

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY  
 UNIV. OF MICH.  
 JUN 8 1910

# The Public

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

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR  
 ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana  
 LINCOLN STEFFENS, Massachusetts  
 L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island  
 HENRY F. RING, Texas  
 HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio  
 FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio  
 MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio  
 BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York  
 ROBERT BAKER, New York  
 BOLTON HALL, New York  
 FRANCIS I. DU PONT, Delaware  
 HERBERT QUICK, Wisconsin  
 MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa  
 S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota  
 WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri  
 C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois  
 R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota  
 W. G. EGGLESTON, New York  
 LEWIS H. BERENS, England  
 J. W. S. CALLIE, England  
 JOSEPH FELS, England  
 JOHN PAUL, Scotland  
 GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XIII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1910.

No. 635

Published by Louis F. Post  
 Ellsworth Building, 287 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

### The Rebuke to the Beast in Denver.

The political victory for municipal democracy in Denver (p. 489), turns out to have been of exceptional importance and against enormous obstacles. Perhaps this is the reason that so little about it has appeared in the newspaper dispatches. For the "Beast" sits in judgment on newspaper dispatches from Denver. You have heard with much iteration of Denver's going "wet" at that election. But how much have you heard of the defeat of the water company in its efforts to get a new franchise, though it was supported by both political machines? How much have you heard about the municipal water system that was authorized? How much have you heard about the adoption of the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, over the opposition of both machines? How much have you heard of the triumphant election of the Citizens' ticket over both machines, operating in combination, although \$400,000 was spent to defeat it, and it had only \$1,500 and neither organization nor poll workers? Yet those things happened. All through the campaign, in which Judge Lindsey was active and tireless, the Denver Republican declared editorially and with glaring headlines that if under all the circumstances the Citizens' ticket were to win it would mean that the people of Denver endorsed the truth of Lindsey's book, "The Beast and the Jungle." By confession of his local enemies, therefore, the truth of Judge Lindsey's revelations is confirmed by the people of the city.

### CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

The Rebuke to the Beast in Denver.....	505
A Tale of a House of Cards and an All-Around Tempest .....	506
The Short Ballot.....	506
The Insistent Land Question in Great Britain.....	507
The Reality of the Ideal.....	507
About Keeping Platters Clean.....	508
Theodore Roosevelt (D. K. L.).....	508

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

Observations of Herbert S. Bigelow.....	510
Charter-Making at Modesto, Cal. (Leon Yanckwich).....	511

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

A New Spirit in the Churches (George A. Totten).....	512
--	-----

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The Taft Railway Law.....	512
The Ballinger Investigation.....	513
Roosevelt and the Insurgents.....	513
Senator Lorimer's Defense.....	514
A Land Value Tax Party.....	515
The Tom L. Johnson Medallion.....	515
Memorial Tablets to Garrison and George (Illustrated) .....	516
News Notes .....	518
Press Opinions .....	519

RELATED THINGS:

A Man Is Passing (Edmund Vance Cooke).....	520
Religion and Democracy (George Hughes).....	520

BOOKS:

Our Merchant Marine.....	523
A Vital Need.....	523
His Books Proclaim the Man.....	524
Periodicals .....	524

The completeness of the defeat which the bipartisan Beast has suffered in Denver, and the intelligent discrimination of the voters, may be inferred from the fact that every referendum proposition of the Beast which the Citizens opposed was defeated by from 5,000 to 10,000 majority, while every one that the Citizens supported was carried by from 2,000 to 4,000 majority.

+

In securing this victory the women voters had a hand, for Denver is in Colorado where women have the suffrage and use it. "They furnished considerably more than their due share of reform votes," says the Denver News. But for women's suffrage, then, the election might have gone the way the "Beast" wanted it to—which, by the way, furnishes another argument against women's suffrage; not a good one to be sure, but as good as any.

+

The citizens of Denver who are especially credited by the Denver Daily News with the Citizens' victory—and the News fought for it, too—are E. W. Hurlbut, chairman of the Citizens' League; John J. Morrissey, secretary; John A. Rush, John H. Gabriel; Mrs. Martha A. B. Conine of the Public Service League, and Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson of the Women's Water Consumers' League. The president of the League names especially Judge Lindsey, ex-Senator Thomas, ex-Senator Patterson, John Rush and Senator Cannon.

+ +

#### **A Tale of a House of Cards and an All-Around Tempest.**

Senator Lorimer's speech of exculpation in the United States Senate is regarded as having made it impossible to avert a crash in the Republican politics of Illinois. To appreciate the political situation it is necessary to note the courses of the faction seams. There is the Lorimer faction, composed of straight-out machine elements, its newspaper representative being the Inter Ocean. Then there is the Busse faction, also composed of machine elements, once in alliance with the Lorimer faction, but now, through its official advantage at the Chicago City Hall (Busse being Mayor), in alliance with Big Business interests. This faction has turned its back upon the Lorimer faction, and has no newspaper representative. Next, there is the Governor Deneen faction, a product of "goo-goo" politics, which touches elbows with Big Business on one side, and on the other with machine elements in politics. Its newspaper representa-

tives are the Record-Herald, owned now by H. H. Kohlsaat, and the News, owned by Victor Lawson. A fourth faction is of recent origin. It may be loosely distinguished as the Wayman faction, since the State's Attorney for Cook county, Mr. Wayman, is its most conspicuous individual representative. Mr. Wayman was elected by the aid of the distillery and brewery interests, and the newspaper representative of his faction is the Journal. The Tribune is its own faction, which is at the moment the master faction of all. It secured the fealty of the Wayman faction by obvious methods, Mr. Wayman having gubernatorial ambitions; it then secured the complete obedience of the Busse faction by heading off ominous prosecutions for City Hall offenses, which the Daily Socialist had proclaimed and the Merriam Commission uncovered; after this the support of the Deneen faction was secured, which brought to Busse's support the News and the Record-Herald as coadjutors of the Tribune. Only the Lorimer faction remained outside the combination; and this faction was making itself dangerous to the combination, not only by staying outside politically and attacking the City Hall through the Inter Ocean, but also by threatening the Tribune's Big Business allies and fortifying itself through the establishment of a Lorimer banking interest. Such was the situation when the Tribune opened fire on Lorimer for bribery, and this the delicate structure that is supposed to have been jeopardized by Lorimer's speech in the Senate.

+ +

#### **The Short Ballot.**

Distrust of the movement for a "short ballot" finds expression from sources that command democratic respect. The motive is democratic, but the distrust is ill-founded. Long lists of candidates' names on ballots are baffling to democracy. The voter cannot possibly discriminate for most of the names mean nothing to him. All is confusion, and this serves, not democracy but the cunning foes of democracy. What the short ballot movement proposes is a reduction of the number of elective offices to the lowest democratic limit.

+

The ideal of democracy in this connection is that officers whose functions are legislative, shall be regularly elected by the people, and be subject at any time to recall by the people, and to direction by popular initiative, and veto by popular referendum. As to executive officials, it is not democratically necessary that any of them be elected, provided their functions are strictly executive and there be a method whereby the chief executive can

be recalled by popular action. But if any are elected, it should be only the chief—as Mayor, Sheriff, Governor or President, and he should have full responsibility for, and therefore full power over his subordinates, and be in some way constantly subject to popular recall.

\* \*

### The Insistent Land Question in Great Britain.

Further steps regarding the British Budget (p. 441) have been taken by the British "United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values." It was this federation and its subsidiary bodies that spurred on the ministry by arousing the people, when ministerial indifference to the land question threatened the Liberal party with overwhelming disaster. That was in 1908. In July of that year, the United Committee urged upon the Ministry these four considerations: (1) that industrial and commercial progress, unaccompanied by economic reform, is tightening opportunities and causing increasing dependence of workers upon the classes that control the sources of livelihood; (2) that "small holdings," "housing" and "town planning" laws would by themselves make no change tending generally to weaken the monopoly of land; (3) that the "widening of the whole field of employment—a larger scope for the application of labor to land in a natural and remunerative way—is the only solution of the problem;" and (4) that land valuation is the first step on the only sure road to that solution. The United Committee therefore proposed at that time (in what it called "Land Valuation: a Plea for Urgency,") that the plans for land valuation "should be forthwith laid before Parliament and the country with a view to the coming political campaign." This plea of urgency was followed with public conferences, the distribution of literature, and other forms of popular agitation; and in the April following land valuation was incorporated in the Budget which has now become a law. Having gained that first step, the United Committee now issues "A Further Plea of Urgency," also addressed to the Ministry.

\*

In this second urgent address the United Committee while repeating that "valuation is the first step," emphasizes the statement with a declaration that it is "the first step only" and warns the ministry to be alert. "By itself," this urgent plea asserts, land valuation "arouses all the animosity of the privileged classes, but remains impotent to bring relief to the workers whose hopes were raised and who rallied to liberalism at the last general election as they never did before." What the

United Committee "urge, therefore, is a bold policy of land value taxation, in order to break down land monopoly and widen the opportunities for general employment." The alternative, as they point out, is a flank attack from the Tories which will put the Liberals out of the fight. Already the signs of preparation for such a flank attack are visible in the Tory tendency to advocate a system of "borrow and buy" for the purpose of creating a peasant proprietary. This policy would leave nothing to fight over if the Liberals meet it only with a policy of "value and buy," argue the United Committee, and there is really no doubt of it. Comparing land value taxation with protectionism as a remedy for economic distress, the United Committee's "Further Plea for Urgency" impressively describes in this fashion what Liberalism would do if it does what it should: "The Protectionists' remedy for poverty and distress is to put fresh impediments in the way of industry; the Liberal remedy is to free industry by freeing land. They would close more doors; Liberalism would fling open the doors which are now closed. They would make things dearer and scantier by obliging them to be made under less favorable circumstances and at a greater cost, owing to tariff walls; Liberalism would make them cheaper and more plentiful by unlocking the land, the source from which alone material commodities can be drawn." This is good doctrine, not only for Great Britain, but for every other country as well. And in its concluding words the address we are quoting from truly tells how to accomplish the result everywhere when it says: "There is no solution for the problem of unemployment except giving a wider scope for the free and profitable application of labor to land. The way to secure this is to tax or rate the value of all land, whether used or unused, and to free buildings and improvements of all kinds from rates and taxes."

\* \*

### The Reality of the Ideal.

In these days when mankind are passing through that stage of philosophy wherein they dispute over the question of which comes first, the idealist's hen or the materialist's egg; when some of them say that the ideal evolves from the material, and others that the material is generated by the ideal; when the latter view seems just about coming to its own—at such a time a rule of thumb test is handy to have in the mind. And one is given by G. K. Chesterton, who says:

If any one wandering about wants to have a good trick or test for separating the wrong idealism from

the right, I will give him one on the spot. It is a mark of false religion that it is always trying to express concrete facts as abstract. . . . The test of true religion is that its energy drives exactly the other way; it is always trying to make men feel truths as facts; always trying to make abstract things as plain and solid as concrete things; always trying to make men not merely admit the truth, but see, smell, handle, hear, and devour the truth.

Of course, our good friends who would have us pin our faith to physical facts as the only kind of truth, will find no value in Chesterton's test. But after all, physical "facts" are evanescent at the best, and often they are not even true.

✦ ✦

### About Keeping Platters Clean.

The action of the Presbyterian General Assembly in protesting against a forthcoming prize fight which furnishes a good deal of "news" material for the daily press, has called out a criticism that has in it a good deal more religious sense than it is likely to get credit for from the dominant elements in the body to which it is addressed. This criticism—very brief, very pointed—is from the pen of Bolton Hall, son of the late Dr. John Hall, one of the most distinguished of Presbyterian clergymen in his day. So much of Mr. Hall's letter of criticism as we find in the newspapers is as follows:

While in every big city young girls are snatched away to lives of slavery, while all over the land little children are worked to death in our factories, while the monopolies put prices so high as to increase these shrieking evils, is it possible that the church can find nothing more serious to attack than a prize fight, already sufficiently well advertised? It certainly makes any one indignant who has eyes to see or even a heart to feel, that the great Presbyterian church assembly devotes its valuable time and energy to a probably harmless fight between two roughs. I am the son of a clergyman, myself a member of the Presbyterian church, and I speak often in the churches, and it makes me sick to see the petty, ineffective time-serving of the church organizations. Whenever there is a real fight on against political or social evil the churches are sure to be found dragging a red herring across the trail with a "crusade" against some such horror as Sunday saloons or playing "craps." Religion only makes itself contemptible by such a bid for support as an anti-prize fight protest.

There does seem to be in the organized religion of our times, as there was in that of the time of the Founder of Christianity, much more concern for the cleanliness of platters on the outside than on the inside. This concern is by no means confined to the denomination that Mr. Hall criticizes, but his criticism is not misdirected.

### THEODORE ROOSEVELT \*]

Most of the laity among progressive Republicans imagine that Mr. Roosevelt will place himself at their head and lead the charge against the reactionaries. After that, they think, "it will all be over but the shouting"; that the reactionaries will take to the woods, and that progress will be enthroned in the Republican organization. It is doubtful if their leaders at Washington share their hope as to Mr. Roosevelt's future course, or agree with them that his identification with Insurgency is essential to that movement's success, but there is no question as to the hope and confidence of the rank and file.

A close study of Mr. Roosevelt's career will fail to disclose anything in it upon which to base the hope that he will become an Insurgent.

In his later years he has been chief among the apostles of party regularity, and Insurgency is essentially irregular. Mr. Roosevelt has never done or said anything to show that he sympathizes with Insurgency's aims or purposes. In fact many people who acclaim most loudly their belief in the "Roosevelt policies" have no clear conception of what those policies are, nor of the character of the man for whom they are named. They have judged Mr. Roosevelt by his words and not by his deeds, and the result is an amazing popular misconception of the real Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt's strength, in fact, has come largely through his ability to convince the people of his devotion to the public welfare, while in an emergency he has never failed to enlist in behalf of himself or his cause the support of "the malefactors of great wealth." Certainly his policies have never included any extension of democratic government, which, after all, is the inspiring principle of this Insurgent movement.

If Mr. Roosevelt's future is to be judged by his past, he will be found allied with the Standpat element of his party, although he will probably avoid committing himself publicly to the Standpat faction. He is the most adroit politician of his time, and he wants to be President again. He has no hope that he can attain that place against the combined opposition of the concentrated wealth of the country—a wealth which, despite his pretense to the contrary, he has always cultivated and courted. At the same time he will avoid, if possible, doing aught that will alienate to any serious degree the support of the rank and file.

✦

Mr. Roosevelt's failure to identify himself with

\*See *The Public*, vol. xii, pp. 1184 to 1186.

Insurgency will not injure that movement nearly so much as some of its devotees imagine. It may cost the movement some immediate victories, and involve the desertion of some men who identified themselves with it in the belief that it was the band wagon; but in the long run it will result in the strengthening of this great movement which, breaking out in the Republican party, has extended into all parties and awaits merely the psychological moment to crystallize into an irresistible political force.

It is essential to the success of any new movement in politics that it be not launched inauspiciously, nor discredited in advance by false leadership; and the spectacle of Theodore Roosevelt leading a great battle for democracy would, to those who do judge him by his deeds and not by his words, be an incongruous one indeed.

Mr. Roosevelt is disqualified for leadership of the new idea in politics by reason of his utter lack of sympathy with or belief in democratic principles. Early in life he was inoculated with the virus of Alexander Hamilton's political philosophy, and all through his public career he has clung tenaciously to the belief that the first duty of government is to protect the people from themselves.

He has succeeded most of the time in concealing this belief, it is true; but it is breathed in every line of his public speeches and writings, and may there be found by those who are willing to go beneath the surface. It may be granted that he resents the plundering of the many by the privileged few; but when called upon to suggest a remedy, he has never in his life proposed an extension of the power lodged in the people to control and direct their own affairs. Invariably he has demanded an extension of the powers of the central government, and the further removal of that government from popular control. He would eradicate privilege through the agency of a powerful bureaucratic system, responsible not to the people but to the appointing authority.

Point out any evil to Mr. Roosevelt, from child labor to the woolly-aphis pest, and he will suggest as a remedy the creation of a commission of experts to be appointed by the President.

Instances of Mr. Roosevelt's abhorrence of real democracy are so many that it is difficult to select from the wealth of the material at hand. His present round of calls upon the crowned heads of Europe, and his refusal to visit the only democratic government in the old world—Switzerland,—is an excellent example of it. It has been demonstrated in his almost brutal defense of exploita-

tion and tyranny in the Philippines, in his championship of British misrule in India and Egypt, and by his attitude toward democratic issues in this country. He sent Taft into Oklahoma to oppose the adoption of the initiative and referendum; and Cummins and La Follette, in their desperate struggles to redeem their States from reactionary control, had to combat constantly the influence of Federal patronage peddled by Roosevelt to the corporation machines of those States.

The Insurgents are democrats in a real sense, though not in a party sense. They believe in bringing government close to the people. They are for the initiative and referendum, for the recall, and for the direct election of Senators. Mr. Roosevelt does not pretend to believe in a single one of these things. His ideas of a perfect government are almost identical with the ideas of centralization and autocracy which Alexander Hamilton preached more than a century ago.

It is idle to hope that a man holding these notions can be counted upon to render efficient service to insurgency.

Mr. Roosevelt's lack of democratic feeling is displayed in his ardent military spirit and in his almost fanatical devotion to the exploded doctrine that a nation should spend vast sums of money on heavy armaments and huge military forces. It shows in his lust for blood and his passion for slaughter—in the imperialistic customs and forms with which he surrounded the ordinary routine matters of the White House while he was the tenant of that edifice. Even in delivering a peace oration at Christiania he could not refrain from eulogizing bloody war as a necessity which at times was bound to sweep every other consideration aside.

Insurgency owes much of its present force and militancy to resentment at the passage of the Payne-Aldrich tariff law. It must be evident to clear-headed political thinkers that the battlements of protection are to be the next point of assault against entrenched privilege in this country. Upon this issue Mr. Roosevelt is certain to disappoint those who are counting on his leadership. If he has any convictions on the tariff question, he concealed them carefully during his seven years in the Presidential office.

At a time when Albert B. Cummins was proclaiming that the Dingley law was costing the American people more money every day than the total stealings from the life insurance companies in New York, Mr. Roosevelt was arranging with Messrs. Aldrich and Cannon that the question of

tariff revision should go over until he was safely out of office.

Mr. Roosevelt is supposed to have left college a free trader, but one may doubt if he ever had any real convictions on the subject. Here is what he says in his life of Thomas H. Benton on the question of protection:

Now whether a protective tariff is right or wrong may be open to question; but, if it exists at all, it should work as simply as possible, and with as much certainty and exactitude as possible. If its interpretation varies, or if it is continually meddled with by Congress, great damage ensues. It is in reality of far less importance that a law should be ideally right than that it should be certain and steady in its workings.

Nobody will deny that the Dingley and Payne-Aldrich bills have been "certain and steady in their workings." But it goes without saying that the man who wrote that passage had no knowledge of the tariff question, either from a protectionist or from a free-trade standpoint—that he has no conception of the economic phase of the question, and that the possibility of a moral principle being involved in it has never entered his head. Lacking both knowledge and conviction, he would be a totally unfit leader for a movement which aims to wipe out or at least mitigate tariff abuses.

+

Another reason why Mr. Roosevelt will be careful to avoid identification with the Insurgent movement lies in the fact that never in his life has he publicly acknowledged himself guilty of a mistake. To become an Insurgent he must confess to the whole American people that he was guilty of a gross blunder in forcing the nomination of Mr. Taft and vouching for his fidelity to the principles with which Mr. Roosevelt himself was identified in the public mind. Such an acknowledgment Mr. Roosevelt will never make.

+

Mr. Roosevelt would be an unsafe leader of the insurgent cause, even could he be induced to assume its leadership. Those who trace back his career will discover that he has been the most agile trimmer and compromiser with the powers of darkness in modern times. With him the result of the immediate contest in which he is engaged excludes every other consideration. He is never willing to pursue with unwavering fidelity a given principle to the bitter end, regardless of its effect on his personal fortunes or ambitions. If by an artful and timely compromise he can boast of the shadow of victory, he willingly surrenders the substance. The most glaring example of that trait

in his character was afforded by his capitulation to Aldrich, Spooner and Allison in the struggle over the Hepburn rate bill.

There has never been a time in Mr. Roosevelt's career when he was not willing to deal and dicker privately with those whom he was publicly denouncing as enemies of mankind. Once or twice he has been caught and exposed at it, notably in the case when while he was President of the United States, he wrote a personal letter to E. H. Harriman, soliciting campaign funds.

He is not of the stuff of which martyrs and crusaders are made—content to wait for time to vindicate his course and force the adoption of his ideas. He is not patient enough to sow the seed and await the due coming of the harvest time. What he demands always is immediate results, which shall redound to the public glorification of Theodore Roosevelt. Too often he has surrendered what he has paraded as his undying principles in order to achieve his immediate ends.

+

If ever in the world there was a movement that demanded a militant, uncompromising leader, who would not abate a jot or tittle of principle, but would pursue an undeviating course to the last, it is this Insurgent movement. In the hands of a compromiser or trimmer, a man who is willing to bargain in a back room with its enemies, it is bound to be wrecked.

Senator Cummins evidently understands this. Not long ago, when Aldrich sent for him and asked him for terms of compromise on the railroad bill pending in Congress, Mr. Cummins declined to name any terms, or to discuss the matter with the reactionary leader. That was the stand of a man who is as good a politician as Roosevelt and infinitely more faithful to principle.

Instead of needing the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt, the progressive Republicans are fortunate indeed that they will probably escape it.

D. K. L.

---

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

---

### OBSERVATIONS OF HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

Cincinnati, May 22, 1910.

A Columbus friend of mine who builds houses for a living and lives to preach the gospel of Henry George, says that when his customers are impatient because their work is not ready when expected, he usually can satisfy them by taking them to the mill and letting them see the chips fly. A trip of ten days in Maryland, New Jersey and Massachusetts,

such as I recently enjoyed, should be almost enough to cure the most stubborn case of impatience. For everywhere one sees the chips flying. I spoke from one to five times a day, and my mission was a success if I gave a fraction of the encouragement that I received.

My first stop was at Cumberland, Md., where Phillip Smith has been for years an effective witness to the truth which came to him one day in a snow-bound camp in California. He says he wishes everyone might be snowed in for three weeks with nothing else to read but Progress and Poverty. Cumberland, too, is the home of David J. Lewis, a man who works at the Single Tax, and who as candidate for Congress two years ago, reduced to 500 a party majority of 2,000. Lewis is in the fight again this year with good prospect of election. On the second night of my stay in Cumberland, the first primary election occurred under a new charter modeled after the Galveston plan.

At Haworth, New Jersey, Charles O'C. Hennessey was the moving spirit at a most representative assembly of citizens who were as enthusiastic as a convention of Populists.

At Newark, I discussed a model city charter, speaking under the auspices of the Newark School Board. Thomas Walker is a man who describes himself as "just a mechanic," but who always has a copy of *The Public* in his pocket and can make a single tax argument as well as a watch. Walker is a member of a most active and progressive Improvement Association, the president of which followed me with an earnest endorsement of the initiative and referendum, and urged that the association use its utmost influence with the charter commission which is soon to report on a new charter for Newark.

I had committed the sin of having lived forty years without going to Boston. In three or four days one can see many impressive things in Boston and Cambridge, but what impressed me most was the personality of Professor L. J. Johnson, professor of civil engineering at Harvard. I suppose he knows a lot about his subject. The Harvard stadium is one of his monuments. But I was surprised to find a Harvard professor who knew so much about economics. It was explained to me that most of the applied science men of Harvard are single taxers, but this is not true of the economists and philosophers. You see, the applied science men have to think straight. There are consequences. The bridge will fall down if their deductions are faulty.

E. T. Clark of Melrose would take first prize, were I judge, for the most successful advertiser and manager of a meeting I ever met. Clark got a Melrose councilman to take Professor Johnson and me from Boston to Melrose in his automobile, had a reception for us in the Mayor's office, had moving pictures and popular music, and a house full of people. It was a remarkable showing of what enthusiasm and industry and tact can do. The subject was the "Building of a City," and even Clark was surprised that the single tax sentiment should have won from his large audience its greatest applause.

But there were no disappointments anywhere. S.

H. Howes of Southboro told me that he believed Southboro would go for the Single Tax now if it were possible, under the Massachusetts law to make a local application of it. In the Beneficent Church in Providence, in which Senator Aldrich has a pew, I spoke to a good government club of a hundred men as intelligent and progressive and fearlessly democratic as any audience I ever faced. New Bedford gave me an audience before the Civic League of business men, whose interest in the subject of taxation opened wide the door to our message.

The house is not built. But how the chips are flying! Our ideas are no longer "queer." The world is coming our way.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

\* \* \*

## CHARTER-MAKING AT MODESTO, CAL.

Modesto, Cal., May 26, 1910.

As *The Public* is watching and giving earnest support to the progress of municipal democracy, I believe it will interest its readers to learn what is being accomplished in small communities in the matter of charter-making and the establishment of municipal democracies, the more so as owing to the size of these communities, these accomplishments are not likely to be noticed by the Eastern and metropolitan press.

The city of Modesto is situated in the county of Stanislaus, State of California, in the great San Joaquin valley. While the town has existed for several decades, it is only recently with the introduction of irrigation that the population has reached its present number, 6,000.

The city is being administered under a legislature-made charter, which has long ago outgrown its usefulness. Hence, about a year ago an agitation commenced for the enactment of a new charter, under the provisions of the Municipal Government act, providing that cities whose population exceeds 3,500 may elect a board of 15 freeholders to draw a charter, which if adopted by the people may be submitted to the Legislature for its approval or rejection. This does not give cities complete home-rule, as it gives the Legislature the right to reject the charter adopted by the people, and it is to be hoped that the Legislature will amend the Constitution so as to do away with the necessity of legislative ratification.

In this agitation for a new charter both papers, *The Morning Herald* (Rep.) and *The Evening News* (dem. Dem.) worked hand in hand, publishing many articles written by the members of their staffs and by special contributors on the commission form of Government. The trustees ordered a special election, and 15 freeholders were elected in April, 1910, to draw a charter. Mr. E. I. Fisher of the *News* staff and Mr. De Yoe of the *Herald* staff, who had been indefatigable in the fight for a new charter, are among those elected.

Since their election the freeholders have been at work on the proposed charter. Many propositions have been advocated and proposed for adoption by this board of freeholders, among others, the preferential system of voting (Grand Junction plan), and the

election of each commissioner directly to his office, advocated by the writer in a series of articles in *The News*, by the editor of the paper, and by many others. It is not certain whether these suggestions will be acted upon, but it may be safely stated that the charter adopted will be a model of charter-making.

It will do away with all elective officers, except the commissioners (5). Under the present charter all officers and officials (including the city clerk and marshal) are elected. All this will be done away with. The charter will contain the initiative, referendum and recall—these correctives of misrepresentative government.

The writer has been advocating the exemption of improvements from taxation and the insertion of an exemption clause in the proposed charter. At the instance of the president of the board, Mr. Sol. Elias, the writer recently submitted to that body a written argument in favor of this reform, dealing with evils resulting from taxing improvements and penalizing thrift and industry, and the benefits resulting from the abolition of this system of taxation, giving the recent experience of Vancouver, B. C., as related in *The Public*. The constitutionality of the exemption was also insisted upon, as some of the members doubted whether such an exemption could be legally adopted.

The discussion of this matter will come up before the board at their next meeting, and it is expected that they will give the matter due and favorable consideration. Whether it will be adopted or not, cannot be predicted at this time, but the matter having been brought to the attention of the people, they will adopt it as soon as they understand the salutary effects of the reform.

At any rate, Modesto will soon enter the group of those cities which having investigated the causes of municipal misrule, have come to the conclusion that such misrule is not due to the failure of democracy as applied to municipal government, but to the "failure to apply democratic principles to municipal government," as Mr. Deming puts it, and have set about devising charters establishing true municipal democracies.

LEON YANCKWICH.

---

## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

---

### A NEW SPIRIT IN THE CHURCHES.

Bowman, N. D.

I was much interested in reading in a recent *Public* what Asher George Beecher would have written in his diary (p. 440) had he kept one, on Sunday, April 24th. I am one of the preachers who spoke on the subject of tuberculosis on that day and I desire to quote from my sermon on that occasion:

Now, in undertaking to stamp out this disease (tuberculosis) the Anti-Tuberculosis Association has encountered a great difficulty. It has made the discovery that one of the chief sources of this disease is economic. In other words, while this disease is not confined to any class or section of the country, yet it is mainly the poor man's disease. Where poverty is the hardest, there this disease has its greatest hold and takes its largest toll of

life. For it is among the poor of our large cities that light, air and good food are at a premium.

Thus, you see, that before this disease can be fully eradicated, poverty must be abolished.

This means that we will be compelled to think along that line, that we shall be compelled to stop and ask ourselves such questions as these:

Why are some men so overloaded with wealth that they find it hard work to devise means to give it away, while thousands of the workers can scarcely make both ends meet because of low wages and the high cost of living?

Why, in the great centers of industry, are the workers, for the most part, always poor and the idlers often rich?

Why, in a productive country, the most productive in the world, and among the most industrious people upon whom the sun shines, should there ever be any poverty at all?

Why, when the Creator made the land for all his children, and it is of necessity the source from which all men must live, why should it be subject to private ownership and monopoly?

These, I say, are some of the questions we must answer before we can solve this problem, and I welcome this agitation on the part of the Anti-Tuberculosis Association because it will help to call our attention to them.

I do not care to take up your space to quote further, but I called the attention of my audience to the fact of child labor and the employment of women in factories and pointed out how these were conducive to the spread of tuberculosis. And much more along the same line. My text on this occasion was the words of Jesus: "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." I spoke to a crowded house and stirred up no hornets' nests, for my people are accustomed to hear the truth.

Is Mr. Beecher wholly fair? There are hundreds of people today who are berating the church, but who have not been inside one for years. My advice to Mr. Beecher is to go to church on another such occasion.

GEORGE A. TOTTEN.

---

## 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, May 31, 1910.

---

### The Taft Railway Law.

Final disposition of the Congressional railway regulation bill (p. 465), which President Taft's administration adopted, is close at hand. Speaking to one of the proposed amendments on the 26th, Senator La Follette made an exhaustive exposure of the tendency of the bill to promote railway monopoly. The amendment he supported, proposed by Senator Cummins, required approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission of increases in rates prior to their taking effect. This amendment was defeated in the Senate on the 26th,

by 43 to 29. The Insurgent Republicans who voted for the amendment, 12 in number, were Beveridge, Borah, Bourne, Bristow, Burkett, Clapp, Crawford, Cummins, Dixon, Dolliver, Gamble, La Follette. But two Senators who are sometimes insurgent, Brown and Nelson, voted with the Standpat Republicans against the amendment as did the following Democrats: Bailey, McEnery, Smith of Maryland and Taylor. Four Democrats stayed away without pairing, namely Hughes, Bankhead, Percy and Money. Senator Aldrich got the Democratic votes against the Cummins amendment by agreeing to accept two amendments opposed by the Standpatters, which were thereupon adopted unanimously. One of them provides that the Interstate Commerce Commission may suspend increases in rates for a period of ten months; the other that after increases in rates are placed in force the railroads shall in waybills and bills of lading, pending the adjudication of increases before the Commission and in the courts, state what the charges would have been if the rates had not been increased, and in case the rate is finally found unreasonable shall refund the difference. The bill came near being voted on in the Senate on the 27th. But in the midst of a wrangle a Democratic motion to adjourn was carried. It had been understood that when an amendment by Senator Dolliver regulating stock and bond issues had been acted on, one by Senator La Follette on physical values of railway property, and then one by Senator Newlands on national incorporation would be disposed of, after which vote on the bill as a whole was to be taken. But when the Dolliver amendment had been defeated by 47 to 19—15 Insurgent Republicans and 4 Democrats constituting the minority—Senator Dixon (Insurgent) offered an amendment placing inter-State telegraph and telephone lines under the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission. This amendment as altered and simplified by Senator La Follette, was adopted, whereupon Senator Brown (Insurgent) moved an amendment prohibiting common carriers from acquiring any interest whatever in the capital stock or any leasehold interest in competitive lines. Protests against immediate action were made, and Senator Bacon's (Democrat) motion to adjourn was carried by 31 to 27. Senator Aldrich was not present, having gone home under the impression that the bill as arranged by him would pass.

+ +

#### The Ballinger Investigation.

Closing speeches before the Congressional committee investigating the charges against Secretary Ballinger of the Department of the Interior, one of President Taft's cabinet (pp. 481, 487), were made on the 27th by George W. Pepper and Louis D. Brandeis. Mr. Pepper spoke as attorney for

Gifford Pinchot, and Mr. Brandeis for Louis R. Glavis. The summing up closed on the 28th, when Mr. Vertrees finished in behalf of Secretary Ballinger, and Mr. Pepper and Mr. Brandeis replied for Mr. Pinchot and Mr. Glavis respectively.

+ +

#### Roosevelt and the Insurgents.

Washington dispatches of the 28th report that Theodore Roosevelt (pp. 468, 490) has written a letter which has practically indorsed the fight made by the Insurgents of the House of Representatives against Cannon and the regular organization. He is said also to have invited one of the most influential of the Eastern Insurgents to meet him in New York for a conference immediately after his arrival from Europe. The announcement of a definite position by Mr. Roosevelt in regard to Insurgency has impressed itself deeply, the dispatches say, on the Insurgents and the Regulars at the Capitol. The Insurgents are described as taking on an air of triumph, the Regulars as depressed, but saying, "There must be a mistake somewhere." Col. Roosevelt's letter appears to have been written from Dorchester House, England. In effect he said as reported: "You know my views on the Insurgent situation. They have not changed since I last talked with you. I wish to see you in New York immediately after my arrival." There were, says the dispatch, but five lines in the Roosevelt letter, which was in answer to a nine page summary of the battle of the Insurgents against Cannon and Cannonism in which the recipient of the Roosevelt letter took an active part. Although permission to make a verbatim report of the missive was denied publication it was shown to several of the newspaper men under pledge not to reproduce it. By inference Roosevelt told his correspondent that he had much to say which would be better if transmitted from lip to ear. Speaking of the attitude of the ex-President, the Insurgent leader said: "Whereas, I know that Mr. Roosevelt admires Speaker Cannon for the fighting blood that is in him, I know and have known for a long time that Roosevelt was with the Insurgents in spirit in the fight they made against the cast-iron rule of the organization which, through its tyrannies, precipitated the legislative battle of last March. I know that Mr. Roosevelt approves of the contest we made and rejoices in the victory we won. I know that he approves of the course taken by the Insurgents in fighting tooth and nail for the passage of the good features of the Taft program."

+

Mr. Roosevelt is to make a series of political speeches throughout the United States, according to dispatches from Washington dated the 30th. This speaking tour will give him opportunity to inform himself on the political changes which

have taken place during his absence in Africa, especially in regard to the development of the Insurgent movement, and will also enable him to give such political advice as he deems appropriate. His itinerary is announced as proceeding through the following twenty-four States: New York, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey.

+

The University of Cambridge, England, on the 26th, conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws upon Mr. Roosevelt, who received the honor in person.

+ +

#### Senator Lorimer's Defense.

Replying to the charges of having bought his seat in the United States Senate by bribing members of the Illinois legislature (p. 469), which were first published by the Chicago Tribune, Senator Lorimer made reply on the 28th from his place on the Senate floor. He asserted that the charges were false; that they had been formulated by the Tribune principally for the purpose of carrying out the Tribune editor's threat to crush the new banking institution Lorimer was starting in Chicago, coincident with the opening of which the charges were published; that there were political motives also, Lorimer having refused to take orders from the Tribune as other Republicans had done; that Gov. Deneen, who had yielded to the Tribune's power, was a party with the Tribune to the conspiracy against Lorimer; and that the Tribune had a further motive, of its own because it "is in politics for revenue only," and does not want interference with its tax-dodging, its rent-gathering and its ground-rent stealing. Of the Tribune's relation to the Board of Education on two of these counts Mr. Lorimer said:

There is one board in Chicago which the Tribune watches as a cat does a mouse, and that is the Board of Education. It seems to take a special delight in plundering its funds. For many years the Board occupied quarters in the Schiller building, which were first class and commodious, where annual rental was less than \$15,000 per year. The Tribune was more successful in compelling this Board to move than it was with the Sanitary Board, and it now has the Board of Education housed in the Tribune building, for which the Board pays \$32,500 a year for quarters no better adapted to its needs and not as convenient—for the Board—as the former quarters in the Schiller building. This is a case of looting the school fund to the extent of \$17,500 per year.

But of all the plundering of sacred funds of trust there is nothing in the history of Chicago to equal the lease of the school ground to the Tribune company, on which its building stands. The School

Board gave to the Tribune control for a period of eighty-nine years. The lease was drawn without a revaluation clause, which is included in every long term-lease of property owned by private parties, and under which the steadily increasing value of the ground would be saved to the Board. The tenants occupying the grounds just across the street from the Tribune building pay an annual rental of 5 per cent on a valuation of \$91.35 per square foot, plus the taxes, as against 6 per cent on a valuation of \$45.88, with no taxes paid by the Tribune company, occupying a corner which is at least as valuable as the one referred to.

The total number of square feet in the Tribune plot is 17,280, which yields \$47,000 approximately, at a rate of 6 per cent. If the Tribune's owners were compelled to pay on an honest valuation, such as that on the corner across the street, they would pay approximately \$94,000 a year into the school fund, but through coercion and intimidation and in the dead of night, to escape a threatened injunction, this corrupt lease was authorized, under which the Tribune robs the school funds of \$47,000 each year.

Mr. Lorimer then grouped his charges of greed:

To summarize the annual plunder of the school fund and public treasury by the Chicago Tribune:	
Taxes dodged.....	\$ 45,000
Rent plunder.....	17,000
Ground rent steal.....	47,000
Total .....	\$109,500

In round figures the Tribune robs the school fund and public treasury of Chicago of \$100,000 every year. It is to protect this plunder that prompts the Tribune to force men into subjection or drive them out of public life. It was because the Tribune could not control Judge Nathaniel Sears, the Hon. Zina R. Carter or Judge Elbridge Haney that it opposed them and aided in their defeat when they were candidates for Mayor, and who, had they been elected, would have had the appointment of the members of the Board of Education. It is the fear that such men in public office will end its theft of public funds that impels it to secure complete control of the party organization through which candidates are selected for public office.

In closing, Senator Lorimer asked for a full Senatorial investigation and introduced a resolution for the purpose. The resolution was referred under the rules.

+

By a dramatic conjunction of circumstances, on the very day on which Senator Lorimer was assuring the Senate of the United States that no man had been bribed to vote for him as senator, D. W. Holstlaw of Iuka, a Democratic member of the Illinois Senate, was confessing to the grand jury of Sangamon county that he had received \$2,500 for voting for Lorimer for senator. He was promised the money, he stated, by State Senator John Broderick of Chicago, and he later received the money from Broderick, who also gave him \$700 as his share of the legislative "jackpot" for voting as the graft ring wished him to vote. As a result of the confession the grand jury in-

dicted the following: State Senator John Broderick of Chicago, charged with bribery; State Senator Stanton C. Pemberton of Oakland, charged with conspiracy to commit bribery; State Senator D. W. Holstlaw of Iuka, charged with conspiracy to commit bribery; and Representative Joseph S. Clark of Vandalia, charged with conspiracy to commit bribery. Beginning with May 29 the Tribune has placed the following offer in large type across the top of its first page:

The Chicago Tribune offers \$5,000 reward for legal proof of the identity of all the members of the "syndicate" which put up the money for Lorimer's election to the United States Senate.

+ +

#### A Land Value Tax Party.

Pursuant to a call for a convention to be held at New York City for the purpose of organizing a Single Tax political party, sent out over the signatures of a group of Single Tax men and women of New York City and vicinity (p. 442), seventy Single Taxers met at 43 East 22nd street on the 21st, and adopted a platform and declarations. The name chosen for the movement was the "Land Value Tax Party." After reciting the intolerable conditions which prevail "in this land of abounding sources of wealth," the platform announces:

As no organized party gives us a chance to vote against this injustice, the freeman's right to vote out a great wrong cannot be exercised without the aid of a party organized for that purpose. The Republican and Democratic parties, largely controlled by special privilege and monopoly, are unable or unwilling to get rid of these evils; the Socialist party, denouncing existing evils and seeking a cure, proposes a remedy that would destroy individual liberty and ambition, and thus retard human progress; the Prohibition party, fighting one form of evil, consents like the two great parties to the fundamental injustice which permits monopoly of the bounties of nature by a small minority of the people; other parties have sprung up and had a mushroom growth, but lacking in purpose or courage to attack the chief cause of human misery, they met an early death; numerous theories have been urged by able writers, and untold millions have been expended to aid suffering humanity, but all such efforts have failed to secure permanent good results; no intelligent attempt has been made to prevent the increase of poverty and to lessen the gap between rich and poor; conditions grow worse rather than better, and we invite those who demand equal opportunity for all with special privilege for none, who would work for freedom through the overthrow of special privilege, to join us in a party based on these fundamental principles. As Land Monopoly is the chief cause of present conditions, its abolition by the levy of taxes on land values only, exempting buildings and all other property from taxation, will be the controlling purpose of the Land Value Tax party.

The platform then shows the adequacy of a land value tax policy to cope with the evils of land monopoly, and outlines the blessings which would

follow its adoption by the community. The concluding paragraphs of the platform follow:

While keeping in view our controlling purpose to rid the country of the accursed private monopoly of land, we are also in favor of ballot reform to encourage independent voting, the direct nomination by voters of candidates for office, the initiative and referendum, the right to recall unfaithful officials, the enfranchisement of women, or any other policy tending to secure good government and the uplift of humanity; all advocates of such measures will find a hospitable welcome in our ranks, but all of these helpful reforms will be regarded in this contest as secondary to the great basic principle on which we invite the support and co-operation of all true Americans.

Cheered by the progress of our cause in Great Britain and in other lands, deploring the conditions in our own land which make this party organization necessary, realizing the integrity of our purpose and rejoicing that we have within easy grasp a practical remedy for the chief evils which afflict our nation, with a strong faith in the people when awakened, we submit these declarations to the considerate judgment of mankind, with an assured belief that the adoption of this platform by the various States and territories will at once promote the welfare and happiness of all our people; that it will solve problems which existing parties have neither the wisdom nor the courage to confront.

+ +

#### The Tom L. Johnson Medallion.

At a dinner at the Hotel Astor in the evening of Decoration Day a medallion was presented to Tom L. Johnson (p. 490), in commemoration of his service in behalf of the truths of human brotherhood that Henry George taught, especially in their industrial aspects. There were 600 guests in attendance and Frederick C. Leubuscher, president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, presided. The round bronze medallion, two feet in diameter, with obverse and reverse separately framed, exhibiting on the one side low relief profile portraits of George and Johnson together with an appropriate quotation from "Progress and Poverty," and on the other side an inscription from the donors, was formally presented to Mr. Johnson by Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati, whose theme was "Johnson the Man." Henry George, Jr., of New York, followed with an address on "Johnson the Friend and Disciple of Henry George." Louis F. Post of Chicago with one on "Johnson in the George Campaigns," ex-Congressman John DeWitt Warner with one on "Johnson in Congress," Newton D. Baker, city solicitor of Cleveland, with one on "Johnson in Cleveland," and Edmund Vance Cooke, the poet, whose home is in Cleveland, spoke on "Johnson in Defeat," and read his poem entitled "A Man is Passing."\* Mr. Johnson, looking like

\*This poem first appeared in The Public of January 7, 1910, and is reprinted in this issue of The Public.

his old self, though thinner, with new strength and health, and clearly getting well, with his old strong voice closed the program with a response that seemed to make his hosts all the more his friends. There were 227 guests present, and the speaking did not end until midnight.

+ +

#### Memorial Tablets to Garrison and George.

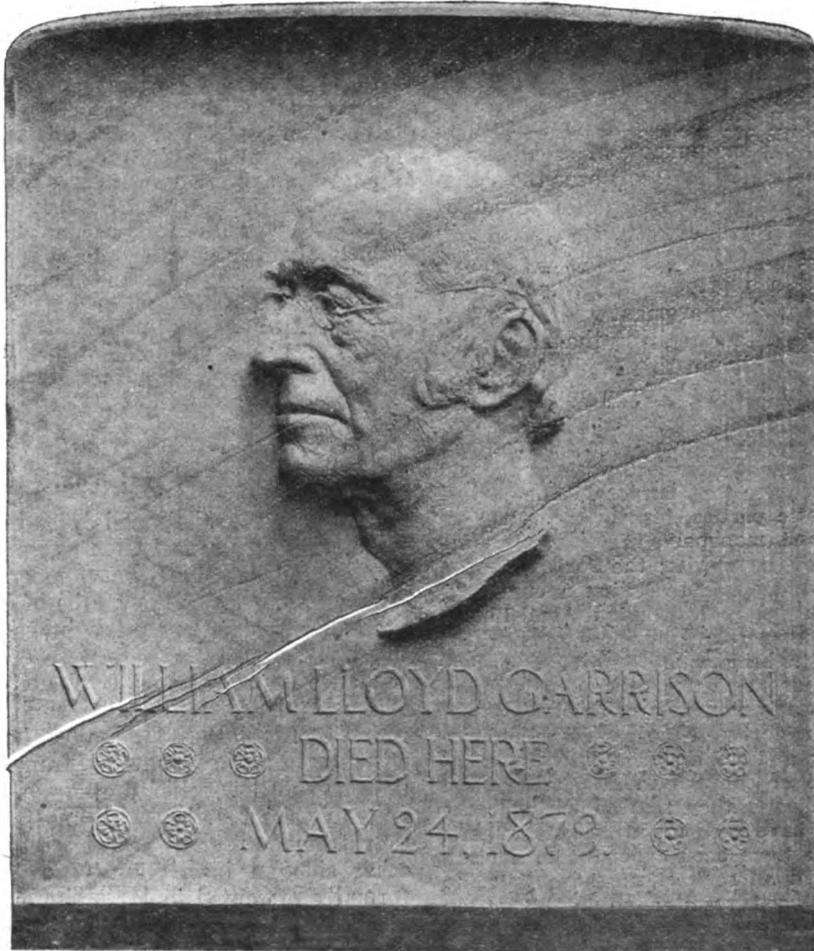
Both William Lloyd Garrison the elder, and Henry George, died in the city of New York, only

where George died in 1897. Both tablets were designed by Richard F. George.

+

Following were the committee which undertook the work of placing these tablets and managed the unveiling exercises:

Joseph H. Choate, chairman; Bolton Hall, treasurer; Lyman Abbott, Cornelius N. Bliss, Andrew Carnegie, R. Fulton Cutting, E. Tiffany Dyer, Hamlin Garland, Whidden Graham, David H. Greer, Thomas C. Hall, Gustav E. Kissel, Henry M. Leipziger, Seth Low, Henry F. Osborn,



two blocks apart in point of space though several years apart in time. The places at which they died were distinguished on Decoration Day by the unveiling of an appropriate bronze memorial tablet at each. The Garrison tablet is affixed to the Fourth Avenue wall of the building situated on the corner of Seventeenth street, which is on the site of the Westmoreland apartment house where Garrison died in 1879. The George tablet is affixed to the Fourth Avenue wall of the Union Square hotel, situated on the corner of Fifteenth street,

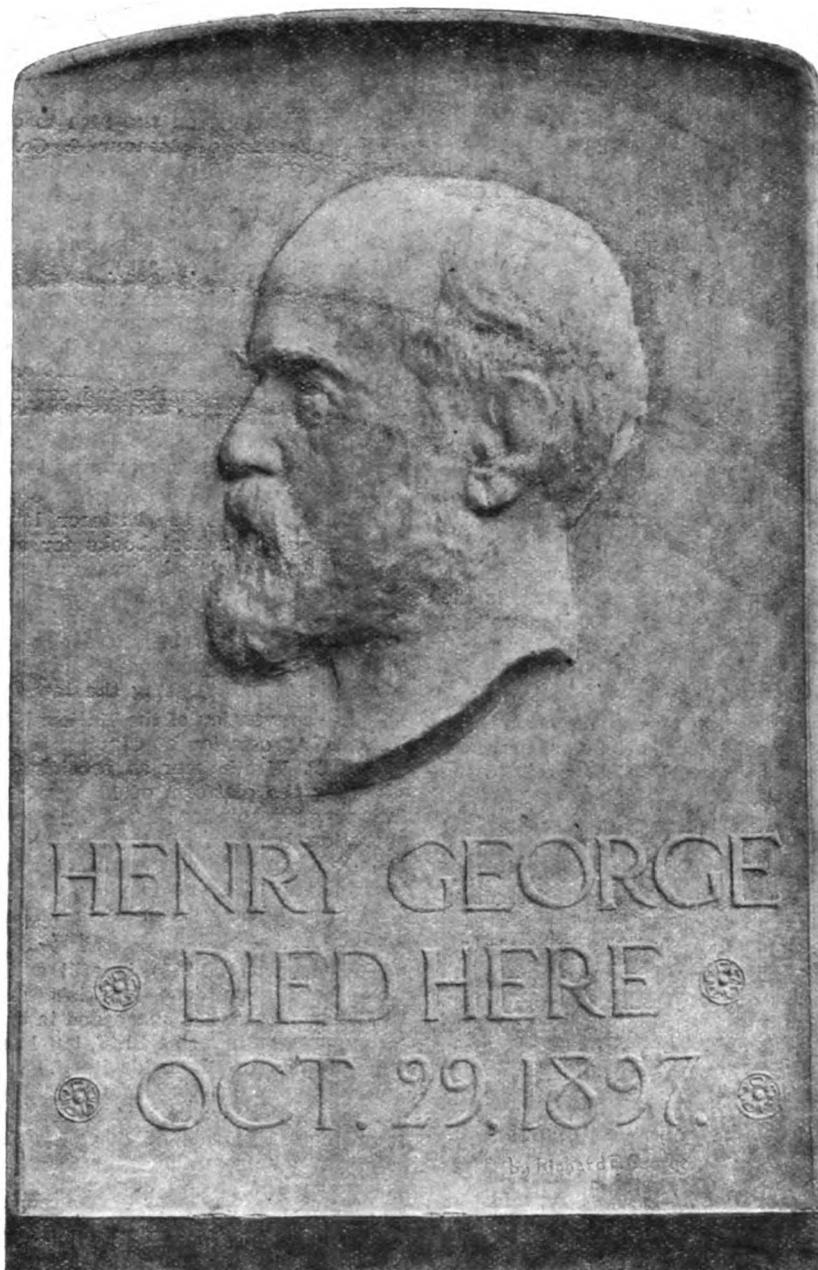
Thomas M. Osborne, George Foster Peabody, Lawson Purdy, George R. Read, Wm. Jay Schieffelin, Gustav H. Schwab, Charles Scribner, Isaac N. Seligman, M. Allen Starr, Horace White.

The unveiling exercises, for which Robert Baker acted as chairman, began promptly at half-past four in the afternoon in front of the Union Square hotel, where about three hundred persons gathered on the sidewalk. The tablet in memory of Henry George was unveiled by Henry George III, son of Henry George, Jr. A letter from Lyman Abbott

which the New York Times reports as follows, was read by Bolton Hall:

I am sorry not to be able to accept your invitation for May 30. Henry George was a radical, that is, a

community, not to the individual, save as the community has given them to the individual, and that one generation cannot give away in perpetuity the property of generations to follow. The recognition of this twofold doctrine of society will not put an



root man. In dealing with the problem of poverty he went to the root of the matter.

He has been accused of denying the right of property. He did not deny it; he defined it. And in my judgment he defined it correctly.

The budget in England, the conservation movement in the United States, have grown out of his doctrine that the soil and its products belong to the

end to poverty; but it will do much to put an end to that form of poverty which is due to social injustice.

Louis F. Post made a ten-minute address. Proceeding to the Garrison tablet, the audience again gathered on the sidewalk. The tablet was unveiled by Henry Serrano Villard, great grandson of William

Lloyd Garrison; and Thomas Mott Osborne delivered a scholarly and democratic oration.

## NEWS NOTES

—The unpopular franchise bill of the Prussian government (p. 349) has met with such determined opposition that the government has finally dropped it.

—Homer Folks was elected to succeed Miss Jane Addams as president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (pp. 182, 485), at St. Louis on the 24th.

—More than 2,500 horses lined up in Chicago's first annual work-horse parade, held on Memorial day. Medals were awarded by the Anti-Cruelty Society and the Illinois Humane Society.

—Dr. Robert Koch, the famous bacteriologist, died at Baden-Baden, Germany, on the 27th, in the 67th year of his age. Dr. Koch was the discoverer of the bacilli of tuberculosis and cholera.

—The French submarine *Pluviose* was sunk by an under-water collision with the cross channel steamer *Pas de Calais*, a mile from shore off Calais, on the 26th. Three officers and twenty-four seamen were lost.

—That back of the Russo-Japanese war was a timber company, monopolizing and exploiting, is the claim of a new book, "Rasplata: The Reckoning," by Vladimir Semenov, published by E. P. Dutton & Co. of New York.

—The Chinese Government (pp. 468, 469) has formally decreed the adoption of a uniform currency system. At the present price of silver the new Chinese dollar coin will be worth 43.55 cents in the money of the United States.

—Glenn H. Curtiss flew in his aeroplane (p. 491) from Albany to New York, a distance of 137 miles, in two hours and thirty-two minutes, on the 29th. Mr. Curtiss followed the winding course of the Hudson, and alighted once, near Poughkeepsie.

—Edmund T. Perkins, the Chicago attache of the Department of the Interior, who has come into notoriety in connection with the Ballinger affair (pp. 481, 487), announced his intention on the 25th to resign, and to recommend as his successor his assistant, F. W. Dick.

—The Socialist administration of Milwaukee (p. 492) was reported on the 24th to have ordered six department stores to discontinue restaurants or grill rooms, this being deemed necessary because of the fire risk above the ground floor and in the midst of much inflammable material.

—The Pennsylvania Single Tax League has just had printed 2,000 copies of "The Land Question," by Henry George, and the League announces that they will be pleased to send copies free, and postpaid, to any address on request. Address the League at 1113 East Wilt street, Philadelphia.

—By 94 to 46 the lower house of the New York legislature on the 26th defeated a compromise direct primary bill, which had passed the senate. Another direct primary bill (one of doubtful good

faith) had already passed both houses, but Gov. Hughes has announced that he will veto it.

—The committee of the Russian Douma (p. 350) which has been considering the township administration bill, has accepted the principle of woman suffrage. Female residents possessing either the property or educational qualifications will be given the vote for township officials on the same basis as males.

—The authorities of Hudson county, New Jersey, began proceedings on the 24th to dissolve the New Jersey charters of Armour & Co., Morris & Co., Swift & Co., and the National Packing Co. This is part of the move against the meat trust (p. 276) for crime, the Governor of New Jersey, having refused requisitions for non-resident individuals who had been indicted (p. 255).

—The fourth international Pan-American Congress (vol. ix, p. 395) will open at Buenos Ayres on July 10. One of the questions to be considered will be the adoption, as far as practicable, of laws regulating patents, trade marks and copyrights among the republics represented. Another question will be that of the completion of the intercontinental railway system north and south through the three Americas.

—The recent school book law of Illinois (vol. xii, p. 537), known as the Ettleson law, fixing a maximum price for school books for use in the public schools, was declared unconstitutional by Judge Walker on the 25th upon provisions collateral to the main points. Supporters of the law charge collusion between the book trust and the Chicago school board to create the conditions which the court gives for declaring the law invalid.

—The convention of the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association at Cincinnati last week elected Morris F. Westheimer as president, and besides reaffirming the platform of 1908 and 1909 adopted the following resolution: "Realizing the value of co-operation between all interests in the liquor business, we urge an extension of such efforts to all those having this end in view, and we invite all kindred organizations to unite in this important movement."

—Nicaragua (p. 276) is still suffering from her revolution. President Madriz's army, commanded by General Lara, has succeeded in occupying the customs port at Bluefields Bluff, but has failed so far to take the city of Bluefields itself. The United States has forbidden fighting in the city of Bluefields on account of the foreign residents. The revolutionists' provisional government officially changed the port of Bluefields from the Bluff to a point three miles farther up the river.

—The official expulsion of Jews from Kiev (p. 491) is now reported from St. Petersburg, from which point earlier reports of expulsion were denied. The total departures up to the 26th were 300 proscribed families belonging exclusively to the poorer classes. The St. Petersburg dispatch says that the "exodus is compulsory, and in fulfillment of the order of the Russian government that all Jews who can not establish a legal claim to residence outside the Pale, return forthwith to the confines defined in the original Jewish segregation law. The Pale was formed by Polish provinces and the Ukraine." By the 28th

1,002 Jewish families in all had received notification that they must leave Kiev. The time limit of departure is set for June 14th.

—A protest meeting against the recent decision of the Appellate Court at Chicago (Judge Mack dissenting), that it is unlawful for members of labor unions to co-operate in refusing to work with non-union men, and that injunctions may be granted against threatened strikes on that basis (p. 489), was held under the auspices of the Chicago Federation of Labor at the Lyric Theater on the afternoon of Sunday, the 29th. Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago and W. D. Mahon of Detroit addressed the meeting.

—A bill introduced in the Massachusetts legislature by a Socialist member of the lower house—Charles H. Morrill of Haverhill—designed to prevent a common form of deception by employers during labor strikes, has gone into effect as a law. It was opposed before the labor committee by corporation attorneys, but the committee reported it favorably and both houses having passed it the governor signed it. The law provides that—

If an employer, during the continuance of a strike among his employes, or during the continuance of a lockout or other labor trouble among his employes, publicly advertises in newspapers, or by posters or otherwise, for employes, or by himself or his agent solicits persons to work for him to fill the places of strikers, he shall plainly and explicitly mention in such advertisements or oral or written solicitations that a strike, lockout or other labor disturbance exists.

The penalty for violation is \$100 for each offense.

---

## PRESS OPINIONS

---

### The Test for Kerby's "Treachery."

The (Los Angeles) Graphic (ind.), May 21.—All who believe that the party in power should be sacredly guarded from adverse criticism, at any price, will argue that Kerby was disloyal; they who hold that the public welfare takes precedence of politics will esteem Kerby as a patriot.

+ +

### The Short Ballot.

The Peoria (Ill.) Star (ind.), May 21.—An effort is being made to simplify our elections, that is, to elect a few persons to the important offices and entrust to them the duty of appointing their subordinates. The idea is sensible, and if we add to that the power of recall, we will be able to punish an unworthy official whenever he betrays the liberty of the people. With that, we need the Initiative and the Referendum. With these three measures, many of the abuses that now paralyze the operations of the government, will be done away with. This is all that the short ballot means—increasing the authority in the hands of the heads of departments and making them directly responsible to the public for failure to perform their duties.

+ +

### A Lesson in Railroadng.

The Sacramento Bee (ind.), May 16.—The railroads find numerous excuses for raising freight

rates in this country, but do so chiefly under cover of changes in classification. They point to increased cost of operation, but are silent regarding the increase in volume of traffic, which more than compensates for rise in wages and cost of materials. This is in remarkable contrast with the railroads of New Zealand, owned by the government, which have steadily reduced charges with increase of traffic. In that country a journey of 250 miles, which cost \$6 ten years ago, may now be made for \$3.50, or about half what it would cost in California. And the public ownership of railroads in New Zealand gives to children free transportation to and from school.

+ +

### Mr. Roosevelt's "Commonplaces."

The (London) Nation, April 30.—Mr. Roosevelt, fresh from Uganda, after astonishing the other capitals of Europe, has at length reached Paris. His visit has been treated as a great social occasion. He is the strenuous guest, and no day has passed without its speech. The great occasion was his lecture at the Sorbonne on the duties of a citizen in a Republic. Parisians are accustomed to eschew the commonplace. For generations it has been exiled from the soil of France. When at length it came, in serried battalions, confident, strident, in sentence upon sentence of moralizing it seems to have taken the French by storm, by reason of its very novelty. . . . Mr. Roosevelt has lived to falsify the adage that from Africa comes always something new.

+ +

### The Vancouver Plan.

The Oregon Daily Journal (ind.), May 18.—Within a few years the city of Vancouver, B. C., has grown from a few thousand people to one of about 80,000 population, and in the past 10 years its property valuation has grown from less than \$20,000,000 to over \$75,000,000. In this progressive city, though it is within British territory, the single tax idea is largely carried out. Since 1906 improvements on real estate, including all buildings, have paid only 4 mills on the dollar tax, while land values have paid 16 mills, just four times as much. And hereafter land will pay all, and improvements on land nothing. This year nearly \$25,000,000 worth of property, namely, improvements on land—factories, mills, residences, etc.—was assessed nothing at all. The property tax is all placed on land. Under this policy the city has grown rapidly and prospered exceedingly. It encourages improvement and offers no premium on speculation in idle land. Doubtless Vancouver had people who predicted that this policy would be ruinous, but like most pessimists these croakers were mistaken. With taxes centered on land values, development healthily booms.

+ + +

He who has a vehement desire for posthumous fame does not consider that every one of those who remember him will himself also die very soon; then again also they who have succeeded them, until the whole remembrance shall have been extinguished as it is transmitted through men who foolishly admire and perish. But suppose that those who will

remember are even immortal, and that the remembrance will be immortal, what then is this to thee? And I say, not what is it to the dead, but what is it to the living?—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

---

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

---

#### A MAN IS PASSING.\*

For The Public.

A Man is passing. Hall him, you  
Who realize him staunch and strong and true.  
He found us dollar-bound and party-blind;  
He leaves a City with a Civic Mind,  
Choosing her conduct with a conscious care,  
Selecting one man here, another there  
And scorning labels. Craft and Graft and Greed  
Ran rampant in our halls and few took heed.  
The Public Service and the Public Rights  
Were bloody bones for wolf and jackal fights.  
Now, even the Corporate Monster licks the hand  
Where once he snarled his insolent demand.  
Who tamed it? Answer as you will,  
But truth is truth and his the credit still.

A Man is passing. Flout him, you  
Who would not understand and never knew.  
Tranquil in triumph, in defeat the same,  
He never asked your praise nor shirked your blame.  
For he, as Captain of the Common Good,  
Has earned the right to be misunderstood.  
Behold! he raised his hand against his class;  
Aye, he forsook the Few and served the Mass.  
Year upon year he bore the battle's brunt  
And so, the hiss, the cackle and the grunt!  
He found us, striving each his selfish part.  
He leaves a City with a Civic Heart,  
Which gives the fortune-fallen a new birth  
And reunites him with his Mother Earth,  
Which seeks to look beyond the broken law  
To find the broken life, and mend its flaw.

A Man is passing. Nay, no demi-god,  
But a plain man, close to the common sod  
Whence springs the grass of our humanity. Strong  
Is he, but human, therefore sometimes wrong,  
Sometimes impatient of the slower throng,  
Sometimes unmindful of the formal thong,  
But ever with his feet set towards the height  
To plant the banner of the Common Right;  
And ever with his eye fixed on the goal,  
The Vision of a City with a Soul.

And is he fallen? Aye, but mark him well,  
He ever rises further than he fell.

A Man is passing. I salute him, then,  
In these few words. He served his fellow-men  
And he is passing. But he comes again.

EDMUND VANCE COOKE.

Cleveland, Ohio.

\*This poem, which first appeared in The Public of January 7, at the close of Tom L. Johnson's last term as Mayor of the city of Cleveland, was read by Mr. Cooke at the banquet given to Mr. Johnson in New York on the 30th, reported in the news columns of this Public.

## RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY.

An Address Delivered Before the Brotherhood of the  
Central Congregational Church of Topeka, Kans.,  
April 11, 1910, by George Hughes.

The ideal of democracy which our nation has is the most binding link that the world has yet seen. This ideal aims to equalize the opportunity of all, and to maintain equality of opportunity by representative government. Note this, it is to equalize opportunity, not to equalize men nor the possession of wealth among men. Let us see what stands in the way of realizing this ideal.

For various reasons I desire to wear shoes. Before I can satisfy this desire of mine to wear shoes, first of all a farmer must today apply his God-given faculties to land, must labor to produce feed and to raise cattle. A train-crew, a dispatcher, a division superintendent, and sundry other railroad employes must labor with both mind and body to bring the hide from which these shoes are made, to the tannery with economy, safety and dispatch. In the tannery, that the hide may be changed into pliant leather, everyone from the manager to the errand boy running messages must exert their God-given faculties, must labor. What is true of the tannery is true of the shoe factory. There must be productive labor of all kinds to change leather into shoes. When the shoes are finished, they appear on the counter of a retail store. Anyone who has tried it knows that a retail storekeeper must exert his faculties, must labor, in order to sell me a pair of shoes to satisfy this desire which I have to wear shoes. Now what do I do? Well, if you like to put it on the surface, I pay five dollars to the retail storekeeper who has paid all the preceding men, and I am by right entitled to enjoy these shoes. But if we desire to go below the surface, we find that these shoes are in reality the services; that is to say, the labor of four groups of men upon what the first man, the farmer, produced by laboring upon the land. Is it not fair to say then that I have given a five-dollar bill for the services of five groups of men? In reality, a legion of men, bankers, mechanics, miners, house-builders, and countless others, past and present, have with these five groups of men rendered me, unconsciously, a service as I wear these shoes.

What is this five-dollar bill? It cannot satisfy any desire of man, this bit of paper. What is this five dollars? That is the very hinge of the question.

I use such faculties as I have in keeping books and cash in a hospital. A hospital is a machine for returning to factories, railroads, tanneries, and farms, shoemakers, railroad employes, tanners, and farmers who have been incapacitated by disease or accident from using their faculties to produce or aid in production. These men pay the hospital for the services it renders them. The hospital, the machine for renewing the productive faculties

of any kind of man, pays me for my part in its service. Now, if I pay for my shoes which represent the services of those five groups of men, from my wages, have I not, in reality, repaid their services with a service?

Now let us suppose that when I used to employ my faculties, when I used to labor to produce pork and beef, that I had produced one year more pork and beef than I needed to exchange for other things to satisfy the desires of myself and family. Let us suppose that a hundred dollars represented this stored pork and beef, stored labor; that is to say, capital.

In order that I might obtain more wealth, let us say that I invested it in a share of Cleveland Municipal Railway stock, known as the Three-cent-fare Street-railway. This company held the right to operate a street railway from Forest Hill to the center of Cleveland, under the following terms: That good fair wages were to be paid to all labor from manager to track greaser; that the road was to be maintained and extended on a specified contract, and a certain per cent set aside as a sinking fund; that all capital was to be physical valuation and to receive as interest, as wages, not over six per cent; that when all these terms had been complied with if there was money from the fares which the people had paid still undivided, then the fares on this street railway were to be reduced. Until October, 1908, this holding company, the Cleveland Municipal, operated its street railway and complied with all these terms. Now if I paid for the services which these shoes represent with five dollars from a Cleveland Municipal dividend, is it not fair to say that I should have repaid these services with a service? By virtue of my stored labor, my capital, I should have been part of a machine for carrying farmers, tanners, railroad men, etc., from Forest Hill into Cleveland, at cost.

The magazine "Everybody's," wanted share capital taken up two years ago. Let us suppose I bought a share of Everybody's which has paid ten per cent to capital ever since then. Everybody's is a machine which for fifteen cents a number sets before farmers, tanners, etc., sundry information which they would find hard to acquire except by this means. The price and description of automobiles, cleaners, and collar buttons, for instance; also good fiction, and the "Beast and the Jungle." Nobody is forced to buy Everybody's. It is fair to say that they only buy it to satisfy a desire. Now, if I paid for the services which those shoes represent with five dollars from my "Everybody's" dividend, should I not, by virtue of my stored labor, my capital, be returning a service for the services I enjoy in these shoes?

I am convinced that these three ways for paying for shoes necessitate my repaying services rendered me, either by direct labor on my part, as in the hospital instance, or by having labored in the

past and lending the result of that labor which I stored to concerns which render services at cost or under competition today.

Now let us suppose that in 1898, when I lived in Hartley county, Texas, and worked for a cattle company, that to assist the company as well as myself I filed upon four school sections of the range which the company used, by right of my being a citizen of Hartley county and making my home for three years upon one of these sections. To do this I should have had to pay the State of Texas sixteen dollars in cash; and agree to pay not later than forty years from date of filing, one dollar per acre; until I paid this one dollar per acre, I contracted to pay the State three cents an acre per annum. After three years' residence, I was to receive a patent from the State which would enable me to sell the four sections, and either pay the State or transfer the debts to my purchaser. In 1900 the Rock Island Railroad built through Liberal to El Paso. A town named Dalhart sprang up, and in 1902 there were twenty-five hundred people in Dalhart; every available section within twenty miles was taken, and the Campbell system of farming was beginning to turn that desert, where we had to go two hundred feet to get water, into a sort of farming country. Let us say that a man offered me five dollars an acre for one of my sections, which cornered with the town section, in cash. That I accepted the five dollars per acre in cash, used it to pay up on the other three sections, and leased those three sections to a farmer who wanted to live there, for fifty dollars a section per annum. If I paid for the services which these shoes represent from this one hundred and fifty dollars, should I be paying with productive service which I had rendered, or should I be paying for these shoes which represent services, with services which the accidental ownership of land had enabled me to collect from this Texas farmer?

Once upon a time I made the acquaintance of Mr. H. H. Rogers of the Standard Oil. I only saw and very much admired the God-given power in that man. I never saw that other side which has come to light, and is due to the conditions which we allow to exist. Now the appetite for easy money grows by being satisfied. Let us say that I got tired of farming this Texas farmer and that in 1903 I sold every acre of the land for five dollars an acre which I could have done in that year; it is now over ten dollars an acre in that locality. Supposing that I had then cultivated Mr. Rogers' acquaintance and won his approbation; while this is improbable it is by no means impossible. Let us say that under his guidance I invest this money in public utility companies which own rights of way, and that by buying, selling, and rebuying stock in them I increase the money about fifty per cent by now; if I pay for the productive services these shoes represent with five

dollars of this profit shall I have repaid those services with a productive service, or with the services of the proverbial widows and orphans and the services of like stock gamblers? Even if I buy for investment and pay for my shoes out of the income of that investment the question is still appropriate. This is clear to me when I remember that this January I bought two little stoves for ten dollars, a ton of coal, and several gallons of coal-oil; was colder than I desired most of the time at home, and paid the gas company nineteen dollars and a half. If one endeavors to know oneself one soon begins to try to be just even to gas companies. It is fair to say that five dollars paid from gas companies' dividend is four dollars' service, and one dollar the power to collect regardless of the quality of the service.

Or supposing that under the guidance of Mr. Rogers I had invested in the Steel Trust on the ground floor. The Steel Trust is a "good trust." Last year by its annual report it showed that it paid out a hundred and fifty-three million dollars in wages and salaries, and had a net profit of a hundred and thirty-one millions left over. That is to say, for every fifty-three dollars paid out in wages and salaries, there was a net profit of forty-eight dollars. This is pretty good when you remember that the Steel Trust sells its products thirty-per cent cheaper in England where there is no tariff, than in Kansas which is in a country protected by tariff. The steel trust holds thousands of acres of this storehouse, the earth, which contains metal and coal deposits, out of use. It owns towns like Gary and railroads and public utilities. A protective tariff has been the means by which it could accumulate this stupendous power which it exercises. I would if I could treat every trust as I desire that they should treat me. Now if I paid for the services these shoes represent with five dollars from steel trust dividends I think it would be fair to say that three dollars of the five would be services rendered; and the other two dollars would be the power society gives this trust to collect all the traffic will bear, through a protective tariff.

My brothers, the last three methods for paying for shoes, which I have tried to show you in my crude illustration of how I could pay for shoes, are the most potent causes of the irreligious conditions existing today. Because of them, well-meaning Christian men are defending the maintaining of standing armies and navies. Look at the causes of the Boer war and Russo-Japanese war. Look at the German situation today and the tense way in which England is regarding every move of Germany. In these wars and existing situations if you will look closely enough, you will see that the ownership by individuals of land values, and rights of way, and territories where other nations cannot trade, are the real causes. These are the causes why we are divided into classes today; why labor

and stored labor, capital, are fighting. We have allowed some men to capitalize the land which society makes more valuable every day, the rights of way without which we cannot exist, and we have allowed some men by law to charge us more for their goods, their productive services, than they do the citizens of other nations. There hangs in Mr. Sheldon's study a picture of a battleship which cost ten millions of the services of the American people. It floats upon the ocean; and in the picture underneath the ocean surface are drowned a hundred and six public buildings—libraries, polytechnics, etc.—one for each county in Kansas, which could have been built and maintained for far less money, far less products of American labor, than it has taken to produce this wonderful machine for killing or threatening, which rests above them. Henry George is right: to approach our ideal of democracy we must steadfastly oppose these three methods of obtaining productive services for no return of productive service.

Religion is the strongest force which moves men to action. I do not think that one of you believes that the commandments, "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not murder," are binding merely because the Bible says so. As I satisfy my desire for understanding in our Brotherhood Bible Class; as I listen to the wealth which our two teachers by applying their minds to the subject, produce, I am supremely conscious that the Bible is a priceless means for learning the Laws of God. God's laws do not change. That man must satisfy his needs by the exertion of his powers to produce, is the law under which Adam lived. In order to fully recognize that God is almighty, the opportunity to use the storehouse which he has provided must be as equal today as Adam's opportunity was free.

The most binding link of all links is the philosophy, the teachings of the Messiah who served by washing the feet of his followers. He placed a little child among those followers, and commanded them to be guided by a child. As I have watched those little bits of God which are called my children, growing into human habits, this is a thing which I have learned, and so have you. Their desire to know, their curiosity, as we call it, is not satisfied by the fact that I say that a thing is so. They have a high opinion of me, it is true, but they strive to go farther. What they really want to know is what God says about it. They do not put it that way, but their untiring questions prove to me—so much more tied by human habit than are they—that that is what they are seeking for. To my mind if we would be truly religious we must ask ourselves regarding these three subjects upon which I have touched, with childlike minds, seeking merely to establish the principle which shall abolish the unchristian disgrace called war, and the debasing poverty which exists where progress in producing that which we most desire is the

most forward. This crude effort of mine is worth while if it awakens a desire in you to know more about that chain which binds me to so many men of different nations and types—the political economy and philosophy of Henry George, I never have to strain to see again the vision of that passing crowd, and the splendor if it. Among the foremost leaders of the men this truth is driving, are the descendants of the race which crucified the Messiah. They are giving their time, their money, their lives to forwarding this binding link, which has been evolved admittedly by that prophet of San Francisco, Henry George, from the teaching of Him who instructed us to pray, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

---

## BOOKS

---

### OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

**The Story of the American Merchant Marine.** By John R. Spears, author of "Story of the New England Whalers," etc. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Co.

As the title of Mr. Spears's book indicates, it is historical rather than polemical, but it has for the polemics of the subject this value, that the author refuses to see in subsidies a remedy for the decline of our foreign shipping. Directly out of the history of our merchant marine grows this conclusion of Mr. Spears against the insistent demand of selfish interests for ship subsidies as a policy of national upbuilding. Mr. Spears does not go into the morals of the subsidy system, nor does he even take the trouble to point out the absurdity of restricting foreign trade by protective duties, and at the same time attempting to promote the growth of our merchant marine by paying a few Americans handsome subsidies out of the public treasury for work that strangers are willing to do at a cheaper rate. He merely contents himself with showing that our merchant marine grew without the aid of subsidies, that it declined without the withdrawal of subsidies. He finds that we once had the prospect of being the world's ocean carriers because we built the best ships and administered them most economically, and that, too, when our sailors were the best paid on any sea.

Between the period when the American clipper ship was seen in all ports, and the period when American steamships built of iron became "rare swimmers" of the sea, we lost to others the art of building ships cheaply and sailing them economically. We have not since recovered those arts, but when we do recover them, Mr. Spear thinks we shall stand a chance of sharing with the other nations in the carrying trade of the world. There are some of us who believe that the way to this desirable end, lies not through special privilege, but through freer trade.

Mr. Spears, in naming his objections to the plan of ship subsidies, points out what has too often been ignored, that the game is one at which the other nations of the earth can easily play, and at which some of them are already playing. If a share in the world's carrying trade is to be won by paying some millions a year into the treasuries of American ship-owners, why can it not be retained by foreign powers by the simple means of increasing subsidies already granted? Mr. Spears points out that we have before us, if we enter upon this policy, a sharp race in the matter of subsidies with the powers that now do the carrying trade of the world. He would allow the value of subsidies only as a bounty to ships that could be used as auxiliaries to the navy, and, historian of the United States Navy, as he is, he does not show himself very keen even upon this point of policy. Historically Mr. Spears's book is interesting, picturesque and thorough.

EDWARD N. VALLANDIGHAM.

+ + +

### A VITAL NEED

**Religion Rationalized.** By Rev. Hiram Vrooman. The Nunc Licet Press, Philadelphia, Pa. Price, 75c.

Evolution in religion, as in lesser things, has brought us to the point of seeing its vital relation to life, and Mr. Vrooman stands forth, with many others, to show, each in his way, the real nature and use of religion.

Theology—defined as religion intellectually considered—seems to the critic a bare skeleton of doctrinal bones raked out of the dust of the ages, and wired together by human intelligence to fit passing ideas of life here and hereafter.

---

## Leavening The Mass.

Among those yielding credit to *The Public* by continuous subscriptions are men prominent in every progressive movement in the country; they rely on it for truthful news as well as inspiring comment.

But progressive movements sorely need more recruits, more leaders.

And they are being developed weekly by the persistent influence of this paper.

Go to some friend, who will later thank you, and get his subscription.

But the author of "Religion Rationalized" suggests an ideal theology which differs substantially from the dry bones of the past in that it is the counterpart of all the sciences, and embraces all the potentialities and activities of power and usefulness in human life. It is admitted that science in the present time has outstripped and trodden under foot the old creeds and dogmas of the religious world. But the theology which secretly underlies and prompts all the progressive movements of to-day is to become openly associated with every large interest, and to enter, as the breath of life, into every individual and organized effort for the promotion of human welfare. Without this universal diffusion of inspiration and power, theology is but a rattling of dry bones. But Mr. Vrooman, dealing more reverently than the critic with theologies at large, adds to the encouragement inspired by "Religion Rationalized" by making the following announcement:

Those upon whom the foregoing pages have made any impression, and to whom they have revealed new possibilities of investigation in the realm of spiritual realities, will be interested to know that the author has nearly completed the writing of a second volume which is to be a logical continuance of the contents of this book.

Hence, we may look with pleasant anticipation for the exposition of a theology that deals with

the present rather than with the future values of life.

A. L. M.

\* \* \*

### HIS BOOKS PROCLAIM THE MAN.

Bjorstjerne Bjornson. By William Morton Payne. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, 50 cents net.

Enlarged from an essay printed by the International Quarterly in 1903, this sketch concerns itself with Bjornsen as author rather than public citizen. Its discrimination of Bjornson's two distinct periods of production—the lyric-peasant, and the polemic—explain why a reader only of "Arne" and a reader only of "The King" speak each to the other a strange language.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

---

## PERIODICALS

---

In the Quarterly Journal of Economics (Harvard University) for May, there is a clear and definite explanation by Edward W. Bemis, of the street railway settlement in Cleveland.

+

Fame is certainly a bit of a trickster. Barnard is a woman's college of the "annex" type, integrally

# The Single Tax Blotter

## A Blotter That Works A Tract That Will be Read

It explains the Single Tax, what it is, what it is not, what it will do, and how and why it will do it.

- 1 Dozen Blotters, by mail, 10 cents
- 3 Dozen Blotters, by mail, 25 cents
- 6 Dozen Blotters, by mail, 50 cents

**JOHN J. EGAN, 510 W. 169th St., New York City**

connected with Columbia University. Yet Frederick A. P. Barnard, after whom the college was named, spoke and wrote for "uncompromising co-education," for "co-education pure and simple," even in the doubtful days a quarter century ago. So a former Dean of Barnard says; and so Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia now, reports of his great predecessor. The Columbia University Quarterly (Columbia University Press, New York) for March is a Barnard College number full of the past and present of Barnard, her student life, her material wealth,

her recent rapid growth out on Morningside Heights next door to Columbia.

A. L. G.

+ + +

A head of a house had complained to three friends—an Englishman, an Irishman and a Scot—that his servant broke a great deal of china.

The matter of fact Englishman gave the short bit of practical advice, "Dismiss him."

"Take it out of his wages," spoke the thrifty Scot. Objection to the latter course was made on the

**Real Estate and Investments**  
**E. CHADWICK**  
 1141 D Street San Diego, Cal.

**Real Estate For Sale and Exchange**  
**EDWARD POLAK**  
 4030 Third Ave. New York City

**THE REAL ESTATE EDUCATOR**

**JUST OUT**

Containing inside information not generally known. "Don'ts" in Real Estate, "Pointers," Technical Dictionary of words and phrases in R. E. and construction. It gives in the most condensed form, the essential "Pointers" of the Real Estate business. The cost might be saved 500 times over in one transaction. 255 pages cloth \$1.00. Satisfaction guaranteed.

Postpaid \$1.00

T. J. CARY & CO., 63 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK.

**DR. CHARLES L. LOGAN**  
**OSTEOPATH**

Suite 701, Cable Building  
 28 Jackson Boulevard  
 Tel. Harrison 6298  
 Hours: 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.

Suite 66, Hotel Warner Annex  
 Cottage Grove Av. & 33d St.  
 Tel. Douglas 673  
 Evenings by Appointment

CHICAGO

**Safety Razor Blades 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>c</sub>**  
**Made Sharper Than New 2<sup>2</sup>/<sub>EA.</sub>**

Dull razor blades resharpened by Keenedge Electric Process ("the only way"), 90c the dozen. 80,000 repeating customers. Send address for convenient mailing wrapper.

**KEENEDEGE CO., 816 Keenedge Building, CHICAGO.**

# The Tariff:

**What it is:**

**How it Works:**

**Whom it Benefits.**

**Protection:**

**Revenue:**

**Free Trade.**

By Lee Francis Lybarger, of the Philadelphia Bar. Author of "Land, Labor, Wealth."

Sold by The Public's Book Department for **30 cents, postpaid.**

## Ernest Crosby's Life of the Elder Garrison

Garrison, the Non-Resistant, with its record of a little known phase of William Lloyd Garrison's life, and its remarkable non-resistant analysis of the Civil War situation, we carry in the original blue cloth edition, with portrait, at fifty cents.

¶ We carry also a twenty-five cent edition, lacking the portrait, bound in a heavy, durable drab paper. There is no charge for postage on either edition.

**THE PUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Building, CHICAGO**

## To Advertise THE PUBLIC

We have a little Folder—just right to slip into an envelope—on which is printed in large, clear type, letters from Judge Lindsey, from Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, from Brand Whitlock, and from Lincoln Steffens, saying what they think of THE PUBLIC.

When Mr. Briggs of Elkhart saw it, he said: "Send me 100 of them. I will mail one with my card to 100 people I know in a 2-cent envelope, and you ought to get a lot of other fellows to do the same thing. That's fine advertising for THE PUBLIC."

I wish we could put out 50,000 of them. If you will send them out we will send you as many as you can use.

The circular contains besides the above four letters, a brief description of THE PUBLIC, what it stands for and aims to be, subscription price, etc., so you need do no writing. The circular is complete and effective as it stands—all you need do is to send them out.

How many can you use?

Use a post card, and address it:

**THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago**

EMIL SCHMIED, Mgr.

ground that the wages were less than the amount of the damages. The Irishman at once came to the rescue with:

"Then raise his wages."—Judge.

+ + +

In a Western State a few years ago an effort was being made to secure the enactment of a child labor law. The committee in charge of the bill set a date for a hearing, and among those present to urge a

favorable report on the bill were representatives of women's clubs, union men and social workers.

Among other members of the committee was one senator who will be called Eggleston, because that is not his name. Senator Eggleston, a six-footer, weighing 250 pounds, was opposed to the bill.

"I don't believe in these child labor bills," said Senator Eggleston. "I believe children should be taught to work, and the earlier the better. I began working when I was six years old, and when I was

Don't forget about  
our **3 Subscriptions**  
for **2 Dollars**

proposition. Your own and 2 new ones, or 3 entirely new—just as you like.

But make the new subscribers pay their share. They will read THE PUBLIC more carefully if they do, and it's permanent readers we want.

## AN ODD VOLUME SALE

Most of these volumes are somewhat shopworn.

- 7 copies "The Valuation of Real Estate for the Purposes of Taxation," by W. A. Somers (of St. Paul, Cleveland & New York). Paper. Price per copy .....\$0.25
- 2 copies "Gillette's Social Redemption," by Melvin L. Severy.  
Illustrated with halftones, charts and diagrams. Large 8vo, cloth, 782 pages. Price per copy ..... \$1.50  
Not shopworn.
- 1 copy "Questions of the Day," by Henry S. Chase, M. D., of St. Louis, known to early George men as "Pa Chase."  
1891; paper. Price ..... \$0.20
- 1 copy "The Dogs and the Fleas," by "One of the Dogs."  
Illustrated. Paper. Original price was 50 cts.  
Price ..... \$0.35
- 61 copies "Land Values and the Budget."  
A manifesto put out in January, 1909, from London, by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values. With the historic British Budget of 1909 at last passed, and the mighty struggle of its passage fresh in memory, this manifesto takes on added interest. While the supply lasts these large, red-bound pamphlets will be sent for a nominal charge (to cover postage and handling) of.....\$0.10

THE PUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

## The Boston Herald Describes

a certain book as having been "written upon political economy from a new point of view." After reviewing this book it says:

"We do not know where there can be found a better book upon elementary political economy, or one which the general reader can so easily understand."

It was in the Boston Herald of January 26, 1910, that this review appeared, the book referred to being

**Post's "Social Service"**

PUBLISHED BY

A. WESSELS, New York, and T. FISHER UNWIN, London

SOLD BY

A. C. McCLURG & CO., Chicago

ALSO BY

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Building, Chicago

**Price, One Dollar, Postpaid**

twelve I was doing a man's work on the farm. I don't look like it had stunted me, do I?"

"Not physically," remarked a quiet little woman, representing an organization of women in the State's metropolis.

After a minute of deep silence the hearing was resumed.

The bill passed.—The Commoner.

+ + +

In a school playground during the recent campaign a youthful politician was heard addressing a friend

## The Public

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

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

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

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

Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Bldg., 257 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

### Terms of Subscription

Yearly .....	\$1.00
Half yearly .....	50
Quarterly .....	3
Single copies .....	.05
Trial subscription—4 weeks.....	.10

Extra copies in quantity, \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 and upward; if addressed to individuals, \$3.50 per 100.

Free of postage in United States, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week, or 50 cents per year.

All checks, drafts, postoffice money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of Louis F. Post. Money orders, or Chicago or New York Drafts, are preferred, on account of exchange charges by the Chicago banks.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Receipt of payment is shown in about two weeks by date on wrapper, which shows when the subscription expires. All subscribers are requested to note this date and to remit promptly for renewal of subscription when due or order it discontinued if the paper is no longer desired.

### Advertising Rates

One page, each insertion.....	\$15.00
Half page, each insertion.....	8.00
7 inches, single column, each insertion.....	6.75
Quarter page, each insertion.....	4.00
One inch, each insertion.....	1.00
Half inch, each insertion.....	.50

10% discount for 6 months' insertion of one advertisement.

5% discount for 3 months' insertion of one advertisement, or 6 months' insertion every other week.

3% discount allowed for cash payment in 5 days from receipt of bill.

Two columns to the page; length of column, 8½ inches; width of column, 3 inches.

Advertising forms close on the Monday preceding the Friday of publication.

### Encouragement for Real Things.

East Jaffrey, N. H.

Nothing pleases me more than to get another subscription for the "Public." I enclose one now which makes the sixth individual to whose attention I have called the Public.

The Public is encouraging some of us ministers to stand for the real things. Prosperity to you and all the idealists whom you serve.

Yours,

ROBERT A. BAKEMAN.

### Aims to Give the Exact Truth.

Arion, Iowa, May 23, 1910.

In renewing my subscription I feel I ought to say that since coming from England 2 years ago I have not found any paper in the states dealing so efficiently with public questions and aiming to give the reader the exact truth. I have always turned to your summary of British Politics and can say that during the late British Election, also prior to that, and since, no other American paper coming under my observation has so accurately summed up the situation and prospect over there.

Wishing you great success.

Yours truly,

CHAS. E. WALSH, Pastor Congl. Church.

### For the Straight of Things.

Station M, Los Angeles, March 12th, 1910.

Herewith find one dollar for my renewal; as per your notice, my subscription expired Feb. 28th, but have received some copies since. Of course I want it, and look to it for the straight of things.

Wishing you much success, I remain

Fraternally yours,

GEO. W. PATTERSON.

### Found it Refreshing.

Navy Yard, Puget Sound, Washington, Oct. 22, '09.

Allow me to add my testimony, to that of others, to the value and interest to me, of your paper, "The Public," which has been loaned for several successive weeks by a man in my office.

It is refreshing to read so sane, intelligent and timely editorials and news items.

I enclose P. O. money order for a year's subscription to above address.

Very truly,

P. L. REED.

### Self Com Misses a Word.

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 3d, 1909.

I here inclose fifty cents currency for further extension of my subscription to "The Public." I scarcely miss a single word in it, each week, and thank you for the pleasure and instruction it affords me.

Yours respectfully,

J. H. HATFIELD.

### Not Crushed Yet—Thank You.

Portland, Oregon, Nov. 7, '09.

Enclosed find a money order for one dollar for which please send me The Public for one year. If I like it as well at the end of the year as I do now, and the system has not crushed you I will send you another money order for the same amount or more if necessary.

Very truly,

EDWARD N. DEADY.

### Tried To Do Without It.

Pittsburg, Pa., July 13, 1909.

Herewith hand you one dollar for which please place my name on your mailing list, as of yore, for I have been without your valuable paper for several months, and have found that it is of no use to try to do without it, as there is something lacking in the Quality of my reading matter.

Cordially yours,

GUY D. LEOPOLD.

thus: "You see, if we gave Ireland Home Rule, Germany would want it next."—London Daily News.

+ + +

"They say that when a mountain climber has a fall all the sins he ever committed flash through his mind. Was that the case with you?"

"Oh, no. You see, I fell from a ledge only a hundred yards high!"—Fllegende Blaetter.

## The Up-to-date Woman

uses Fels-Naptha because it saves her the trouble of boiling clothes or heating water and makes hard-rubbing unnecessary. Then her clothes are fresher and cleaner than if washed in the old-fashioned, boiling way. Here's the way to do your white things with Fels-Naptha: Soap, roll and let soak a short time in cold or lukewarm water, then rub lightly, rinse and hang on the line. Try it once.

Be sure to follow directions on the red and green wrapper.

No need of adding ammonia to the water for washing dishes or housecleaning—just make a suds of Fels-Naptha.

## A Letter from Sir Thomas Lipton

*196 City Road,  
London, E.C. 30th March, 1912*

Mr. J. H. Ostrander,

Optician

810 Fine Arts-Building C H I C A G O.

Dear Mr. Ostrander,

It gives me the very greatest pleasure to testify to the excellence of the glasses with which you have supplied me on various occasions. They are certainly the finest I have ever had - I cannot get glasses like them in England and your painstaking and ingenious methods of testing the sight were quite a revelation to me.

I am greatly obliged to you for all the trouble you have taken in the matter of fitting me and I wish you all possible success in your profession.

With many thanks and best wishes.

Yours faithfully

*Thomas Lipton*

While there are thousands of people in America who go to England, Germany, Russia and France to consult oculists of international reputation, the wise ones of London, Berlin and St. Petersburg have discovered that Chicago entertains a genius unawares. Sir Thomas Lipton of London hears of Ostrander in India and comes to Chicago to be fitted with glasses.

Madam Teresa Carreno, the greatest woman pianist of this age, a resident of Berlin, entrusts her precious eyes to Mr. Ostrander. Mr. Ossip Gabrilowitsch, the celebrated Russian pianist, after years of physical and mental distress, finds relief by consulting this quiet, plain Chicagoan, after having vainly consulted the leading specialists of all European capitals. Gabrilowitsch had been told repeatedly that he must give up his profession, which would mean oblivion. A pair of properly fitted glasses, however, has dispelled this nightmare, and he is comfortable and happy once more.

These people are globe trotters, their opinions are based upon comparison and experience in many lands, hence are worthy of consideration.

Elbert Hubbard says of him: "His customers are his friends. He studies every case with gentle, patient care." He has been honored with the patronage of many Americans of note. Among others the late President and Mrs. McKinley, whom he fitted by appointment in the green room of the White House.

Thousands of people in this country know Ostrander. He attributes much of his success to the fact that in early youth he became a disciple of Henry George—who gave him that sense of justice that compelled him to give the best he had without great expectation of reward or extravagant ideas of the value of his services.