

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Railroad Wages and Rates.

When railroad managers plead the necessity for higher freight rates in order to pay higher wages to their employes, they should be admonished to meet this increased expense by reducing the wages of their watered stock.

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Governor Folk.

If the Democrats of Missouri intended by their Folk dinner on the 2d to put Gov. Folk forward as a candidate for President their object was not thwarted by the Governor's speech. The keynote question in this excellent democratic speech, "Shall there be government by privilege for a class, or government by the people for all?" he answered with specific statements and the ring of fundamental democracy.

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John Lind of Minnesota.

Minnesota never had a better Governor nor democratic Democracy a better Congressman than John Lind, whose nomination for another term as Governor is reported to be certain, and his election highly probable notwithstanding that Minnesota is a strong Republican State.

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An American Tory Abroad.

Isn't it high time for worshippers of Mr. Roosevelt to take account of stock? There has never

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been anything about him to deserve a patriotic man's confidence or a self-respecting man's admiration, although he seems to have commanded both and in high degree; but now he stands exposed to the thinking world as the brutal swash-buckler which his whole public career, when thrown into proper perspective, proves him to have been. One correspondent tells of his roughly commanding a passenger in a public elevator to take off his hat. Whether the man ought in courtesy to have taken off his hat is beyond the question in so far as it affects Mr. Roosevelt. The point as to him is that hardly any breach of good manners touches so low a level of boorishness as a conspicuous correction of another person's lapse in etiquette. If this elevator incident is a true story, Mr. Roosevelt's part of gentleman was poorly played. But the story, however well it illustrates his personal politeness, may not be true. Of his prepared speech at Guildhall, however, there can be no dispute; and this was the elevator incident over again, but magnified to the dimensions of international politeness and supplemented with an unpatriotic spirit. Taking advantage of his opportunities as the guest of a British city, he made an offensively partisan speech, which was impolite; and in that speech he advised the British government to treat the people of Egypt as George III and Lord North tried to treat the American colonies, which was unpatriotic. Whatever opinion his admirers may have of Mr. Roosevelt's acrobatic manners, it is difficult to understand how those of them who are not themselves Tories can admire his Toryism. Yet it is as a Tory that Mr. Roosevelt plainly revealed himself in his Guildhall speech—and a Tory at that of the period of George the Third.

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Making It Easy to Do Wrong.

One of the best of statements regarding war was made in an Evanston church this week by a Scottish clergyman, the Rev. Walter Walsh of Dundee. "I believe," he said, "that most nations, as well as individuals, want to do right, but in the past it has been difficult to do right and easy to do wrong in international disputes because we had only the machinery of wrong-doing."

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Mr. Taft and Socialistic Issues.

If in his Michigan speech in commemoration of the birth of the Republican party fifty-six years ago, President Taft intended to check the spread of socialistic sentiment in the United States, he went about it in a blundering way. It was precisely this kind of talk about abolitionism by

Democratic statesmen in the fifties that brought out the party whose birth Mr. Taft's speech has just celebrated. More and more as the days go by and event follows event, does it seem that Mr. Taft may pass into history as another James Buchanan—the last President, and a fatuous one, of a party which began as a champion of liberty and went to pieces in defense of slavery. And how very like Mr. Buchanan all round Mr. Taft does seem to be!

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What President Taft had in mind as socialism when in his speech he promised the well-trained service of the Republican party to put it down, is not socialism; neither is it any other kind of social creed. Far be it from us to accuse Mr. Taft of intentional distortion, difficult as it is to harmonize his words with a statesman's intelligence in this part of his speech, but his notion of socialism is antiquated. He thinks it proposes to abolish private property. And the persons he alludes to as "socialists" are not those of socialist organizations, but those that hail as leaders such Republicans as La Follette and such Democrats as Bryan. In fact, however, there is no considerable number of Americans who favor the abolition of private property. There are not so many now as there were when President Taft was a boy. Except for a small number, who may be distinguished as "communists," nobody at all in this country favors the abolition of private property. Everybody to whom President Taft alludes advocates private property. Where they come in conflict with President Taft and his plutocratic supporters is over their opposition to private property in public property.

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This is the crux of the whole matter with all Mr. Taft's "socialist" adversaries—from the mildest economic reformer to the most extreme socialist. The differences between these arise over the question not of private ownership of private property (they all advocate that), but of what things fall into the category of private property. The socialist draws this line in principle at property which enables its owner to extort property from producers; and doubtless all others to whom President Taft alludes draw the line at the same point, though they disagree as to the particular kinds of property that fall within the principle. Setting the Republican party up in opposition to this principle, President Taft proclaims it in effect the champion of private property in the kinds of property that enable the owners to extort property from producers of property.

The consolidation into one party of those of us whom Mr. Taft calls "socialists," for a battle royal with his remnant of the Republican party, is a welcome possibility. The sooner it comes the better. And when it does come let Mr. Taft be thanked for his Michigan speech as a factor in hurrying it on.

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Public Service by the Wealthy.

In an educational address, Mrs. Emmons Blaine, one of the very wealthy citizens of Chicago, has made some sensible observations regarding the notion which has had considerable vogue, that the rich are trustees of their wealth for the common good. No doubt this fanciful notion is soothing to the overwealthy when they measure the comparative dimensions of needles' eyes and camels; but Mrs. Blaine thoughtfully questions it, saying, as she is reported in the newspapers:

If an individual has special powers of doing for the community by wealth giving does he not therefore instinctively feel relieved of other civic duties which he otherwise would necessarily feel he shared with all of the community? And by a certain wealth giving which satisfies his sense of duty, does he not unburden himself of those other civic duties? Again, if an individual justly feels that he is not able to give wealth in what seems to him an adequate proportion, does he not instinctively identify civic duty with that act, and, feeling that his hands are full with what are his own manifest responsibilities, leave it all to the other one who can? My question is whether the individuals who make up the state do not largely buy for themselves immunity from the essential civic responsibilities by the purchasing power of their own wealth giving or some other person's? Again, in amounts gained the enormous sums even that our multimillionaires can persuade themselves to part with are fragmentary compared with what the state might have by evenly, proportionately, and certainly collected sums from all of its citizens.

The suggestion that a proportionate tax be collected of all, regardless of whether they earn their incomes or somebody else earns their incomes for them, will not bear scrutiny; but the faultiness of this suggestion is offset by the good sense and civic spirit of Mrs. Blaine's criticism of the Lord and Lady Bountiful theory of public duty.

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Mrs. Young's Triumph.

When the elementary teachers of the Chicago public schools joined spontaneously in celebrating Ella Flagg Young's successful administration as superintendent (vol. xii, pp. 745, 756, 901, 1144) with a reception at the Auditorium last week they paid her the best possible kind of tribute and one that she had abundantly earned. This distin-

guished educator and efficient administrator—the first woman in the United States to be entrusted with public functions of so high an order on so large a scale—has in one year rescued the teaching service in the Chicago public schools from the baffling demoralization with which for years prior to her appointment it had been pestered. Nor was the splendid reception her teachers gave her either perfunctory or a study in fawning, as such demonstrations are too apt to be. The spontaneity and enthusiasm of the tribute was unmistakably genuine. And there was a reason for it. Mrs. Young has established in the school system of Chicago the educational policy of leadership, in place of the business policy of drivership, which had preceded her appointment and was coincident with the long drawn out demoralization of the teaching force. This is the secret of her success. Never before have the teaching force of all grades—elementary and high school teachers, and the principals over both—been so completely co-operative in spirit and action as in ten months they have come to be under Mrs. Young's official leadership. In that respect it is doubtful if any other large school system in the country equals that of Chicago at this time. It is a striking demonstration of the superiority of the educational over the factory method of public school administration.

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A National Health Department.

Mrs. Coonley Ward's paper on the proposed department of health in the Federal government (p. 495), which appeared in a recent issue of *The Public*, has evoked both approval and criticism, and from sources that are alike democratic. Those who criticize opposition to this project call attention to the fact that men of truly democratic interests and purposes are supporting the project and that the Senatorial leader in its behalf is Senator Owen. We may say that we have confidence in the democracy of this Senator, and also of others whose names are called to our attention as supporters of the measure. But as to one of the important facts we have as yet had no light—or rather, the light has all shone in one direction. We see no refutation of the charge that the movement for this national health department is supported exclusively—so far as medical support is concerned—by one school of physicians, and this a school which has a long record for professional bigotry. The essence of the opposition to the proposed national department of health is not altogether an objection to such a department. It is to the probability that under the circumstances the

department would be controlled by leaders of the "regular" school of doctors.

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If this would be the result, the project is full of menace. What could be more menacing than a national health bureau dominated by one school of physicians and with the despotic powers which such bureaus are conceded by the Supreme Court to have. It is bad enough to realize that the immigration bureau may arbitrarily exclude from the country any citizen returning from a foreign trip, with no power in the courts to interfere (pp. 388-90), but what if like powers were conferred upon a narrowly orthodox school of physicians?

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Whether there should be a national health board may be a debatable question. But in our view, there is no room for debate upon a question of virtually turning all the powers of the Federal government regarding the public health over to one school of medical practitioners. If this question is involved in the matter, the fact that men who would not be in sympathy with such a purpose favor this project makes no difference. It would not be the first time that democratic intentions had played innocently into the hands of autocratic purposes. Is that question reasonably involved or not? is the test. And if it is not, how does it happen that no organizations of physicians other than those of the old school are promoting the project?

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On the question of having a national health department with any greater powers than such as are necessary for general sanitation as distinguished from personal treatment, it does not seem to us that those persons who are asking for it have the stronger side of the case. Imperial standards of medical orthodoxy controlled by a Federal bureau which, like other Federal bureaus, would be an absolute dictator over all matters within its jurisdiction, would be approximately as objectionable as imperial standards of religious orthodoxy under similar control.

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"Barbarous Mexico."

Readers of the American Magazine who became deeply interested in John Kenneth Turner's articles on "Barbarous Mexico" (vol. xii, pp. 982, 1058, 1077, 1244), have been puzzled at their sudden and unaccountable stoppage. Mr. Turner's explanation is published in the June 4 issue of the Appeal to Reason, of Girard, Kansas. In sub-

stance it is, to use Mr. Turner's words, because the editors of the American Magazine found themselves face to face with "a power whose might they had misjudged and which threatened to crush them." A publication is promised by the Appeal to Reason of the "Barbarous Mexico" series which the American discontinued.

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Perpetual Franchises.

Bryan's Commoner reports a recent Federal court decision at Omaha which gives promise of putting an end to perpetual public service franchises. The court declared in the franchise under consideration—a grant to the Omaha Electric Lighting Co.—that "even if the Mayor and Council had intended to grant a perpetual franchise to the company they were powerless to do so."

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CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS.*

One of the historic law firms of the older New York was Coudert Brothers—"Coodair," as the name was pronounced nearly enough right in the courts and on the street,—and one of the implicitly trusted and highly respected attaches of this firm, as a youth in its prime and in middle life on his return to it after some years of official life in Washington, was Charles Frederick Adams, a man who figured among the earliest disciples of Henry George on the Atlantic Coast.

As a legal practitioner Mr. Adams was unique.

Asked once why he with his admirable abilities and equipment as a lawyer had been content to spend some of the best years of his early professional life upon a salary of only \$1,500 a year, he replied: "The salary I got was not \$1,500 a year; I got—no matter how much,—\$20,000 a year, if you please, and I gave back the difference for freedom to refuse any professional service I objected to."

It was true. If the morals of a case turned over to him for action were repugnant to his scruples of conscience, or the facts impressed him as suspicious, or the law for his side seemed to him to be what lawyers call "bad law," he returned the papers and asked to be excused.

Added to his extraordinary scruples, is a sincere and self-judging modesty which has influenced Mr. Adams to decline opportunities cordially offered him by those concerned, because he himself deemed doubtful his ability to do justice to them. An amusingly characteristic instance of his handling of such a situation occurred once in Wash-

*A portrait of Mr. Adams goes with this issue of The Public as a supplement.

ington, when on strong (but wholly unsolicited) recommendations from New York, Mr. Adams was rather insistently invited to become a sort of legal secretary in South America to the Chinese Ambassador to the United States and the South American republics. His characteristic doubts as to his ability to "make good," having been smilingly overruled, he took refuge in a courteous but firm refusal (or rather, omission) to attend a proposed interview at the State Department for a "pro forma" exhibition of his familiarity with French and Spanish, on the ground that as he was not an applicant for the appointment, it was not incumbent on him to submit to any test, real or perfunctory, of his qualifications. In 1906, largely on the ground, as we suspect, that he thought his actual election was practically impossible, he accepted the nomination of the "Independence League" and three other minor political groups, for the Supreme Court of the State of New York. When President Coler of the Borough of Brooklyn offered Mr. Adams the borough secretaryship, his doubts of his competency were so serious that he had to be almost ox-teamed into the place. But once there he served most efficiently to the end of Mr. Coler's term of four years.

Testimonials might be multiplied, to the advantage of his popularity, if he had as good a press agent as Mr. Rockefeller employs, inasmuch as his many friends, including a number of very distinguished men, have vied with each other in avowing for him esteem, friendship, and admiration, in a degree which to him has seemed amazing. Every one who ever knew him well could contribute something. Throughout a period of more than twenty-five years the path of Mr. Adams's career is strewn with incidents exemplifying, not in his own opinion but in that of all who know him, a unique confusion of three qualities in one personality—extraordinary ability, insistent modesty, and rigorous moral stamina.

His character has been truly described by Edward M. Shepard, the eminent lawyer of New York, than whom none is better qualified to judge, and no one's commendation could be of greater worth. Writing in 1903 of Mr. Adams's qualifications for exalted judicial service, Mr. Shepard said: "I regard them as being of the *very highest*. Those whose acquaintance with Mr. Adams is somewhat superficial, and those who have observed his intense earnestness upon public questions upon which he feels strongly and upon which he often after his own general fashion takes a side supported only by a small minority, are apt to underrate his practical qualifications; and this risk of underrating them is enhanced by Mr. Adams's

own modesty. Mr. Adams in the first place is a remarkably good lawyer. He knows the law and he likewise knows how to apply it. Indeed, but a very small proportion of the bar have nearly the accumulation of real learning and wisdom in their profession which Mr. Adams has. He has in all practical matters entire good sense, and moderation, and common sense. I emphasize this because on some matters he holds views that are not in accord with the majority of people, many of which are not in accord with the views which I hold. All the more on this account I must lay stress upon his entire reasonableness and open mindedness. In the next place as to his character, the city does not contain a more high minded, just and generous man. He has the instinct of justice and mercy as it is given to very few men."

The story of such a character cannot fail to interest all who sympathize with the man in his views. It is worthy the attention of others as well.



Mr. Adams was born in Santiago, Cuba, July 27, 1851, when his father, a native Virginian, resided there as American consul.

At ten years of age he came to the United States, legally his native country. His father had given up the Cuban consulate to take charge of a business at New York, that of Moses Taylor & Co., in which he was a partner. It was then one of the distinguished mercantile houses of the world.

After studying under a private tutor and at the Brooklyn Polytechnic, and attending for three years the famous school at Pittsfield, Mass., of which a brother of J. S. C. Abbott was the head, the subject of our sketch continued his studies at Cambridge, and in 1871 was graduated by the Harvard Law School in the class with Walter S. Logan, afterwards president of the American Bar Association, and Patrick A. Collins, who became mayor of Boston.

While at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Mr. Adams belonged to a debating club which kept on many years as the Milton Literary Society, and in which he became intimately associated with several men now famous in Greater New York, including William M. Ivins, F. W. Hinrichs, Horace E. Deming, Charles R. Flint and A. Augustus Healy. Upon going to Harvard, he carried letters from William M. Evarts, Joseph H. Choate and other men of distinction, and through these and his own brilliant qualities of mind he came into friendly relations with John Fiske, Longfellow, Agassiz, and Governor Washburn, and saw something at close range of Emerson and Lowell. Mr. Adams is

described as having been noted even at the law school for judicial temperament and deep insight into the fundamental principles of the law. His analysis of the law of evidence was given a special mark of commendation for its precision and exactness by Chief Justice Bradley of Rhode Island.

Admitted to the New York bar in 1872, after a term as law clerk in the office of Evarts, Southmayd & Choate, where on many occasions he acted as junior to each of those eminent lawyers in the preparation, trial and argument of important cases, he soon afterward entered the service of Coudert Brothers. Among the most notable of the cases in which he was engaged while connected with the Evarts firm was the famous Erie litigation in which "Jim" Fisk and Jay Gould were the defendants. His familiarity with Spanish, French and Italian made him especially valuable in the foreign business of the Couderts.

In 1880 he represented his firm as head of their office in Paris, succeeding the late Edmond Kelly; but he declined a permanent assignment there because he was unwilling to expatriate himself.

Mr. Adams was also actively engaged for the Couderts in the important "insular" cases before the United States Supreme Court, in which the question at issue was the extension or non-extension of the Constitution over territories acquired by the United States by conquest in the war with Spain. In these cases he wrote the form of pleading which became the standard. He also adopted and advocated the practice which the Supreme Court unanimously approved, although its correctness had been questioned by such able lawyers as former Secretary Carlisle, and two United States circuit judges had decided against it before it was finally approved by the United States Supreme Court in full session. In those cases Mr. Adams won another victory when he discovered and established to the satisfaction of Attorney General Knox and the Treasury Department the availability of an old and forgotten standing appropriation for the payment of the De Lima and other similar claims, although the Comptroller of the Treasury had already published a long and elaborate opinion holding that no appropriation was available and that action by Congress would be necessary. The firm of Parsons, Shepard & Ogden, representing the largest claims, paid Mr. Adams the compliment of adopting his theory and standing upon his presentation of the point as their own.

In addition to those cases, which went deep into the whole subject, Mr. Adams argued important lawsuits, and wrote briefs in others, which were tried before the Appellate Division of New York,

the Court of Appeals of New York, and the United States Supreme Court, and in them won notable victories against leaders of the bar.

Besides his service with the Federal Civil Service Commission, which began in 1884, Mr. Adams served under Lamar, Noble, and Vilas, Secretaries of the Interior, as a member of the law board which passed on appeals to the Secretary from the Commissioners of the Land, Patent, Pension and Indian offices. In 1890 James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, appointed him, because of his familiarity with foreign languages and his scholarship generally, as editor of the debates of the First Pan American Conference.

While in Washington, Mr. Adams and Miss Henrietta Rozer were married, and they and their children are living in Brooklyn, where they settled in 1892.

It was after returning to New York and renewing his connection with Coudert Brothers, that Mr. Adams participated in the Porto Rico and Philippine cases in connection with their firm. These cases brought out the best that was in him, professionally; for he is a democratic Democrat, and Coudert Brothers represented the side in the courts with which the anti-imperialism of that time was politically identified.

Mr. Adams is now one of the corps of lecturers of the Henry George Lecture Association, of which Frederick H. Monroe of Palos Park, Ill., is manager, and which includes Henry George, Jr., Herbert S. Bigelow, H. H. Hardinge and John Z. White. Mr. Adams's subjects are: "The Things that Be Cæsar's," "The Social Organism," "How Shall Capital and Labor Be Reconciled?" "Must Wages Be the People's Only Income?" "Social Parasites," "'Rent,' 'Interest,' and 'Wages,'" "Henry George and His Teachings," "Government by Judges," "True Leadership in a True Democracy," "Marshall's Discovery in Marbury vs. Madison," "The Brotherhood of the Commonwealth," and dramatic readings.

One undertaking to which Mr. Adams has devoted his talents for almost a lifetime must not be overlooked. It is the Brotherhood of the Commonwealth, founded by him in 1905 as the result of many previous years of study and experiment. Its object is directly the experimental development of a genuinely democratic form of civil polity, and incidentally the building up of a voluntary system of improving life annuities which, while operating as an old age pension system, would not depend upon taxation.

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The friendly relations between Henry George

and Mr. Adams, which began in 1881 and continued until Mr. George's death in 1897, were most intimate. They originated in Mr. Adams's published appreciation of "Progress and Poverty," the leading principle of which he had already adopted, and of which he has ever since been an effective expounder and eloquent advocate. He had become interested in the subject as early as 1870, and his earliest printed expression on it appeared in 1878 in Eugene Beecher's Brooklyn Monthly under the title of the "Land and the People." It begins in these terms: "There is really no reason why land, which is absolutely needed by all, directly and indirectly, and which is . . . the natural gift of God to the human race, should be allowed to become private property, instead of having the rent of it applied for the benefit of the entire people." Mr. Adams participated in the municipal campaign of 1886 in behalf of Henry George when the latter was the Labor candidate for mayor against Abram S. Hewitt and Theodore Roosevelt; and he was, by Mr. George's personal request, made a member of the committee of seven which, under Tom L. Johnson's leadership, managed George's campaign when he ran as Labor candidate for first mayor of Greater New York in 1897—the campaign in which Mr. George died on the eve of election.

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As a speaker Mr. Adams seems inspirational, but it is the inspiration of an orator full of his subject, who thinks as well as feels, who reasons as well as exhorts.

He suspects shibboleths, and when a formula, whether of law or literature, of religion or science or economics or politics, seems to be getting vogue as a shibboleth, it makes him eager to question its claims as used. No man with such a temperament can be orthodox in opinion or conventional in exhortation. This may account for his general fashion of consorting with small minorities, as Mr. Shepard describes him; for majorities and large minorities are responsive to shibboleths. But, as Mr. Shepard also says, Mr. Adams "has in all practical matters entire good sense and moderation and common sense."

We write of him with much affection for his personality, and great confidence that his appearance upon the lecture platform will make our readers glad to know what we have told of him here and wish to know in addition what it may be we shall yet have to tell.

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White parasols and elephants mad with pride are the flowers of a grant of land.—Sanskrit Deed, Works of Sir William Jones.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALIA.*

Corowa, N. S. W., May 7, 1910.

General elections for the whole of the Federal House of Representatives and half the Senate, held on April 13th, resulted in the defeat of the Ministerialist party. The Labor party considerably increased its representation in the House, and gained every contested seat in the Senate; it has a majority in both Houses.

The last Parliament was composed as follows:

	Senate. House.
Liberal	21 46
Labor	15 29

In the new Parliament the parties stand thus:

	Senate. House.
Liberal	13 31
Labor	23 44

The Deakin Ministry resigned soon after the elections, and a Labor government has been formed with Mr. Andrew Fisher as Prime Minister.

Usually the head of a government chooses his colleagues, but on this occasion the ministers were elected by ballot by all the members of the party.

With two exceptions the present ministry is the same as the former Fisher government. The most able member of that Ministry, Mr. Hugh Mahon, is not included in the present one.

The program of the Ministry has not yet been published, but it has been stated unofficially that the principal planks will be a graduated land value tax and "new protection."

It is said that the free trade members of the Labor party will be reconciled to the present tariff if the "new protection" measures, for raising wages in protected industries, are carried. This seems a very shortsighted view to take, for only about five per cent of the workers are employed in protected industries, and even those, together with the other ninety-five per cent, are, as consumers, adversely affected by the high duties.

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The referendum on the question of amending the Constitution to provide that the Commonwealth must pay the States twenty-five shillings per head of population annually (p. 148) was defeated.

Another referendum involving an amendment of the Constitution to permit the Commonwealth to take over all State debts was carried.

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The graduated land value taxation bill, passed by the Legislative Assembly of Victoria (p. 149), was defeated in the Council. The State ministry intends to introduce a very similar bill this session.

ERNEST BRAY.

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Moonta, South Australia, April 28.

We have just got over our State and Federal elections. The Labor party has practically swept the

*See The Public, pages 148, 149, 368, 411, current volume.

boards in Federal affairs. They now have a majority in both Houses.

In South Australia they have been successful in getting 22 members in a house of 42, so we shall have a Labor ministry in power as soon as the State parliament assembles.

Unfortunately the greatest portion of the Federal Labor members are advocates of protection. They do not believe in the old protection, but favor what they call new protection; that is, protection for the manufacturer by means of the tariff; for the factory worker by means of wages boards. Evidently the consumer does not require any protection.

They favor a progressive land tax with a £5,000 exemption clause, but they do not advocate it for revenue purposes, but simply as a means of breaking up big estates. I should think with the experience of New Zealand before them, they would drop the progressive and adopt the all around tax.

E. J. CRAIGIE.

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A DAY IN NEW YORK.

New York, May 31.

It is to be hoped that the two portrait tablets dedicated here yesterday may long remain to identify their respective sites as the death place, the one of William Lloyd Garrison and the other of Henry George. These men were abolitionists, if you think of their mission as destructive of social wrong; they were constructionists, if you think of it as promotive of social righteousness. In fact, every effective career necessitates both; and the old Hebrew formula is not out of the way in putting destruction of the wrong ahead of construction of the right. In the development of social character it is as true as of the development of individual character, that we must "cease to do evil" before we can "learn to do well."

Garrison was world-famed as an abolitionist of that kind of slavery which consists in making workers the literal property of masters. George was an abolitionist of the only other kind of slavery—that which consists in making workers dependent for working opportunities upon the caprice or the greed of monopolists of land. Both, therefore, were liberators, and there was consequently great propriety in the double ceremonial. All the more so since a son of Garrison had become a leading disciple of George, and a son of George had designed and modeled both the tablets—each of them a faithful portrait. And inasmuch as the two men had died in places near together, there was no inconvenience in unifying the dedications. The same audience that participated in dedicating one of the tablets participated also in dedicating the other.

The distinguished committee, of which Joseph H. Choate is chairman, was represented by Bolton Hall, its treasurer; and ex-Congressman Robert Baker served as chairman of the double meeting. Henry George III, son of Henry George, Jr., unveiled the tablet to his grandfather; the other was unveiled by Henry Serrano Villard, great grandson of Garrison. As one of the old-time friends of Henry George, it fell to me to say the few words of dedication that were spoken when the American flag was drawn away from the George tablet; and Thomas Mott Os-

borne, formerly Mayor of Auburn and now a formidable candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of New York, delivered an impressive oration at the Garrison unveiling. Mr. Osborne's theme was democracy in its widest and deepest sense. One of his epigrams flashed out the spirit of his whole oration: "You may have an imperial republic, but you cannot have an imperial democracy."

Among the participants in the Garrison-George dedication were Richard F. George, the sculptor who had made the tablets, with his elder brother, Henry George, Jr., and his surviving sister, Mrs. Wm. C. de Mille. There were Mrs. Villard (Garrison's daughter), and William Lloyd Garrison of Boston, third of the name and son of the late William Lloyd Garrison (vol. xii, pp. 902, 950, 970, 973, 997, 1006, 1021, 1026, 1215; vol. xiii, p. 186), whose father's faith is also his own. Many intimate friends of Henry George were at both dedications—Charles Frederick Adams, Jerome O'Neill, L. S. Dickey (of Chicago), Dr. Levenson, John S. Crosby, W. E. Barker (of Boston), August Lewis and Mrs. Lewis, and Frank Stephens of Philadelphia; and there was Joseph Dana Miller, editor of the *National Single Tax Review*, besides many attendants from distant places, among whom were James H. Dillard of New Orleans, formerly dean of Tulane University and now superintendent of the Jeanes fund for Negro education, and Professor Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard University, both of them ardent disciples of George. Full half the crowd were women, and in it besides was Edwin G. Cooley, formerly superintendent of schools in Chicago.

The Garrison tablet is affixed to the Fourth avenue wall of the Westmoreland apartments, about ten feet above the sidewalk, a little south of Seventeenth street and facing Union Square. Mr. Garrison died in this building in the apartments of his son-in-law and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Henry S. Villard, in 1879.

Hardly two blocks farther south, and about ten feet high on the wall of the Union Square Hotel, somewhat south of Fifteenth street and also facing Union Square, is the George tablet. Henry George died in this building near the close of the first mayoralty campaign of Greater New York, in which he was one of the three leading candidates. It is at the center, too, of most of George's later activities. Nearby in one direction is the Union Square cottage from the covered porch of which he often addressed vast crowds assembled on the 17th street plaza. Within a stone's throw are Steinway Hall and the old Academy of Music, where George and McGlynn thrilled many a great audience. Another of his notable speaking places was Chickering Hall somewhat to the north, and Cooper Union about as far to the south. The "Standard" office, where most of his service as editor and publisher of that paper was spent, is only a building or two south of the tablet.

The walls bearing these tablets will doubtless soon come down to give place to modern business buildings, types of which have already made Union Square hardly recognizable by the nineteenth century New Yorker, except perhaps for the equestrian statue of Washington which still salutes the setting sun. But care will doubtless be taken by the committee while its members live, and by volunteers

thereafter, to have these tablets placed on new walls when the old ones are pulled down.

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While meeting old friends and making new ones, I learned somewhat of the Single Tax convention (p. 515), which had been held a week before—the 21st of May—but of which I had until then failed to get reports.

About 70 persons attended. The meeting was called to order by Wm. F. Casey. Jerome O'Neill (one of the principal candidates with Henry George in the campaign in which the latter died) was made temporary chairman, and George Wallace (formerly a Republican member of the New York legislature) permanent chairman. The secretary was B. T. Sample; and among the important members was Joseph F. Darling, recently an assistant attorney general of New York. A platform (p. 515) with supplementary specific political statements was adopted, and the name of "Land Value Tax Party" was given to the organization. No nominations were made, as I was informed, and I have learned of no permanent committees. The headquarters is at 43 East 22d street.

Among those who are promoting this movement, I find perhaps a dozen whose names are familiar. All these—and I am satisfactorily assured that this is true also of the others—are persons who in my judgment are above all possible suspicion of bad faith. They are men and women who, beyond adventure, are devoted disciples of Henry George, and they believe sincerely in this method of promoting the cause he stood for. According to my notions they are entitled to make their experiment without obstruction from those of us who, though having the same goal in view, do not agree with them as to method. "The proof of the pudding is the eating thereof," and those who would make puddings their way instead of our way, must be left in freedom to prove that they are right. This does not mean that those of us who object to the side-party policy, or ill-timed independent movements in politics, must yield our own judgment to any coterie of our friends, however sincere they may be, who get together in the name of our common cause and say "Go to! Let's manufacture a political party for it." But it does mean that we should throw no obstacles in their way, unless frank expressions of opinion may be so regarded.

As a rule, the demand for a political party to represent each particular cause is bred by that impatience which springs from the very human "lust for finishing." As a rule, too, it ignores the essential difference between principle and policy, between ultimate purpose and intermediate tactics. A political party (big or little) is neither a principle nor a cause. For a principle or a cause one should "dare to be a Daniel" and "dare to stand alone;" but a political party with a perfect platform and a lonesome membership is as an army with a good cause and no soldiers. To stand for a cause though alone, is great; but to march forth alone as an army or a political party is not so great. It is as impossible politically for men, as it is gregariously for birds, to "flock alone." And gradual growth from little to big is not characteristic of political parties in the United States. New parties usually spring spon-

taneously into the political arena in effective numbers. They are not factory made nor garden grown.

No one can quite predict the time of birth of a new party, but the best test that my experience suggests is this: When a new party is so overrun with applicants for committee work that vigorous sifting processes are necessary to keep out crooks and self-servers or the inefficient, the hour is probably at hand; but when its lonesome promoters have to beg vainly for effective workers, the hour is certainly still afar off.

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A man who has probably done more than any other to promote the political growth of Henry George's ideas in the United States, is Tom L. Johnson. He has done this partly through third parties and partly through the Democratic party—through third parties only when political conditions made them formidable enough to be reckoned with as political factors.

In his Congressional campaigns in Cleveland, in his service in Congress, and in his long service as Mayor of Cleveland (inclusive of his campaigning), all done in the Democratic party and with the Democratic party, Tom L. Johnson has made sentiment in Cleveland in favor of George's ideas and created champions for them; and through his work there, this sentiment has been spread over the whole country. Neither he nor anybody else could have done as much, or approached it, had he fluttered about with a side party. The notion which some followers of Henry George have, that Mayor Johnson has accomplished nothing in politics for their cause, is an undeserved though self-imposed reflection upon their own understanding.

To him on Decoration Day a tribute was paid in New York before I came away. In the same room of the Hotel Astor where five and a half years ago the twenty-fifth anniversary of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" was celebrated, an impressive bronze medallion modelled by Richard F. George, was presented to Mr. Johnson in honor of his service in politics under the inspiration of George's teachings. In place of Hamlin Garland, who presided before, the toastmaster was Frederick C. Leubuscher; where Bryan was, there were Thomas Mott Osborne and John DeWitt Warner; in place of the late William Lloyd Garrison the younger, was Edmund Vance Cooke, with Newton D. Baker at his side, and on the floor was Mr. Garrison's son. Daniel Kiefer was there from Cincinnati; Professor Dillard from New Orleans; Professor Johnson from Harvard, Hon. George L. Record from New Jersey, Frank Stephens from Philadelphia, Charles Hardon from New Hampshire, Horace Carr, E. W. Doty, Frederic C. Howe and Charles W. Stage from Cleveland, L. S. Dickey from Chicago, ex-Mayor McGuire from Syracuse, Bolton Hall, Lawson Purdy (president of the New York tax department), and Mrs. Purdy, Charles Frederick Adams (p. 532) and Mrs. Adams, W. E. Barker and Mrs. Barker (of Boston), and over two hundred more men and women among whom my defective memory manages to recall John Filmer, L. E. Wilmarth, Benjamin Doblin, Grace Isabel Colbron, Jennie L. Munroe (of Washington), Mrs. Frederic C. Howe, August Lewis and E. J. Shriver, Lawrence Dunham, Fenton Lawson (of Cincinnati), John J. Murphy, Robert Baker,

John S. Crosby and Mrs. Crosby, Mrs. Goldzier, Charles O'Connor Hennessy and his wife and Lincoln Steffens. Some were from nearby, others from far away, many I have known these many years and am amazed to see growing grey, and all with one accord were doing honor and giving encouragement to the man who has been for years distinctively the political pioneer of the movement to which Henry George gave voice.

Some of us are so bewitched with the vision of brotherhood which George opened our eyes to, that we are apt to despise the commonplace method he proposed for realizing it. Others of us are so enthralled by his simple and common sense method, that we forget the vision it aims to realize. But Tom L. Johnson has kept a steady hand on the method without losing sight of the vision, and a steady eye on the vision without resolving it into a dream.

L. F. P.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE DIVORCE QUESTION.

South Portland, Me.

In Chicago recently Archbishop Falconio was quoted as saying: "I consider the prevalence of divorce the greatest of this country's evils, and I consider the misuse of wealth by the brainless rich, who promote divorce and other evils, the greatest menace to the United States."

I will not concede to any man that divorce is evil. Webster defines divorce as "A legal dissolution of the bonds of matrimony, or the separation of husband and wife by a judicial sentence." Before there can be any divorce, then, there must first be marriage, and what is marriage? A few might answer, "Heaven;" but some would surely answer "Hell," therefore, I think we had better take Webster's definition again: "Marriage is a contract, both civil and religious, by which the parties engage to live together in mutual affection and fidelity till death shall separate them. Marriage was instituted by God himself, for the purpose of preventing promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, for promoting domestic felicity and for securing the maintenance and education of children."

The religious contract contains this clause: "Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." It is God, then, who joins them, the man and woman together. And who and what is God? After years of study and thought I believe that God is love, nothing more and nothing less. Not the silly passion of the boy and girl, or the lustfulness of grosser natures, but the love that holds the world together; the love of the mother; the trusting love of the child; the love that will suffer even death, willingly, for the object of its affection; the love that sends men and women to the slums to help their lowly brothers and sisters; love for nature, beauty and worth. That is God, the power that moves us, that rules us, and makes us marry. Happiness is Heaven, and Love is God.

Then if Love is God and God is Love, and the people whom he has joined together renounce him, for when they cease to love each other they cease to

see God in the question, Love and God are no longer in the contract. It is no longer marriage as God planned; then why the horror of divorce? Rather should they have a horror of living together, people who no longer have a marriage contract. As to "domestic felicity," let us see what "domestic felicity" really means. We will try Webster again: "Felicity, happiness, or rather great happiness; blessedness; appropriately, the joys of heaven." With the contract broken, for when there is no longer "mutual affection," that part of the contract is void, where does "domestic felicity," "the joys of heaven," come in? That part of the contract looks cracked, to say the least.

When there is no love, no God, in the contract, it is shameful for people to live together; it is the lowest kind of life; nothing can excuse it. It is not divorce, but marriage with wrong intention, that is evil. Divorce is the golden key that opens the prison doors for many poor helpless creatures. Divorce should be as free as marriage. Those who are honorable, the men and women who really make marriage the holy institution that God intended it to be, will stay married. For the rest, give them the chance, honorably and legally, to try again; and don't make of them the low creatures that all good men and women despise.

Divorce should be had for the asking. Under present laws the party or parties desiring divorce must commit a crime to obtain it; and that is the only evil in divorce—the difficulty in obtaining it.

And now we come to the last part of the marriage contract, "the maintenance and education of children." Children are not necessary to complete happiness in married life, but when they do come, they are one of "the joys of heaven." Children born of marriage where love comes and stays through all the years of life, do not need our consideration. The love that gives them life will provide for them. It is the little creatures where the marriage contract is broken that claim our attention. Sometimes when the love for the husband or wife or even both has gone, the love for the child remains, and that child is often well provided for.

The court granting the divorce should see to the "maintenance and education of children." If the parents cannot provide for them in their divided state, then the government should. I have come to this conclusion since reading of Ex-President Roosevelt's talks on race suicide. If the government desires increased production of any sort, and those talks would lead us to believe it did, it ought to be willing to take care of it when the demand is supplied. It surely ought to be willing to take care of all helpless American Citizens, unable to care for themselves. There are National Soldiers' Homes, why not National Children's Homes?

ANNIE H. QUILL.

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Tell me, O Cow, with tranquil air,
Feeding in pastures green,
Why is it that you always wear
An attitude serene?
No indigestion mars thy dreams,
No cramps provoke thy cries.
"It is," the knowing Cow replied,
"Because I Fletcherize." —Life.

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, June 7, 1910.

The Taft Railway Law.

When the Senate came again to consider the railway regulation bill (p. 512), which was on the 31st, it voted down by 30 to 25 the LaFollette amendment providing for a valuation of the physical property of railways as distinguished from their franchise values. Voting in the affirmative were 15 Democrats and 10 Republicans, the latter being Borah, Bristow, Brown, Clapp, Crawford, Dixon, Dolliver, Gamble, Jones and LaFollette. The Democrats were Bacon, Bailey, Clay, Fletcher, Frazier, Gore, Newlands, Overman, Owen, Paynter, Purcell, Rayner, Simmons, Stone and Taylor. Those absent and not paired were Burkett, Beveridge and Bourne, Republicans, and Bankhead, Hughes, McEnery and Smith (Md.), Democrats.

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The Bailey amendment designed to prevent railroads from engaging in commerce in commodities which they transport was defeated by 31 to 25. If passed it would have made it unlawful for any railroad company to transport from one State to another "any article or commodity manufactured, mined or produced by it or under its authority, or by any corporation, joint stock company, or partnership in which said railroad company holds, owns, or controls directly or indirectly any stock or interest." The Supreme Court had nullified a clause of the Hepburn act of 1906 out of which grew a decision of the Supreme Court in which the government prosecuted a number of railroads engaged in mining anthracite coal in Pennsylvania. While holding the law to be Constitutional, the court limited its application so as to make it ineffective. The defeated amendment proposed by Senator Bailey was so formulated as to force the Court to face squarely the question of the right of Congress to prohibit railroad companies from transporting commodities produced by themselves.

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On the 3d, the bill was passed, as amended, by a vote of 50 to 12. The negative votes were all cast by Democratic Senators. The following Democratic Senators voted for the bill: Chamberlain,

Gore, Simmons, Clay, Paynter and Stone. So large an affirmative vote had been obtained by the acceptance of amendments offered by LaFollette and other anti-corporation Senators. Washington gossip is to the effect that these amendments will be nullified by the conference committees of the two Houses. One of the LaFollette amendments places telegraph and telephone lines doing interstate business under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

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Litigation Over Railway Rates.

In anticipation of the passage of a rate regulation law by Congress, the railway combination has undertaken to raise freight rates (p. 512), a move which large shippers have organized to contest. Adding to this opposition the Administration at Washington began an attack in the courts. At the suit of Attorney General Wickersham on the 31st, the United States District Court in Missouri granted a temporary injunction against 25 Western railroads forbidding a general advance in rates. Frederick N. Judson of St. Louis is special counsel for the Government in the suit. The object of the suit is not only to restrain the threatened advance in rates, but also to break up freight committees and associations and all other combinations between railroads in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law. On the 6th, however, President Taft, after a White House conference with Western railroad presidents, announced that the suit would be withdrawn, the purpose in bringing it having been accomplished by their adoption of his view that the railroad companies must withdraw all rate tariffs filed by them to become effective on or after June 1, 1910, and that none of them ought to file any new tariffs involving rate advances until the new law should be passed, assuming that it would be passed at the present session of Congress. The President's declared purpose was to preserve the present rates until, under the railroad bill now pending in Congress, the Interstate Commerce Commission can pass upon the equity of new rates.

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Socialist Convention of Wisconsin.

The State convention of the Social Democratic party of Wisconsin was held at Milwaukee on the 28th and 29th. Alderman Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee, was chosen chairman, and Charles B. Whitnall, the Treasurer of Milwaukee, was chosen secretary. The platform demands—abolition of written constitutions, both in State and nation, suffrage for all irrespective of sex or race; old age pensions; nationalization of trusts; abolition of the United States Senate, and home rule for cities. It reaffirms allegiance to the principles of international socialism and states that the final aim of the Social-Democratic party is the emancipa-

tion of producers and the abolition of "the capitalistic system."

In advocating the abolition of written constitutions, Mr. Berger compared them to garments made for a child, which it is compelled to wear after it has developed into a man. For Governor, W. A. Jacobs of Racine was nominated; and for Secretary of State, the Socialist Mayor of Washburn. Mayor Seidel of Milwaukee was nominated to succeed Robert A. La Follette in the United States Senate.

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Women's Single Tax League.

At the ninth annual convention of the Women's National Single Tax League, held in New York City on the 28th, 29th and 30th, in the hall of the Women's Municipal League Building, 19 East 26th street, Mrs. Susan Look Avery, of Kentucky, in her 92d year, joined the League. Her encouraging letter and one from Mrs. Lona I. Robinson of Des Moines were received with applause. Addresses were made by Mrs. Horace Ruggles of Orange, and Miss Amy Mali Hicks of New York. At the Saturday public meeting George L. Rusby, Miss Jennie A. Rogers, Mrs. MacKenzie, Bolton Hall, Henry George, Jr., and Miss Grace Isabel Colbron spoke, the latter describing the important developments of the unearned increment tax in Germany. On Sunday afternoon Mrs. Ella M. Murray, Mrs. Belle de Rivera, Herbert S. Bigelow and John S. Crosby were the speakers. The president of the League is Miss Charlotte O. Schetter of Orange, N. J.

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Teachers' Reception to Chicago's Superintendent of Schools.

The elementary teachers of Chicago gave a gigantic and beautiful reception at the Auditorium theater on the evening of June 3 to Dr. Ella Flagg Young, superintendent of the Chicago public schools (p. 531). Dr. Young, who is a graduate of the Chicago Normal school and a Ph. D. of the University of Chicago, began teaching in the public schools of Chicago in 1862. She held the position of assistant superintendent of schools from 1887 to 1899; was professor of education at the University of Chicago from 1899 to 1905, and principal and head of the department of education of the Chicago Normal school from 1905 to 1909, when she was first appointed superintendent of schools.

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The floor seats of the Auditorium were decked over for this reception as for the great balls. Mrs. Young was received by a committee of 250 teachers, one from each of the elementary schools of the city, and by a guard of children from the practice schools, each bearing a long stemmed rose. Mrs. Young passed beneath these roses held up to

make a long arched way, to reach her seat of honor before the great throng, and then the roses were laid at her feet and gathered in sheaves for her. The huge building was filled with teachers of all grades and other guests, to the little topmost afterthought of a loft. Music, handshakings by the thousand, and dancing occupied the evening. This is said to have been the first occasion at which a greater part of the more than 6,000 teachers of Chicago have met each other.

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Taxation Reform in Ontario.

Under the direction of F. E. Coulter, secretary of the Single Tax and Direct Legislation League, with headquarters at 75 Yonge street, Toronto (assisted by Cyrus B. Nowton), extraordinary headway has been made in the use of the Fels fund for Canada and supplementary contributions, toward the promotion of fairness in municipal taxation. The Ontario league is working along the line which the more western Provinces, especially British Columbia, have popularized—that of lessening taxes on improvement values relatively to taxes on land values. This policy has been carried to the extreme of abolishing taxes on improvements in Vancouver (p. 444); but the Ontario government has refused to adopt the policy because there was not sufficient demand for it on the part of the public. The League has therefore made an appeal to the people of Ontario, and with telling effect. Twenty-seven branch associations have been organized, with 500 members; and the support of over thirty papers—15 of them dailies—has been secured. But this does not measure the full effect of the work. Over 250 municipalities—7 cities, 26 towns, 37 villages, and 192 townships,—have, through their councils, petitioned the Ontario parliament to permit municipalities to tax improvement values at a lower rate than land values. These official petitioners represent a population of nearly 1,000,000.

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Manitoba Labor Party.

In anticipation of approaching elections a Labor Party has been organized in Manitoba upon a platform which, in addition to numerous specific demands affecting organized labor, sets out the following general demands:

The industrial and political organization of the working class.

The abolition of property qualifications for all public offices.

The raising of the age of child labor to 16 years.

The abolition of the power to issue injunctions against organized labor, by immediate legislation.

Direct legislation, through the initiative and referendum, with the right of recall.

Proportional representation and abolition of municipal wards.

The abolition of the Dominion Senate.

The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of the system of production for profit, to production for use.

The collective ownership of all industries in which competition has virtually ceased to exist, such as railways, telegraphs, telephones, water works, lighting, etc.

The conservation of the public domain by stopping the alienation of mines, quarries, oil wells, forests, water power, and all other natural resources into private property.

The municipalization of hospitals, to be operated on a free basis and managed by a board directly responsible to the people, together with all necessary institutions which at present are operated as charities.

The extension of the municipal franchise to all adults of 21 years of age and over; full political rights and privileges for women on the same terms as granted to men.

The freedom of press, speech and peaceable assembly.

State pensions for all persons over fifty years of age, and adequate provision for all widows and disabled workers.

Tax reform by the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the raising of all public revenues by the taxation of land values.

W. N. Goodwin, F. J. Dixon and W. R. Trotter have been chosen to contest three of the constituencies for the Provincial legislature.

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United South Africa.

The royal proclamation of the legislative union of Cape Colony, Orange River Colony, Natal and the Transvaal was read at the assembly house in Pretoria on the 31st, where just eight years before on the same day the Boers signed the British terms of peace which brought to an end the war in South Africa. Following the proclamation Viscount Gladstone (p. 491) was sworn in as the first Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, and General Louis Botha as the first Premier (p. 491).

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Mr. Roosevelt Advises the British Concerning Their Rule in Egypt.

On the occasion of the presentation of the freedom of the City of London, in a gorgeous gold casket, to Theodore Roosevelt (pp. 490, 508), at the ancient Guildhall on the 31st, Mr. Roosevelt introduced into his expected customary speech of thanks an extended exhortation to the British government in regard to British rule in Egypt (pp. 297, 313, 319, 394, 425). The following condensations of and quotations from that portion of Mr. Roosevelt's speech are taken from the Associated Press dispatches:

The Colonel, after praising France's work in Algeria and Tunis and that of England in India, continued:

"In the same way it is to the interest of all

civilized men that similar success should attend alike the Englishman and the German as they work in East Africa, exactly as it has been of benefit to every one that America took possession of the Philippines. Those of you who know Lord Cromer's book comparing modern and ancient imperialism do not need any words from me to prove that the dominion of modern civilized nations over the dark places on earth has been fraught with widespread good for mankind. My plea is that civilized nations engaged in this work shall treat one another with respect and friendship and shall hold it to be discreditable to permit envy, jealousy, backbiting, or antagonism among themselves."

The Colonel was enthusiastic in his eulogy of the administration of the Sudan. He said:

"I have met people who are doubtful as to whether the Sudan will pay. I think it will. This does not alter the duty of England to stay there. It is not worth while belonging to a big nation unless a big nation is willing, when the necessity arises, to undertake a big task."

Taking up Egypt, the Colonel said:

"I speak to you as an outsider, but in one way this is an advantage, for I speak without national prejudice. I would not talk to you about your own internal affairs here at home, but you are so busy at home I am not sure whether you realize just how some things are abroad. Anyway, it can do you no harm to hear the view of one who has been on the ground and has information at first hand; of one who is the sincere well wisher of the British empire, but who is not English by blood, and who is compelled to speak mainly because of his deep concern in the welfare of mankind and future civilization. Remember also that I am not only an American but a radical, a real, not a mock, democrat, and that what I have to say is spoken chiefly because it is as a democrat and a man who feels his first thought is bound to be for the welfare of the masses of mankind, his first duty to war against violence, injustice, and wrongdoing wherever found, and I advise you only in accordance with the principles in which I have myself acted as an American president in dealing with the Philippines."

Colonel Roosevelt warned his audience that the present condition of affairs in Egypt was a grave menace to both the empire and to civilization. After asserting that England had given Egypt the best government in 2,000 years, he continued:

"Yet recent events, especially with what happened in connection with and following the assassination of Boutros Pasha [the Egyptian premier who was killed by a Nationalist], have shown that in certain vital points you have erred, and it is for you to make good your error. It has been an error proceeding from an effort to do too much and not too little in the interests of the Egyptians themselves. But unfortunately it is necessary for all of us who have to do with uncivilized peoples, especially fanatical peoples, to remember that in such a situation as yours in Egypt weakness, timidity, and sentimentality may cause even more far-reaching harm than violence in injustice. Of all the broken reeds sentimentality is the most broken reed on which righteousness can lean."

After detailing the turbulent conditions in Egypt

following and preceding the murder of Boutros Pasha, the Colonel went on:

"The attitude of the so-called Egyptian Nationalist party in connection with this murder has shown that they are neither desirous nor capable of guaranteeing even primary justice, the failure to supply which makes self-government not merely an empty but a noxious farce. When a people treat assassination as the cornerstone of government they forfeit all right to be treated as worthy of self-government."

The Colonel concluded as follows:

"Some nation must govern Egypt. I hope and believe that you will decide that it is your duty to be that nation."

Surprise that the guest of a nation should venture publicly to criticize that nation's policies has been strongly indicated in the British newspapers since the episode. The present Government, which is Liberal and has therefore stood for the advance of self-government in Egypt, is reported as being especially chagrined over a foreign interference in behalf of the jingo policy of a strong hand with what Tories denominate "inferior peoples." George Bernard Shaw in a cable to the Hearst papers thus satirizes Mr. Roosevelt's adventure as an adviser:

Your Mr. Roosevelt's speech at the Guildhall was certainly one of his most remarkable performances in his new character of the Innocent Abroad. It raises very seriously the question of England's duty to America.

America broke loose from us at the end of the eighteenth century and undertook to govern itself. Ever since that it has been proving its utter unfitness to govern itself. The revelations of San Francisco were the last straw. Nothing that ever has happened in Egypt can touch them.

If it is our duty, as Mr. Roosevelt says, to govern Egypt for its own good without consulting its inhabitants, it is many times more important that we should take America in hand in the same way.

I admit that the condition of our own great cities leaves us open to the retort that we had better learn to govern ourselves before we pretend to govern other people, but the Egyptians may make that retort just as pointedly as the Americans, and Mr. Roosevelt expressly tells us that we must do our duty without attending to what the Egyptians say.

It is certainly curious that Mr. Roosevelt, whom we have come to regard as an American of the Americans, should thus deliberately stir us up to reconquer his country. He even urges us to do it by violence and injustice if necessary.

He tells us that violence and injustice are better than sentimentality. When he has been with us a little longer on this side he will discover that the only people who advocate violence and injustice among us are the sentimental people.

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Mr. Roosevelt delivered the Romanes lecture at the University of Oxford on the 7th, and the university conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of civil law.

NEWS NOTES

—The Maya Indians in Yucatan are reported to be in revolt against the Mexican Government.

—J. M. Lynch was re-elected president of the International Typographical Union on the 4th by 22,000 to 15,883.

—William S. Porter, famous as a magazine writer by the name of "O. Henry," died in New York on the 6th, at the age of 43.

—Freeman Knowles, formerly a Congressman and latterly a noted Socialistic editor, died at Deadwood, South Dakota, on the 1st at the age of 64.

—Edward C. Hegeler, publisher of "The Monist" and "The Open Court," of which his son-in-law, Paul Carus, is editor, died at La Salle, Ill., on the 4th.

—Mayor Gaynor of New York (p. 395) has named a committee of a hundred to consider the advisability of holding a world's fair in New York in 1913.

—Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to receive the degree of Doctor of Medicine, died on the 31st at her home at Hastings, England, in her 90th year.

—A statement by Dr. E. W. Lange of Scranton, Pa., on the 4th, claims his discovery of a process for the transmutation of metals of inferior value into silver.

—A marble bust of Hiram W. Thomas (p. 413) by Adelaide Johnson, was presented to the Chicago Historical Society on the 4th, the oration being by Prof. John F. Eberhardt.

—Juan Vicente Gomez, Vice-President of Venezuela in President Castro's time (vol. xii, p. 374; vol. xiii, p. 160), has been inaugurated President of Venezuela. His term will be four years.

—Gov. Hughes has called an extraordinary session of the New York legislature to meet on the 20th for reconsideration of the direct primaries bill (p. 518) which was defeated at the regular session.

—Alderman Charles E. Merriam of Chicago (a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago), who was appointed by Gov. Deneen on the special tax commission of Illinois (p. 395), has resigned this appointment.

—Three earthquake shocks of great violence occurred in the province of Avellino in Southern Italy on the morning of the 7th. Half of the town of Calitri is reported to have been destroyed, and thirty or more persons to have been killed.

—A Saturday half-holiday in the retail shops of Chicago during July and August, is being urged by the Illinois Branch of the Consumers' League. The League asks of the public that buying be done as far as possible before noon on Saturday.

—Thomas E. Watson, a Democratic member of Congress twenty years ago and twice nominated by the Populist party for President of the United States, announced in a card issued at Augusta on the 31st his return to the Democratic party.

—Peru and Ecuador have agreed to withdraw the troops which they have been mobilizing on their frontiers (p. 468). The boundary dispute which

brought the two countries to the point of war will be mediated by the United States, Brazil and Argentina.

—The Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow will lecture on "The Difference between Single Tax and Socialism" at 2:30 p. m., on the 19th, in Corinthian Hall, Masonic Temple, before the Chicago Society of Anthropology. An admission fee of 25 cents will be charged.

—The 61st annual session of the American Medical Association began at St. Louis on the 6th with delegates from every State and Territory and from Canada. Dr. William H. Welch, of Baltimore, was installed as president to succeed Dr. William C. Gorgas of Panama.

—At the conferences on labor legislation in the Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, June 10 and 11, addresses are to be made by Dr. Favill, Dr. John B. Andrews, Dr. Alice Hamilton and Prof. Irving Fisher—the latter on the subject of a national health department.

—Formal charges against Senator Lorimer (p. 514), stating that he was elected Senator by means of bribery, were laid before the United States Senate on the 7th by Senator Cullom of Illinois. They were made by Clifford W. Barnes, president of the Legislative Voters' League of Illinois.

—Charles Stuart Rolls made a new aviation record (p. 518), on the 2nd by flying from Dover on the English side of the Channel (vol. xii, p. 731), to Sangatte, France, near Calais, and then, without having touched the ground, returning through the air to Dover, covering in all a distance of fifty miles.

—The Russian Douma has begun the discussion of the bill which is designed to abolish the autonomy of Finland (p. 444). The bill was drawn in accordance with the plans of the Czar. Under it all laws of Imperial importance would be applicable to Finland without the consent of the Finnish Diet.

—The British Antarctic expedition under the leadership of Captain Scott (vol. xii, p. 901; vol. xiii, p. 160), sailed from London in the Terra Nova on the 1st. They are to proceed toward the South Pole by way of New Zealand. Captain Scott announces December, 1911, as the date for their hoped for attainment of the Pole.

—An aerial lighthouse for the guidance of sky voyagers has been erected at Spandau in Prussia. The lighthouse consists of an elevated support on which rests a wooden ring of considerable diameter. This ring is equipped with thirty-eight powerful electric lights and an automatic arrangement for interrupting the current at regular intervals for a short period.

—The resolution to so amend the Constitution of Massachusetts as to permit classifications of property for taxation, which was adopted last year by the legislature and would have gone to the people if adopted this year, has been defeated by 134 to 90 in the lower house. This kills it for two years. Seventy-five Republicans, 14 Democrats and the one Socialist member voted for it.

—The Single Tax open air meetings on Sunday have begun on Boston Common for the season. Henry George men from outside Boston who happen to be staying over Sunday in the Hub will

always be welcomed as speakers. On Sunday afternoon, June 12, a memorial meeting will be held from 2 to 4 o'clock for the late Edward Doherty, who conducted these meetings for years.

—Death sentences continue to be pronounced in Russia, notwithstanding the laws against capital punishment, except in sentences under martial law. According to dispatches of the 1st from St. Petersburg a band of so-called bandits, men and women, have been given sentences of death or life imprisonment. Twenty-nine men ranging in age from 18 to 25 years, received death sentences.

—An aeroplane race (p. 518) between Chicago and New York for a purse of \$25,000 will take place some time before October 31. The money has been pledged by the New York Times and the Chicago Evening Post. The trip must be made in less than 72 hours, and any number of stops will be permitted. The same operator must remain in charge of the airship during the entire trip. Entries for the race must be in by August 1.

—Herbert S. Bigelow is to lecture under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Bureau (Frederick H. Monroe, Palos Park, Ill.) over the Bartell circuit of the Associated Chautauquas during the entire month of July. He begins at Aurora, Mo., on the 6th and ends the month at Fort Scott, Kan., on the 24th. Intervening points include Springfield, Mo., on the 7th, 9th and 10th; Topeka, Kan., on the 18th, and Emporia and Fort Scott, Kan., on the 21st and 24th, respectively.

—The insurgent forces in Nicaragua (p. 518) claim victories over the troops of President Madriz. The American consul at Bluefields proclaimed on the 2nd that vessels entering the port of Bluefields must pay custom duties to the provisional insurgent government which is in possession of Bluefields (p. 518). The United States Government continues to refuse to recognize either the Madriz or the Estrada faction in Nicaragua as anything more than a party "in de facto control of portions of the country."

—James H. Wolff, a well-known Negro lawyer, and one of the most prominent G. A. R. men in New England, has been selected by Mayor Fitzgerald as Boston's Fourth of July orator at the city's official exercises in Faneuil Hall. Mr. Wolff was born in Holderness, N. H., in 1847. He attended Kimball Union Academy in Kimball, N. H., preparatory to entering Dartmouth College. He was but 14 years old when the war broke out, but left school and entered the navy, seeing service under Farragut and Porter at Fort Fisher, Mobile Bay and New Orleans. After the war he entered Dartmouth and after graduating there was graduated from Harvard Law School.

—John Emmeluth, a business man and political leader of Hawaii, died at Honolulu on the 20th. Mr. Emmeluth was born in Cincinnati in 1853 and went from Atchison, Kansas, to Honolulu in 1877. He was a member of the first Hawaiian legislature under American annexation and continued to be a leader of the Democratic party in the islands. Of Mr. Emmeluth, who was an active disciple of Henry George, the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of Honolulu says: "Those who followed his remains yesterday to their last resting place, whether politi-

cally his friends or his foes, knew him at least for a man who came by his convictions conscientiously and fought for them like a man."

—Eva Margaretta Blackman, a famous Kansas woman in the days of Populism, died at Chicago on the 5th at the age of 44. She was born at Leavenworth, Kansas, where she married Dr. George E. Blackman in 1887, and where she lived until three years ago. Since then and until her sudden death she was the efficient manager of the demonstration department of the Southern Cotton Oil Company. She had lost her husband by death and her two children died before her, one by drowning. When less than 30 years of age Mrs. Blackman served as police commissioner of Leavenworth, where she established house cleaning reforms in the police department which attested her own efficiency and proved the value of a woman in such a place. Her sane radicalism, which found official expression in the Leavenworth police service, inspired her editorship of a progressive political paper, and drew her into labor controversies as an arbitrator. Mrs. Blackman was a member of Christ Church (P. E.) of Woodlawn, Chicago, in connection with which her funeral was conducted on the 7th. With reference to social reform she was a follower of Henry George.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Great Triumvirate.

Puck (Ind.), June 1.—The bosses who have held the voters of the United States in abject thralldom for years, but whose hold gets looser daily, are Indifference, Ignorance, and Partisan Prejudice. Ever effective in keeping otherwise intelligent men from seeing and thinking, they have done more, these three, for Privilege, Monopoly, and Legalized Wrong, than all the Aldriches and Cannons in creation. Overthrow this triumvirate, and petty, puny human bosses will shrivel up and die for lack of nourishment.

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Land Gluttony.

(Minneapolis) Farm, Stock and Home (agriculture), May 15.—Viewed from the standpoint of the man who believes land to be scarce, the hue and cry after land is natural enough; but if that now held for purely speculative purposes were thrown onto the market there would be another story. We have taken into private hands more than we can properly handle, either in this generation or the next. The trouble with us as a people is not land-hunger, but land-gluttony.

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St. Louis Mirror (ind.), May 5.—Plenty of land? Try to get some. Then you'll find out. Start out to discover "the virgin soil," and find out how all the land is pre-empted. We were told there was plenty of land in the Canadian Northwest. There was the hegra to that region. And now? The hegrists are hiking back. There isn't any land to be had on reasonable terms, within any reasonable negotiable distance of the lines of railroad, and Agnes C. Laut says the lumber trust has pre-empted everything practical-

ly far into the Arctic Circle. It's all gobbled up, and the owners are demanding high prices for it. There is no more good, cheap land, anywhere, in the sense that the people can get to it direct, without the intermediation of the landlord.

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Tag! We're It!

Cleveland Press, May 21.—Current literature has been enriched. Mr. S. R. Guggenheim, president of the Yukon (Alaska) Gold Co., in a magazine article, insists that the real cause of the increased cost of living is national extravagance. His reasoning is clear. People insist on wearing so much silk, that silkoline is selling at twice what it was. They demand so high a quality of wool clothing that shoddy is all they can get. They hanker for the choice cuts of meat, and as a result shank and liver have been sent up to 15 cents a pound. They will live in mansions, and two-room flats have gone to \$30 a month in consequence. It is so all along the line. You can see that it would be so. The demand for luxuries is such that necessities of life are high because nobody wants them! Perfectly clear, Mr. Guggenheim. All these things tend to reconcile us to the fact that the Guggenheims are gradually cornering the earth, in so far as Morgan and Rockefeller haven't already fenced it in. Perhaps we'd better let 'em have Alaska—Ballingner may have been right about it. Listen to this fine old bromidiom of Guggenheim: "I believe," says he, "that the wage earner is more extravagant in proportion to his earnings than the millionaire." Shouldn't wonder a bit! Right in this town wage earners frequently spend for meat to last them over Sunday every blamed cent left over from the week's pay check! Do you happen to know any millionaires who do such a thing? A pipe or two of smoking tobacco after supper will probably amount to one-half of 1 per cent of the laborer's daily wage. Mr. Guggenheim's daily income is estimated at \$30,000. One-half of 1 per cent of this is \$150. Do you suppose that the thrifty Mr. Guggenheim smokes a hundred-and-fifty-dollar cigar after dinner? Certainly not. He is much more economical "in proportion to his income" than almost any one you know. In order to equal the extravagance of the laborer who drinks a 5-cent glass of beer after his day's work, Mr. Morgan would have to consume 250 quarts of champagne at \$5 a quart. Mr. Morgan doesn't do it! We state this boldly. Mr. Guggenheim asserts—and we believe he is right—that John D. Rockefeller is the least extravagant man he knows of. Mr. Rockefeller has never been known to slip down to Billy's place on the corner and spend \$4,000 playing pool in the evening, as he would have to if he equaled the extravagance—"according to income"—of the stonemason who rolls one game at 20 cents an hour. But the crowning extravagance in which the poor indulge Mr. Guggenheim never refers to. The poor give up a large—a very large—part of their incomes to make Guggenheims, Morgans and Rockefellers. When they come to real economy, here's where they will begin to cut down expenses. When they have reformed in the matter of supporting millionaires, maybe they will be better able to stand the strain of more chuck steak and codfish.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

JUNE.

Ethel Carnie in the Woman Worker.*

With dress of forest green and wreath both white and red,

I saw her dance along the ways and pipe a merry tune;

Her lips, that were more soft and sweet than roses on her head,

Were pressed close to a fresh-plucked reed and sang the song of June.

She waved her wondrous wand, and earth turned blue and gold,

This middle daughter of the year, and fairest of them all,

Who brings the reign of roses full, the bird songs new and old,

The sigh of leaves in whose green courts the nightingales loud call.

How kind to wanderers lone who sleep beneath the stars!

Their wayside couch is sudden turned to that might hold a king;

The soft grass makes a pillow cool—nothing there is that mars—

And through his dreams there comes a sense of full leaves whispering.

No longer does their plight seem beggarly and drear;

The big white stars their candles are; green curtains round are drawn;

The wide earth is their dream chamber; and music sweetly clear

The birds sing in the boughs of June to tell them it is dawn.

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A BRIBERY LESSON.

Reflections Upon a Legislator's Confession. By Stoughton Cooley in the Chicago-Record Herald of June 4, 1910.

"Maybe I took the money because I saw every one else doing the same thing," groans the father, and the daughter cries out, "To spend years of toil in building a name and then to destroy it at one blow!"

There are times when the standard of morals

*Reprinted here from the Woman's Department of the Union Labor Advocate of Chicago. The editor of the department, Miss Alice Henry, tells us that: "Ethel Carnie was a half-timer in an English cotton mill at eleven and has been a full time factory lass the rest of her young life of twenty-two years. All her songs of nature, of children and of the working world have come to her, she says, while standing at her frame. Lately released from it, her pen is busier than ever. She deserves to be known in this country."

sinks dangerously low, and men barter their honor for a price; but there can never be a time when such actions will not be followed by the cry of the daughter and the mute suffering of the wife. If the man who enters the hall of temptation could be made to realize that, if he could be made to hear that cry and see that face before he has sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, he would come through unscathed.

May it not be possible for these loved ones who know of the sin only when the penalty is to be paid, to do something to fortify the tempted? Do all wives and daughters, however loving and faithful, appreciate the position of the husband and father who enters the fierce commercial struggle? Do they give him sufficient assurance that they appreciate his character as a man, regardless of his ability as a money-getter? Honor is not yet such a lusty plant that it will flourish amid weeds in a sterile soil without care and cultivation.

If this wife and this daughter had only known the snares that were to be set for the feet of the husband and father, if they had put their arms about him as he set out for the legislature, and said, "We are proud of you. We are glad our neighbors have recognized your worth and chosen you to represent them. We hope to see you rise to still higher positions. But whether you do or not we shall love you, not because you are a law-maker of a great State, but because you are an upright man; not because our neighbors have faith in you, but because we know you never did a mean thing, or betrayed a trust." Had they done this, would he have fallen?

But let no one grow pessimistic over the graft disclosures. The standard of public morals is rising, not falling; the world is growing better, not worse. It is because the public conscience has become so acute that graft is now exposed that formerly lay hidden; nay, the very things themselves are now rated as graft that were formerly passed as innocent.

If one doubts this, let him consider the one item of graft, the pass. How many years has it been since members of the government in every branch, legislative, executive and judicial, considered the railway pass a legitimate perquisite? Yet where is the judge or the Congressman who will openly confess to the use of the pass?

During the great Pullman strike a high Washington official—and a man noted for his honesty—came to Chicago to investigate the trouble, and he traveled on a Pullman pass. That act did excite public criticism, for we were then making the transition from the old to the new standard.

Yes, the tendency is upward, not downward. And though we must condemn the wrong-doer, let us not forget the right-doer. And you, Mr. Editor, forget not your opportunity. One word of appreciation of the honest man may be worth a column of abuse for the fallen.

THE ENERGETIC CITIZEN GETS AN IDEA.

For The Public.

I call him The Energetic Citizen because he undoubtedly possesses much energy, although it is energy which often leads to profanity; because he is a good citizen, rendering services for what services he receives; and, lastly, because I don't know his name.

The Energetic Citizen stopped me on the street by touching me forcibly on the shoulder, and, when I looked into his earnest face, I felt no resentment.

"Say," he exclaimed, "didn't I see you at the Democratic meeting the other night?"

"I was there," I replied, "and it was a good meeting even though Tom L. Johnson was away."

"Oh," said the E. C., "the people'll wake up to Tom L.'s ideas before long. Say, do you know that Perry-Payne vacant land right down town over there on Perry avenue?"

"I have seen it," I replied.

"Say, I wanted to rent a small piece of that land. I'm in the business of buying old boxes, and fixin' 'em up, an' selling them. I make money out of it, but I need more room. I need a lot on which to pile my boxes. It wouldn't hurt the land any more than it hurts this sidewalk for us to stand here—not as much. They don't intend to build, and why shouldn't I use the ground, or a little piece of it, until it is wanted for a building? Answer me that?"

"Unfortunately," I said, "our laws give the owners—"

"Yes, I know," said the E. C. impatiently. "Say, I went up to the Perry-Payne building and told the manager what I wanted, and what rent do you suppose he asked?"

"I give it up," I said. "Probably it was high enough to discourage you."

"Discourage! oh, h—l, I should say so," exclaimed the E. C. "He wanted \$15 a month to start with, just for a small lot that has never been used and that won't be used for years. Say, but I gave him a good shot. 'What you fellows need,' I said, 'is a little dose of the single tax. Then you'd be glad to let me use the land just for the taxes.' 'We don't want the single tax,' said the Perry-Payne manager. 'No, I guess not,' I said, 'nor nothing else that's good for other people.'

"Say," continued the E. C. excitedly, "do you see them one-story buildings over there on land that you couldn't buy at any price? How long do you suppose them buildings would be there if we stopped taxin' buildings? Have you ever thought of that?"

"Having been a single taxer for 25 years, the idea has occurred to me," I replied.

"I'm d—d if it doesn't make me tired," said the

E. C., and I couldn't find it in my heart to condemn his profanity utterly.

HOWARD M. HOLMES.

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FOR A SENATE ELECTED BY POPULAR VOTE.

From the Speech of the Hon. William Sulzer of New York, in the House of Representatives at Washington, May 10, 1910.

The election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people will be a live question in the coming campaign. I favor this change in the Federal Constitution, as I will every other change that will restore the Government to the control of the people. I want the people, in fact as well as in theory, to rule this great Republic and the government at all times to be directly responsible to their just and reasonable demands.

In my opinion, the people can and ought to be trusted. They have demonstrated their ability for self-government. If the people can not be trusted, then our government is a failure, and the free institutions of the fathers doomed. We must rely on the wisdom and the judgment of the people, and we must legislate in the interests of all the people and not for the benefit of the selfish few.

We witness to-day in the personnel of the United States Senate the supplanting of representative democracy by representative plutocracy. Here Mammon is entrenched. Here the criminal trusts take their stand and defy the people. Here is the last bulwark of the predatory few. Here is the citadel of the unscrupulous monopolies. And more and more the special interests of the country, realizing the importance of the Senate, are combining their forces to control the election of Federal Senators through their sinister influence in State legislatures. Forty-six United States Senators can prevent the enactment of a good law or the repeal of a bad law. The United States Senate is the most powerful legislative body in the world, and its members should be elected by the people of the country just the same as the Representatives in Congress are elected. This is of the utmost importance to the rank and file, because when the Senate is directly responsible to the people, they will control it; and then, and not till then, will that august body respond to the will of the people.

This is a government of the people. The people seldom err. The people can be trusted. I am opposed to delegating away the rights of the people, and where they have been delegated away I would restore them to the people. I trust the people, and I believe in the people. I believe that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and hence I want to restore to the people the right now delegated to

the legislatures by the framers of the Constitution, so that the Senate as well as the House will be directly responsible to the people and the government become more and more a representative democracy, where brains, fitness, honesty, ability, experience, and capacity, and not ostentatious wealth and corporate subserviency, shall be the true qualifications for the upper branch of the Federal legislature. . . .

Do not be deceived; make no mistake; this reform is growing in favor with the people every year and is destined to become more and more popular until in the near future it will be adopted. Already 27 States have passed joint resolutions through their respective legislatures demanding this change in the Federal Constitution. These States are Pennsylvania, Indiana, Texas, California, Nevada, Missouri, Nebraska, Arkansas, Wyoming, North Carolina, Illinois, Colorado, Louisiana, Kansas, Montana, Wisconsin, Oregon, Michigan, Tennessee, Idaho, South Dakota, Washington, Utah, Kentucky, Minnesota, Iowa, and Oklahoma.

The action of these 27 States of the Union demanding this change in the Federal Constitution, so that the people shall have the right to vote directly for Senators in Congress, should be conclusive, and must impress Senators who are doing all in their power to prevent the enactment of this law that patience has almost ceased to be a virtue, and unless they take heed in time these States and some of the other States favorable to this reform will ere long call a constitutional convention on their own initiation to amend the Constitution in accordance with the wishes of the people. The people are in earnest in this matter and any attempt to thwart their will in this reform will only hasten its consummation.

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Resolution Offered by Mr. Sulzer.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment be proposed to the legislatures of the several States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall become and be a part of the Constitution, namely: In lieu of the first and second paragraphs of section 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the United States of America the following shall be proposed as an amendment to the Constitution:

"Sec. 3. First. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, who shall be elected by a direct vote of the people thereof for a term of six years, and each Senator shall have one vote. A plurality of the votes cast for candidates for Senator shall elect, and the electors shall have the qualifications for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature.

"Second. When vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, in the representation of any State in the Senate, the same shall be filled for the unexpired term thereof in the same manner as is provided for

the election of Senators in paragraph 1: Provided, That the executive thereof shall make temporary appointment until the next general or special election held in accordance with the statutes or constitution of such State."

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as a part of the Constitution.

BOOKS

A QUESTION.

Why Not Now? By Charles Gilbert Davis, M. D. Boston: Richard G. Badger, the Gorham Press. Price 75 cents.

In eight chapters Mr. Davis gives us some sharp photographic views of the present state of American national affairs which, though rather pessimistic, reveal the time, place and opportunity to make corrections. Nothing more trenchant and true has been said in so few words on the subjects of "Woman Suffrage," "The Tariff," "Race Prejudice," "Alcohol," "Public Ownership," etc., etc. The opposing argument of conservatism tumbles before the radical onslaught of truth that cannot be denied, and we admit, with the author, "we have arrived at the parting of the ways."

And here comes the question, Who shall lead in the triumphal march to peace and brotherhood? "Why not America? Why not now?"

A. L. M.

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A PERSONIFICATION OF CAPITALISM.

Prince Hagan, a Phantasy. By Upton Sinclair. Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Price, \$1.

The "Idealist," camping out in the mountains on a warm mid-summer day, is scanning a score of Wagner's "Das Rheingold," and recalling the legend of the Nibelungs and the Magic Ring. He falls into a dream and is mysteriously transported to the underground caverns of gold where King Alberich reigns. Here everything happens to the marvelous music, and with the scenic effects, which, he is told, Wagner stole bodily from Nibelheim, and he is conducted by King Alberich and his courtiers through passages and vaults of carved and beaten gold until he begs to be relieved from the contemplation of such vast treasures.

The upshot of this adventure is the charge of young Prince Hagan, who is sent to be trained and educated in the ways of the world as typified in the social and political customs of New York City.

The sagacious youth, already well advanced in the nefarious arts of dishonesty, proves an extraordinarily apt pupil in the school of underhanded and dishonorable dealing, and quickly out-

wits and outstrips his masters. The fantastic tricks of Prince Hagan, who hails from an unknown country and is reported to be fabulously rich, excite the wonder and admiration of the mammon worshipping world he has entered and he becomes the ruler of its social functions and the manipulator and idol of self-seeking politicians. In his sweeping appropriation of the toil of his gold-producing slaves in the under world of Nibelheim, Prince Hagan appears to be a poetical exaggeration of the predicted one-man power which the socialist organization is called upon to subvert. The prince himself gives a fine satiric summing up of the situation which conservative religion and morality are blindly helping to hold and perpetuate.

Extracts from the daily newspaper reports of Prince Hagan's movements give a fair representation of the attitude of the "subsidized press." The "Phantasy" covers a grinning actuality.

A. L. M.

* * *

COMMON HONESTY.

Common Honesty. A study of fundamental principles and their relation to the Labor Problem. By Orren M. Donaldson, Van-American Press, 522 Kimball Hall, Chicago.

This little book is as logical and convincing as it is direct, concise, interesting and sound. Assigning all just property rights to a first principle of common honesty, that "every man has a right to what he produces," the author logically derives from it the second principle, that "no man has a right to what he does not produce," and from a consideration of those two principles evolves the third, which is that "all men have equal rights in the bounties of nature." Upon the firm foundation thus secured, he considers common honesty in connection with the various economic relations of life and produces an exposition of the land reform ideal which we confidently recommend to persons wishing a brief explanation. The concluding paragraph is suggestive of the crisp and vigorous discussion that precedes it: "If the human race were to awaken some morning to find itself endowed with wings, what a flopping and floundering there would be while we were learning to fly. In like manner, having emerged from the long night of animalism to find ourselves endowed with reason, we are still experimenting in the struggle to adjust ourselves to relationships and responsibilities that have come with our new

powers. In some lines of human activity we have made ourselves master of this latest endowment, and we are about to make it in the matter of the righteous distribution of wealth. And now abide these three—Every man has a right to what he produces; No man has a right to what he does not produce; save that, All men have equal rights to land—and the keeping of these is honesty."

Sometimes we are asked to explain the difference between Socialism and Henry George's land reform. Nothing so brief could be also more complete, fair and true with reference to the labor aspect of that question than the one given by this little book. It is appropriately addressed to the wage workers of the world.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Poverty of Philosophy. By Karl Marx. Translated by H. Quelch. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1910.

—The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization. By Paul Lafargue. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1910.

—Problems of Your Generation. By Daisy Dewey. Published by the Arden Press, 122 E. 25th St., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00, postpaid.

—Twentieth Century Socialism. By Edmond Kelly. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Fourth Ave. & 30th St., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.75 net.

—The Class Struggle (Erfurt Program). By Karl Kautsky. Translated by William E. Bohn. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1910.

—The Theory of Human Progression. By Patrick Edward Dove. Abridged by Julia A. Kellogg. Published by Isaac H. Blanchard Co., New York. 1910.

—American Association for Labor Legislation. Third Annual Meeting, December 28-30, 1909. Labor and the Courts. Published by the American Association for Labor Legislation. 1 Madison Ave., New York. 1910.

PERIODICALS

In the American, Ray Stannard Baker vivisects the Democratic party, and Bishop Williams (with a speaking full-page portrait) figures in the monthly collection of Interesting People.

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Hampton's "makes good" with an installment of Charles Edward Russell's "Scientific Corruption of

From A Former Mayor of Syracuse.

I subscribe to about 130 papers, including The Public, of which about 100 go in the waste paper basket, but The Public is religiously opened and read every week and is without a rival in its class.

Syracuse, N. Y.

JAMES K. MCGUIRE.

Politics," one of those "muckraking" magazine articles which are in bad form because they expose "good" people.

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For a picture of home life among factory serfs, read Florence Lucas Sanville's silk mill workers in Harper's for June; and if you are scientifically inclined Prof. Duncan's question of the atom in the same magazine will interest you.

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Everybody's is worth while principally for Frederick C. Howe's account of Cleveland's "Golden Rule Chief of Police," Fred Kohler, whom the Cleveland powers-that-be—both of the under and the upper world—are trying now to "job."

+

McClure's throws further light upon the political career of Roosevelt through its first installment of the late Senator Platt's autobiography. Octavia Roberts gives perspective (in a short story) to the relations of capitalist class and working class, and President Taft through an interview by George Kibbe Turner discloses the antiquity of his economics.

+

Two of the Twentieth Century's articles deal with highly important subjects about which the public are not well informed: the "Hetch-hetchy" question, and the question of a national health bureau—the former by the city engineer of San Francisco, and the latter by the editor, B. O. Flower. Another arti-

cle of this issue which deserves special attention is W. B. Fleming's dissection of Roosevelt.

+ + +

The Necromancer (to Assistant): Hie thee swiftly to the town, John, and bring hither a cross-eyed, left-handed, red-haired, second-sighted seventh son of a seventh son, with a mole on the right side of his nose. I'm fixed in this confounded circle, and

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I've forgotten the word that removes the spell!—Punch.

+ + +

"Why spend three years cultivating your voice if you don't intend to go on the operatic stage?"

"For the same reason, I suppose, that you've spent fifteen or twenty years in cultivating a discriminating taste for alcoholic beverages and yet don't in-

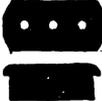
tend to go into the saloon business."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

During one of his presidential trips Mr. Cleveland, accompanied by Secretary Olney, arrived at a town in a heavy storm, and they were driven from the station with hailstones rattling on the roof of their carriage. A brass band, undismayed by the weather,

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bravely stuck to its post and played the welcoming airs.

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+ + +

The conversation turned upon the alderman from the 'Steenth Ward. "What do you suppose he's

worth?" asked one man. "Nobody knows," said another. "Sometimes you can buy him for \$50 and at other times it takes \$500."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

All we can say about the champion eater who drank a keg of beer and ate a whole ham is that he is a pig.—Charleston News and Courier.

Having said it, however, you ought to apologize to the pigs. No pig ever drank a keg of beer and ate a whole ham.—Chicago Tribune.

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