, 1904 (vol. vii, p. 248)	65,367,032.19
Total decrease for fiscal years 1904-05-08-09	\$259,994,867.09
Increase for fiscal year ending	
June 30, 1907 (vol. x, p. 469)	\$90,494,154.26
ditto, 1906 (vol. ix, p. 373)	35,896,690.38
ditto, 1903 (vol. vi, p. 215)	25,820,159.73
ditto, 1902 (vol. v, p. 218)	31,740,991.83
ditto, 1901 (vol. iv, p. 218)	21,127,470.14
ditto, 1900 (vol. iii, p. 218)	24,325,186.05

Total increase for fiscal years 1900-01-02-03-06-07

\$229,404,652.39

Net decrease from June 30, 1900, to June 30, 1910.....\$ 30,590,214.70

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government (vol. xii, p. 759; vol. xiii, p. 493) for June, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910:

I.—Ordinary:

Receipts—	
Customs tariff	\$332,785,323.27
Internal revenue—	
Ordinary	267,823,015.27
Corporation tax	17,362,815.19
Miscellaneous	51,093,626.40
	\$669,064,780.13
Disbursements—	
Civil and miscellaneous	\$172,792,769.53
War	157,004,608.06
Navy	123,114,547.34
Indians	18,752,612.14
Pensions	160,733,839.16
Postal deficiency	8,495,612.37
Interest on public debt.....	21,342,984.28
	\$662,236,972.88
Less repayment of unex-	
pended balances	2,574,624.81
	659,662,348.07

Excess of ordinary receipts over ordinary disbursements

	\$ 9,402,432.06
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II.—Panama Canal—

Receipts—proceeds of bonds.....	\$ 00,000,000.00
Disbursements for Canal.....	33,911,673.37
	\$ 33,911,673.37

Excess of Panama Canal disbursements over receipts

	\$ 33,911,673.37
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III.—Public Debt—

Receipts—	
Proceeds of bonds and certificates	\$ 00,000,000.00
Deposits to retire bank notes	31,674,292.50
	\$ 31,674,292.50
Disbursements—	
Bonds and certificates retired	\$ 760,925.00
Bank notes retired.....	32,288,770.50
	\$ 33,049,695.50

Excess of public debt disbursements over receipts

	\$ 1,375,403.00
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Excess of all disbursements over all receipts

	\$ 25,884,644.31
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IV.—Deficits and Surpluses in Millions:

	Ordinary deficits.	Canal deficits.	Debt deficits.	Total deficits
June 30, 1910	\$ 9.4*	\$33.9	\$33.	\$ 25.8
June 30, 1909	55.	0.689	59.	115.
June 30, 1908	20.	12.7	5.9*	26.8
June 30, 1907	111.*	4.*	24.	91.*
June 30, 1906	45.*	19.	9.*	35.*
June 30, 1905	18.	3.9	3.9	26.5
June 30, 1904	7.2	50.	23.9	66.6

*Surplus.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Labor "Goat."

Portland (Ore.) Labor Press (Labor), July 16.—To sell something you did not create and put no labor upon it for more than you received, seems a very desirable way to obtain something for nothing.

Somewhere along the line, however, somebody had to receive nothing for his or her labor in order to make the circle complete. The workingman is usually the "goat" in this circle.

+ +

Direct Legislation.

Chicago Daily News (ind.), June 29.—Adoption of the initiative and the referendum will require the amendment of the State constitution. With these two features of government in operation, the way will be made easier for the securing of other needed reforms. The united support of the people of the State should compel the next General Assembly to submit to the voters the question of amending the Constitution for the purpose indicated. . . . Even those who have not been accustomed to look with favor heretofore upon the initiative and the referendum should realize the practical need for these well-tested and very satisfactory devices for giving to the people proper control of their government.

+ +

That "Favorable" Balance of Trade.

The Minneapolis (daily) Journal (Rep.), July 19.—An Eastern paper published recently a curious but true illustration of a ship starting from America with \$30,000 worth of shoes. These were exchanged in Europe for \$50,000 worth of other goods and the ship proceeded to India, where another exchange was made for \$64,000 worth of Indian products, which were brought to the United States. Here was a clear balance of trade against us. Yet it would require more than a tradition of balances to demonstrate that an export of \$30,000 worth of shoes and an import of \$64,000 worth of other goods in return did not make the United States richer instead of poorer.

+ +

A Political Contrast.

The Chicago Daily Journal (Dem.), July 1.—Someone has said that the Republican party is an economic party and the Democratic party a political party, meaning that Republican leaders have traded upon the nation's material success, while Democrats have been handicapped by political ideals. If Democratic leaders had strayed less into the economic camp and run less after the favor of money captains, their ideals would have given them longer control of government. The resurrection of ideals in the Democratic party will again make it a powerful political party. It has greater opportunities for public service in the immediate future than ever before. The American people are groping their way back to forgotten standards of ideal government, and they will support the party that furnishes the kind of leaders they want.

+ +

Wouldn't Women Vote?

The (London) Christian Commonwealth, July 6.—One of the arguments constantly on the lips of the opponents of Woman Suffrage is that women would not vote if the Parliamentary franchise were conferred upon them. All the facts are against such

an assumption. In New Zealand the percentage of women voting exceeds the percentage of men, and in the Isle of Man, where women have the vote for the House of Keys, they vote as largely as the men. Further confirmation has just been supplied by Australia. A return has been issued by the Commonwealth government giving an analysis of the voting at the recent Federal elections. In seven divisions in the State of Victoria the women voted in larger numbers than the men. Taking the voting for the whole of the State of Victoria, the percentage of the persons voting of the total electorate was 70.9 in the case of men, and 62.2 in the case of the women voters.

* *

Feudalistic Philanthropy.

Milwaukee (daily) Journal (ind. Repub.), July 5.—We may believe that humanity would not suffer if our industrial barons should do justice to the public and to their employes instead of building churches and hospitals and endowing universities. To expect them, however, to be moved by such idealism is to fly in the face of the experience of mankind. There will be no benevolent feudalism. If justice shall be done, the people must take possession of the powers of government and exact it. How much better it would be to have labor well paid and prosperous than to have Carnegie building libraries that we could build for ourselves, and Rockefeller setting out to do "human welfare" work from now to doom's day, and the Schwabs alternately breaking the bank at Monte Carlo and building churches wherein may worship the followers of the lowly Nazarene?

* *

A New National Party.

The Sacramento Bee (dem. Dem.), June 28.—The conjecture that Roosevelt, Pinchot and Garfield have discussed the desirability of a new national party is not unlikely. It would appear to be easier to form a successful new party, on conservation and public-be-served lines, than to rescue the Republican party from the clutches of the public-be-damned corporations and their tools, such as Cannon and Aldrich. The Republican party in these days stands mainly for monopoly and privilege, with occasional sops to The People to keep them quiet or deluded. As for the Democratic party, it represents largely hunger for office. And it seems to have been eclipsed, as an Opposition party, by the rise of Insurgency. A new party, of conservation, progress, reform, square dealing and public service, would be welcomed by millions of good American citizens who have little confidence in either of the two old organizations.

* *

Perceptive Labor Leadership.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (William Marion Reedy), July 7.—A few days ago the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, passed a resolution favoring "the adoption of a system of taxation that will make it unprofitable to hold unoccupied land." There's one labor union that sees the way to make conditions better for labor, without strikes or boycotts. Make it "unprofitable to hold unoccupied land" and what's

the result? Building,—work for all kinds of workers at all kinds of trades. If not building, then farming, the production of all kinds of produce. Tax land so it has to be used, and all the trusts would have to produce more product. They couldn't keep up prices by restricting output. Let land be free, and the men who would go to the land would be so many that the price of labor would go up. All the labor unions in the country—in the world, in fact,—should follow the lead of the Brooklyn Central Labor Union and urge the taxation of land values into the public treasury. If they did, the reform would come, and then there would be mighty little or no worry for the worker about wages or hours. The most wonderful thing in the civilized world for the last thirty years has been the inability of the men in organized labor to see that the man who gave them the efficient means to their most laudable ends was Henry George. They don't even begin to see this as they read the great uproar over conservation of natural resources. But then, smarter people than the union labor men don't see it, either. And of course the really smart people—the people who get the land and the money—won't see it. Their interest lies in obscuring the great truth.

* *

Don't Worry! But—

The Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), July 22.—It is all in vain that "don't worry" clubs are formed. Little effect is produced by those who preach indifference and stoicism against the uncertainty that haunts those who live here. There never was a more uncertain society than the present one. Not even when man had only sharpened sticks and stones with which to fight and work was he more haunted with danger. Every man who is trying to live in the business world knows that the chances are many more than two to one that he will fail. Every man who holds a position knows that he is subject to all the uncertainties that threaten the man who is exploiting him, and in addition to all the uncertainties that arise from the whims of that exploiter. . . . We no longer fear famine treading in the wake of a holocaust; but we still tremble before the terror of an industrial panic. We no longer shiver in fear from lurking wild animals; but the wolf of poverty still clings close to the door of multitudes. We have guarded against sudden death from the beasts of the forest; but the toll of lives in industrial accidents is greater than was ever taken by cave bear or jungle serpent. . . . All of these things—the crises, the bankruptcies, the accidents, the unemployment, the misery that plants lines in the face and deadens and damns the lives of the present population, are all due to the fact that the conquests of science, the triumphs of invention, the bounties of nature, are the possessions of a few, and these few are fighting among themselves to determine which of still fewer individuals shall continue to possess them. There is plenty for all. There is plenty of raw material in nature. There is plenty of skill in the mind of man. There is plenty of power and machinery and ingenuity to place every human being beyond the need of want or worry.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO MOTHER EARTH.

For The Public.

O Mother Earth, while cooling winds are sighing
And soothing drooping flower and wilting leaf,
Unnumbered human flowers are slowly dying
With no relief.

No fair winds fan the human flowers bending
Above the flying spindles of the loom;
But parching thirsts and painful tasks, unending,
Are made their doom.

Slave-bound by Greed, afraid and self-forsaking,
Through wondrous tasks they seem to fairly fly!
Before their time, with heart and temples aching,
They droop and die.

Although their soulless masters find them willing
And boldly claim the wealth their labors yield,
Behold! these broken flowers are dally filling
The Potter's Field.

And while Cathedral Chimes are sweetly ringing
Beneath a heaven smiling and serene;
Behold! the kind of tribute we are bringing
The Nazarene.

Close to the altar rail, with hymnals guiding,
The moneyed madams flaunt their sordid pride,
While in the rear the friendly shades are hiding
The Crucified.

In one dark aisle a victim crouches, nursing
A starving babe that tugs her empty breast;
And now and then her bloodless lips are cursing
The richly dressed.

While polished priests are old requests renewing,
While strains of sacred music fall and swell,
Made mad by want, her mental sight is viewing
A seething hell.

While still the air with frankincense is reeking,
When proud and portly dames are homeward
whirled,
Turned from "God's House," the homeless ones go
seeking
The "underworld."

In that sad world (of Mammon's evil making)
The deaf will hearken and the blind will see,
And while the few are from the many taking,
That world must be.

And those blind powers that keep the masses bleed-
ing—
Their creeds will crumble and their systems fall;
And Labor's reign will bless mankind by heeding
The needs of all.

The while we watch our dauntless comrades sowing
The seeds of truth in furrows dark and deep,
We know that happy eyes will watch the growing,
The while we sleep.

And while increasing hosts are loudly voicing
The rights of every child of human birth,
Close in their wake we wend our way rejoicing,
O Mother Earth.

MARY QUINLAN LAUGHLIN.

* * *

THE THREE GRACES.

For The Public.

Faith.

Faith is vain if based on some pliant dogma
which appeals to sensual comfort here, and rele-
gates heaven and hell to the ultimate when the
flesh shall fail and can be pampered no more.

True faith is a spiritual force operating in the
Eternal Now, and needs not the Sabbath bell to
arouse periodical devotions, but stirs the heart to
the pulse of every human joy or woe met in the
commonplace routine of Life.

Hope.

Hope is false if based upon hypocritical ideals,
or a blind optimism which sees in the teeming
mass of humanity a mine of opportunities for ex-
ploitation, a vineyard that owes one a luxurious
living.

True Hope is born of Love for the welfare of
all; a pure optimism that retains its sturdy char-
acter, though the World clothes it in rags; verily,
a food which is better than raiment, for true man-
hood is the Bread of Life.

Charity.

False Charity is the "sounding brass and tin-
kling cymbal" of a World which cultures her fav-
ored children in a hot-house, but most of them in
the slums; and when the neglected ones languish
she donates a spasmodic sop of hot-house good
things, coddling herself as a Lady Bountiful,
while in reality she is the mother of parasites, har-
lots, thieves and beggars.

True Charity, Archangel of the Creator's real
Messianic Kingdom, teaches us that the blessed
quality was not ordained alone to cover a multi-
tude of sins—that Wisdom is not born of the
flesh but of God, and Educational Knowledge is
the glass by which it should be focussed on the
brain of man; that human intelligence is a spark
from the Divine, Eternal Dynamo of the Uni-
verse, which can be fanned into a beneficent flame
by proper culture and environment; that he who
would make a Trust of Knowledge, or monopolize
it in exclusive Universities to be bartered to the
highest bidder, is a thief and despoiler of God's
most precious leaven—the Intellect of Man. The
knowledge of this Truth strikes from the limbs of
Humanity the greed-forged shackles of Selfish
Pride, so that man, on the pinions of true Faith,
Hope and Love, can reach untrammelled an ever
present Earthly Paradise of Brotherhood and
Peace.

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

SPAWN OF THE DEEP.

For The Public.

III. Copepoda Sapphirina*

At high tide today the sunlit azure and green flood displays in the burnished concave of its shore-waves, unaccountable richness of violet hue, like a great vestment of inter-patterned gentian-blue and quince-colored silks, of which the border has been dyed with glowing Tyrian purple.

Or it might suggest a luxuriant vineyard of bluish-tinged leafery with ripe Tokay clusters protruding along its margin; or a plum-orchard laden with wine-colored fruit, or again a garden banked with trumpet-mouthed blooms of the opulent tinge of porphyry.

As the tide ebbs, it deposits at step after step of its recession, broad, scalloped lines of the regal color far along the strand, which the hot sun later dries to surprising brilliance of vermilion, graded sometimes to scarlet only a shade less vivid, and more rarely to fervid carmine; until the undulant, gleaming stripes alternating with the lanes of pale sand between, as far as the eye can reach, assume the aspect of a mighty flag unrolled along the coast, where the blazonry of its color throbs in gorgeous contrast to the sapphire and emerald of the neighboring waters. And at sunset when the cloud-draperies kindle with the flush of the afterglow, they find ruddy reproduction in the beach's unwonted markings.

The strange bright froth feels clammy to the bare feet, and clings to them so as to leave their prints cut as by a die to the sand beneath through the deckle-edged ribbons, while gathered in the wondering observer's hand it is found to consist of myriad tiny forms like elongated eggs, and to emit a stale fishy odor.

Yet more bewildered, the investigator dips a bottle into the tide where its rim is turbid with the diffused maroon like spilt grape-juice, and holding it to the light is fairly appalled to see it now an aquarium thronged with minute, crustacean-shaped swimmers with long drooping antennae!

*In answer to an inquiry addressed to the New York State Entomologist, at the Albany Museum, I received this comment on a description I sent him of the little crustacean cast up on Sagamore Beach sands, on Cape Cod Bay, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1908:

"It seems probable that it belongs to the genus *Sapphirina*, one of the Copepod crustaceans, in regard to which Dr. Verrill wrote, 'This is one of the most brilliant creatures inhabiting the sea. It reflects the most gorgeous colors, blue, red, purple and green, although when seen in some positions by transmitted light, it is colorless and almost transparent.'"

The Smithsonian Institution reports for 1875 say that a copepod, which from description and plate I judge is the above, was found swimming in vast numbers off Nantucket, and during the same month (September) was drifted "in windrows" (exactly describing the deposits at Sagamore Beach), on the shore of Martha's Vineyard.

The tiny prawns dart swiftly across their enclosure from side to side, or mount from below with the hitching motion of frogs, while the mass that settles to the bottom is continually disturbed throughout as by electric tremors, by its restless members, vaguely reminding the watcher of the shifts and re-arrangements of the tumbling glass fragments of a kaleidoscope; or again the circulating animalcules suggest corpuscles from healthy blood, viewed in a crystal-clear medium through a high power microscope lens.

The hinged bodies are transparent, and so slightly imbued with color that the salmon-pink tinge of the congeries in the vial seems hardly explicable—how much less then the deep stain of the empurpled waves, and the intense fire-hues of the embellished sands!

The mind reels in the effort to grasp the significance of such prodigal fertility in these incalculable numbers of quickly consumed particles of the universal life, that have perished before their drifted lines are fully dry, and by another noon are mere thin chaff, bleached to pale buff, and soon obliterated from the strand's long scroll.

Contemplation of the portent induces the kind of intellectual dismay and exhaustion that accompany thought of the earth's human multitudes through uncomputed generations.

In all the lands, during a lapse of time to which recorded centuries are perhaps but as the leafy outer fringe of an inconceivably ancient tree, the swarms of humanity have clouded and dyed with rich color of their masses, the border waves of an ocean that shows no boundary at the dip of its far horizon-curve, and then have been cast to their extinction on the coast where the receding tide of life deposits their limitless throngs. In such wise that to eyes able to scan the whole shore, it, too, might present some colossal pattern fashioned out of infinitesimal components, and at the setting of the last sun be fitted to return in ruddy splendor the majestic afterglow of our system's completed day.

ELIOT WHITE.

* * *

WHAT IS THE SINGLE TAX?

Edmund Norton Before the Jefferson Club of Los Angeles, May 7, 1910.

The Single Tax is the popular name of the great fiscal reform and social philosophy most powerfully promulgated by our great American, Henry George, sometimes called "the prophet of San Francisco." Its advocates are almost universally known as Single Taxers or Georgians.

What It Proposes to Do.

Its purpose is to increase wages to the full returns or earnings of labor; to shorten the hours necessary to earn a living; to leave to capital, which is secondary labor, its full returns, which are secondary wages; to abolish monopoly, which

is the thief that is robbing both labor and capital, and thereby prove the unity and remove the apparent antagonisms which have no place in a natural order where monopoly does not exist. It will free production, including all trade, barter and exchange which are but processes of production, and will equalize the distribution of wealth into the possession only of those who earn it. It will destroy privilege by substituting equal natural rights; remove the dead hand from the control of living men; throw open the limitless natural resources of the planet to willing labor; and, by taking all social creations of value into the social treasury, will conserve all natural resources forever to the people and make private appropriation of public values impossible. This condition will start a boom that will never stop till every human want is satisfied.

It will make internecine and international wars impossible by destroying all trade and monopoly privileges which alone are the causes tempting the crafty, cunning and unscrupulous to create or encourage these sum totals of all vices, crimes and horrors against humanity for personal power and profit.

The Method of Attainment.

The Single Tax does not intend to add to or multiply the already almost infinite statutory enactments now confusing and befuddling the social state, but rather means to abolish, abolish, abolish, one after the other, every law on the statute books granting a special privilege to any one man or body of men that is at the expense of the unprivileged mass of society. This will destroy the petty, grand and glorious larceny now preying upon the social body.

Aside from the million of petty privileges granted by municipalities, States and the nation to individuals, the great and glorious pillage shows itself in privileges and monopoly in labor-saving inventions, trade restrictions, and the private ownership of natural resources, the major part of which is a matter of taxation. Therefore the Single Tax would abolish all taxes on barter, trade, exchange, personal property and improvements, commensurately raising all taxes from the value of land alone, till there was in existence but one single tax upon the value of bare land exclusive of improvements. This would be a single tax on land value—not on land, for some land would pay no tax while other land would pay much tax. For instance, one acre of land worth a million dollars would pay as much tax as a million acres worth only one dollar per acre.

This Would Square with the Moral Law

for the simple reason that all labor-created wealth is the result of individual effort, and leaving that wealth untaxed would be leaving to the individual only that which belonged to him by his right to himself, and to that which he himself

creates; while taking into the public treasury only those values which society creates in its collective capacity would be leaving to society only that which belongs to it, for no individual on earth; by himself, could create land value.

At present we compound injustice by permitting private individuals to appropriate what society creates, and then society turns about and deprives the individual of his private creation, to support the governments whose existence makes possible the public values privately appropriated. This basic injustice is a fundamental disturbance of the equilibrium of society, showing itself in numberless evils—economic, social, political, physical, mental and moral.

Mistaking symptoms for disease, effects for causes, we have numerous social quacks pressing forward with innumerable nostrums, palliative, alleviative, suppressive or curative of the particular symptoms they have noted—each claiming he has found a remedy, and each ready to cure the world with a salve, bandage, pill or liniment.

The diseased social body can be cured only by removing the cause and restoring it to a normal condition. Monopoly and special privilege is all that the social body suffers from today, and destruction of monopoly and special privilege will cure it. Equal rights to all special privilege to none is the only magic remedy. Apply this, make men free and equal before the law, and the Divine Mind operating through nature will do the rest.

* * *

FOX HUNTING AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Fred I. Boalt, Writing from London to the Cleveland Plain Dealer of July 17.

The Earl of Pembroke made a speech. His audience was of the same political complexion as himself, dark Tory—and the speech was well received. All present said his lordship had stated the case remarkably well.

The speech was a sturdy attack on radicalism. Radicalism, in the person of Mr. Lloyd George, the chancellor of the exchequer, has put a tax on land. The Earl of Pembroke is a landowner and he was speaking to an audience of landowners. His lordship is also a fox hunter and an all around sport, and so were many of his hearers.

It is apparent that a man who would put a tax on land must be a revolutionary and a dangerous man. The earl said as much. Tax homes if you will, or businesses, or tobacco, or even bread, but not land. (Hear, hear!)

If the land serves no useful purpose, it is especially sinful to tax it. Tax farmhouses and cabbage patches, but don't, ah don't tax good hunting country! (Hear, hear!) His lordship does not deal in cabbages.

"In spite of all that revolutionary chancellors of the exchequer may do," said the Earl of Pembroke, "we will continue to carry on fox hunting in this country." (Hear, hear!) "We may carry it on under greater difficulties; we may carry it on by greater self-sacrifices, but carry it on we shall!" (Hear, hear!) "We shall not abandon that noblest of sports, which has made the British empire what it is today, at the bidding of a Welsh attorney. (Hear, hear! and Never!)"

"But," continued the Earl of Pembroke, "if this school of thought (the radical) should prevail, and fox hunting should go down, then I am convinced that the Empire must go down with it." (Hear, hear!)

Honest, those were his lordship's very words.

They must be, because I have copied them out of a Tory newspaper.

I considered them so choice that I read them to a London workingman who never went fox hunting in his life, and never will. I roared with laughter.

But the London workingman did not laugh. He said, "Read it over again. I did not catch the joke."

* * *

THE TRAGEDY OF TEN LITTLE DIMES.

For The Public.

Ten little dimes lived in a silver dollar,

Ten little dimes.

They wanted out to loose themselves and play and holler—

Ten little dimes.

Yet still the stern round "dollar of the daddies"

Repressed the zeal

Of eager lass and forward laddies,

Within its wheel.

Take thou thy dollar, place it at thine ear,

Like Holmes's shell,

And note the little dickens dimes a-humming—

Sometimes they yell.

Nay, do not give them ear, but save thy coinie,

Place it in purse,

It is but Billy Bryan's silver dollar,

But might be worse.

UNCLE SAM.

BOOKS

THE NEGRO'S OWN STORY.

The Story of the Negro. By Booker T. Washington.
Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.
1909.

From Africa to America, through slavery into freedom, Booker Washington chronicles his race. The Negroes—their wide disparity of origin in Africa, their varied experiences of kindness and brutality at the hands of their American owners,

their swift recovery from the first helplessness of a sudden emancipation, and now their struggle for economic opportunity among a still alien people—these black folk as a race grow into our admiration as we read.

Large portions of Mr. Washington's two sizeable and handsome volumes are genuine chronicle pages of names and dates and worthy deeds. The black man's successes in all the professions and many kinds of business are circumstantially told. And throughout these brief biographies are scattered the quoted comments of Negroes on their own race problems. Here the Negro speaks for himself; and he is worth hearing.

The author, too, has several things to say.

Booker Washington is no radical. There are some fundamental principles which he either fails entirely to uphold or fails to rate at their real importance. It creeps slowly but deeply into his reader's consciousness that to the difference between a patron's pat on the head and a brother man's handshake, Mr. Washington is not keenly alive. And further the suspicion grows that while his heart is bent on the gaining of economic independence by his race, his mind has not grasped or even grasped at the universal economic problem. He seems to have swallowed the prevailing doctrines whole.

His book, however, leaves some very vivid and very deep impressions. The Negro has accomplished much in less than three hundred years. Both individually and in association he has won his way in a white man's country. The crime statistics so prejudicial to the Negro are easily explained away. The story of Negro slavery in America is only the lesson taught once more that one man's slavery is every man's hurt, and that the man himself always speaks for freedom; and here is Booker Washington's phrasing of it:

Always somewhere at the bottom of slavery was the idea that one man's evil is another man's good. The history of slavery, if it proves anything, proves that just the opposite is true, namely, that evil breeds evil, just as disease breeds disease, and that a wrong committed upon one portion of a community will, in the long run surely react upon the other portion of that community. . . . To a very large extent the curse of slavery rested not merely upon the African but upon every man who worked with his hands. In the same way and to the same extent the uplifting of the Negro in the South means the up-lifting of labor there; for the cause of the Negro is the cause of the man who is farthest down everywhere in the world. Educate him, give him character, and make him efficient as a laborer, and every other portion of the community will be lifted higher. Degrade the Negro, hold him in peonage, ignorance, or any other form of slavery, and the great mass of the people in the community will be held down with him. It is not possible for one man to hold another man down in the ditch without staying down there with him.

Another paragraph discloses to white readers the feeling of Negro slaves themselves toward slavery:

I think there is in the mind and heart of every human being an ever-present longing for freedom, no matter how comfortable, in other respects, his condition in servitude may be. I have often heard it said that some colored people were better off in slavery than in freedom, but, in all the contact I have had with members of my race in every part of the country, I have never found an individual, no matter what his condition, who did not prefer freedom to servitude. I remember an acquaintance of mine telling me of an old colored man he had met somewhere in North Carolina, who had spent the greater part of his life in slavery. My friend, who had known the institution of slavery only through the medium of books, was anxious to find out just what the thing seemed like to a man who had lived in slavery most of his life. The old colored man said that he had had a good master, who was always kind and considerate; that the food he had to eat was always of the best quality and there was enough of it; he had nothing to complain of in regard to the clothing that was provided or the house that he lived in. He said both he and his family always had the best medical attention when they fell ill. To all appearances, as near as anyone could judge, the old man must have been a great deal better off in slavery than he was in freedom. Noticing these things, my friend became more inquisitive and wanted to know whether, after all, there was not a feeling deep down in his heart, that he would rather be back in slavery, with all the comforts that he had enjoyed there, than be free. The old man shrugged his shoulders, scratched his head, thought for a second, and then said: "Boss, dere's a kind of looseness about dis yere freedom which I kinder enjoys."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

* * *

PHILOSOPHY AND PROPHECY.

The Philosophy of Life. By Charles Gilbert Davis, M. D. D. D. Publishing Co., Grand Boulevard, Chicago. \$1.00.

This is the fifth edition of a philosophic and scientific treatise so simply and forcibly written that it appears to have attracted the attention and won the commendation of the press throughout the country. As scientists do not, as a class, deal with causes underlying the purely physical plane, Dr. Davis makes a marked and distinctive advance in his profession by adopting for his Philosophy of Life the motto, "Thought is the stuff out of which things are made." Reduced to its last analysis, thought is the motive power of all accomplishment; or, as the philosopher puts it, "Every act committed by every member of the human family since the dawn of creation has been preceded by thought." Accepting this as an axiom, it follows that all immorality, crime, disease and the general ills of humanity are the result of misdirected thought, and must be remedied first of

all by suggestion and inspiration and adoption of higher ideals. Punishments and purgatives avail nothing. The doctor has an exceptional charity for the wrong-doer because of his recognition of causes that lie deeper than the surface environment.

The influence of thought upon health, both for good and ill, is simply incalculable in the view of the author, who brings his own medical experience to the proof of his helpful philosophy. His absolute conviction of the truth which he presents in his vivid, vigorous and convincing way has a tonic virtue in itself, as has been observed in the effect on those to whom I have lent the book. As the author says: "The statements made appeal to the common sense of a reasonable being." Whether one accepts the exact terms of his philosophy or not, the principle remains true that "Our lives and our future destiny depend upon what we think." And let us add: Upon what we *will*.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Prohibition. Selections. Compiled and published by Joseph Debar, Cincinnati, O.

—Effective Industrial Reform. By David C. Reid. Published by David C. Reid, Stockbridge, Mass. 1910.

—A Scientific Currency. By William Howe Crane. Published by Broadway Publishing Co., 835 Broadway, New York. 1910.

—The Confessions of Linda Poindexter. By Clara North Ruley. Published by the Broadway Publishing Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00.

—Report on Transportation Conditions at the Port of New York. Submitted by Calvin Tomkins, Commissioner of Docks. July, 1910. Department of Docks and Ferries, City of New York.

—The Earning Power of Railroads. 1910. Compiled and edited by Floyd W. Mundy. Published by Jas. H. Oliphant & Co., The Rookery, Chicago. Moody's Magazine Book Department, Sales Agent, 35 Nassau St., New York. 1910. Price, \$2.50; postage, 12 cents.

PERIODICALS

The International Journal of Ethics for July contains an article by Charles Hughes Johnston on "The Moral Mission of the Public School." "We are now striving," he writes, "to consider our relation to the actual social world of ours, as honestly and with as much faith and spirit as we learned to look upon inanimate nature. . . . Naturalism was a great step toward actuality under every-day guise. It meant that educators might use some of the resources of every-day environment. . . . Environment in school now includes the social element also. . . . The child must be inducted, as

well, into social life by some sort of reproduced social activity. This is democracy. This is the public school's mission, morally, aesthetically, religiously."

A. L. G.



The Nautilus, published by Elizabeth Towne, Holyoke, Mass., contains in its August number its usual strong suggestions of right thinking and clean living. Edwin Markham, Professor Larkin of the Mt. Lowe Observatory, Charles Ferguson, and many other

writers of the optimistic, believe-all and dare-all school, are among its regular contributors, while Elizabeth Towne in her breezy, courageous editorials, and William E. Towne in his "Views and Reviews," touch personal and public interests with free, happy and helpful comment. The Nautilus is a live, enterprising magazine of its class.

A. L. M.



"What's the debate in the town hall about?"
"Whether it's better to keep up good roads and

"COMMON HONESTY" A Study of Fundamental Principles and their Relation to the Labor Problem. By Orren M. Donaldson, of Oak Park, Ill. Louis F. Post says: "As a discussion of elementary industrial principles, it delights me." The Public (June 10, 1910): "An exposition of the land reform ideal which we confidently recommend to those wishing a brief explanation." "This little book is as logical and convincing as it is direct, concise, interesting and sound." Bound in cloth, 128 pages, price 60 cents postpaid. Address Van-American Press, 522 Kimball Hall, Chicago.

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+ + +

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"I've looked through all of them for my knife,"

explained Elmer, "but I couldn't find it. If I had another pocket it might be in that."—Chicago News.

+ + +

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+ + +

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