

The Public

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

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Roosevelt's Napoleonic Democracy.

Theodore Roosevelt talks of democracy as if he were a democrat. Probably he thinks he is one. But his democracy, like the democracy of Napoleon Bonaparte whom he ominously resembles in personal characteristics and unaccountable popularity, is of that spurious kind which evolves empires and breeds despots. It is the exact reverse of the American ideal. His speech in Egypt, and his supplementary one at Guildhall, London, which have been attributed to shirtsleeve manners, are worse than that; they are rightly denounced by the Sacramento Bee as un-American. The Bee calls them "blasphemy upon the lips of an American citizen," for stultifying the "elemental and primary declaration of America's great proclamation of universal liberty," that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. And so interpreted, those speeches are now justified by the Outlook, a magazine with which Mr. Roosevelt is editorially connected and which faithfully reflects his Napoleonic democracy. In its issue of June 18, the Outlook asserts its belief that "the statement in the Declaration of Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is false."

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The fact that Mr. Roosevelt is a contributing editor to the Outlook, would not be enough in itself to make him responsible for this categorical

denial of American democracy. Nor can it be urged that he may have contributed the Outlook editorial from which we quote; the author of that editorial is evidently more candid or less sophisticated than Mr. Roosevelt. But this number of the Outlook appears to have been edited with the distinct purpose of exploiting and justifying Mr. Roosevelt's type of democracy. The purpose is so evident that nothing short of a repudiation of the blunt climax we quote can make even the most friendly reader suppose that it misrepresents Mr. Roosevelt's views. An indiscreet generalization it may be, but not an inaccurate one. In the same issue of the Outlook a paper on "the spirit of democracy" figures prominently. This is by Dr. Lyman Abbott, the editor in chief, who finds that there is now a new American democracy, child of two conflicting American democracies of the Nineteenth century—the idealistic of Hebrew and Puritan ancestry through New England, and the materialistic from Rome and France through Virginia,—which is now struggling with the contradictory characteristics it inherits from its ancestors. Also in this issue of the Outlook there is a stenographic report of an extemporaneous speech by Mr. Roosevelt at Christiania, Norway — edited by him for publication but hitherto unpublished—in which, expounding "the colonial policy" of the United States, he defends the subjugation of the Philippines in terms that would have delighted George III and Lord North had they been uttered with reference to the American colonies. Then there is the editorial climax, which may or may not have had Mr. Roosevelt's approval, but which seems to be a correct generalization of his views: "We believe that the statement in the Declaration of Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is false."

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The unsoundness of that belief as a political principle may be put aside; to argue against it as a principle might be called "academic" by the Outlook, and "sentimental," or "foolish," or "indecent," by Mr. Roosevelt. Nor would it be worth while to quote the words of Abraham Lincoln and his compeers who founded the Republican party, or the fathers of the Republic itself, who, as Lincoln said, conceived it in liberty and dedicated it to the proposition that all are created equal. To hark back to those men might be challenged as an appeal from the youthful American democracy of the Twentieth century to the dead democracy of the Nineteenth. But waiving all such "sentimental" and "academic" considerations, it be-

hooves the American people to consider the possibilities under present circumstances of Mr. Roosevelt's democracy as generalized by the Outlook, with reference to their own safety.

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Following its assertion of the falsity of the Declaration of Independence in so far as that document assigns the just powers of government to the consent of the governed, the Outlook adopts as "always, everywhere and eternally true" the "principle embodied in the Declaration that governments exist for the benefit of the governed." Accordingly it reasons that "whether the Filipinos consent or do not consent to the government exercised over them is not the fundamental question;" that "the fundamental question is whether that government is exercised over them for their benefit." Although the particular application is to the Philippines, the principle is generalized by the Outlook as "always, everywhere and eternally true." Manifestly, then, with reference to American citizens themselves, the democracy of Roosevelt, as expounded by the Outlook and evident from his own recent speeches, rests fundamentally upon the monarchical principle. Whether the American people "do or do not consent to the government exercised over them is not the fundamental question," but "the fundamental question is whether that government is exercised over them for their benefit." This is Roosevelt's democracy, as it is the Outlook's, as it is the Emperor William's, as it was Napoleon's.

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The sultanic impudence of Roosevelt's assumption in this respect would surpass belief if the man himself had left room for a doubt. But its danger is the prime consideration. Declaring that he will lead his country to higher levels of democracy, and in his superlative egotism believing it no doubt, he beckons it on toward the potter's field of every republic in history that came under the influence of a personage like himself. He would tear away the very basis of this Republic, the rock-bottom principle it rests upon, which is not that a British monarch might not govern us better for our own benefit than we can govern ourselves, but that it is our right to govern ourselves. He would twist the principle of government to which the founders of this Republic appealed for the sympathy of mankind, into a hollow and false excuse for revolt. And what he would have our Republic do with weaker peoples, the logic of his position would justify his doing with us if he had the opportunity that the historic

wreckers of republics have had. Would the Constitution stay his hand? Read from his Christianity speech in the issue of the Outlook already referred to, with reference to the San Domingo treaty: "I found considerable difficulty in getting the United States Senate to ratify the treaty, but I went ahead anyhow and executed it until it was ratified." This was supremely dictatorial, for under the Constitution a treaty is not a treaty until it is ratified by the Senate. He might as lawfully have enforced a bill under consideration by Congress, before Congress enacted it. But, says this Napoleonic democrat, "the opposition was a purely factious opposition, representing the smallest kind of politics with a leaven of even baser motive." If such a man, with the army and the navy at his command, encouraged by the kind of idolatrous popularity that raised Napoleon to an absolute dictatorship upon an imperial throne, were obsessed with the notion that a benevolent dictator could govern the American people better "for their benefit" than they govern themselves, with their Lorimers, and Tammanys, and Hearsts, and Busses, and socialists, and anarchists, their labor unions, their trusts, their plutocrats, their bothersome State lines, their corrupt legislatures, their dilatory courts and their foolish sentimentalists—if such a man, so tempted and so equipped, were to resolve upon becoming a dictator "for the common good," is it so certain that American citizenship would be safe? Suppose he did find considerable difficulty in getting Congress to agree with him. Might he not "go ahead anyhow," until they did agree? And wouldn't he find his warrant in what would seem to him in those circumstances to be "a purely factious opposition, representing the smallest kind of politics," and may be "with a leaven of even baser motive"?

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Yet there is good reason to fear that in the name and behalf of democracy, and with the support of masses of genuine democrats in all parties, Theodore Roosevelt may again be called out of private life to a term as President, and this time under circumstances more favorable than our country has ever before experienced for a Napoleonic personality to seize upon Napoleonic power. We trust the alternative of Roosevelt or Taft will not occur at the next Presidential election. But if it should, better King Log than King Stork. Though Taft slumbers while plutocrats intrench themselves, taxation under popular control would serve at any time as a weapon to pierce even the thickest fortifications of "vested

rights." But if a Napoleonic character like Roosevelt once seized the government to administer it according to his own notions of what is for "the benefit of the governed," the damage would be irreparable. No doctrine more dangerous to popular liberty has ever been formulated than this of the Roosevelt cult, that "just governments exist for the benefit of the governed," when that otherwise true doctrine is isolated from the balancing principle that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

* *

Aldrich and Cook.

Senator Dolliver credits last year with "two important hoaxes—the discovery of the North Pole by Dr. Cook and the revision of the tariff downward by Senator Aldrich." Isn't this comparison severe upon Cook?

* *

More Railroad Regulation.

We are now to learn whether a special court for the regulation of the proceedings of the Interstate Commerce Commission in regulating the business of railroads, will make railroad regulation efficient, or whether it will be necessary to create further regulatory machinery. The mechanism for regulating the administration of public service by private corporations seems to be progressively complex.

* *

"Barbarous Mexico."

We published recently an editorial (p. 532) on the stoppage by the American Magazine of its series of articles on "Barbarous Mexico," by John Kenneth Turner, in which we described the stoppage as sudden and unaccountable and as having puzzled readers of that magazine; and in the same editorial we quoted Mr. Turner as having explained in the Appeal to Reason, of Girard, Kansas, which has taken up the publication of the series, that the editors of the American Magazine found themselves face to face with "a power whose might they misjudged and which threatens to crush them." We believed then, and we believe still, that this was Mr. Turner's sincere judgment of the American's reasons for discontinuing his articles. But the following explanation by Ray Stannard Baker, one of the responsible editors of the American, is better evidence of the motives of the Magazine than anybody's judgment. Mr. Baker writes:

The facts are these: Mr. Turner went to Mexico and got the material for a number of able articles. We took great pains in the office, in the presentation

and verification of the facts, as we always do. We conferred not alone with Mr. Turner, but with a number of Mexican liberals and some of the best authorities on Mexican affairs. We ourselves chose the title "Barbarous Mexico," which has done more than any other one thing to impress the idea we had to present. It was a flying phrase that went round the world. We were so anxious to publish all the authentic material that we could get, that we sent Mr. Turner back to Mexico at considerable expense, to study the situation more fully. We also got together material from other sources and published other articles to corroborate Mr. Turner's studies. We tried throughout to do a thorough and honest piece of editorial work. We published all of Mr. Turner's articles, that we, as journalists, felt to be effective. The first articles contained the cream of the whole matter. The later material, though we paid for it, we were not able to lick into a shape so authentic, so convincing and so interesting that we could feel that it would really help. We have not been threatened, nor should we have changed our course if we had been threatened. We have not changed our convictions or our policies in any way whatever. The entire group—Mr. Phillips, Miss Tarbell, William Allen White, F. P. Dunne and myself—believe in what we are doing, and when we can no longer express ourselves honestly and fully in the American Magazine, we'll stop it and find some other way of expressing ourselves.

Mr. Baker's letter is, as we fully believe, frank and true; and while we hope that the Turner articles in the Appeal to Reason may be widely read, we are confident, both from the statements of this letter and our own observation of the American Magazine since its first publication, that its policies are controlled by its editors, and that they are truthful and courageous persons.

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Be Good and Others Will Be Happy.

A great industrial discovery has been made by the Nashville American. It would end the age-long "conflict between individual greed and social welfare," would give "to the individual full opportunity and incentive to do his utmost in such a way that his labor would redound to the good, not the hurt, of the whole community." And it is very simple. Yet no one can doubt its effectiveness. "We have been pursuing the wrong course." The "motive and aim of human endeavor has been, generally speaking, profit and wages instead of service"; and "there's the root of the whole evil." The remedy? "Let laborers and employers, merchants and manufacturers, policemen and councilmen, Congressmen and Senators," think "half as much of their opportunities to render service to their fellowmen as they do of their wages and profits." And there you are, as Mr. Dooley would say. Surely, surely. Let the skies fall and everybody can catch larks. But the suggestion is really

not half bad. Most men would rather think of the service they can render than of the pay they get, if the pay they get were not so precarious and often so small that their human necessities compel them to think of it first. Might we not reverse this condition, by so altering our institutions that nobody could get pay for service without rendering service? A beginning could easily be made with such of these parasites as get pay, not for rendering service, but in tolls from others for their use of our common earth in order to render service.

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LAND CONSERVATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA.

Under radical-Liberal influences the British government is establishing in the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, a thorough system of land tenure and taxation for the conservation of natural and social resources.

The land is nationalized, private tenures being upon license only and not upon freehold, and the taxation contemplates making land values a common fund. The theory of the system is that occupiers of land shall be secure in the products of their industry, but that values due to natural advantages or social growth shall go to the public.

This is a system which, pursuant to the modern British policy, has its roots in native customs. For in that mid-African country, land nationalization is found to have prevailed under native governments. Embryonic in character it may have been, and crude in form. What else could be expected of the customs of a people whom we with our cozy Caucasian prejudices regard as only semi-civilized or maybe altogether savage? But the form was plainly marked and the character unmistakable.

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Northern Nigeria has a population of nearly 10,000,000. Its area is about five times that of England. It lies between the 7th and 14th parallel of north latitude, and the 3rd and 13th meridian east from Greenwich. At the extreme northeast the boundary line passes through the western waters of Lake Chad. The confluence of the Niger and the Benue, not far north of the southern boundary, is a little way west of the north-and-south center. There are fourteen provinces: Borgu, Sokoto (which includes the old province of Gando), Kontagora, Nupe, Zaria, Nassarawa, Ilorin, Kabba, Bassa, Kano, Bauchi, Muri, Yola, and Bornu.

This country came fully under British control

in 1903. The Royal Niger Company, created in 1882 under the name of the National African Company, for the purpose of securing Nigeria to Great Britain and governing it under a Royal charter, had been divested of its charter in 1900, when a government was set up under a British commission; but the process of complete political occupation took three years more. The territory is within that British sphere of influence in Africa which was conceded to Great Britain by the Anglo-German agreements of 1885, 1886 and 1893, and the Anglo-French agreements of 1889, 1890 and 1898. It is under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a cabinet office in the British ministry now held by the Earl of Crewe. The principal British official "on the ground" is called the Governor, an office held at the present time and during the period of the Parliamentary report we are about to describe, by Sir Percy Girouard.

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In the latter part of the year 1907, Sir Percy Girouard, as British governor of Northern Nigeria, had collected, and subsequently he forwarded to the Colonial office in London, a mass of information and suggestion relative to land tenure and land revenue within his jurisdiction. This material was referred by the home office to the committee to whose remarkable report,* which is of universal interest, we are here calling attention. The terms of reference were that the committee should "consider the evidence collected by Sir Percy Girouard, and any other evidence available as to the existing system of land tenure in Northern Nigeria," and "report (1) on the system which it is advisable to adopt, and (2) as to the legislative and administrative measures necessary for its adoption."

The members of this committee had been selected with regard to special competency for the work. One of them was Kenelm E. Digby, permanent under secretary at the home office. Another was Sir James Digges la Touche, an official of experience in India. H. Berham Cox, legal assistant under secretary at the Colonial office since 1897, was another; and others were T. Morison, Charles Strachey, C. L. Temple and Captain C. W. J. Orr. To these was added later Josiah C.

*The official report, called "Report of the Northern Nigeria Land Committee," which was ordered to be carried out May 10, 1910, together with the accompanying "Minutes of Evidence and Appendices," is on public sale in London by Wyman and Sons, Limited, 109 Fetter Lane, Fleet street, E. C., and 32 Abingdon street, Westminster, S. W.; in Edinburgh by Oliver and Boyd, Tweeddale Court; and in Dublin by E. Ponsonby, 116 Grafton street. The price for the Report is 9 pence (18 cents); for the Minutes it is 1 shilling and 2 pence (28 cents).

Wedgwood, M. P. (p. 258), who had served in Africa both as a military officer in the Boer War and as a British magistrate after the war, and who is now a member of Parliament as a radical-Liberal.

Thirteen meetings were held by the committee, in the course of which they considered not only the memoranda submitted by Sir Percy Girouard, but also the oral testimony (taken at their meetings) of Sir Raymond Menendez (Chief Justice of Northern Nigeria), and of five officers of the political department of that Protectorate, two of these—Mr. Temple and Captain Orr—being members of the committee. They considered besides, the various laws relating to land in force in the Protectorate, and also a collection of memoranda on the subject of land taxation and native revenue which a former High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria—Sir Frederick Lugard—had issued to his civil subordinates. The views of business concerns having interests in Northern Nigeria were also solicited and placed in the record. Responses from this source were full, except as to the Niger company, which went no further than to express a hope that the committee would afford no opening for land speculators.

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At the outset in their report, which was made July 29, 1908, but not finally acted upon by the Colonial office until March 22, 1910, the committee presented a sketch of the history and present condition of Northern Nigeria. A paraphrase of this will help to an appreciation of the larger conclusions of the report.

Some parts of Northern Nigeria are Mohammedan, others are pagan.

Mohammedanism came through two sources—first the Hausas and Bornuese, and second the Fulani. The Hausas and the Bornuese, though not aboriginal inhabitants, were established in this part of Africa at a very remote time, and became Mohammedan as early probably as the Thirteenth century. Some centuries later, Fulani missionaries (Mohammedan) coming down from the north and northwest, brought on a holy war at the beginning of the Nineteenth century, and established by conquest a large Fulani empire.

Although some of the provinces conquered by the Fulani were already Mohammedan, others contained a large pagan population under Fulani rule, and also large pagan communities that preserved their independence. One of the latter, Argungu, adjacent to Gando, "one of the great seats of the Fulani empire," came to "a relatively high state of civilization under its pagan rulers."

At the beginning of British rule ten of the provinces were Mohammedan and four pagan, as follows:

Mohammedan.—Sokoto, Kano, Kontagora, Nupe, Bauchi, Zaria, Yola, Ilorin, Muri, and Bornu.

Pagan.—Borgi, Kabba, Bassa, and Nassarawa.

Acknowledging a higher state of native civilization than most of us have supposed to exist in this part of Africa, the Parliamentary report here under review attributes it largely to the Hausa race. "The very complete system," it says, "of native law and administration found today in Hausaland is believed to have been adopted by the Fulani* from the Hausa* under whom it had been built up."

After its historical investigation, the committee concludes, with reference to possible differences between Mohammedan and pagan rule prior to the British occupation, that no "national differences exist as regards the native customs and practices relating to land and taxation between the parts where the inhabitants or ruling classes are mainly Mohammedan and the parts where they are mainly pagan." The report thereupon describes at length the prevailing native customs regarding land and taxation, and, adding an explanation of the policy pursued by the British since the Royal Niger charter was revoked in 1900, makes its recommendations.

This brings us to the core of the whole matter.

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It is found by the report that "there is no room for the development of the conception of private

property in land;" for, "by the customs prevailing throughout Northern Nigeria, grants of use and enjoyment of land are merely revocable licenses to cultivate the land." The report therefore declares it to be the "duty of the government to protect the occupier from disturbance," and if the government needs land for public purposes the occupier "should have full compensation from the government for the crops, buildings and improvements, though not for the land."

The danger of the development of a proprietary right is foreseen by the report, which, to guard against it, advises that the annual tax assessments "be so employed as to prevent as far as possible land from acquiring a marketable value other than that derived from the improvements made upon it." The administration should, in the opinion of the committee, "be directed rather to measures for giving security to the occupier against outside interference than attempt to create the new and strange idea of an estate or property in the land itself."

In case of revocation of an occupier's right, the report emphasizes its recommendation of due compensation "for crops, unexhausted improvements, and buildings, though not for the land itself."

On the subject of taxation the report recommends that "the system of taxation now imposed should be such that," with general increase of wealth, "the government revenues will partake of this increase of wealth automatically"; and it points out, quite in harmony with the well-known

*The following quotations from the Century Dictionary throw additional light upon the civilization with which the British government has come in contact in Northern Nigeria:

"Fulah or Fula (fŭ'-lā) plural Fulbe ['light brown, red']—A great African nation, scattered through the Sudan from Senegal to Wadai, and south to Adamawa; Their language is called Fulfulde. They are variously classed with the Hamites, the negroes, and in the Nuba-Fulah group, with the Nubas of the Nile Valley. They seem to be essentially Hamitic, having branched off from the Berbers or the Somal. Their color is reddish-brown, nose straight, lips regular, hair curly. Where they are mixed with the negroes the skin is darker, the lips are thicker, the hair is more bushy and the temperament more merry. In their pure state they are proud and grave. The Futa-Toro or Toucouleurs are a mixture of Fulah and Woloff. Pastoral, industrious, warlike, and intelligent, they rule over the agricultural negro tribes of the Sudan. They are dominant in Gando, Sokoto, Adamawa, Massina, Segu, Kaarta and Futa-Jallon. In Bornu, Baghirni and Wadai they are not strong enough to command. In religion they are Mohammedans, but tolerant except the fanatic Toucouleurs. They have a national literature written with Arabic characters. It was in the beginning of this century [the 19th], under their poet and leader Otman dan Fodio, that they revolutionized the Sudan, spreading Islam, and founding their great kingdoms, which are not yet on the wane. Their language is peculiar by its initial

formations. It is spoken in its purest form in Massina and Futa-Toro. Owing to admixtures of neighboring negro languages and Arabic, five dialects are distinguished, according to the countries where they are spoken: namely, Futa-Jallon, Futa-Toro, Sokoto, Hausa and Bornu—also called Pul Fetata Filani."

"Hausa, or Haussa (hou'-sä). A country and nation situated north of the junction of the Niger with the Benue river, in Central Sudan. Hausa-land is almost co-extensive with the modern kingdom of Sokoto. The Hausas form the most important nation of the Sudan. They belong to the Nigritic branch of the Bantu-negro race, slightly mixed with Hamitic elements. According to their own tradition their father was a negro and their mother a Berber. The Guber section is of Coptic descent. The Hausas are Mohammedans, semi-civilized, great traders, and able craftsmen. In the slaving times Hausa slaves were in great demand; today, Hausa soldiers constitute a large portion of the British and Congo state forces. In the Middle Ages the Hausas formed a great negro kingdom, which subsequently broke up into small states. About the 16th century the Fulahs or Fulbe began to get a foothold among them, and in 1802 Otman dan Fodio founded in Hausa-land a great Fulah empire. From this, divided among his sons, sprang the modern sultanates of Sokoto, Gando and Adamawa. The Hausa language is spoken far beyond Hausa-land. It is euphonious, simple, and regular in structure, and eminently fit to become a literary language. The principal dialects are those of Katsena (the literary standard), Kano, Guber and Daura."

single tax theory, that "the construction of roads and railways, the introduction of new industries, and the general progress of Northern Nigeria, will, independently of the exertions of the cultivators, augment the profits derived from the use of land;" whereupon, also in harmony with the single tax, it recommends that "taxation should be such as to aim at securing for the state this increment in value."

Inasmuch, however, as there are temporary practical difficulties in the way, so that "the immediate introduction of a land revenue of the nature indicated" cannot be recommended, the report advises "that the tax on the use of land should be separated from the taxes on trade and crafts," to the end that land values may in the future be automatically absorbed by the land tax.

In summing up their views, the committee advise that the "government should retain the dominion and control of all the land in the country," grants of land to "be in the nature of leases or licenses and not of grants of the absolute property or freehold interest," that no distinction should be made "in this respect in point of principle between urban or rural land, or building or agricultural land, or otherwise;" and that, "for the purpose of avoiding misleading associations, the subject matter of such leases or licenses should not be the land itself, but the use and enjoyment of the land for the purposes for which it is granted."

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The recommendations of the committee have been ordered by the British government to be carried out, and the work is now in process.

That it is being done in no perfunctory way may be inferred from the letter of the British Governor of Northern Nigeria, set out in the Parliamentary document here under consideration. He writes of the principles laid down by the committee, that they are "in substance a declaration in favor of the nationalization of the lands of the Protectorate;" and that they have his "whole hearted acceptance." Adding an expression of his confidence that they will "prove of unique and incalculable benefit to present and future generations of Nigerians," he says: "By securing forever the rentals on land for the upkeep of central and local governments, the principles if applied will prove to be the greatest developing factor in the future moral and material welfare and progress of the country and its inhabitants whether native or immigrant."

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Statistics are generally used to prove the things that we know are not so.—Puck.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

INSURGENCY IN IOWA.

On the Road, June 18.

I was in Iowa just after the primary election and was eager to take testimony on the ground as to the significance of the result.

My first witness was the barber. "Well," said I, "what do you people out here think about the fight?" "Oh the most of 'em seem to think Jeff will win" was the unhesitating reply.

The next time I indicated that it was the primary fight I was interested in. "What primary fight? I didn't know there was one," said the porter in the hotel. The next two witnesses were railroad employes. They were not keen on the subject but did recollect that there had been an election. Neither had voted. One never voted.

The next was a drummer and a bitter Standpatter. "What does it mean?" said he, with feeling. "It means the end of Cummins, that's what it means. It means that Iowa Republicans will not stand for an attack on a Republican President." This man had been a Florida Democrat until the first Bryan campaign. He was intelligent, however, though vehemently partisan and I put this question to him: "Is it not true that if the Democrats who can be relied on to support Cummins at the polls, could have participated in this primary, the Standpatters would have been easily defeated?" He frankly admitted that this was so. The same admission was made by a Standpat State Senator.

The grievance of these men seemed to be that Cummins beats them with Democratic votes. They explained that it would be another thing if he made Republicans of the Democrats, but that he has not done this. These Democrats are confessedly and boastfully unregenerate, and they vote for Cummins not because they have turned Republican, but because Cummins has turned Democrat. This is the indictment. But a hot progressive Republican explained to me that the Standpatters were nothing but Democrats anyway, and a dead weight to the Republican party in Iowa.

My observation is that Iowa is almost indisputable Progressive territory. But in these days when independent votes determine elections, party primaries are no test of public sentiment.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

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"Why do we send missionaries to the savages?" asked the man.

"To civilize them."

"What good does that do them?"

"It educates them out of habits of idleness."

"And what then?"

"They go to work."

"What do they work for?"

"To become prosperous and rich."

"What good does prosperity do them?"

"It procures them leisure and comfort."

"Which was what they had before you started stirring them up. What's the use?"—Cleveland Leader.

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 21, 1910.

Roosevelt's Return.

The reception of ex-President Roosevelt upon his return from abroad (p. 563) was the most demonstrative ever accorded any individual, public man or private citizen, in the United States. He came into the lower bay at New York in the early morning on the 18th on board the Kaiserin Auguste Victoria. Salutes were fired at Fort Wadsworth, where the troops were lined up at "attention"; the battleship "South Carolina" welcomed him with a salute of 21 guns; the U. S. revenue cutter "Manhattan" brought members of his family and intimate friends to his vessel to greet him and take him aboard; letters of welcome from President Taft and Gov. Hughes were handed him. A little later the revenue cutter "Androscoggin," bearing the committee of 300 appointed by Mayor Gaynor, and accompanied by a fleet of vessels of many kinds, came alongside the "Manhattan"; and the committee, under the direction of its chairman, Cornelius Vanderbilt, received him in behalf of the city. With renewed gunpowder salutes, a river procession then formed and steamed as far north as Twelfth street, where it turned back to land the guest at the Battery. He was received there in person by Mayor Gaynor, and from a grandstand addressed a vast crowd. From the Battery he was escorted by a long cavalcade through a thick crowd of enthusiastic spectators, up Broadway and Fifth avenue, under the Dewey arch, to Fifty-ninth street. Late in the afternoon he went to his home at Oyster Bay.

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Besides his familiar greetings to friends and admirers in the course of the day, and his definite assurance that he will—

have nothing whatever to say in the immediate future about politics and will hold no interview whatever on the subject with anyone, and anything purporting to be an interview that may appear can be safely set down at once as an invention,—

Mr. Roosevelt incorporated this formal address to the American people in his speech at the Battery:

I am ready and eager to do my part so far as I am able in helping solve problems which must be

solved if we of this the greatest democratic republic upon which the sun has ever shone are to see its destinies rise to the high level of our hopes and its opportunities. This is the duty of every citizen, but it is peculiarly my duty, for any man who has ever been honored by being made President of the United States is thereby forever after rendered the debtor of the American people and is bound throughout his life to remember this as his prime obligation, and in private life as much as in public life so to carry himself that the American people may never have cause to feel regret that once they placed him at their head.

He was in conference at his home on the 19th with Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, Congressman Longworth (his son-in-law), and Secretary Meyer of the Navy Department under President Taft and Postmaster-General under Mr. Roosevelt. He absolutely refused to be interviewed by newspaper representatives.

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Suppressing Revolution in Mexico.

In the same north and northwestern provinces of Mexico where two years ago groups of revolutionists, or bandits, as the Mexican government called them, received stern treatment, being dispatched by bullet or rope, and their sympathizers sent to the salt mines (vol. xi, p. 396), the Mexican government is now making arrests by the hundred, and searching for smuggled arms, according to dispatches of the 18th and 20th, the latter from Cananea, the chief center of the former uprising. Martial law had been proclaimed in Cananea and other border towns. The dispatch says that the revolutionary movement originated among the young element of northern Mexico, followers of General Bernardo Reyes, now in Europe, and of Senor Madero, candidate for president, now under arrest in Monterey on the charge of causing crowds to form (p. 564). The discontented faction demands political liberty, free speech and the "right to vote." They announce they will go to the polls on election day prepared to fight if denied their constitutional rights. That such uprisings were to be expected during this election year and that as far as possible they would be put by the Mexican government in the bandit class, was predicted last year (vol. xii, p. 819).

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Inter-State Railroad Regulation.

The conference committee's report on the railroad bill (p. 512) came before both houses of Congress on the 14th. It was adopted on the 17th by the Senate, and on the 18th by the House, and the bill was signed on the 18th by the President. The new law takes effect in 60 days, except as to the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate rates, wherein it takes effect immediately.

Included in this new law are provisions for the regulation of telegraph, telephone and cable companies as well as railroads and express companies. The Interstate Commerce Commission is given power to regulate both freight and passenger rates by reducing them when it finds them to be unreasonable; and in cases of new rates imposed by the companies, the Commission may suspend their operation pending a hearing on their reasonableness, but only for 120 days. On the question of "long and short haul," it is made unlawful to charge less for a longer distance than for a shorter one within the longer, for freight of like kind or for passengers, without authorization by the Commission. Federal courts (except when three judges sit, one of them being a judge of the United States Supreme Court) are forbidden to issue injunctions against enforcement of State statutes (vol. x, p. 857; xi, pp. 567, 851; xii, p. 420; xiii, p. 160) as unconstitutional. The President is authorized to appoint a commission to investigate stock issues, but the new law does not attempt otherwise to regulate or supervise those issues.

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In addition to its regulatory provisions this law creates a new Federal court—a commerce court—to have the jurisdiction of Circuit Courts over certain cases. It is in effect a special court for the review of the decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission, over which it is given full judicial jurisdiction. This court is to consist of five Circuit Court judges. At first, five appointments to the Circuit bench are to be made by the President for the purpose of assignment to the commerce court for one, two, three, four and five years, respectively. Its decisions are subject to appeal to the Supreme Court.

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Two New States.

By unanimous vote on the 16th the Senate passed the House bill for the admission of the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico (p. 60) into the Union as States; but with amendments which on the 18th the House accepted. On the 20th President Taft signed the bill.

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A Great Prize Fight.

For several months newspaper readers have had an abundance of news about an approaching prize fight between James J. Jeffries, an historic heavyweight champion, and Jack Johnson, a Negro aspirant for the heavyweight championship. The date fixed for the fight is July 4, and San Francisco was the place assigned for it. It had attracted wide attention, and was to have been attended by large numbers of wealthy and respectable men of sporting temperament who find

joy without "sentimentality" in the sensations of struggle, whether the struggle brings defeat or victory. But on the 15th, when the advance sales of seats amounted to \$130,000, Governor Gillette of California directed the Attorney-General to take legal steps to prevent the fight. San Francisco had been selected because under the laws of California, although prize fighting is prohibited, boxing is allowed, and this prize fight was nominally a boxing match. Mayor McCarthy, of San Francisco, resented the Governor's action, and for a time all California was in a rage of partisanship over the affair. When, however, the Attorney-General announced that he would call out the militia to stop the fight, if the police did not stop it, its promoters entered into arrangements to have it come off at Reno, Nevada, where no fine distinctions are made between boxing matches and prize fighting, and both are allowed—the latter on a license fee of \$1,000.

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British Politics.

Since the burial of King Edward (p. 490), politics in Great Britain have begun to shape up again. On the 16th cable dispatches from London reported that the Liberal prime minister, Mr. Asquith, and the Tory leader, Mr. Balfour, had had several private meetings during the week, and that an agreement between them had been reached with reference to holding a conference on the question of the veto power of the House of Lords. On the same subject, T. P. O'Connor, M. P., in his cable letter of the 18th to the Chicago Tribune, said:

The proposed conference of the party leaders on the veto question has produced an extraordinary effect in British politics. It overshadows everything and paralyzes and numbs everything. Nobody would believe that the House of Commons is the same place as a few weeks ago. Then party passion ran higher than for a quarter of a century. . . . Now a new spirit reigns and not a word of rancor or even spirit is heard. . . . The Ministry is passing its bills at a breakneck pace, always avoiding any but the non-controversial proposals, and the House of Commons keeps reasonable hours for the first time in half a century. . . . As the conference approaches the conjectures, rumors, and attitude of mind change with every hour. . . . Asquith is said to share the hopes of Lloyd-George, who last week was the solitary optimist in the Ministerial circles, that the conference may end in a settlement. . . . There is some foundation for these sanguine hopes. The Tories now realize that the present House of Lords will no longer be tolerated by the electors of England and they are prepared to meet the coming storm half way by agreeing to even a drastic reform. Curiously, however, as the hopes of a peaceful compromise increase, the suspicion of the rank and file of both parties increases. The radicals were hostile at first, then they became sullenly reconciled, but to-day they have relapsed and again are openly distrustful.

... The protectionist Tories are equally suspicious, thinking Balfour may attempt to throw over tariff reform. . . . Redmond's arrival will change the entire situation, he being always the rallying point of the radicals when the action of the Ministry is suspected of not being sufficiently firm. . . . The chief hope of the conference is the evident recognition by the Tories that there is no present chance of their winning the next election and the impossibility of any longer defending the House of Lords. Every politician who enters the conference takes his political life in his hands, and it is quite possible that any compromise may end the careers of some of them.

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Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

There was an immense parade of woman suffragists (pp. 195, 210, 211) in London on the 18th, in which 10,000 women marched from the Thames embankment to Albert Hall. The procession was two miles long, and the paraders came from all parts of the United Kingdom. The delegation from Ireland included granddaughters of Daniel O'Connell. Canada was represented by a distinct delegation. There were also representatives from the continent. The occupations were distinguished by representations of women scientists, physicians, hospital nurses, actresses, stenographers and factory girls; and 500 women marched in prison garb. Mrs. Drummond, the grand marshal, with her aides (the Honorable Mrs. Haverfield and Vera Holmes), rode horseback astride at the head of the procession. At Albert Hall, Mrs. Pankhurst's appeal for funds brought \$5,000 from Mrs. Lytton, a noted scientist, and Pethick Lawrence gave \$5,000 more. About \$14,000 was given. Lord Lytton was among the speakers. The cable dispatches report the demonstration as one of the most impressive in favor of a public movement ever attained in London.

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This parade and mass meeting were in support of a women's suffrage bill recently introduced in the House of Commons as a compromise measure between the "limited bill" suffragists and the adult suffragists (p. 195). The measure had been drafted by the "Conciliation Committee for Woman Suffrage"—"a body," says the London Daily News of May 28, "with a clear policy and a definite legislative proposal to submit." The News goes on in the same editorial article to say that the Conciliation Committee—

includes some of the most prominent champions of either of the two views held as to the method by which the question should be dealt with by statute. Friends of the adult suffrage solution and friends of the "limited bill" have come together upon the common ground that the woman's vote is now within the range of practical politics—the present House of Commons, like every House since 1870, showing a majority in favor of that ideal—and that,

in spite of this, a settlement may be indefinitely delayed unless a compromise can be arrived at among suffragists. Those who favor the simple admission of women to the existing franchises on the same terms as men have come to see that there is force in the common Liberal criticism that such a measure would greatly add to the "property vote" and to the facilities for plural voting. Adult suffragists, on the other hand, are ready to allow that that plan promises no early settlement, opposed as it is by most Unionists. The Conciliation Committee, then, propose a working compromise. They have drafted a bill which enfranchises every woman possessed of household qualifications, or of a ten-pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of the representation of the people act of 1884; and enacts that marriage shall not disqualify. This, as the committee point out, practically applies the existing English local government register for women to Parliamentary elections the country over. That franchise has worked well for many years in local affairs. It excludes the ownership and lodger votes. Its basis is thoroughly democratic; the Independent Labor Party has avowed itself that 82 per cent of the women on the municipal register belong to the working class. On the other hand, the measure is experimental in character. Most of the new voters would be women who earn their own living, who pay rates and taxes. Few married women would be qualified. As an "installment" the bill, we think, ought to receive the support of those who favor, as we have done, the adult suffrage solution; and we do not see that any sincere supporter of the other solution need object to the measure.

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The Land Question in Denmark.

Although the recent elections (p. 438) for the lower house of the Danish congress (Rigsdag) turned immediately upon military questions, the land question was involved, as we are advised by Mr. C. M. Koedt (formerly Danish consul at Chicago) who obtains his information from the Danish press, radical and otherwise, and from personal correspondence. The new House consists, he explains, of 57 Liberals, 13 Conservatives, 20 Radicals and 24 Socialists. On the military question the Radicals and the Socialists are united in opposition, the Liberals and the Conservatives being pro-military. On the land question—land value taxation—the Conservatives are opposed, the Radicals and the Socialists are for it, and the Liberal platform at these elections contained a distinct promise in its favor. This promise was accentuated by the former prime minister, and leader of the Liberal party in these elections, in a letter to Sophus Berthelsen, editor of "Ret" (Justice), the Henry George organ. No party in the new Rigsdag has a clear majority, but inasmuch as the Liberals have 57 out of the 114 members, Mr. Koedt infers that the Liberals will form the ministry, the Danish parliamentary system being like the British, and that a policy of land value taxation will be undertaken, unless new elections are

necessitated before the commission on land value taxation reports. This commission was provided for in the budget of the previous Rigsdag. No party even equalling all the others in that Rigsdag, the Radicals were called upon to form a ministry, which they did; and in March last the Radical minister of finance, Dr. Edward Brandes, proposed in the budget an appropriation of Kr. 15,000 (about \$4,150) for making trial valuations of land in city and country places, so as to ascertain by experiment the best way to obtain a valuation of all the land of the kingdom. This appropriation passed both houses and was signed by the King. Mr. Koedt adds the following statement:

Unlike Germany, where the question of land value taxation is compromised in sundry ways, or England where the Daily Chronicle repudiated Henry George, saying, "Our proposal has no connection with the single tax of the Henry George school," in Denmark the principles of Henry George are taught in their purity as nowhere else. His followers there recognize the master, they acknowledge his teachings, are ardent in their desire to spread them among people of all conditions down to the man in the street, and their success has been quite phenomenal. On Henry George's birthday, 50,000 pamphlets were distributed by volunteers all over the country, in railroad stations, schools, cafes, restaurants, street cars, etc. Land values taxation is fast becoming one of the greatest national questions in Denmark. The Henry George movement started in 1888, with the translation of Progress and Poverty into Danish.

NEWS NOTES

—The House committee on Labor decided on the 17th to report favorably a bill creating a Department of Labor with a seat in the President's cabinet.

—A supper in honor of the Rev. H. S. Bigelow will be given at the California Cafe in Kansas City, Mo., on the evening of Friday, the 24th, at 6:30 p. m. The Hon. H. M. Beardsley will preside.

—Richard Parr, a customs deputy at New York, who assisted the government in recovering over \$2,000,000 in the sugar trust frauds (p. 563) is to be given a reward by the government of \$100,000.

—The international secretary of the Socialist Women's organizations, Klara Zetkin, announces the second international Socialist Woman's Conference on the 26th and 27th day of August, 1910, at Copenhagen.

—An appeal to the clergy of Chicago to offer their pulpits on the Sunday preceding Labor Day to men and women speakers to be designated by the Chicago Federation of Labor was adopted by the Federation on the 19th.

—Herr Kuntze, Socialist, was victorious on the 17th at the second balloting in the Reichstag by-election in Germany (p. 61) at Usedom for the seat of Werner Hugo Delbruck, Radical, who was killed recently in the wreck of the balloon Pommern. Kuntze's opponent was Herr von Bohlendorff, Con-

servative, who was defeated by a vote of 10,155 to 9,456.

—A special United States Senate committee to investigate practices used in administering the "third degree" (pp. 435, 444, 469) organized at Washington on the 16th with Senator Brandegee of Connecticut as chairman. His associates are Borah of Idaho and Overmann of North Carolina.

—The largest gathering of Socialists ever held in Chicago met at Riverview Park on the 20th at a picnic to raise funds for the Chicago Daily Socialist (vol. xii, p. 723). The speakers were A. M. Simons, Seymour Stedman, and Mayor Seidel of Milwaukee. There were 50,000 people at the picnic.

—The conference at Peoria, Ill., on legislative representation (p. 562) is to be addressed by Winston Churchill of New Hampshire and Senator Bourne of Oregon. Senator Bourne will speak in the evening of the 27th on "The Oregon Plan," Mr. Churchill in the evening of the 28th on the "Short Ballot."

—Trading in "privileges" or "indemnities" was officially stopped by the Board of Trade of Chicago on the 17th as gambling, under a recent decision of the Appellate Court. Suspensions are reported that this action was preliminary to getting the State legislature to pass a law legalizing "privilege" trading.

—Joseph C. Sibley admits in his sworn statement the expenditure of \$40,698.83 for expenses in securing his nomination for Congress at the Republican primaries in the 28th Congressional district of Pennsylvania. In a vote of 20,000 he won the nomination by 689, defeating Congressman Wheeler, a wealthy lumber dealer.

—In the death on the 18th of A. M. C. Todson of Elgin, Ill., at the age of 77, that city lost an honorable business man and the political progressives a faithful associate. Born in Deitzbull, Germany, in 1833, he came to the United States in 1849, settled in Elgin in 1869, and lived there until his death. Mr. Todson was among the early disciples of Henry George.

—At the biennial Democratic State convention at Augusta, Me., on the 15th Frederick W. Plaisted, Mayor of Augusta, was named for Governor on the first ballot by a vote of 575 to 311. The platform demands the election of United States senators by the people, and indorses the proposed income tax amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

—The United States Senate on the 14th, by a vote of 34 to 16, adopted an amendment proposed by the Senate committee on appropriations, striking out of the sundry civil bill the House amendment which provided that no money appropriated by this measure for the prosecution of trusts in violation of the Sherman act shall be expended for suits against labor organizations.

—Sentences of thirty days in the county jail imposed by Judge George A. Carpenter in August, 1908, against John J. Brittain, George H. Lakey, and Charles G. Grassell of the Carpenters' union for violating an injunction obtained by the Mears-Slayton Lumber Company were affirmed by the Appellate Court at Chicago on the 16th. The offense of the defendants consisted in making an automobile trip to various parts of the city and calling strikes of

carpenters on jobs where material from the Mears-Slayton Lumber Company was being used.

—The Oklahoma Republican convention, held at Guthrie on the 16th, denounced Republican insurgency in a standpat platform and re-elected James A. Harris as State chairman by acclamation. The four Republican candidates for Governor—John Fields, J. C. McNeal, C. G. Jones and T. B. Ferguson—addressed the convention. The nomination will be made at direct primary.

—A Federal suit against the Great Lakes Towing Company, the Pittsburg Steamship Company (the latter being the Great Lakes carrying subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation), and against 30 officers of the two companies, was begun by Attorney General Wickersham's authority in Cleveland on the 18th. The charge is conspiracy in restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

—A new rule in the lower house of Congress (p. 295), carried by the Democrats and the Insurgents on the 17th, divests committees of power to smother legislation which a majority of the House favors. This rule provides that upon petition of any member of the House a majority of the full membership may discharge any committee from consideration of any bill and bring the bill up on the floor of the House for direct action.

—"The Land Value Tax Party" (p. 515) formally announces its organization on May 21st, 1910, with the following provisional officers: Hon. George Wallace, chairman, 359 Fulton street, Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.; B. F. Sample, secretary, 13 Cranberry street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; and W. J. Wallace, 233 Mt. Prospect avenue, Newark, N. J. Financial contributions and personal work are solicited. Enrollment blanks are offered, and a bulletin is promised.

—Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Miss Inez Milholland, the Women's Trade Union League, the Waistmakers' Union and others, were sued on the 14th in the United States Circuit Court at New York by A. Sitomer, a shirtwaist manufacturer, for driving him out of business by aiding the recent strike of shirtwaist makers (p. 182). He alleges that aiding the strikers amounted to conspiracy in restraint of trade under the Sherman anti-trust law, and that he is entitled to triple damages.

—At the Democratic State convention at Allentown, Pa., on the 15th, Webster Grim defeated William H. Berry (vol. ix, p. 204) for the gubernatorial nomination by 191 to 109. The platform charges that "under the mask of protection to American labor, the Republican party has taxed the necessities of life for the benefit of corporate trusts. It has used the tariff not with the Constitutional object of raising revenue but that the trusts may increase their profits and enlarge their dividends. By this unlawful abuse of tariff laws it has increased the cost of living and laid an oppressive and cruel burden upon the mass of the people, to whose cries for relief the present Republican Congress has turned a deaf ear.

—United States postoffice inspectors raided the offices of the United Wireless Telegraph Company in New York on the 15th and arrested Christopher C. Wilson, president of the company, Samuel

S. Bogart, first vice-president, and William W. Tompkins, president of the New York Selling Agency, which, officers of the Wireless company say, was formerly their fiscal agent but has ceased to represent them. Chief Inspector Mayer gave out a formal statement in which he charged that, although the company has been running at a loss, the price of its shares has been advanced by manipulation to fictitious values and that individual officers of the company have sold out their stock to the general public at a profit estimated in one instance at between five and ten millions, with other instances in proportion.

—Europe is suffering from dreadful floods. A torrent that swept the Ahr valley in Germany early last week took, it was estimated, two hundred lives. Oberammergau, where the Passion Play is being given (p. 468), was water-bound on the 15th; and on the same date Switzerland, Servia and Turkish Armenia were reported to be suffering heavily. The worst condition, however, is reported from Hungary, where on the 17th nearly 1,000 deaths were believed to have been caused by the flooding rivers. A dispatch says: "The roads, railways and telegraphs have been destroyed. Thousands of cattle, sheep and hogs have been drowned. The rivers are choked with the carcasses, trees and wreckage of houses. In some villages practically every building has been swept away. Thousands of acres of crops have been carried off with the soil in which they were growing. The population is in despair."

—The Federal grand jury at New York on the 17th found an indictment against eight men of the cotton pool formed last February, charging them with a conspiracy in restraint of trade under the anti-trust law. They are: James A. Patten, the Chicago wheat speculator, who has turned his activities toward the cotton market recently; Col. Robert M. Thompson of New York, who is a silent partner in the firm of S. H. P. Pell & Co., cotton brokers at 43 Exchange place; Charles A. Kittle, who holds a cotton exchange seat for that firm; Eugene B. Scales, cotton speculator of Houston, Tex.; Sydney J. Harman, a cotton speculator of Shreveport, La.; Morris H. Rothschild, speculator and mill owner in Mississippi, and Frank B. Hayne and William P. Brown of the firm of W. P. Brown & Co., both cotton dealers of New Orleans.

—An "Individual and Social Justice League of America" was organized in New York on the 16th "to set clearly before the American people the principles at issue between American thought and life as compared with the economic and political revolutions proposed by socialism; to promote a local adherence to the institutions by which America has come to be a land of freedom, progress and reverence for law; to exemplify and reinforce the faith of the people in personal initiative; to inculcate just conditions of competition while resisting the aggression of private privilege at the expense of public welfare; to defend the workman in his demand for an equitable return for his labor; to uphold the everlasting reality of religion as the foundation of our civilization." Among the officers are the following: President, Rev. John Wesley Hill, D. D., LL. D., Methodist Episcopal; first vice-president, Archbishop John Ireland, D. D., LL. D., Roman Catholic; treas-

urer, Herman A. Metz, former comptroller of New York City; director of literary bureau, Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Slicer, Unitarian.

—A resolution calling upon the Attorney General for information tending to show a conspiracy in restraint of trade between the Carnegie Steel Company, the Federal Steel Company, the American Tin Plate Company, the National Tube Company, the American Bridge Company, the American Steel and Wire Company, the American Steel Hoop Company and the United States Steel Corporation, was passed by the lower house of Congress on the 16th upon recommendation of the committee on judiciary. The resolution also calls for facts tending to show what coal companies, railway transportation companies, banks and insurance companies have conspired with the United States Steel Corporation to increase the cost of iron and steel to consumers.

PRESS OPINIONS

Undemocratic Democrats.

The (South Bend, Ind.) New Era (dem-Dem.), June 4.—Some one has said that a rose would be just as sweet by some other name. We say that a corruptionist is just as black and dangerous if he parades under the name of Democrat as if he claims allegiance to the Republican party. . . . Not all of the big interests will remain permanently identified with the Republican party. When the Republican ship begins to show signs of foundering, like rats they will one after another leave the wreck and look for a more seaworthy craft. Already some very estimable men of means are pointing out the need of a strong secondary party, and expressing the hope that the Democratic party may be rehabilitated. Already the so-called "safe and sane" Democracy are offering themselves as the Moses to lead the almost hopeless Democracy out of the wilderness of defeat into the promised land of office holding. Yes, the Democratic party is in peril, not so much from without as from within. In the dawn of party hopes the organization should take heed in whose hands it places its leadership. If it is to get power and maintain it with credit it must be made clean and remain so. It must keep itself free from entangling alliances with those who would place the rights of property above the rights of man.

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Mr. Roosevelt's Arraignment of English "Sentimentalism" in Egypt.

The (New York) Nation, June 9.—It would be absurd to call John Stuart Mill a sentimentalist. If any man ever spoke from reasoned conviction, he did; yet it was he who said: I am not aware that any community has a right to force another to be civilized." To Roosevelt, all aglow with righteous desire to take uncivilized races by the throat and compel them to be altogether such as he is himself, that saying would seem adrip with sentimentalism; but the real question is whether there is not such a thing as a sentimentalism of fancied superiority and of what Lord Cromer himself called a "brutal antipathy" to the striving upwards of the native Egyptians.

Which is the sentimentalist, the traveler who unsparingly condemns the nationalist movement in Egypt on the strength of hasty impressions, or the cautious and seasoned administrator who pleads for sympathy with it, and warns his countrymen that they must be prepared for temporary abuses of new-granted liberty, and that they, an alien race, cannot "ever create a feeling of loyalty in the breasts of the Egyptians akin to that felt by a self-governing people for indigenous rulers"? Sentimentality may be a broken reed, but it can hardly be a more unsafe support than extemporized knowledge and belligerent cock-sureness.

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Guest Manners.

The (London) Nation (Lib.), June 4.—It seems to make little difference whether one receives Mr. Roosevelt politely or not. The Pope refused to receive him and came off, on the whole rather lightly. Sir Eldon Gorst feted him, and his reward was an amazingly crude and gratuitous attack upon our whole policy in Egypt. No summary can do justice to the vulgarity and ignorance of the oration which Mr. Roosevelt delivered at Guildhall on Tuesday, in return for the freedom of the City.

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More Testimony for Free Trade.

Puck (Ind.) May 25.—The new tariff law which permits the interchange of practically all articles free of duty between the Philippines and the States has almost doubled the volume of trade in both directions. The new law went into effect eight months ago and the improvement was noticeable at once. As it bids fair to continue, the embarrassment of the high protectionist is unlikely to diminish, every dollar's worth of increase making more ridiculous his oft-spoken claim that free trade spells "ruin." The Filipinos are profiting, and the people of the United States are profiting too, by the removal of the stupid obstructions to trade which existed for over ten years, or ever since Spain relinquished the Islands. What is now being demonstrated in a comparatively small way by Philippine trade statistics might be demonstrated in a large way if the tariff obstructions between the United States and Canada were removed for mutual good. If the effect of the removal of the Philippine tariff, the Philippines being five thousand miles away, is almost to double trade in less than a year, the effect of the removal of the Canadian tariff, Canada being right at our door, would be to—well, at all events, it would cause the high protectionist some embarrassment of a most painful sort.

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A Warning to Socialists.

(Chicago) Real Estate News (real estate). June.—Socialism is on trial in Milwaukee. The people of this country heard with complacency the news that the socialists were to be given a chance to try their hand at municipal government. The capitalistic classes, or "bourgeoisie," as the socialist doctrinaires would call them, had made sorry enough work of it, and most people are ready to give Mayor Seidel a fair chance to show whether he can do better. There is every reason to wish his administration well,

and it remains to see how far he and his coadjutors will rise to the occasion. The spokesmen of his party, or a great many of them, proclaim the doctrine that labor, or the "proletariat" has always been used, or "exploited," by capital, alias the "bourgeoisie" for selfish ends; that the exploiters are in effect outlaws; and that the salvation of labor consists in its growth to a knowledge of its slavish condition, otherwise called the development of "class-consciousness." As soon as labor grows class-conscious, it will rise in its might and throw off the yoke of ages. The people of this country are not yet educated up to the acceptance of this gospel, and if Mayor Seidel plays into the hands of its exponents his administration is foredoomed to failure. Workmen, as a body, are too sane to accept the evangel of class hatred, and if the Milwaukee experiment is vitiated by such principles the voters will lose no time in putting an end to it. The administration must, however, be judged by its works, and not by what heady zealots say about it.

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Land Values Taxation in South Africa.

The (London) Nation (Ind. Lib.), May 28.—As we anticipated, Lord Gladstone has summoned General Botha to form the first South African Cabinet, which is understood to be practically complete. It will not include Mr. Merriman, the most brilliant of South African politicians; but an administration which contains men like Mr. Smuts, Mr. Fischer, Mr. Hertzog, Mr. Sauer, Mr. Malan and Mr. Hull will not be wanting either in strength or in experience. In the main, the cabinet will lean to the support of the Dutch and the more moderate British party, out of which Botha's Transvaal ministry was formed. Dr. Jameson will probably be the very capable leader of the Progressive opposition, which has set up a mild protectionist programme, coupled with land reform, and an interesting suggestion of a tax on land values.

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Edward VII and George V.

The (London) Land Values (land value taxation), June.—The Budget of 1909 received the Royal Assent on April 29th. One week later, on May 6th, King Edward VII. died. . . . His last act will almost certainly be regarded in the future as the most notable and splendid of his reign—a reign marked by many liberal and magnanimous acts. But it is twenty-five years since King Edward, as Prince of Wales, signed the Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes. This Report contains the famous passage in favour of rating vacant land written by Lord Stanley of Alderly. It is the first of those official recommendations which have played so great a part in advancing our cause. His actions as King were all consistent with this early action. Every part of his policy favored the advancement of this cause. He has been hailed from every side as the peacemaker of the world, and his work in this respect has helped to prevent any serious interference with devotion to the reform of industrial and social conditions at home. It is generally known that he warmly approved of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's generous policy in South Africa, and the personal friendship which he showed towards the late Prime Minister may justify the in-

ference that he did not view the strong land policy of that Minister with disfavor. . . . In these times when trade and progress of every kind are knitting nations more closely together, the king who loves and works for peace is a great king. He performs a great service to the world. King Edward did this in his great and influential office. His work here can never be undone or its fruits lost. We have every reason to believe that George V. shares his father's spirit. Even if his disposition is different and his experience less, his father's policy has been too successful, too convincing and irresistible in its influence, to be reversed. The efforts to stir up hostility abroad, and carry reaction at home always had to fight against King Edward's influence. This influence did much to defeat them. It will be a difficult task to fill this office as it has been filled for the last nine years, but we are sure that the sympathy of the country will support the new King in his endeavor to continue the tradition and spirit of his father.

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A Journalistic Protest.

The (New York) Evening Post (Ind.), June 9.—As a protest against the daily journalism with which Boston is now favored or afflicted, one hundred and thirty-nine citizens have supplied the capital for a new weekly entitled the Boston Common, six issues of which have now appeared. No person is permitted to subscribe for less than \$100 or more than \$1,000 worth of stock, and the names of the stockholders can be had on application at the office. The purpose of this weekly is thus stated:

The motive of the organization is to publish for Boston and New England a weekly journal of politics, industry, letters and criticism, the primary purpose of which is public service rather than private profit, and to secure for this publication absolute freedom from partisanship, sectarianism, prejudice and the control and muzzling of "influence."

. . . It is indubitably a serious state of affairs when 139 citizens, with no desire to enter journalism as a business venture, find it necessary to indict not only the ability of the press but its trustworthiness. It is evident that not one of Boston's many newspapers has convinced this group of men of its freedom from party or personal bias and from a malign counting-room influence. As if to emphasize the point, they have called to the editorship, from Rochester, Livy S. Richard, the editor of an Aldridge newspaper, whose manliness in resigning his position in preference to supporting the boss in his futile effort to enter Congress, the Evening Post commented on at the time. His employment is a complete assurance that the Boston Common will be wholly untrammelled and always with a mind of its own. . . . It is not the only weekly of protest. In Chicago, for example, Mr. Louis F. Post's Public has won a national, even if small, circulation, primarily among single-taxors. It, too, is privileged to speak its mind without regard to advertisers, or the feelings of any reader who may take offense at its radicalism and outspokenness.

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Liberal mindedness is shown not by what you believe, but by what you are willing others should believe.—Life.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

MENE, MUSCOVY!

Herman Montagu Donner in *Finaka Amerikanarne*
(New York) for June 16.*

Muscovy!
Woe to thee,

Shatter thou not in thy new-kindled rage
The secular manacles forged on thy limbs
With priestcraft of icon and incense and hymns,
Vain mist, thy prophetic vision that dims—
From thy centuries, bondage shake loose; burst thy
cage!

Romanoff!
Trained to scoff

Loud at the people's voice, calling it treason;
Bitter, contemptuous, petulant, proud
In thy purple and phalanxes, tow'rd the low crowd
That sputters of liberty, till it be cowed—
Must Finland now crouch to thy sceptred Unreason?

Mock Diet,
Unquiet

At the nations' high summons that calls thee to
pause
Ere damnest thy name at thy despot's behest
By dragging loth Finland to grim Russia's breast,
In the Bear's arms' feigned love-clasp to see her
life prest—
Know'st not that her children and thine have one
cause?

Finnish folk,
Free of yoke

Former or present, though loyalest lieges
To King and to Czar, and inured to the cross;
Your forebears' proud selfhood must suffer no loss,
Your shot-riddled banners ne'er droop over dross,
Nor yield, the Soul's Fort alien envy besieges!

Muscovy!
Doom to thee,

Dost thou not stem the iconoclast lust
That stretches foul hands, steeped in rapine and gore,
Through a leal young nation's unhinged temple-door
To steal her palladium and strike to her core!
Shall thy Vanguard of Freedom bleed prone in the
dust?

Muscovy,
Lo! I see
Liberty
Dawn for thee,

Albeit her triumphs thy story are sparse in!—
Thy people's own Douma is waiting thy call
To rise from the dust of this bureaucrat's thrall!
That hour they in Finland cry: "Freedom shall fall!"
The finger of doom shall flame forth on their wall:
Mene! yea, mene! lo! tekeli upharsin!

*See "Finland Loses Her Autonomy," Public of June 17, page 563.

THE SENTIMENTALISTS.

Gilbert K. Chesterton in the *London Daily News* of
June 4.

"Sentimentalism is the most broken reed on which righteousness can lean;" these were, I think, the exact words of a distinguished American visitor at the Guildhall, and may Heaven forgive me if I do him a wrong. It was spoken in illustration of the folly of supporting Egyptian and other Oriental nationalism. . . .

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Now there are two sane attitudes of a European statesman towards Eastern peoples, and there are only two.

First, he may simply say that the less we have to do with them the better; that whether they are lower than us or higher they are so catastrophically different that the more we go our way and they go theirs the better for all parties concerned. I will confess to some tenderness for this view. There is much to be said for letting that calm immemorial life of slave and Sultan, temple and palm tree, flow on as it always flowed. The best reason of all, the reason that affects me most finally, is that if we left the rest of the world alone we might have some time for attending to our own affairs, which are urgent to the point of excruciation. All history points to this: that intensive cultivation in the long run triumphs over the widest extensive cultivation; or, in other words, that making one's own field superior is far more effective than reducing other people's fields to inferiority. If you cultivate your own garden and grow a specially large cabbage, people will probably come to see it. Whereas the life of one selling small cabbages round the whole district is often forlorn.

Now the Imperial Pioneer is essentially a commercial traveller; and a commercial traveller is essentially a person who goes to see people because they don't want to see him. As long as empires go about urging their ideas on others, I always have a notion that the ideas are no good. If they were really so splendid, they would make the country preaching them a wonder of the world. That is the true ideal; a great nation ought not to be a hammer, but a magnet. Men went to the medieval Sorbonne because it was worth going to. Men went to old Japan because only there could they find the unique and exquisite old Japanese art. Nobody will ever go to modern Japan (nobody worth bothering about, I mean), because modern Japan has made the huge mistake of going to the other people, becoming a common empire. The mountain has condescended to Mahomet; and henceforth Mahomet will whistle for it when he wants it.

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That is my political theory: that we should

make England worth copying instead of telling everybody to copy her.

But it is not the only possible theory. There is another view of our relations to such places as Egypt and India which is entirely tenable. It may be said, "We Europeans are the heirs of the Roman Empire; when all is said we have the largest freedom, the most exact science, the most solid romance. We have a deep though undefined obligation to give as we have received from God; because the tribes of men are truly thirsting for these things as for water. All men really want clear laws; we can give clear laws. All men really want hygiene; we can give hygiene. We are not merely imposing western ideas. We are simply fulfilling human ideas—for the first time."

On this line, I think, it is possible to justify the forts of Africa and the railroads of Asia; but on this line we must go much further. If it is our duty to give our best, there can be no doubt about what is our best. The greatest thing our Europe has made is the Citizen: the idea of the average man, free and full of honor, voluntarily invoking on his own sin the just vengeance of his city. All else we have done is mere machinery for that; railways only exist to carry the Citizen; forts only to defend him; electricity only to light him; medicine only to heal him. Popularism, the idea of the people alive and patiently feeding history, that we cannot give; for it exists everywhere, east and west. But democracy, the idea of the people fighting and governing—that is the only thing we have to give.

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Those are the two roads. But between them weakly wavers the Sentimentalist—that is, the Imperialist of the Roosevelt school. He wants to have it both ways; to have the splendors of success without the perils. Europe may enslave Asia, because it is flattering; but Europe must not free Asia, because that is responsible. It tickles his Imperial taste that Hindoos should have European hats; it is too dangerous if they have European heads. He cannot leave Asia Asiatic; yet he dare not contemplate Asia as European. Therefore he proposes to have in Egypt railway signals, but not flags; despatch boxes, but not ballot boxes.

In short, the Sentimentalist decides to spread the body of Europe without the soul.

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BRYAN ON ROOSEVELT.

Letter of William J. Bryan to Collier's Weekly of June 18, on Theodore Roosevelt's Home Coming.

The American people will extend a very cordial welcome to ex-President Roosevelt when he returns to the United States after an absence of more than a year. They appreciate what he has done in directing the attention of Europe toward

the public questions which are of universal interest. His notable speech of Paris made a profound impression, and his words are needed in this country as well as in Europe. It is now a little more than fifty years since Abraham Lincoln gave expression to the idea that the man is more important than the dollar; and the phrase that he coined will not die. Mr. Roosevelt's statement that human rights are superior to property rights is but another way of stating the same idea, and the truth that he stated is so obvious that we may well be surprised that it seemed to startle two hemispheres. However, all truth is startling when epigrammatically expressed, and it is sometimes necessary to express the truth in a startling way in order to call attention to it.

But aside from the interest that the people feel in what Mr. Roosevelt has said abroad, they will welcome him home because of the importance of the public questions at issue in the United States. The ex-President is a man of ideas, and he is able to give forcible expression to them. Whether one agrees with Mr. Roosevelt or not, one must be glad, if he believes in free speech, to have him express his views with characteristic clearness. Truth does not shun discussion; it grows in the open, and grows most vigorously where speech is free and the opportunities for debate are broadest.

Mr. Roosevelt has evidently found renewed strength in recreation, and political friends and political foes alike will be pleased to see him again in the political arena, and they will wish him length of days.

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A VISION OF DEMOCRACY.

From the Oration Delivered at the Unveiling of the Garrison Memorial Tablet in New York, May 30, 1910, by Thomas Mott Osborne.*

With the downfall of the Confederacy and the abolition of slavery there passed away the sway of the old oligarchy; are we free, therefore, to-day from the danger of an aristocracy arising in the midst of our democracy?

On the contrary, we are to-day in the hands of an aristocracy—an aristocracy as irresponsible in its brutal selfishness as the world has ever seen—a plutocracy built on special business privilege.

An aristocracy of family descent will have some noble traditions; an aristocracy of land will have obligations; an aristocracy of culture will have knowledge; but an aristocracy of wealth has neither traditions nor knowledge, and recognizes no obligation.

The foundations of this plutocracy lie in the tariff on the one hand, in the exploitation of our public utilities, on the other, and, single-taxers will add, in our system of land monopoly. It has

*See Public of June 3, page 516, and Public of June 10, page 536.

run our party organizations; it has supervised legislation; it has dominated our State and Federal governments; it has made so many multi-millionaires that the world recognizes such as no longer individuals, but as members of a distinct social class.

Strong voices have been raised of late against the more violent aspects of the situation, and in some States remedial legislation has been secured; yet in the very citadel of aristocracy—the tariff—the embattled protectionist still bids defiance to all comers; and the ultimate consumer—the great public—cries in vain not merely for justice but even for an acknowledgment of its very existence.

We are warned that the agitators are jealous of wealth and are injuring business. For one, I am frank to say that we ought to be jealous of wealth that has been amassed at the expense of justice; and that a business which rests upon fraud or special privilege had better be not only injured but destroyed; for such wealth and such business are not upon firm and lasting foundations. It is upon something more elementary than business interests that our Republic rests. As Lincoln said: "I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the Colonies from the Motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance."

To sum up this part of the matter: Aristocracy and Democracy, like Imperialism and Democracy, is a self destructive combination. The two together cannot stand; one will inevitably destroy the other. Unless we fight successfully against special privilege and scatter its benefits, so that the weights shall be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all shall have an equal chance, then will our system of government be fundamentally altered; for aristocracy and democracy can never permanently exist together; one or the other you may have, but you cannot have both.

Would that another Garrison were here, with the courage "to call men and things by their right names"—a voice like his to re-echo through the land, arousing the conscience and stimulating the courage of the Nation! . . .

Brethren: We are trying out, in this country a new system of government—democracy. We have not been long at it, as the world moves. We have had splendid results, and we have survived at least one deadly peril. We have problems before us worthy of any number of intellects to solve; but we cannot solve them, we cannot succeed, we can never retain our proper place in the world's history unless we keep our democracy pure and

unsullied; keep our faith in the splendid results of individual and national freedom; unless we keep on believing, in the noble words of Gladstone, that "it is liberty alone that fits men for liberty." And above all we must make our deeds square with our professions. We must yield to others the liberty we claim as our own God-given right.

Also, brethren, we have all been selfish and careless in allowing the few to take unto themselves what belongs to the many. Gently but firmly, with the utmost personal consideration for those whom we have permitted to forget their places, we must give back to the people what belongs to the people. We must each do his share to bring about that triumph of democracy which Lincoln foresaw.

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THE FIELD.

Robert Jones in the London Labour Leader.

To a certain land there came once a traveler. He had lived cheerfully, and his instincts were not perverted by bad theories or dwarfed by good ones. In this land he felt lonely. He saw a laborer in a field, and leaned over a fence to watch him. The lord of that land passed by, and he also watched.

"I grieve over that laborer," said the lord of the land. "I find work for him in my field, and he lives in abject poverty. I cannot understand it."

"Perhaps," said the traveler, "it is because this is your field."

"No," said the lord of the land, "for you see I find work for him. He lives on work."

"It is a curious land," said the traveler. "Personally, I live on food, clothing, hope, and liberty."

"This is a mere laborer," said the lady of the land, who had joined them; "and besides, I give him a blanket annually. But I suspect he drinks."

"It is a strange land," said the traveler. "I drink myself. Don't you?"

The lady of the land put up her golden pinch nose and said, "Sir!" This was a form of courtesy in the land.

The lord of the land explained in a kind voice. "We certainly imbibe at times—a little champagne—"

"But this creature, I suspect," said the lady, "swills beer." And she sighed, being also kindly.

A charitable person joined them just then. "It is true," he said. "He had what is called half a pint yesterday." The lady sighed again.

"Look," said the traveler, quickly, "the laborer is nearly exhausted. Let us help him."

"Be careful," said the lord of the land, "or you will destroy his sense of responsibility."

"And," said the lady, "make him less deferential, or even presumptuous."

"I should think," said the traveler, "that his deference would be as disgusting as his poverty."

"He himself is disgusting," said the lady.

"Hum!" said the traveler.

The lady adjusted her golden pinch-nose.

"As an expert in these matters," said the charitable person, "I advise caution. I observe that he is not yet destitute. Even now he is about to eat a piece of bread."

"We," said the lord of the land, "are as earnest as you in our desire to help the deserving. I may say I approve of your aims—at any rate, to a large extent. But the time is not yet ripe. Let us come tomorrow."

They led the traveler away and talked kindly with him, and he said, "Hum!"

The next day they came to the field, and found the laborer dying. The traveler spoke with undue warmth as he climbed hastily over the fence. The others followed him through a gate. They found the traveler about to give food and drink to the laborer.

"Stay," said the charitable person, "you are evidently unaware of the iniquity of indiscriminate-ness."

"I can discriminate between a full man and an empty one," said the traveler.

"That," said the charitable person, "is irrelevant. Let me investigate the case."

Thereupon he questioned the laborer with great skill, which the lord and the lady were able to appreciate. The traveler was quite untrained, and merely fidgeted.

In due time the charitable person said: "I think this man is really destitute. It is time to help him a little."

"But, damn it, the man's dead," cried the traveler.

The other three were shocked, but they behaved with dignity.

"At least," said the lord of the land, "he died in a state of independence."

"And," said the lady, "uncomplaining, though perhaps ungrateful."

"And," said the charitable person, "he was not demoralized by aid before he was really destitute. There is even now a crust in his pocket, which I willingly overlook."

"He grew the corn for it," said the traveler.

"In my field," said the lord of the land.

"And yet," said the traveler, "he lived in abject poverty. It is disgusting."

"It is," said the lady; "but we will not reproach him for it now he is dead."

"Hum!" said the traveler.

"Besides," she added, kindly, but with conviction, "this sort of people knows no better."

"It is true, madam," said the traveler, "or he would have kept more corn for himself."

The lady raised her golden pinch-nose, and regarded the traveler with a frigid and calculated

stare. The lord of the land unconsciously assumed the attitude of his ancestors' portraits.

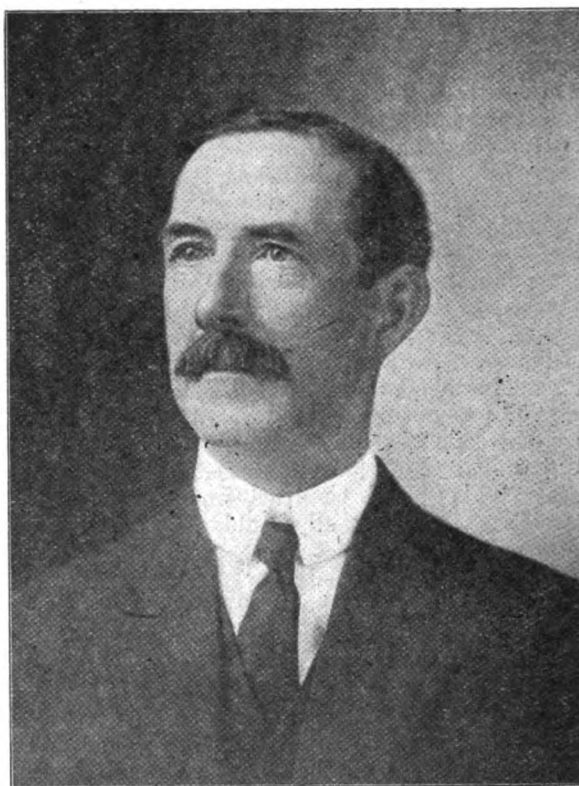
The charitable person moved a little away. He coughed.

"I think," said the traveler, "it is time to make things hum."

* * *

CHARLES D. HUSTON.

Charles D. Huston, Mayor of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, for two terms (vol. viii, pp. 783, 822), and who upon the adoption there of the Des Moines plan of city government by commission was elect-



ed one of the five councilmen (vol. xi, p. 8), was born in Ohio in 1861. At the age of 13 he began learning the printer's trade, with which he is still connected; and in 1887 he settled in Cedar Rapids, where he served in the city council from 1898 to 1902, when he was elected for his first term as Mayor. At his election to the council two years ago, under the new charter, he had a majority of 2301 over the highest defeated candidate, out of a total of 6050, notwithstanding that he is a life long Democrat whilst Cedar Rapids is a Republican town; but at the election last spring the weight of partisanship was too heavy for him and he suffered defeat. Of Mr. Huston a fellow townsman says: "You can't mention a thing that Cedar Rapids has worth mentioning, without coupling it with the name of Charles D. Huston; the most

upright public servant we have ever had, the best hated man by those whose interests are selfish, the best loved man by those whose desires are for justice." His name is especially associated with the ownership by the municipality of its water plant and water power. Mr. Huston is a Democrat who learned his democracy from the teachings of Henry George.

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THE TRUTH AND JOHN BILLINGTON.

Leonard H. Robbins, in the Newark, N. J., Evening News.

John Billington was a leader of thought in a city proud and great,
And Billington's busy goose-quill was a pillar in the State,
And Billington's fame had borne his name to the country's furthest ends.
A powerful man was Billington, with powerful men for friends.

A Spirit stood by Billington's bed, one howling wintry night,
And Billington lifted a startled head and stared at the Thing in White.
"Away with you! To the devil with you!" he gasped, in a sleepy dread.
"You have sent me thither a thousand times; I am tired of the trip," it said;
"A thousand times you have heard me pray for half a chance and the light,
A thousand times you have turned me away—you shall hear me out to-night.
Though you waved me away with your pen to-day, you shall listen now, forsooth;
You shall hearken well to the tale I tell. I am the Spirit of Truth."

A phantom picture flashed in air at the foot of Billington's bed,
And Billington gazed in mild amaze, and his eyes grew big in his head.
He looked at a home of poverty. He saw a dying child;
He saw a young girl, sunk in shame, and a mother who never smiled;
A son bowed down and sullen, bearing the brand of a thief,
And a father hopeless and helpless, too sodden with rum for grief.
And over the picture, in letters of fire, "Want" was the word he read,
And Billington scowled to the Spirit, "What business of mine?" he said.

He looked and saw where, overtime, women and children toiled
Till worthless human hands grew weak and precious goods were spoiled.
He saw a boss with ugly eyes threaten a woman there
Whose hollow cheek foretold too well the end of her struggle and care.
Again he looked, and he saw the death in a driven workman's face,

While a hungry man stood waiting near to enter the empty place.

He turned once more to the Spirit of Truth, and "Bother your show!" said he;

"Scenes like this are common enough. What do they mean to me?"

"Look again," spoke the Spirit of Truth, and spread before his eyes

A smiling land of abundance that stretched to the circling skies;

A land o'erheaped with richness, a kingdom of corn and wine,

Where bounty waited, enough for all, in forest and field and mine.

But cunning and craft had seized the wealth with greedy talon and claw

And set it aside for private gain, and fenced it 'round with the Law.

"Look well," the Spirit commanded, and Billington answered flat:

"A threadbare subject, my shadowy friend. Where is the story in that?"

"God pity your stubborn blindness, man, and forgive you the chance you miss!

Away with your dead traditions! Is there never a story in this,

That Greed would garner the harvest, leaving the owner gaunt;

That the servants would sell to the master and thrive on the master's want?"

Then Billington spoke of property rights, and of customs hoar and old,

And argued his dread of a flag blood-red that would rise if the Truth were told.

"Oh fool!" the Spirit in anguish cried, "Must history make it clear

That yours is the hand that sows the seed of the pestilence you fear?

"For ages long I have striven and toiled to free mankind from wrong.

I have pleaded and prayed for human aid to save the weak from the strong.

I have starved and fought and watched and wrought that the light might enter in

To end the sway of falsehood and banish the curse of sin;

And men have gone to the stake for me, and scorched in the cannon's breath,

And women have writhed in the torture and welcomed the arms of death,

That the Truth might live to serve the world—and then, when the fight seemed won,

I gave the standard to you to guard—to you, John Billington!

"I trusted you with my work to do; I gave you a charge to keep,

I placed in your hand a shepherd's staff to comfort my hunted sheep.

But now you turn it against me, and the Truth must go untold

While you devote your stewardship to the will of the power of gold,

To the pleasure of those who burden the poor, to the greed that fosters crime.

Oh! turn you again, John Billington; be true while yet there is time.
For this is the cry of a thousand souls that down to the Pit have trod—
Who keeps the Truth from the people stands in the way of God!"

But Billington slowly shook his head, with a look disconsolate,
For his was a mighty goose-quill, a pillar strong in the State,
And his was a fame that had borne his name to the country's furthest ends.
A powerful man was Billington—with powerful men for friends.

BOOKS

EMERSON'S JOURNALS

Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson. With annotations edited by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes. 1820-1872. Vol. I, 1820-1824; Vol. II, 1824-1832. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York. 1909. Price per volume, \$1.75 net.

Emerson kept journals faithfully, from the age of seventeen; and, in the belief that "those who care about him, his thought and ideals, may wish to look beyond the matured and sifted work that he left in his books," the editors of these volumes have here preserved large extracts even from his earliest expressions of himself. They begin with the seventeenth in Emerson's notation, but the oldest in their collection, written when he was a junior at Harvard.

At 19 Emerson appears to have become the dupe, in spite of his college education—or, maybe in consequence of it—of that curious interpretation of the equality clauses of the Declaration of Independence which makes them imply that the equality alluded to is equality of personal condition, instead of legal rights. For he states his belief "that nobody now regards the maxim 'that all men are born equal' as anything more than a convenient hypothesis or an extravagant declaration," the reverse being true because "all men are born unequal in personal powers, and in those essential circumstances of time, parentage, country, fortune." And as "nature has plainly assigned different degrees of intellect" to different races—"European, Moor, Tartar, African"—he infers that "this inequality is an indication of the designs of Providence that some [races] should lead and some should serve." Dashing sons of slave-owners were socially regnant at Harvard in those days, in virtue of the sweat of the African faces their families owned, and one of them, "the showy, fascinating John Gourdin," was Emerson's room mate. It is to Emerson's glory that if they influenced him then, he outgrew the intellectual and moral deformity in later life.

That even in his youth his mind worked straight and true when unperverted by the dogmatism of other minds, is evident from this extract, written by him in 1823, when he was but 20:

Trade was always in the world, and indeed, to judge hastily, we might well deem trade to have been the purpose for which the world was created. It is the cause, the support and the object of all government. Without it, men would roam the wilderness alone, and never meet in the kind conventions of social life. . . All else is subordinate. Tear down, if you will, the temples of religion, the museums of art, the laboratories of science, the libraries of learning—and the regret excited among mankind would be cold, alas! and faint;—a few would be found, a few enthusiasts in secret places to mourn over their ruins;—but destroy the temples of Trade, your stores, your wharves and your floating castles on the deep; restore to the earth the silver and the gold which was dug out thence to serve his [Trade's] purposes;—and you shall hear an outcry from the ends of the earth. Society would stand still, and men return howling to forests and caves, which would now be the grave, as (they were) once the cradle, of the human race.

In that paragraph this youthful philosopher grasped a central truth. Man is the only civilized animal, because he is the only trading animal; and his civilization is in proportion, wherever and whenever you find him, to the intensity and extent, and therefore to the freedom, of his trading pursuits.

These two volumes, all that are yet published, are illustrated with sketches by Emerson and several portraits, including an early one of Emerson himself and one of his mother. That great philosophers can be on occasion mere men like the rest of us (thanks be) is nowhere better revealed regarding Emerson than in this expression of his bitter partisanship: "Yet seemeth it to me that we shall all feel dirty if Jackson is re-elected." But Emerson was still a young man then, and it is a long time ago.

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JUDGE LINDSEY'S BOOK.

The Beast. By Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of the Juvenile Court of Denver, and Harvey J. O'Higgins. Doubleday, Page & Company. Price, \$1.50 net.

In this volume are gathered the papers that have recently passed through *Everybody's Magazine*. With courageous candor and in captivating literary style they set out Judge Lindsey's experience with the Beast of privilege in the affairs of Denver.

When the publication of these papers was announced, threats were made; when they began, Judge Lindsey's veracity was attacked. But the publication went on. And now, not only does no one really doubt that they are true, but the people of Denver have vouched for them.

What they disclose regarding Denver, is in great-

er or less degree, and in one variety of form or another, true of most of our cities and even of our national politics. The Beast which Lindsey has wounded in Denver, prowls about wherever profitable privilege is to be got, or having been got is menaced. To read this book is to study the habits of Big Business—for that is the Beast's other name—with reference to politics, churches, educational institutions, small business, society, and the courts.

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AN ABRIDGMENT OF DOVE'S BOOK.

The Theory of Human Progression. By Patrick Edward Dove. Abridged by Julia A. Kellogg. New York: Isaac H. Blanchard Company.

Dove's analysis of progressive human society, profound but simple, scientific but philosophical, has found in Miss Kellogg a thoroughly competent person for an abridgment. Within the narrow compass of less than 150 pages in large print, she has so condensed the scientific philosophy of Dove, which he gave to the world in 1850, and of which Carlisle, Sir William Hamilton and Charles Sumner were sympathetic students, as to make its large principles stand out in clear relief—from mathematics at the base; through the inorganic and then the organic physical sciences; to political economy; and finally to politics, that science "which treats of the moral character of human action whether that action be the action of a single individual towards another individual, or whether it be the action of a whole society or portion of society." Dove's theory attracted the favorable attention of scholars 60 years ago. Its principles are coming every year farther within the range of the modern scientific vision.

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"A TRIBUTE TO THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE."

Psychic Control Through Self-Knowledge. By Walter Winston Kenilworth, New York. R. F. Fenno & Co. Price, \$2.00.

Here we have a thoughtful elaboration of the principles generally taught in what we recognize as the new school of philosophy, though it is largely an old school, happily modernized to meet the expanding views of "the spirit of the age."

The author favors us with his personal understanding of the "Steps to Self-Knowledge," "Stages to Psychic Progress," "Physical and Moral Relations," "The Spirit of Control," "The Visible and the Invisible," as well as many other kindred topics, interesting to the reader metaphysically inclined.

But for such of us as have not time for the expansive reading which Mr. Kenilworth generously gives, there are some practical suggestions sand-

wich in by the way which it might profit us to remember. For instance:

Under the heading of immorality may be included all such insanities as morbid worries of whatever description. Responsible persons have no right to worry. It is sinful. . . . Morbid fears deplete vitality. Worry is as much a sin as any named in the decalogues of religion. The most important influence of worry is its tendency to self-destruction. There are more ways to the suicide's grave than the fitful sudden self-destruction daily witnessed.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Socialist Primer. First Lessons in Socialism for Children. By Nicholas Klein. Illustrated by Ryan Walker. Designed for use in Socialist schools and for private use. Published by the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

—T. R. in Cartoons. By John T. McCutcheon. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.—Introduced by the cartoonist's article in the Saturday Evening Post of a year ago on Mr. Roosevelt as "cartoon material," this is a collection of the Roosevelt cartoons by John T. McCutcheon that have appeared in the Chicago Tribune.

PAMPHLETS

Memorial of Moses Harman.

A handsome pamphlet in memory of the late Moses Harman (p. 111), has been published by his daughter (Lillian Harman, 1532 Fulton St., Chicago; -price 25 cents), in the pages of which are included special contributions by Bernard Shaw, Bolton Hall, Theodore Schroeder, Moses Oppenheimer, Mrs. E. M. Murray, Leonard D. Abbott, Dr. Juliet H. Severance, and Eugene V. Debs. A poem by James F. Morton, Jr., pictures the later modes of martyrdom with Mr. Harriman for his example:

Not his the torture chamber and the rack,
The fiery trial or the mangling wheel; . . .
His was the sterner martyrdom. To live
Long years of witness to the truth; to see
The sword of persecution every hour
Suspended o'er his head; to hear the scoffs
And curses of the witless ones, for whom
He turned from paths of ease, and year by year
From youth to age upbore the heavy cross
Of human want and woe.

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Beware of the House-Fly!

"We don't have flies in Berlin. They only come with filth. We keep our houses and city clean." And the American woman, years ago, a stranger among a group of housekeepers in Berlin, meditated on some of the crudities of her native land. The Fly-Fighting Committee of the American Civic Association (Washington, D. C.), has out a special bulletin, picturesque and practical. "The best way to fight the flies," it says, "is to prevent their breeding;" and "they breed in horse manure, decaying vegetables,

dead animals and all kinds of filth." Use disinfectants on such offal, screen in your houses and food stores, and kill all flies in one of the following ways:

Heat a shovel or any similar article and drop thereon 20 drops of carbolic acid. The vapor kills the flies.

Dissolve one dram of bichromate of potash, which can be bought at any drug store, in two ounces of water, add a little sugar. Put some of this solution in shallow dishes and distribute them about the house. This is a cheap and perfectly reliable fly poison and one which is not dangerous to human life.

But latest, cheapest and best is a spoonful of formalin or formaldehyde in a quarter of a pint of water exposed in the room.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

The editorials in Moody's (New York) for June, indicate that this investors' magazine puts the interests of investors above those of promoters.

The Single Tax Review (New York), for May-June, reports the organization of the "Land Value Tax Party" (p. 515), the Jefferson dinner of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, the dinner to Tom L. Johnson (p. 515), and the dedication of the Garrison and George tablets (p. 516). It quotes from speeches of H. George Wallace and Joseph F. Darling on a single tax bill before the New York legislature

(p. 299); and among its special contributions there is one from an anonymous contributor, "Nicodemus," who, in the role of a "perplexed professor" writes one of the most convincing and attractive short essays that the single tax movement has evoked.

Uncle Remus's Home Magazine (founded by the late Joel Chandler Harris and published at Atlanta), falls into line in the June number with a Roosevelt article by M. A. Lane, who, without ever knowing or ever having seen Mr. Roosevelt, makes a study of him as if he were a distinguished character of a former era.

Collier's (New York) for June also marches full abreast in the Roosevelt welcome home; but Collier's has hopes of Roosevelt in progressive politics. One of its features is a letter of welcome from Mr. Bryan, which Mr. Roosevelt might read with advantage as a study in dignity and patriotism. We reproduce it in Related Things.

The Chautauquan for June is a Woman's Organization number and contains, among others, informing articles on the suffrage and anti-suffrage and the woman's club movements, as well as brief histories of the Collegiate Alumnae, the W. C. T. U., and latest and newest of women's national societies, the Women's Trade Union League.

"The Moral Force of the Community."

I was sitting in Governor Folk's office in St. Louis the other day—they all still call him Governor; it must be that those titles stick to these Southern men because they wear them so becomingly—and the Governor was looking over our St. Louis subscription list.

Turning the pages deliberately—we have nearly 200 on our list here—he looked up at Mr. Ryan, who had introduced me, and said:

"They've surely got the moral force of the community here. How did they get them?"

I explained that the subscription list of The Public had been built up almost exclusively by one man telling another. Here one, there one, and in the course of twelve years it had accumulated something like 10,000 subscribers.

Did you ever stop to think what tremendous vitality a paper must have to do such a thing?

Governor Folk was right—and what is true in St. Louis is true in every city where The Public has a subscription list of any size. That list represents the "moral force of the community."

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But Jonathan P.
Dolliver, he
Saw the country's still full of insurgences.
—Chicago Tribune.

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The elevator conductor of a tall office building, noticing that the colored janitor had ridden up with him several times that morning, remarked: "Sam, this is the fifth time I have taken you up, but you have not come down with me."

"Well, you see," Sam replied, "Ah been washin'

windows on de 'leven' floor, and every now and agin Ah misses mah hold and falls out."—Success.

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"Who is the blindfolded party with the pair of scales?" asked the stranger in the art gallery.

"That represents Justice."

"Oh! I thought it was a sugar weigher."—Washington Star.

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"I hear, doctor, that my friend Brown, whom you have been treating so long for liver trouble, has

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

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

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

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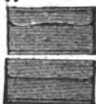
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