

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

From the American Picket Line of Progress.

"The battle is between special privileges and equal opportunity," and "the fight grows more bitter every day." This is the correct and concise characterization of the world's great social struggle which one of the leaders in one of its hottest picket skirmishes made last week in New York. He made it before the Ethical society and his name is Gifford Pinchot.

+ +

Autocratic Coincidences.

Suggestive if not significant is the fact that the day before the Berlin police were clubbing German Socialists for taking a peaceable afternoon stroll in a public park by way of criticising the government without words, the Philadelphia police were clubbing American workingmen for marching through the public streets to Independence Square to hold a mass meeting in criticism of the government with words. The notion that there is much difference between feudalistic kaiserism in Germany and plutocratic capitalism in the United States is frazzling out; and it is such men as Mayor Reyburn of Philadelphia who are doing most of the frazzling.

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Bernard Shaw's Eugenic Satire.

Probably imagination alone, and a lively one at that, could fully appreciate Bernard Shaw's feelings at having his satire on the abhorrent eugenic

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:
From the American Picket Line of Progress..... 217
Autocratic Coincidences..... 217
Bernard Shaw's Eugenic Satire..... 217
The Ship Subsidy..... 218
The Ship Subsidy Graft..... 218
Mr. Taft's Mr. Ballinger..... 218
Progressive Sentiment in Great Britain..... 218
A Little Object Lesson..... 219
Big Business and Taxes..... 219
Prosperity That Doesn't Prosper..... 219
Evolution and Insurance..... 219
The Chicago School-Land Grab..... 220
Chicago Newspapers..... 221
A Clear Vision Regarding Trusts..... 221
Moneymaking Ability No Recommendation for Public Office..... 222
Folk's Platitudes..... 222
Rockerfeller's Comprehensive Benefaction..... 222
Education in the Common Life..... 223

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:
Savings Bank Insurance in Massachusetts (Louis D. Brandeis)..... 224
Primary Election in Wisconsin (J. D. Beck)..... 225

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:
Johan Hansson's Book on War (Lucia Ames Mead)..... 226
A New Fairhope and Arden (Amy Mali Hicks)..... 227

NEWS NARRATIVE:
News of the British Parliament..... 227
London Municipal Elections..... 228
-Prussians Continue to Demand Broader Suffrage..... 228
The Strike in Philadelphia..... 229
Unrepresented Taxpayers..... 229
Pennsylvania Single Tax Conference..... 230
Snowslides and Floods..... 230
News Notes..... 231
Press Opinions..... 233

RELATED THINGS:
Agnostic (Leila Bosworth Wilson)..... 233
The Derivation of "Tariff" (Abbot Kinney)..... 233
Railroad Regulation of Government (Miriam Allen de Ford)..... 234
The Need of Forest Preservation..... 235
The School as a "Melting Pot" (Myra Kelly)..... 235

BOOKS:
Man's Cousins, the Animals..... 236
Pamphlets..... 237

program taken seriously by the American press. It is as if Dean Swift's satire on malthusianism (which, let us remind explorers of biographical dictionaries, antedates Malthus longer than Swift does), were charged up to Swift as evidence of his inhumanity. For Shaw goes so far in his grimly witty assault upon the eugenic program, as to say that "eugenic politics would land us in the extensive use of the lethal chamber," making it "necessary to revise our views of the sacredness of human life," and committing us "to the killing of a great many people," some of whom "would have to be removed simply because it wastes other people's time to look after them." Does not Mr. Shaw clearly enough imply that he detests this sort of thing, and is using against it his own best weapon—the Irish wit that Swift leveled at the British exploitation of Ireland? Yet an obtuse American press, oblivious to Shaw's blunt satire, roundly criticises Shaw as if he were advising murder!

* *

The Ship Subsidy.

Why should private interests receive gifts from the public treasury to carry on their own business? When the farmers wanted government aid in their business, a great hue and cry went up against it. But now Mr. Taft has called on farmers to help him give government aid to ship owners, and in the name of the flag. The flag has been used to hide dirt enough in the past thirty years, but the ship subsidy dirt is perhaps the dirtiest dirt of all. When a set of men march toward the public treasury carrying an American flag, and singing "My country, 'tis of thee," it is "dollars to doughnuts" that they are after "something for nothing" for themselves. Is it very important that sea-going vessels should be American vessels? Is it so important that we must have the government pay a subsidy to the owners of those vessels sufficient to cover their losses? Then let the government build and navigate its own vessels. What the government pays for, the government ought to control and manage. Why should the government pay for keeping up private property?

* *

Ship Subsidy Graft.

Most devoutly is it to be hoped that the petition of the ship subsidy league of Cleveland for an investigation, will be granted and the investigation be drastic. Hardly can an intelligent person read the literature of this League without reading "graft," "graft," "graft" between the lines. Nothing has saved it from grave sus-

picion but the supreme respectability of its promoters; and respectability is no longer a trustworthy guarantee against big grafting. Now, however, specific accusations are made, and unless the investigation is smothered the American people may learn something worth while about this league for the maintenance of private business at public expense. Congressman Steenerson of Minnesota is the official "muckraker" in the case. Mr. Steenerson makes specific accusations of blackmailing tactics by the league against intractable members of Congress; and he asks an investigation of the league along this line of inquiry:

Whether a conspiracy exists for the purpose of promoting legislation in Congress and unduly influencing members of Congress. What funds have been raised for political agitation and for payment to political organizations. What funds have been used to influence newspapers or create public sentiment in behalf of subsidy legislation. Whether threats of libelous or scandalous articles or other intimidations have been used against members of Congress. Whether improper means have been used either to promote or defeat subsidy legislation.

* *

Mr. Taft's Mr. Ballinger.

Congressman Isaac R. Sherwood of Ohio is quoted as authority for the shocking statement that "it is a notorious fact" in Washington that President Taft "appointed Ballinger Secretary of the Interior at the request or demand of the Guggenheim interests because he had to, in order to pay the Guggenheim syndicate for money and influence in carrying the Rocky Mountain States in 1908." This statement, though shocking, is not improbable. That Mr. Taft is the political beneficiary of corruption of various kinds at the election of 1908 is known to pretty much everybody but himself, and it may have leaked out to him. That Mr. Ballinger is in favor with the great interests that corrupted the election in 1908, and they with him, is as plain as if it were labeled in large letters on the back of his outer garment. And that Mr. Taft was willing to protect Mr. Ballinger—even to the extent of being judicially unjudicial in his behalf—is evident from his decision for Ballinger and against Glavis without giving Glavis an opportunity to be heard in reply to Ballinger.

* *

Progressive Sentiment in Great Britain.

Liberal gains at the first by-election to fill a vacancy in the new Parliament, together with the result of the London County Council elections, indicate the strengthening of Progressive opinion in England. There is a steadiness about it all

which suggests growth instead of the hysterics to which a political sweep usually testifies. Three years ago the Progressives were swept out of the London County Council by the "Municipal Reformers"—that name being a euphemism for the plutocrats who also call themselves "Moderates"; but last week the Progressives regained enough of their old position to show that a current against "municipal reform" of the plutocratic variety has set in. And this inference is confirmed by the kind of campaign the Progressives made. One of their effective posters reads in this wise: "Why should the occupier pay (either through rates or rent) and the owner of the land escape? The Moderates (or "Municipal Reformers") support the land owner; the Progressives would *tax him* and relieve *you*." More effective even than that was an election poster which addressed itself to the condition of unemployment that London working men along with those of all Great Britain feel. With striking examples, in figures and pictures, of the abundance of unused and untaxed but valuable land in London, these posters spread abroad the slogan of "Idle Land Makes Idle Men." Parallel with those evidences of a further strengthening of Progressive sentiment in Great Britain is the fact, the news of which is now beginning to reach us on the American side, that the Tories in Parliament dread nothing so much as the possibility of early general elections. The land question has created a formidable solidarity among the Progressives of all parties; and democracy in Great Britain—political and social—is consequently marching on.

* *

A Little Object Lesson.

Reports recently appeared in the real estate columns of the Chicago newspapers, of a sale of vacant lots in Chicago for \$300 a front foot—about \$52,500 in all; and this was over and above expense for street improvement. Less than two years ago the same lots had been bought for \$80 a front foot, or \$14,000 in all. Here was a clear profit, then, in less than two years—"unearned increment," as John Stuart Mill called that kind of thing—of \$38,500, on an investment of hardly a third as much. The owner did nothing to make that increase. It was a product of the growth of the city, and under the Lloyd George plan for Great Britain, if it were adopted here, the city of Chicago would get 20 per cent of that \$38,500. Why not? Isn't the argument—moral, civic, and commonsensical—stronger for taking the whole \$38,500 for public use, than it is for not taking \$9,625 of it?

Big Business and Taxes.

Whoever the literary fellow of the Cleveland Citizens Savings and Trust Company may be, he is what Artemas Ward might have called a "komikal kuss." In a statement he has prepared for his company for submission to the quadrennial appraisers in Cleveland, he makes it say that increased taxes on vacant land will necessitate increased rentals! At all events the Cleveland News describes the statement as asking "that the Board keep values on a conservative basis, especially on vacant property," and earnestly requesting that values be not fixed which will "necessitate such increased rental as to become burdensome." The "komical" thing about this "komikal kuss's" earnest prayer, is its implication that rents would be increased by taxes tending to glut the real estate market with vacant lots for building purposes. But there is a serious feature about it; and that is the fact that an institution for the savings of the thrifty poor should petition for "conservative" valuations especially on vacant lots. "Conservative" means either fair or fraudulent. If it means fair, the suggestion is that it be so especially only as to vacant land. If it means fraudulent, the suggestion is that vacant land owners be especially favored. But if there is to be any discrimination, ought it not to be in favor of homes instead of forestalled spots for homes?

* *

Prosperity That Doesn't Prosper.

Speaking of prosperity—last year's prosperity, on which the business papers harped so constantly throughout the year, and so jubilantly—here is what one of the charity organizations says about it:

The significant feature of the past year's work was the continuance of the hard times of the previous year. While the actual number of different cases dealt with was somewhat less, the intensity of need was even greater than during the winter of 1907-08. The return of prosperity has been slow, and need has increased with the protraction of the period of unemployment.

That candid statement is from the report for 1909 of the superintendent of the Bureau of Associated Charities of Newark, N. J. It is much more closely in accord with the impressions one may derive from general observation than are the "jollies" that emanate from business circles.

* *

Evolution and Insurance.

In the material world we see evolution mainly as a result. In the social world we see evolution as a growth and in the growing. In the matter of

insurance, for example, we see evolution at work: The Massachusetts industrial insurance law, drafted by Louis D. Brandeis, has been in operation one year. Not only has it benefited workers and other savings bank depositors in Massachusetts, but it has had the effect of reducing industrial insurance in the whole country, and has brought about some needed reforms in the methods of industrial insurance companies. Evolution in insurance is in the direction of state insurance for the benefit of all workers, at the lowest possible cost, in obedience to the law of human progress that "men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion." True, that will increase land values; but increased land values will, before many years, mean increased public revenues for social purposes.

* *

The Chicago School-Land Grab.

A fine bit of journalistic enterprise must be credited to the coterie of land grabbers who dominate the columns of the Chicago Tribune. They have published in full the report of a master in chancery in the suit of the Board of Education against the Tribune (vol. xi., p. 124; vol. xii., p. 409) to annul the Tribune's unlawful and fraudulently altered ground lease. But as that report is in their favor its publication in full would be stronger, as an indication of journalistic enterprise, if they had ever devoted so much as a small fractional part of that space to the evidence in the case. Since they have always run to cover heretofore, the enterprise of this publication is properly in question. Maybe it was influenced by personal rather than journalistic considerations. And all the more probable is this, since the publication carries an implication that the case has been conclusively decided in the Tribune's favor, whereas there is in fact only an opinion by a master in chancery, which has no value unless a court confirms it.

*

The Master in Chancery in this case is Roswell B. Mason. He is the grandson of a former mayor. A young lawyer in actual practice in Chicago in connection with large interests, he is hardly removed by his quasi-judicial functions from those subtle influences of Big Business which unconsciously affect even the best and strongest men at the bar. That so young a man should have been vice-president of a two million dollar corporation, partly owned by a great combination of railroads, and is still one of its directors; or that he has had close personal and professional association with one of the

members of the Tribune's law firm in this very case, as is reported—these facts are not necessarily inconsistent with a conscientious, intelligent and courageous performance of his duty as Master in Chancery. Nor are they referred to here with any such suggestion. But if—with those associations and the certainty of Tribune virulence had his conclusions in the case been otherwise than they are—Mr. Mason has really had the acuteness to penetrate the merits of the Tribune case judicially and the courage to decide against the Tribune if need be, he is a young man of surpassing intelligence and unusual courage.

*

At any rate, it will be well to await the decision of the courts, and not the Chicago courts alone but of the Supreme Court of the State—which must overrule itself in order to decide in favor of the Tribune—before concluding that the Tribune is not a school land grafter, or even that its school land graft is permissible by law. Meanwhile let well meaning citizens of Chicago consider this interview with Clarence N. Goodwin, the special attorney for the Board of Education in the Tribune case. We take it from a Hearst paper, the Chicago Examiner, which will doubtless provoke criticism; but we can't help that, for the "respectable" papers didn't use it—most of them being in the same land graft boat with the Tribune, and the others having a fellow feeling. Even the Tribune lacked the space for this important interview, having devoted so much to the other side. Mr. Goodwin said:

While the Master's report is adverse to the complainants, I consider the evidence taken highly satisfactory. The Master's adverse findings are due to the conclusions which he draws from the facts shown. There is not a great amount of difference of opinion as to what the facts shown by the evidence are. In our objections we have called attention to the numerous facts which the Master did not find specifically. As to his conclusions of the law, it does not seem that they can be sustained in view of the recent decisions of our Supreme Court, particularly in the case of Imperial Building Company vs. The Open Board of Trade. We contend that the substitution of a fixed rental for the revaluation clause in the ninety-nine-year leases transforms them into sales within the meaning of the statute, which prohibits any sale of school land except by the City Council upon the application of the Board of Education. The Master finds, contrary to the Tribune's contention, that the land is held in a charitable trust. Under the express decisions of the courts, the burden of showing the lease to be fair rests upon the party taking a lease of charitable property. We contend that the surrender of a revaluation clause was obviously unfair to the charity. This evidence is borne out by

the finding of the Master that since the change was made the property has increased in value from 60 to 75 per cent. The Master finds that Mr. Trude's connection with the Tribune as its attorney in libel suits disqualified him from participating as a member of the Board in the modification of the Tribune leases; but further finds, however, that Mr. Trude's participation, although unlawful, did not invalidate the lease, because there was a clear majority in favor of the change without his vote. With all due respect to the Master, this latter holding does not appear to be the law, and it is against the great current of authority in this country and in England. In this connection it may be said that Mr. Trude's connection with the proceedings were not merely of a formal character. The record shows that he argued in favor of the change in committee; that he moved the adoption of the report authorizing the change; that the very day following this committee meeting he strenuously urged that the Board take action that night without further considering the matter, and that at the following meeting he voted against all motions to make changes favorable to the Board and seconded a motion to lay the motion to reconsider the change in the lease upon the table. After the meeting when the officers of the Board were served with notice that Judge Trumbull and others would apply for an injunction before Judge Tuley the following morning, he urged the execution of the agreement without waiting until Judge Tuley could hear the motion. This was done the following morning before the parties went into court. That the surrender of the revaluation clause was grossly improvident is clear from the evidence received.

* *

Chicago Newspapers.

Charles Edward Russell writes with rude candor of the Chicago press, when he replies in the Chicago Daily Socialist to their criticisms of a recent very true magazine article of his about them. "Some of these journals," writes Mr. Russell, "have been good enough to favor me with their condemnation because of a recent article of mine. I do not know exactly what they accuse me of, but certainly here are some things that are not included in the charges: Practicing the 'kinchin lay,' cheating children of the money that belongs to them for their education. Leading a Sunday school on Sunday and hiring thugs to beat newsboys on Monday. Acting as the lackey, legislative agent and political heeler of the beef trust. Taking money from and protecting law-breaking corporations. Printing advertisements of disorderly houses. Accepting stock in a street railroad company in payment for advocating its dirty and dishonest schemes. Blackmailing advertisers. Doing the smug reformer act. Using a pretended zeal for the 'uplift' as a handy adjunct to a political ambition. Protecting gamblers, dive keepers and

election thieves. Buncoing the people of Chicago with a thimble-rigging ordinance. Also other items at the service of anybody that desires to learn of them. I don't care a hoot what any of these papers say about me so long as it is nothing in the way of commendation. I didn't live many years in Chicago without learning the essential facts about these precious publications. I know whose collar is on the neck of each of them, and I should no more desire approval from such a source than I should desire the attentions of a pole cat."

* *

A Clear Vision Regarding Trusts.

We have had occasion before to note the clear vision of Charles Ferguson in his signed editorials in the Hearst papers; but nothing more hopeful has come to our attention than his recent words on the question of trusts. "With its maze of conflicting interests," Mr. Ferguson urges, "law-makers cannot possibly succeed by mere tentative experimentation. Success is impossible without the discovery of some clear principle that will reconcile all the interests that deserve to be reconciled, and furnish a simple clew to the labyrinth. I submit that such a clew is to be found in the principle that free competition and governmental regulation are two different ways of doing the same thing—that competition is desirable when it is real, but that some very effectual kind of public regulation should begin at the point where effectual competition ends. The identical thing aimed at both by competition and by regulation is the service of the public. The insistent demand of a civilized people is that it shall get the best possible goods and services at the lowest practicable prices. Where real competition is possible, this demand can be registered and make good in the market place. But with the growth of consolidation and monopoly, it becomes necessary that the demand shall be carried into the state house—and made effectual there instead. Private monopoly is intolerable in a free state." Getting "the best possible goods and services" for the least possible *work*, would be a better phrase than "at the lowest practicable *prices*"; but Mr. Ferguson doubtless uses the term "prices" as a colloquialism for "work" in this connection. His suggestion might be regarded also as requiring that government monopoly take the place of competition whenever the market does not register correctly, and without considering whether there may not be an institutional joker concealed in its registering apparatus. We assume, however, that he has in mind a genuinely free market, a market

which registers interchanges of free labor. There is no escape, then, from his conclusion. Government monopoly should begin where free competition ends.

* *

Moneymaking Ability No Recommendation for Public Office.

A point of general interest has arisen in connection with the—shall we call it trial?—of Dwight H. Perkins, school architect of Chicago, by the delectable Mayor Busse's "business" school Board, ostensibly for long concealed "incompetency" as an architect, but really for "insubordination" in respect of the privileges of a building contractors' ring. We allude to certain assurances of the "business" president of this "business" board—a factotum of the beef trust,—in an impudent letter to the City Club regarding its courteous request that the Perkins "trial" be in the open. He assured that club of the competency of the members of the Board to handle the matter without outside advice, because they have been successful men in business. Parenthetically, it might be remarked that the business success of some of them, like that of the Mayor who appointed them all, is of a kind that one might in the mellow years of life prefer not to have had—a kind which even they would be sensitive enough to shrink from describing in all its "executive session" ramifications. But the point we wish to emphasize as of general interest, is the notion of the beef trust president of the Chicago school board—for it is a general notion—that success in a private money making business especially qualifies for usefulness in public office. It is not so, and in the very nature of things it cannot be so. So far from qualifying for usefulness in public office, success in the modern art of making money naturally would and actually does disqualify. Any man who has spent his life in grabbing dollars—regardless of how, so he keeps out of jail—and piling them up for himself, is the very worst kind of man to put in charge of community interests unless he first reforms.

* *

Folk's "Platitudes."

It has been said by those who have studied his career that Joseph W. Folk, formerly Governor of Missouri, is "a man of platitudes who believes in his platitudes." Nothing better could be said of any public man. The heart of the objection to most men of platitudes is that they do not believe in them. "All men are created equal" is a repulsive platitude on the lips of a pro-slavery man, an

aristocrat, or a plutocrat; but "all men are created equal" is music on the lips of a genuine democrat. "Thou shalt not steal" is cant on the lips of an advocate of special privilege; but "thou shalt not steal," on the lips of a man to whom unjust appropriations are theft though the law allows them, is vital and inspiring. In this view, some of the recent platitudes that Mr. Folk has uttered place him in the front rank of democratic Democrats. He wrote them for the Kansas City Post last November. Among these platitudes, which are as pearls when the man who utters them understands and believes in them, we reproduce the following:

The Democratic party should fight, not wealth, but the wrongs that make poverty. The conditions that produce poverty are the conditions out of which tainted riches grow. The equalization of the distribution of wealth is the most serious problem confronting the American people. The maxim of Jefferson: "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none," expresses every essential element of real democracy. With this motto as a guide, the infamies of privilege in every form can be destroyed, and unto all men can there be restored the equal right that belongs to each, the fair and the equal opportunity of each and every man to live and labor and to enjoy untrammelled the gains of honest toil. The rock in the way of equal rights is privilege. The battle of true Democracy should be to overcome the entrenched privilege harpies. The privilege of lawlessness leads to graft, and to a government by the few, with wealth and political power enough to secure official favors.

Then there is privilege conferred by law. The most conspicuous privilege of this description is the protective tariff. The Democratic party should make a straightout fight against the present system of protection. . . . The real purpose of protection is to stifle competition and to that extent give monopoly. The time has come to protect the people from monopoly instead of protecting monopoly from the people. . . . Whenever a few men obtain more than they ought to have through privilege, there must be some who will have less than they should have.

In those words upon monopoly, the political situation in this country is pointedly suggested. The time has indeed come—it came long ago, but it is not past—"to protect the people from monopoly instead of protecting monopoly from the people."

* *

Rockefeller's Comprehensive Benefaction.

We are inclined neither to condemn nor to approve John D. Rockefeller's proposed sight-unseen endowment of any or all social work to which his trustees may now or hereafter apply its munificent income. Since it may be the expression of a genuine purpose to do good in the world with the bloated fortune he has acquired, we cannot condemn him personally. Since there is no other

practicable way in which he could accomplish the beneficent design we assume him to have—except, of course, by doing exactly as we ourselves would have him do—we cannot condemn his method. But neither can we approve his method on its own merits. For what is it but a method for distributing, through trustees or a corporation, to future generations, the earnings of the labor of those generations?

*

Mr. Rockefeller will not pass over to his trustees for the purposes he contemplates, any existing wealth of much moment. He will pass over little but paper evidences of title. And evidences of title to what? Simply to ownership of the earth. What, then, will be the nature of the income his trustees or paternalistic corporation will dispense? Nothing whatever that he has earned, or even acquired. Nothing whatever but a proportion of the earnings of the people of the future. They will pay some of their earnings to Mr. Rockefeller's posthumous representatives as profits on their uses of the earth, and his representatives will distribute that income in their discretion, probably for the "greater good" for which the endower lived and his endowment is to be established. But isn't this better than to have Mr. Rockefeller's heirs use that income selfishly? Let us not be too sure of that. In selfish hands those indefensible titles might not be so secure from exposure and abrogation, as in the hands of a beneficent corporation. Neither would they be the source of so much power for evil. Corporations are managed by trustees; trustees are men; men are human. Could not such an endowment be used with mightier force than heirs could use their patrimony, to bolster up social and industrial conditions in perpetuation of privilege—schools, colleges, pulpits, magazines, newspapers?

* * *

EDUCATION IN THE COMMON LIFE.

We boast of our public schools. We never tire of boasting of them, we braggart and blusterful Yankees. But there is something wrong in the system or in its economic setting,—something that we ought to lack the heart to boast about. Notice this result of an inquiry into what the system does for our children, made by H. J. Waters, president of the Kansas Agricultural College, and reported by him in his inaugural address:

Of the eighteen million children in the graded schools in the United States today, less than a million, or less than one in twenty, will ever matriculate in a high school or academy. Moreover, of the

nine hundred thousand pupils in the secondary schools, only about two hundred thousand will be enrolled in our colleges and universities, or approximately one out of every four. It requires, therefore, approximately eighty pupils in the grades to supply one college or university student. Less than one in five of these college and university matriculates graduates. Therefore, over four hundred graded school pupils are required to furnish one college graduate. Of more significance than all this is the fact that seven out of every eight of the boys and girls of the United States leave school between the fifth and sixth grades and go out into a world of splendid opportunities without the training and intellectual power to enable them to take advantage of these opportunities.

*

This condition may be accounted for in part by the pitiful financial state of parents, which drives them to put their children to work as soon as the law permits, and sooner still if they can evade the law. It may be accounted for in part by the eagerness of school children to get out into the world and earn a little money. It may be accounted for in part by the failure of public school authorities to relate education to the common life, in consequence of which pupils lose interest in the schools, or never get any. Other factors still may enter in. But be the cause what it may, there is little to boast of in a school system which empties its class rooms, between the fifth and sixth grades, of seven out of eight of the pupils that have entered.

*

One of the effects of this weakness is a large population of American grown men and women whose education is utterly inadequate to their abilities, and it may be to their opportunities. We know of no better illustration of this than that afforded by the Ferris Institute, which is located at Big Rapids in the lumbered-off regions of northern Michigan. This institution was founded a quarter of a century ago by Woodbridge N. Ferris and his wife, when they realized the narrowness of the public school regime, under which both had worked. Their aim was to educate for life as it is lived, and to this end the Institute places no maximum limit of age upon its pupils. Among the thousand or two who pass through this institution annually are youths of fifteen, young men in their twenties, and men of middle age. From a, b, c's up, through a professional preparatory, and regardless of sex or age, these pupils study and work together, in some cases for a little time, and in others through the course and into the State university, to which their graduation here entitles them. To the limited extent of its facilities, this

unique institution, besides serving the immigrant, takes up the human material that has drifted away from public schools, and does for it what we ought to be able to boast of our public schools as doing.

A visit to Ferris Institute is full of suggestion as to what might be made of the public school system. It is not a place for "cramming" nor for "stunts." It is distinctly educational in purpose, spirit and atmosphere. And it is democratic to the core. It could hardly be otherwise with Mr. Ferris at its head. He will be recognized as the Democratic candidate a few years ago for Governor of Michigan, whose popularity throughout the State gave him so large a vote that his election was anticipated. But he is no mere traditional Democrat. He is a democratic Democrat who has the courage and leads the life of his convictions.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SAVINGS BANK INSURANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston, Mass.

We have recently closed the first year of our savings bank system in operation, and the following review of what has been accomplished in this pioneer work may prove of value generally in the effort for social betterment:

First—Following the publication of an article in *Collier's* September, 1906, a plan for legislation of the character therein referred to was submitted to the Recess Insurance Committee appointed by the Massachusetts legislature of 1906, and the plan was unanimously recommended by that committee to the legislature of 1907.

The Savings Bank Insurance and Annuity bill was passed on June 26, 1907. The trustees of the General Insurance Guaranty Fund, who exercise general supervision over the system, were appointed in July, 1907. The State actuary was selected by the trustees in October, 1907. The large amount of work required of the State actuary and State medical director before the system could be put into operation delayed the opening of the insurance department of any bank until the end of June, 1908, when the Whitman Savings Bank established its insurance department. Even then the preliminary actuarial work had only been in part performed, and it was not until some months later that the system was in what may be called working order. The People's Savings Bank of Brockton opened its insurance department November 2, 1908.

Second—The financial year of the savings banks begins November 1. The first year, therefore, of the savings bank insurance system in operation closed October 31, 1909. The report showing the operation of both the Whitman Savings Bank and the People's Savings Bank of Brockton has just been made with the following result:

1. The aggregate insurance of the two banks outstanding at the end of the year (not including an-

nulty or pension policies) was about \$1,000,000,—the policies being 2,521, and averaging \$393.79.

2. The insurance departments earned, after setting apart the full legal reserve, calculated on the most conservative basis, and in addition an amount equal to four per cent of the premiums to the trustees of the General Insurance Guaranty fund, and paying interest at the rate of four per cent on the special guaranty fund of \$25,000 for each bank, a surplus from which they have declared payable to the holders of all of the monthly premium policies a dividend of 8½ per cent.

For the payment of this dividend only 25 per cent of the surplus profit earned is required. The remaining 75 per cent of the profits is set apart as a surplus guaranty fund, in addition to the legal reserve and the contribution to the General Guaranty fund referred to above. Of the expenses of the insurance department during the past year, over two-thirds has consisted of medical fees. The percentage of these to premiums is of course unusually heavy in the first year. The State actuary believes that when the system is in full operation, the dividend on the monthly premium policies will be much larger than 8½ per cent, and that a dividend of 20 per cent may reasonably be expected.

Third—The present monthly premium rates are 15 per cent less than the present industrial rates. Savings bank policies, however, being participating policies, the policyholders, even with the present dividend of 8½ per cent, get a rate which is 22 per cent less than that of the industrial companies. Putting it in another way—the present industrial companies' rate is about 30 per cent higher than the net savings bank rate based on this year's dividend.

The rates on the quarterly premium policies of the savings banks, of course, do not show so great an advantage over that of the other companies, but the net rates are believed to be the lowest rates for policies of similar amount attainable in any legal reserve company.

Fourth—The reduction of rates which the savings insurance banks offer has been made possible by marked changes in the system of doing business. The industrial companies through their solicitors have a house to house solicitation for business, and a weekly house to house collection of premiums, the compensation of the solicitors and collectors being directly dependent upon the amount of the business written and the premiums collected. The savings bank insurance law prohibited the banks from employing paid solicitors and collectors. It undertook to substitute for these unpaid agencies, and the business actually written by the banks has come mainly through such agencies.

Among these agencies are the following: United Shoe Machinery Co., Beverly; George E. Keith Co., Brockton; Fore River Shipbuilding Co., Quincy; Dennison Manufacturing Co., S. Framingham; Regal Shoe Co., Whitman; B. F. Sturtevant Co., Hyde Park; Commonwealth Shoe & Leather Co., Whitman; Boston Typothetae, Boston; Talbot Mills, North Billerica; American Hide & Leather Co., Lowell; F. W. Bird & Son, East Walpole; People's Institute, Boston; Wells Memorial Institute, Boston, and Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston.

Fifth—The amount of business done by the sav-

ings insurance banks, and the advantage in rates now offered, will be but a very small part of the achievement of the savings bank insurance movement. Its greatest success by far has been in its effect upon the industrial insurance companies.

When the abuses of industrial insurance—the terribly high cost to the policyholder, the huge expense rate and the forfeiture of policies—was called to the attention of the public, it was asserted by the industrial companies that their business was admirably managed, and that the high cost to the policyholder, and the apparently onerous provisions of the policies, were a necessary incident to the business. The lessening of these abuses since the savings bank system was inaugurated has been marked:

1. For a period of at least twenty years prior to the inauguration of the savings bank insurance movement there had been no reduction in the premiums of industrial policies. In the three years since the movement was started, industrial insurance companies' premiums have been reduced on an average of about 20 per cent, the first large reduction having been made as of January 1, 1907, after the plan was submitted to the Legislative Recess Insurance committee; the second as of July 1, 1909, after the system had been put into successful operation.

This reduction will soon result in an annual saving to the working people of Massachusetts alone of from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000; for the amount of industrial premiums collected by the companies in Massachusetts was, in 1908, \$8,062,389. A relatively small part of the premiums of that year had the benefit of the reduced rate, but as the average life of an industrial policy is less than four years, it will be seen that the saving to the working people, resulting from this reduction in rates in Massachusetts, will, in a few years, rise above \$1,000,000 annually.

The saving in Massachusetts represents, however, only a small part of the saving to the working people of America from the reduction now made. The total industrial premiums collected in the United States in 1908 was about \$90,000,000.

It will be but a few years when the saving effected on the volume of insurance represented by such premiums will be between \$10,000,000 and \$15,000,000 a year.

2. Another great change to the advantage of policyholders resulting from the inauguration of the savings bank insurance movement is the increase of the amount payable in case of the death of the insured within the first year after the policy is written.

For probably twenty years prior to the inauguration of the savings bank insurance movement, the policies of the leading industrial companies provided that in case of death within the first six months, only one-fourth of the face of the policy would be paid, and in case of death within the second six months, only one-half of the face of the policy would be paid.

The savings insurance advocates insisted that such provisions were in effect delusive, and in view of the fact that more than one-half of all industrial policies lapse within a year, the effect was to make the industrial insurance for an appreciable portion of the average time covered by the policy, not only twice as expensive as ordinary insurance, but indeed four or eight times as expensive.

The savings bank insurance policies provide that the full amount written in the policy shall be payable even in case of death immediately after the policy is written. Since the inauguration of the savings bank insurance movement, the industrial companies have made the full benefit of the policy payable in case of death six months after the policy is written, and one-half payable in case of death within the first six months.

3. For the last ten years prior to the inauguration of the savings bank insurance movement, the two leading industrial companies gave no cash surrender value until the end of twenty years after the date of the policy, and in case of lapse of policy, gave a small paid up value after three years, but denied to the insured the right to extended insurance.

The Savings Bank Insurance act provided that no policy should be forfeited after premiums covering six months had been paid, and that in the event that premium payments then ceased, the insured should have either a cash surrender value, paid-up insurance or extended insurance.

Since the inauguration of the savings bank insurance movement, the two leading industrial companies have changed their policies so as to give extended insurance after three years, and a cash surrender value after ten years.

Sixth—It is of course apparent that the great success of this movement in effecting such important reforms in the abuses of the industrial companies has made competition with them more difficult. The advantages over them in rates and terms which we had to offer when the movement started, so far as the policyholders are concerned,—have been lessened by half through the reforms which our movement led the companies to adopt. They claim now to have accepted the principle on which savings bank insurance rests,—namely, that the working people should be served in respect to life insurance by a social institution rather than by an exploiting business,—and have given some evidence of an intention to act upon it. It seems to us, however, that even if the industrial companies were conducted with a sincere desire to serve the people, that could not be the sole purpose of their organization; that a necessary incident, if not the purpose of the business, is the control by a few capitalists of a vast aggregation of savings drained from the working people of the whole country,—which presents dangers and develops abuses that cannot safely be ignored. No system of workingmen's insurance based upon such a foundation can secure the confidence of the working people. It is the aim of the savings bank insurance movement to counteract such danger by the necessary localization of the reserves in altruistic institutions as much as to reduce the burden of insurance premiums.

Far more has been accomplished by the savings bank insurance movement within the three years than even its most ardent supporters had dared hope for.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS.

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PRIMARY ELECTION IN WISCONSIN

Madison, Wis.

What has been the effect of the direct primary upon voters, parties, party machines, candidates,

newspapers and public service corporations? What amendments to the present primary law in Wisconsin are generally desired? What proportion of the voters attend the primary? To what extent do members of one party vote in the primaries of other parties? To what extent have nominees been the choice of a majority of the party selecting them? What has been the influence of the alphabet in determining nominations? Do cities have a disproportionate influence under the direct primary system? What has been the attitude of the voters toward independent candidates at elections?

These questions are taken up and answered in a report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics now in press. Some of these questions can be answered from statistics; others cannot. As far as possible, the questions have been answered by analysis of the primary election returns of September, 1908. The other questions have been answered by comparison of the opinions of the friends and the opponents of the direct primary. In discussing questions which can be answered by opinion only, the method followed has been to present first the points upon which practically all are agreed, and then to contrast the conflicting opinions in matters of dispute. There has been sufficient experience with the new system so that the pamphlet is able, either from election statistics or from the substantial agreements of observers, to give definite answers to a majority of the questions indicated above.

The following facts are fairly well established in this pamphlet:

The direct primary brings the voters and representatives closer together.

The excessive use of money in campaigns while not caused by the primary system has certainly not been cured by it, and it is on all hands agreed that some check is absolutely essential.

There has been a confusion of party lines, and it has not thus far been possible to prevent men from participating in the primaries of parties which they do not entirely support at the general election. This may in small part be due to the discreditable purpose of undermining a party by helping to nominate a weak candidate, but it is apparently more often due to the independence of electors. (The recent amendment designed to hold voters constantly to their parties has not yet been put to the test.)

The direct primary has not destroyed party bosses and machines, but it has caused readjustments that seem to have left the bosses with less autocratic power.

There has been no perceptible change in the character of nominees, but they are now more responsible, and are chosen less arbitrarily.

The contests of candidates for sheriffs brought out more votes than that for United States senator; and those for register of deeds more than that for governor, showing that conspicuous offices do not necessarily enlist the greatest interest on the part of the voters. More important factors in stimulating interest are close contests, and the rivalries and chains of friendships which grow out of personal acquaintanceship.

More than half of the voters at the general election voted for sheriff in the preceding primaries, while 40 per cent of the vote was cast at the pri-

maries for candidates for attorney general, an office for which there were no important contests.

The Republican vote at the primary was nearly 80 per cent of the Republican vote at the general election, showing that the primary is a matter of keen popular interest in the dominant party, and of relatively little interest in the others. The primary brought out between a fifth and a fourth of the Democratic strength, a sixth of the Prohibition strength, and not quite a seventh of the Social Democratic strength.

In the Republican party there were 536 nominations for county offices out of a possible 568. In only 264 of these cases were there any contests, and there were only 101 cases, or 18.8 per cent of the whole, in which the nominee failed to receive a majority vote. The proportion of failures to receive a majority vote as Republican candidate for the assembly was about the same.

Independent candidates at the general election have little prospect of defeating the party nominees.

The cities are not extensively represented either in votes or in influence under primary system.

The report gives a complete tabulation by precincts of the votes for United States senator and for sheriffs. The vote for senator was tabulated because it attracted the greatest state-wide interest. The vote for sheriffs, in which the county rather than the State was unit, is also presented because, largely by reason of the many contests and the many candidates, it attracted an intensity of local interest which in the aggregate exceeded that in the more spectacular contest for United States senator.

J. D. BECK.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

JOHAN HANSSON'S BOOK ON WAR.

Boston, Mass., Feb. 23, 1910.

In the Public of Feb. 4 is a review of an enthusiastic single taxer's book on "War and the World Strife of Money," in which he alleges that the work of the "so-called peace societies is along fruitless lines," so long as they do not attack the cause of commercial wars—monopoly in land. Rev. Mr. Irvine, the ardent socialist, tells me only socialism can end war. Mr. Blackwell used to assure me woman suffrage must precede the abolition of war. David Lubin, the able founder of the International Institute of Agriculture, writes me that the work of forty-nine nations to prevent corners on food products, wool and cotton, will do more for peace than anything else.

Granted that peace societies are only one element in the many which are necessary to secure international justice. But let every man with a panacea remember one great historic fact. Less than one hundred men in the Constitutional Congress of 1787 worked out a method, later ratified by the voters, which for 120 years through a Supreme Court has prevented strife between our several States. The Civil War, in which one-half the nation tried to overthrow the national government, was another matter. Numerous interstate difficulties, more serious than many which have created many European

wars, have, through the Court, been quietly settled and conflict averted. Let it be admitted that the method of appointment to the Supreme Court may be improved, and that the Court has made serious mistakes in equity regarding other matters, but have not these interstate settlements been wholly beneficent? What would have been the alternative had there been no Court? In like manner, the Supreme Court of nations for which all peace societies are working may sometimes err in judgment in a world where no one is infallible. But the war system which in no case can settle any question justly to both parties and inflicts its greatest burdens on the innocent, is the only alternative.

Peace with justice was achieved between our forty-seven States in spite of gross defects in our systems of taxation, of industry and suffrage which persist today. Peace with justice may be achieved between forty-seven nations hundreds of years before industrial and political injustice may end; yet with the removal of any form of injustice anywhere all others become more vulnerable. Of course the vested interests are the chief maintenance of the war system today as of the evils in the present industrial system. But a comparatively few reformers by means of better organization may, under the new interdependence of commercial interests, accomplish more perhaps in international reform than in any other.

Before Mr. Fillebrown's thirty years expires, which he allows for the equitable establishment of the single tax, the workers for world organization may hope to see practically all nations settling practically all questions, not adjusted by diplomacy, at the World Court.

More has been achieved for world organization in the last twelve years than in the previous history of the world. The program already carried out at The Hague was essentially the same as that worked out by the peace societies even before the time of Cobden and Sumner. Cobden's interest in free trade did not prevent his devoting a large part of his activity to the cause of arbitration.

To overcome injustice in the complex world of industry and politics requires wide-spread education and personal sacrifice renewed in various forms in every generation. To end international war the conversion of fewer is necessary; the agreement of only four great powers to substitute the system of law for the system of war would lead to every nation following suit. The united boycott of any nation that refused to go to court would be the only necessary coercion. The end of international war would not at once prevent further civil war, but like chattel slavery, when once abolished, war would be ended for all time.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

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A NEW FAIRHOPE AND ARDEN.

A mile and a half over a fine road from the Lackawanna Station of Berkeley Heights, is a beautiful wooded vale with a small stream flowing through it. It lies seven miles beyond Summit, N. J., on the way to Bernardsville, in a lovely and healthy country, with a train service of eleven trains each way daily to New York. The new "Free Acres" Association

has acquired between fifty and sixty acres of fine land about five hundred feet above the sea, with an excellent house adapted for an Inn. The land is subject to a mortgage of one thousand dollars. The Association has arranged to give out plots of land probably not exceeding an acre each, without purchase price, on perpetual lease, on the "single tax"-Fairhope-Arden plan, at an annual rental of three dollars per plot of 10,000 square feet (equal to four New York City lots).

The Club House will be put into order to be run as an Inn by the early spring, and tents with wooden platforms and camp-bed may be hired at any time at a moderate charge, say five dollars for erecting and removing, and two dollars per month; or they may be bought cheaply of a Camp Association which is not far off. Small loans to those who wish to build can be arranged. At Berkeley Heights there is a country store, a good country school, and a small library.

The round trip from New York to the Station costs \$1.10, commutation \$7.05 per month; the time from Sixth Avenue and 23rd Street, via Hudson Tunnels, is just one hour by the best trains, but the train service is not yet good enough to make it desirable for most commuters.

The land is about three miles from the trolley to Scotch Plains and also to Plainfield, so that, when necessary, passengers could get to town that way.

There is good water and good but neglected soil; the climate is mild and nights are cool. There are some mosquitoes, but proper drainage will suppress them.

Already a score of families have spoken for plots, of whom six will build at once. As some fifteen acres will be laid out for ball ground, tennis court, and Village Green, etc., there will be room for only about fifty allotments. The association will have the use of another fifteen acres of fine woodland.

The projector has reserved some twenty odd acres which it is believed will sell for enough to pay for the "Free Acres" part. If there is any profit, it will go to found a new "Free Acres" elsewhere.

AMY MALI HICKS,

400 West 23d Street, New York City.

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, March 8, 1910.

News of the British Parliament.

There is little additional news regarding the British Parliament (pp. 193, 202) except such as confirms our summary of last week. All the cable gossip about the abandonment of the Lloyd George Budget means no more than that there

will be no budget legislation until the question of the Lords' veto is in full process of solution; while the other cable gossip, to the effect that financial legislation will take precedence of the Lords' veto question in spite of Ministerial pledges, means only that measures for validating the collection of taxes, the temporary suspension of the sinking fund, and the issue of temporary bonds, all in the absence of legal authority through a budget, are to be considered and disposed of prior to the recess of March 24 to 29. On the 1st the Commons authorized the Ministry to proceed with its issuing of temporary bonds and its suspension of the sinking fund; and on the 3d (the proceedings being of too "humdrum" a character in other respects for cable reporting) it was reported by Associated Press that Mr. Asquith had on that day informed the Commons that the Budget would be brought up immediately after the resolutions regarding the Lords' veto were passed. He also at that time confirmed the declarations of Lloyd George that the Ministry would not continue in office unless it was in a position to insure the adoption of its veto proposal. On the 7th the House of Lords reluctantly passed a bill of the House of Commons validating and authorizing temporary borrowing pending the adoption of the Budget.

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The first by-election since the recent general elections, occurred on the 5th. William Wedgwood Benn, a radical Liberal elected at the general elections just held by 1,568 to 1,134 for the Tory, from what was a Tory constituency (St. Georges-in-the-East, of Tower Hamlets) prior to the Liberal landslide of 1906, when he carried it, had been appointed to an office in the Government (junior lord of the Treasury), and, pursuant to Constitutional custom was therefore obliged to stand for re-election, was re-elected by a majority of 509, being an increase of 75 over his majority of 434 at the general elections. The returns are reported by cable as showing that Mr. Benn was again supported by the Irish vote in his constituency. Two other by-elections will soon occur, one to fill the place of Sir Samuel T. Evans, appointed to a judgeship, and the other to confirm, by popular re-election to Parliament, the appointment of Rufus D. Isaac to Evans's place in the Government as solicitor general. Evans was elected at the recent general elections from Mid-Glamorganshire (which he has represented since 1892) by a Liberal vote of 13,175 to 9,793 for the Tory candidate. Isaacs was elected from Reading by a vote of 5,264 to 5,057 for the Tory candidate—a Liberal majority of 207.

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London Municipal Elections.

Details of the elections for members of the London County Council are not yet at hand; but

the cable reports of general results indicate a forward swing of the political pendulum. At the elections three years ago (vol. ix., p. 1,212) there was a tremendous reaction from the Progressive majority theretofore controlling the Council. Under the name of "Municipal Reformers," reactionaries came in with a sweep which was made much of by the cable reports of that time. At the election on the 5th, however, that result was reversed in degree by the election of 56 Progressives and 3 Labors (a total of 59), against 58 Municipal Reformers. Municipal ownership of public utilities, and land value taxation, were the issues at both elections, the latter more distinctly so at that of last week, the Municipal Reformers standing for the negative and the Progressives for the affirmative. These policies are denounced as "socialism" by the Municipal Reformers.

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Prussians Continue to Demand Broader Suffrage.

Open air meetings for the expression of disapproval of the inadequacy of the electoral suffrage bill now before the Prussian Diet (p. 204), planned for last Sunday in the chief cities of Prussia, were in some cases forbidden by the police. At Cassel, where the radical and liberal parties had joined the Socialists in arranging for the meeting, and where a police permit had been given, the permit was later cancelled because of what the police called the danger to public security. At Essen the meeting was held as planned, on promise of the leaders that it would be orderly. Seven thousand persons, most of them miners, held a meeting between Waldenburg and Altwasser, and adopted resolutions in favor of a general strike unless the government should adopt more democratic suffrage provisions. In most of the cities of the provinces the demonstrations, though shared in by thousands, passed off peaceably.

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In Berlin the open air meeting was forbidden, and when a "demonstrative stroll" in the direction of Treptow Park, some six miles from the center of the city, where the meeting was to have been held, was proposed by the Socialists, that also was forbidden by the police on the ground that such a walk would be contrary to the spirit of the law. The State's Attorney, moreover, has brought proceedings in behalf of the government against Richard Barth, the responsible editor of the Socialist newspaper *Vorwaerts*, charging him with inciting disobedience of the authorities because of his invitation to the public to take the "demonstrative stroll." Toward noon on Sunday large bodies of demonstrators marched quietly along the different approaches to the Park, until they encountered police lines, when they were promptly ordered to go back. The crowds did not resist, though later by slow degrees the Park filled up.

In the meantime secret late messages sent out by the Socialist and radical leaders turned the "demonstrative stroll" toward the Tiergarten in the heart of the city. The plan met with great success, and before the police "caught on" the democratic forces were holding a tremendous peaceful, but not noiseless demonstration, marching by thousands up and down among the fashionable Sunday paraders, shouting for direct, equal, secret and universal suffrage. Soon mounted men were sent in hot haste from Treptow Park. As they arrived the demonstrators moved northward out into the Koenig Platz, where on the steps of the Reichstag they hoisted the red flag and sang the Marseillaise. While this was happening the thousands who had gradually been drifting into Treptow Park, in the middle afternoon there heard of the Tiergarten "stroll." "Thereupon," as the Inter Ocean's cable report states, "about 50,000 with one accord set out westward, streaming through the streets in a long line toward the Tiergarten, five miles distant, without attempting an organized procession. When they had covered about a quarter of the distance a company of country gendarmes, without a word of warning, attacked the people fiercely with their sabers, cutting right and left. Five persons were dangerously wounded and hundreds received serious wounds and bruises, while more than 100 arrests were made." On the following day the newspapers severely criticized the impetuosity and overzeal of the police in handling the suffrage crowds.

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The Strike in Philadelphia.

In response to the call of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia for a general strike in sympathy with the traction strikers (p. 207), 125,000 working men were reported to have quit work at the close of last week. At midnight of the 5th the union orchestras at leading hotels and cafes picked up their instruments and left their places; the hotel, cab and automobile service was badly crippled; and factory workmen and women had notified their employers that they would not return to work on Monday morning. Disorder occurred in the afternoon of the 5th, apparently—from the reports—because Mayor Reyburn ordered the police to prevent the assembling of a mass meeting in the square in front of Independence Hall, the traditional "cradle of liberty" in Philadelphia. The meeting had been called by the Central Labor Union to assemble at 3 o'clock. The Mayor proclaimed it in advance as disorderly, and warned "all law-abiding citizens" against assembling. Thereupon the labor committee requested their sympathizers to march peaceably by Independence Hall and to the labor headquarters. Mayor Reyburn then announced that he would prevent their marching through the streets. So they marched on the sidewalks. Although the

police were irritating, the marching was orderly, and at the labor headquarters a large meeting assembled. Disturbances occurred, however, at a distance from Independence Hall. But all the reports fairly bear out Charles E. Russell's report to the Hearst papers, of his belief that there would have been no trouble if the Mayor had not forbidden the meeting in Independence Square. "Meetings prohibited in defiance of the State Constitution," he adds, "are no novelty in Philadelphia, but there was something about the prohibition of this one in Independence Square and about the spot supposed to be consecrated to liberty that stung. Naturally you can't blame people for thinking they had a right to do what the Constitution says they may do. It was a dull performance to choke them off. The men that know best the patient spirit of Philadelphia assure me that if the meeting had been allowed it would have vented some verbal enthusiasm and dispersed. When the Mayor interfered the people got mad." Federal troops have been ordered from Wilmington to Philadelphia, ostensibly to protect the Mint. The regular news dispatches of the 7th reported the general strike as a failure, the Philadelphia police having reported only 18,407 persons on strike out of 176,193 employed in the establishments canvassed by them.

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The final call for the general strike now in progress was made after the directors of the traction company had rejected the proposal of the Central Labor Union for arbitration under the provisions of the State law of 1893, which authorizes the courts to appoint a board of arbitration when applied to by employes and employers, between whom there are differences. The company offered instead the following: "That a committee of nine employes be selected, three from those re-employed from the men now on strike, three from those who have remained in the service of the company during the strike, and these six to select three more from the whole body of employes, the company to treat with this committee." This proposal the strikers refused to accept.

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Unrepresented Taxpayers.

The "League of Unrepresented Taxpayers" (p. 206) of Chicago, while organized for the immediate purpose of standing by a woman who resists the collection of personal property taxes on the ground that she is denied the ballot, but for the general purpose of organizing "all tax-paying women and their sympathizers in a movement against taxation without representation," invites sympathizers of both sexes to membership, either active or associate. Its by-laws, just published, provide that—

All men and women of legal age are eligible to

membership. Membership shall be of two classes, active and associate. Active members shall consist of unrepresented tax payers, direct and indirect. All who are not eligible to active membership may be admitted to associate membership on payment of the regular annual dues. Associate members shall be entitled to speak in all meetings but shall not be eligible to vote or to hold office.

It is especially noteworthy that indirect tax payers, who are usually ignored by taxpayers' leagues, are recognized by this league as having the same footing as direct taxpayers.

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Pennsylvania Single Tax Conference.

The State conference of Pennsylvania single taxers on the 2d at Pittsburgh (p. 182) was attended by 17 residents of Pennsylvania, representing advocates in that State of the fiscal and industrial reform proposed by Henry George. After devoting the day to the subject of the conference, of which Warren Worth Bailey (editor of the Johnstown Daily Democrat) was chairman, and B. B. McGinnis secretary, the attendants were given a banquet in the evening, at which Mr. Bailey was toastmaster, and the following were the other speakers: Henry George, Jr., of New York, Joseph Fels of Philadelphia and London, Daniel Kiefer of Cincinnati, Prof. H. S. Bender, H. H. Wilson, Charles R. Eckert, Calvin B. Power, R. B. Brinsmade, of St. Louis, Frank H. Stephens, W. D. George, George W. Acklin, John Murphy, W. N. McNair and C. V. Tiers. Over 200 attended.

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The following resolution was adopted at the conference, upon the recommendation of a resolutions committee composed of Charles R. Eckert of Beaver, H. S. Bender of Johnstown, and Frank Stephens of Philadelphia:

We recognize and again wish to emphasize the fact that industry and commerce are clogged, fettered, and bound by our antiquated and unscientific system of taxation, and that new life and vigor will be given to trade and business by a revision of our tax laws, in accordance with scientific and just principles.

In view of the fact that a legislative committee has been appointed for the purpose of investigating the tax question, we recommend that the local Single Tax organization send representatives, in conjunction with delegates of this conference, to appear before the said legislative committee at its meeting to be held in Pittsburgh and urge, as a matter of simple justice, that all taxes which fall upon industry and commerce—and thus hinder and cripple production and trade—be abolished, and all taxes be levied upon the rental value of land.

We urge, as a beginning in the development of this comprehensive tax system, the abolition of the obnoxious mercantile tax, and as a further step in the development of a rational system of taxation, we recommend that land and improvements be as-

essed separately and that such assessments be given to the people by publication.

The right of the people to rule is a recognized sovereign, indefeasible right. We therefore advocate the system known as the initiative and referendum with the recall, and particularly local option in taxation, and that all losses to the State by the abolition of obnoxious taxes be supplied by the several counties, in proportion to the amount raised by the said several counties for their own local government, by such methods as the people of the respective counties may designate by expressing their will through the medium of local option in taxation.

We call upon all those who are in sympathy, either in whole or in part, with the recommendations herein set forth, to co-operate with the local Single Tax organization, and conversely we recommend that local Single Tax organizations co-operate and join with all those seeking to improve our present methods of taxation.

England has set the world afire through the agitation of the tax question, and we recognize in the work that has been done by our brethren across the sea the beginning of the abolition of the great fundamental monopoly of the natural resources. To all engaged in this great and intense struggle we send our heartiest congratulations and best wishes for further successes and triumphs.

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Snowslides and Floods.

The snowslides in the mountains of the northwest reported last week as having overwhelmed some small towns (p. 208), have been followed by others in the still farther northwest which have buried railroad trains and passengers and railroad workmen, while half a dozen transcontinental roads have been tied up.

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Two Great Northern trains were overwhelmed by a vast avalanche of snow a mile long in the Cascade Mountains near Wellington in the State of Washington at dawn on the 1st. One train was a fast mail carrying no passengers. The other was the Great Northern express, westbound between Spokane and Seattle, which had been stalled in the snow for about four days. The weight and power of the falling masses of snow swept the express train from the track and hurled it down the hillside into a canyon. Besides the passengers on the express, the crews of both trains, and a number of workmen who had been engaged in protecting the trains from the drifts, were involved in the disaster. By the 4th forty dead had been brought out, and it was believed that forty-five passengers and railroad men, and an unknown number of laborers were still buried beneath the snow.

+

On the 2d the Oriental Limited on the Great Northern, eastbound near Milan, twenty-two miles east of Spokane, was wrecked against boulders

brought down on the tracks by a snow avalanche. Passengers were injured but no lives were lost.

+

Early on the 5th ninety-two men engaged in clearing the Canadian Pacific tracks at the summit of Rogers Pass in the Selkirk range of the Canadian Rockies, were killed by the fall of a snow avalanche, and fourteen others were injured. The snow piled on top of an earlier slide that the men were clearing away, burying the tracks for a distance of a quarter of a mile around to a depth of fifty feet. Hundreds of thousands of tons of other debris in the wake of the avalanche bounded off the huge heap and half filled the valley of Bear Creek, hundreds of feet below. By the 7th twenty bodies had been recovered.

+

On the 7th a Canadian Pacific passenger train, westbound, raced against a landslide in the Rockies, and escaped destruction by only ten feet when the snow reached the tracks.

+

In the meantime the warm winds from the sea that have been causing the vast snows of the Western ranges to slip in such masses down the mountain sides, have melted them so fast that the Washington valleys are overflowed, railroads are compelled to suspend business, and bridges are washed away by the most widespread flood in sixteen years. The Ohio and New York rivers, in the East, have also been in high and threatening flood.

NEWS NOTES

—Marshal Hermes Fonseca has been elected President of Brazil, winning a sweeping victory over the opposition candidate, Dr. Rey Barbosa.

—By a party vote, 50 to 22, President Tatt's postal savings bank bill, amended so as to satisfy the "insurgent" Republicans, passed the United States Senate on the 5th.

—The insurgent movement in Nicaragua (p. 160) has suffered defeat in its westward advance upon the capital city of Managua, and the troops under Generals Mena and Chamorro have fled back to the east coast.

—Lawson Purdy, president of the New York tax department, addressed the Pittsburg Board of Trade on the third, on the subject of taxation. He criticised the classification system of Pennsylvania, and advocated the principle of assessments by market value.

—José Domingo de Obaldia, President of the little Republic of Panama, died of heart disease on the 1st, at the age of 63. President Obaldia was elected on July 12, 1908 (vol. xi, p. 370). Three vice-presidents were elected at the same time, the first one

of whom has since died. Dr. C. A. Mendoza, the second vice-president, will take President Obaldia's place.

—The special session of the Illinois Legislature (p. 156) adjourned on the 2nd. Among the bills it adopted was one for commission government in municipalities (p. 156), but badly damaged by amendments. The number of petitioners required for a "recall," for instance, is 75. A primary bill (p. 204) also was adopted.

—Louis F. Post will speak on the British elections, before the Commonwealth Club, Kimball's Cafe (Monroe, near La Salle street) on the 11th, at 7 o'clock; and on "My Trip to England, with Side-lights on the Elections," in Federation Hall, 275 La Salle street (second floor) at the Women's Trade Union League on the 13th, at 3 o'clock.

—Addresses were made on the 1st, before the joint committee on Constitutional amendments of the Maryland Legislature by Jackson H. Ralston, Senator Owen of Oklahoma, Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, and President Hirsch of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, in favor of an amendment providing for the initiative and referendum.

—Under the name of the "Progressive Party," three sections of German radicals decided on the 6th, at a meeting in Berlin, to unite. The membership in the Reichstag of these three sections aggregates fifty. Overtures are being made for a coalition of the new party with the National Liberals, which would bring about a powerful Parliamentary combination.

—Qualified suffrage for women for the Baltimore municipal elections was reported upon favorably by the committee on elections of the Maryland House of Delegates, during the last week in February, by a vote of 8 to 1. It is designed to confer the vote upon women (1) who pay taxes on \$300 of property; or (2) who can write from dictation a clause in the State constitution.

—The Belgian Chamber of Deputies has been discussing the fortune left by Leopold, the late King of the Belgians (vol. xii, p. 1255), and his crown and Congo revenues and accounts, and according to the press dispatches the discussion has convinced the Socialists that Leopold took \$5,000,000 which belonged to Belgium from the crown domain and added it to his private fortune.

—Former United States Senator Thomas C. Platt died suddenly at New York on the 6th at the age of 77. He had been active in Republican politics since the formation of the party in the early fifties. In consequence of his resignation from the Senate when Conkling resigned in 1881, he was for a long time caricatured as "Me-too" Platt, and through that incident "me-too" passed into the vocabulary of American slang.

—"The night letter service" by telegraph began in the United States on the 7th. Under this system a fifty-word telegram may be sent at night at the day rate for ten words, and upon reaching its destination will be mailed so as to reach the person addressed through the first delivery. Where there is no free delivery of mail, messenger boys will deliver the telegrams. Codes and ciphers are barred. The idea is that a letter telegram can be sent to San

Francisco, for instance, at night and be delivered to the addressee in the first morning mail.

—The Manitoba League for the Taxation of Land Values (p. 86) holds Sunday afternoon meetings for the discussion of social and economic subjects at the Dreamland Theatre, Winnipeg. Recent speakers have been Mr. White, of the Grain Growers' Association, on "Direct Legislation"; Mr. J. W. Bengough, of Toronto, on "The Rights and Wrongs of Property," and Prof. Clarke, of Manitoba University, on "Free Trade."

—A bill to amend the New York tax laws by exempting "all personal property" and "all buildings or other structures on real property" except "wharves, piers, or other structures on land leased from the State or a municipal corporation" during the life of the lease, has been introduced in the lower house of the New York Legislature by Mr. Wilsnack, and is to come up for hearing before the assembly committee on the 15th.

—The Dalai Lama, who fled from Tibet in advance of his deposition by the Chinese (p. 205), arrived at Darjiling, British India, on the 1st. He was met by a great procession of Buddhists, and, borne in a magnificent yellow sedan chair, was escorted with great ceremony to a hotel, where he occupies the top floor, as no one must lodge higher than he. His bedchamber is draped with yellow silk, and in a corner of the room incense burns constantly before images of Buddha.

—The Monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (vol. xii, p. 1211) for February, 1910, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910:

Gold Reserve Fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	80,571,812.72
Total	\$230,571,812.72
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30,	
1909	274,453,841.25
Decrease to Feb. 28.....	\$ 43,882,028.53

—A Master in Chancery at Chicago, Roswell B. Mason, has reported adversely to the Board of Education in its suit against the Chicago Tribune (vol. xi, p. 124; vol. xii, p. 409) to annul a lease of school lands as having been fraudulent. Since this report has been exploited as a court decision in favor of the Tribune, it should be stated that the Master in Chancery is only a referee to take evidence and advise the court of his own conclusions. Unless confirmed by the court, after argument, his report decides nothing. It should be added in further explanation that masters in chancery in Chicago are, unlike judges, lawyers in actual practice.

—The trials of Count Nicholas V. Tchaykovsky and Madame Katherine Breskovsky are beginning in St. Petersburg on the 8th (p. 182). Both are charged with criminal activity in connection with the revolutionary organization. Contrary to hope the trials are to be behind closed doors. Although the law authorizes three relatives or friends of a prisoner to be present at his secret trial, Count Tchaykovsky's wife will be the only person permitted to attend his trial, except his counsel. Appeals have been made in behalf of his daughter, without avail. Madame Breskovsky, the grand old woman of Russia, will face her trial alone. Her only son,

taken from her as a two-year-old child when she was sent to Siberia where she was kept for twenty-one years, does not share her political convictions.

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government (vol. xii, p. 998) for February, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30 1910:

I.—Ordinary:	
Receipts—	
Customs tariff	\$221,112,750.86
Internal revenue	176,744,735.14
Miscellaneous	29,622,595.66
	\$427,480,081.66
Disbursements—	
Civil and miscellaneous.....	\$112,996,534.62
War	111,052,890.03
Navy	83,358,516.86
Indians	10,035,070.51
Pensions	110,089,585.92
Postal deficiency	11,897,612.14
Interest on public debt.....	15,838,385.57
	\$455,268,595.65
Less repayment of unex-	
pended balances	3,183,763.04
	452,084,832.61
Excess of ordinary disbursements over	
ordinary receipts	24,604,750.95
II.—Panama Canal—	
Excess of Panama Canal disbursements	
over receipts	22,183,458.93
III.—Public Debt—	
Excess of public debt disbursements over	
receipts	984,594.50
Excess of all disbursements over all re-	
ceipts	\$ 45,803,615.38

—The Jewish return to Palestine (vol. xii, p. 1257) is said by correspondence of the Laffan news bureau to be becoming an accomplished fact. The proclamation of a constitution in Turkey (vol. xi, p. 419) and the establishment of popular government there (vol. xi, p. 921), threw open the doors of Palestine, and has led to an enormous influx of Jewish colonists. In Jerusalem alone four-fifths of the population are said now to be Jews. "Large portions of land around Lake Tiberias," continues the correspondence, "have been bought up from poor natives and converted into prosperous farms. The plain of Sharon, between Jaffa and Lydda, is one vast garden, owned and tended by Jewish skill and labor. Almost the whole of the extensive Plain of Esdraelon has been bought up by Jews. Their prosperous colonies spread from Dan to Beersheba, and even farther south to the outskirts of Egypt. Thousands are escaping from Persia to find shelter and protection in the Holy Land, while every ship from Odessa" brings Russian Jews. "At Jaffa, Tiberias, Safed, and Haifa (Mount Carmel) Jews are reckoned by tens of thousands. Towns like Ramoth-Gilead, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Gaza, where a few years ago no Jew dared show his face, have now their Jewish quarters and synagogues. . . . The value of the land has risen fourfold. The ignorant and poverty-stricken peasants are being ousted from their homes and villages by the European Jew settler, whose modern agricultural implements and methods have made the land produce harvests never dreamed of by the natives."

* * *

Yawn and the world yawns with you; think and you think alone.—Life.

PRESS OPINIONS

Save the People's Heritage.

Milwaukee Journal (Rep.), Feb. 26.—There is sufficient reason that the American people rather than J. Pierpont Morgan, the Guggenheims and their associates should profit from the unearned increment of the coal fields of Alaska. The royalties therefrom should be paid into the Federal treasury. These lands belong to the public. They should be retained by the public. And the forests and other mineral lands of the public domain, not only in Alaska, but in every State and Territory where public lands remain, should be administered as a public trust and royalties derived from their exploitation. The stake is a rich one. The exploiting interests will not surrender the opportunity to seize it without a struggle.

* *

Land Values Follow the Crowd.

Portland (Ore.) Labor Press (labor), February 10.—Inventor Edison is not coming through with his "mush" or cement houses for workers in New York. He is a great inventor, but he has not found any way to build houses on land without satisfying the land owner first. The tenement dweller pays a high rent for his rooms because it is near his work, and he can not pay car fare, lose time and live in the country. He can not buy one of Edison's "mush" houses because he must have a piece of land to put it on, and if any great number of the tenement workers surmounted the difficulties and cost of transportation and settled in any particular section 20 miles or more from the center of the city, land values would be there as fast as the workers, and poverty and want would crowd in to the "mush" houses and make tenements of them. A slum resident lives in the slums because he must, not because he likes to. When a slum resident gets steady employment, good wages and reasonable hours he moves out of the slum as far as he can. Car fare for a working family of five would cost a dollar a day anywhere within the belt of speculative holdings where a man could get a building lot for \$500. The slum worker hasn't always got a dollar in his clothes. He would have to almost sleep and eat in the cars to get any work done. Edison's mush and water houses are all right; but until he gets cheaper land the slummers will slum 24 hours a day.

* *

The Profit of Privilege.

Milwaukee Journal (Dem.).—The year 1910 is to be a great year for the trusts. Take the steel trust, which has been singled out as one of the good trusts of governmental favor. For 1910 it is expected to show gross earnings of \$1,000,000,000 and net earnings of \$180,000,000 to \$200,000,000, wrested from the public to assure the "reasonable profit" guaranteed by law. For the last three months of 1909 the trust earned \$41,000,000 net, or enough money to provide a liberal depreciation account, to enlarge the plant, to increase the common dividend, and still have left a nest egg of \$15,000,000. The

year 1910 at this rate ought to show a steel surplus of \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000. Other beneficent policies of the trust besides high prices for goods, watering stocks, inveigling the innocent investor and buying up competitors like the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. for a song during the panic, include the smashing of the labor trust, so-called. The labor union has received its heaviest blow from the stiff open shop policy of the trust. Even steel competitors can bask in the shade of the trust and get the same prices for goods as the trust exacts from consumers. Of all the virtues of the steel trust, however, which the Rockefellers, Havemeyers and Duponts ought to emulate and profit by, the greatest is the habit of the steel trust of nestling up close to the administration, leaning up against the presidential bosom with cordial fraternity—Gary and his fellow magnates of steel have proven their worth. By frequent and diligent trips to the White House and with a congressional representation, some slight favors have been granted like a chance to buy up the steel industry of the south under the guise of "saving the situation," avoiding troublesome prosecution by the government and getting a liberal steel tariff. The deepest sympathy ought to be extended to the trusts which have not learned the steel trust lessons of the Profit of Privilege.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

AGNOSTIC.

For The Public.

The Dawn doth beam not; we too slow advance,
My Soul and I, upon the gloomy way;
Beneath my feet the world is chasm-rent,
With longings impotent and helpless doubt;
The tortuous paths of thousand human creeds
Bedaze and 'wilder me; "Canst choose, O Soul,
The way?" I faintly cry; "Not I," faint answer
comes,

And grope we on. About me is
The love-charged atmosphere of human joys.
And in my ears the thundering din of griefs;
I stretch my hand and grasp the helpful rod,
Experience, and wander forward, groping still.

LEILA BOSWORTH WILSON.

* * *

THE DERIVATION OF "TARIFF."

For The Public.

Tariffa was a port and stronghold of Saracen pirates on the Straits of Gibraltar.

These pirates took and plundered ships and sold in Africa the men and the few women they captured and did not kill outright.

This procedure diminished and threatened to destroy commerce altogether. The Tariff pirates found that they were killing the goose that laid the golden egg.

For this reason they and the Corsairs of Tunis

and Algiers entered into a composition with the Commercial Nations to allow their merchant ships to proceed into and through the Mediterranean Sea on the payment of a "tariff" for protection. The name of this composition with pirates came from the pirates of Tariffa. This tariff was paid by all of the Commercial Nations, including England, excepting only the United States. The port of Tariffa gradually silted up and is now only a fishing village. The tariff and pirate business was entirely transferred to African ports, mainly to Tunis and Algiers.

The United States determined to stop this tariff piracy and the gross and cruel wrongs inflicted on its seamen.

Among the most gallant and daring feats of the American navy was the conquest of these tariff pirate nests. Every American should read that story.

The American navy alone ended forever the pirate tariffs on the Mediterranean Sea.

Is it not strange that the Nation that alone ended this long continued tariff piracy and destroyed the pirates to end the tariff they imposed, should today have imposed a tariff that has created pirates to prey upon its own citizens?

It is a reproach to our intelligence and to our manhood and honor.

"Equal justice to all and special privilege to none" should be today, what it was once, the American motto.

ABBOT KINNEY.

* * *

RAILROAD REGULATION OF GOVERNMENT.

Should Congress Be Leased Out or Operated by the Owners?

Full Report of Recent Conference.

(Special to the New York Lamb.)

For The Public.

Washington, March 5, 1910.

Owing to the recent agitation among the free stockholders of the railroad combine of which we are citizens, in reference to the growing necessity for some regulation of the government, a special meeting of the Presidents of the various uncommonwealths was held in this city last night. During the first session a hot dispute took place. Your representative, disguised as Justice, and thus invisible to the naked eye, gained access to the conference hall, and is able to give herewith a full report of the meeting.

Mr. O. U. Moneymaker, President of the H. O. G. R. R. Co., acted as chairman, and after calling the assembly to order, expressed himself as in favor simply of railroad control of the government, without ownership. The great drawback to owning a government was, said Mr. Moneymaker,

the financial loss involved. It was impossible to squeeze much money from a Congress belonging entirely to one; one might as well start one's automobile with water from one's own engines. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. I. Will Slay, of the Trans-pocketbookital, here interrupted Mr. Moneymaker to say that he had not understood that there was any question as to whether the railroads should or should not buy in the government. That, he thought, had been done long ago. The question at issue now was whether the government thus owned should be operated by the owners or leased to minor companies. For his part, he was in favor of leasing. A government was an expensive thing to manage. It was, perhaps, an easy enough matter to take a President around the country once in a while, but what if Presidents all became so large as to leave no room for ordinary passengers? Then the government would not under direct operation be so efficient. It would be harder to find men pledged to the good of the railroads, when a mere question of salary replaced the sentimental spur of billial devotion. Finally, what were they to do in case of a strike? Cannons, they had found, were of no avail. Think of the example a few insubordinate and undesirable Insurgents would be to their own engineers and firemen! "No, gentlemen," concluded Mr. Slay, "I advocate most earnestly the leasing of the government to some private company."

Mr. "Hi" Fare, the popular young president of the Intersnatchional, next took the floor. (As he facetiously remarked, taking things came easy to him.) Mr. Slay had urged, said Mr. Fare, that the government be leased for operation to a subordinate company. Where, outside of the railroads, could persons capable of this undertaking be found? Could the price paid for the leasing privilege ever compensate for the loss of money diverted out of the proper railroad channels, perhaps even devoted to some such foolish and criminal purpose as public improvements or anti-graft measures? In short, here was a condition approaching the foulest democracy; and before him he saw but one horrible destiny—the government would fall into the hands of the people! (Groans.)

Mr. I. Pay Nix, of the Robin Hood Line, here rose to say simply that, whatever might be the method on which the gentlemen assembled should decide, he wished to be put on record as in favor of a strongly centralized government and of territorial expansion, as the greater the necessity for legislators to come to Washington, and the longer the distance to be crossed in the journey, the better would be the business of the railroads. (Cheers.)

Mr. Moneymaker here announced in great agitation that further discussion was impossible. He had just received word that Lloyd-George was coming to America; and he was going home to hide his tax receipts. The meeting adjourned has-

tily in the greatest disorder, and no definite plans were made for its next session, except that it would probably be held in the more congenial political atmosphere of Philadelphia or New York, at some date before Roosevelt's return from Africelba.

A number of excellent photographs were taken, but they cannot be reproduced, since the photographer inadvisedly disguised himself as a rebate, and unfortunately an absend-minded railroad man seated near him fell upon and devoured his camera and him together.

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD.



THE NEED OF FOREST PRESERVATION.

An Editorial in the Chicago Inter Ocean of January 9

The American people are just beginning to appreciate the gravity of the problem of forest preservation. This problem involves not merely our fuel and lumber supply but future rainfall productivity of farms, inland navigation and the drinking water supply of cities. It does not affect merely small areas and out-of-the-way corners of the country. It touches the welfare of the entire country. Few questions have a more intimate and vital bearing on the nation's future.

James S. Whipple, forest, fish and game commissioner of New York, presented some plain truths succinctly in a recent address in the metropolis. He said, for instance, that it requires fifteen acres of Adirondack forest to supply paper for a single Sunday edition of one of the big New York journals. This illustrates the alarming rate at which forests are being destroyed. He sees in the denudation of the Adirondacks a menace to the future water supply of New York city.

"Without trees in New York State," he said, "you cannot have running water constantly in the city. New York city is spending \$162,000,000 for a new water supply and not a dollar for preserving the sources of that supply. All the mountain tops are right now being denuded where the land is held in private ownership."

He pointed out the value of the Adirondack forests in the fight against the "white plague." He said:

Not a breeze blowing across the balsam, fir, spruce and pine forests of the Adirondacks has a malevolent germ in it. And when it is remembered that there are 55,000 victims of the white plague in New York state and that 9,000,000 people in other States are within twenty-four hours of this region, it is plain to be seen that the people of New York State could do a great work if they bent their energies to the protection of the forests for that purpose alone.

Mr. Whipple made the startling statement that the wood supply of the nation is disappearing five times faster than nature's reproduction. The significance of this statement, even though slightly exaggerated, is appalling. It is a prophecy, un-

less remedial measures are adopted, of a not far distant time when deforestation will assume the magnitude of a national disaster.

"It is costing \$33 an acre," Mr. Whipple said, "to reforest France and we can do such work in America for \$8.50."

The seriousness of the present situation is shown by Mr. Whipple's statement that if the people of New York State are to provide safely for the near future they should plant "for many years, commencing now," at least 50,000,000 trees a year.

What Mr. Whipple had to say about the forests of New York applies with equal force to forests all over the country. Deforestation is perhaps a more serious menace in the Middle West at present than in the East. The inroads of the sawmill and the lumberman's ax in Michigan and Wisconsin and Minnesota woods are probably more devastating than in the forests of the Adirondacks.



THE SCHOOL AS A "MELTING POT."

Myra Kelly in "The American Public School as a Factor in International Conciliation."*

The child, the parent, the teacher and the home-staying relative are brought to feel their kinship with all the world through the agency of the public school but the teacher learns the lesson most fully, most consciously. The value to the cause of peace and good-will in the community of an army of thousands of educated men and women holding views such as these cannot easily be over-estimated. The teachers, too, are often aliens and nearly always of a race different from their pupils, yet you will rarely meet a teacher who is not delighted with her charges. "Do come," they always say, "and see my little Italians, or Irish, or German, or picaninnies, they are the sweetest little things;" or, if they be teachers of a higher grade, "They are the cleverest and the most charming children." They are all clever in their different ways, and they are all charming to those who know them, and the work of the public school is to make this charm and cleverness appreciated, so that race misunderstandings in the adult population may grow fewer and fewer.

The only dissatisfied teacher I ever encountered was a girl of old Knickerbocker blood, who was considered by her relatives to be too fragile and refined to teach any children except the darlings of the upper West Side, where some of the rich are democratic enough to patronize the public school. From what we heard of her experiences, "patronize" is quite the proper word to use in this connection. A group of us, classmates, had been com-

*See Public of December 31, page 1260. This pamphlet is one of the publications of the American Association for International Conciliation. Copies of the publications of the Association may be obtained without charge upon application to the Secretary, Sub-station 84, New York City.

paring notes and asked her from what country her charges came. "Oh, they are just kids," she answered dejectedly "ordinary every-day kids, with Dutch-cut hair, Russian blouses, belts at the knee line, sandals, and nurses to convoy them to and from school. You never saw anything so tiresome."

It grew finally so tiresome that she applied for a transfer and took the Knickerbocker spirit down to the Jewish quarter, where it gladdened the young Jacobs, Rachels, Isadors and Rebeccas entrusted to her care. Her place among the nursery pets was taken by a dark-eyed Russian girl, who found the up-town babies, the despised "just kids," as entertaining, as lovable, and as instructive as the Knickerbocker girl found the Jews. Well, and so they are all of them, lovable, entertaining and instructive, and the man or woman who goes among them with an open heart and eye will find much material for thought and humility. And one function of the public school is to promote this understanding and appreciation. It has done wonders in the past and every year finds it better equipped for its work of amalgamation. The making of an American citizen is its stated function, but its graduates will be citizens not only of America. In sympathy, at least, they will be citizens of the world.

* * *

An oyster well-bred from Cotuit
 Feels hurt should anyone chew it;
 But swallowed full sized
 Quite un-Fletcherized
 No oyster thus honored could rue it.
 —Vest Pocket Limericks.

BOOKS

MAN'S COUSINS, THE ANIMALS.

The New Ethics. By J. Howard Moore. Published by Samuel A. Bloch, Chicago, 1909. Revised Edition. Price \$1.00 net.

A brilliant and brutal mathematician used to say that he preferred his student enraged; for wrath quickened the mind's understanding of mathematics. Mr. Moore's style suggests a similar theory about his reader and ethical truth.

To know absolutely that one is a fool is the best possible preparation for distinction in more honorable and remunerative lines.

No sadder calamity can come to a human being than for him to become convinced beyond all hope that he has now, after a greater or less amount of alleged thinking, arrived.

We should overhaul ourselves with increasing frequency and enthusiasm, and get out new editions of ourselves, and see how much we can leave out.

We are nothing but a lot of ferocious humbugs—that is the long and short of it—leading lives all the way from a tenth to two-thirds decent in our conduct towards our fellow-men, but almost absolutely savage in our treatment of not-men.

Being civilized is hard work. . . . So we take the life of ease, the savage life, and leave civilization to be looked after by our hardier and less fastidious descendants.

Along with these thrusts, Mr. Moore presents his peaceful theme: Man's kinship to all the animals, and some of the modes of action resulting

From the Week's Correspondence.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON.

Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

March 5, 1910.

The Dec. 31, 09, Jan. 7, 21, & 28 issues of

The Public have become so badly mutilated from
 constant use in our Newspaper Room that they
 are unfit for binding. Will you be kind enough
 to supply us with a fresh copy of each of
 these dates.

and oblige
 HORACE G. WADLIN,
 Librarian.

from its recognition—the abstention from flesh eating and from hunting, for example.

The present ethical conception is based on the pre-Darwinian belief that all other species of animals and all worlds were produced for the exclusive benefit of the human species. It is anthropocentric.

The thesis of the "New Ethics" is simply the expansion of ethics to suit the biological revelations of Charles Darwin.

Man is simply one of a series of sentient, differing in degree, but not in kind, from the beings below, above and around him. The Great Law—Act toward Others as you would act toward a Part of Your Own Self—is a law not applicable to Aryans only, but to all men; and not to men only, but to all beings. . . . Restricting the application of this all inclusive injunction to the human species, or to some favorite fraction of this species, is a practice dictated solely by human selfishness and provincialism.

To one of the inevitable results of man's recognition of his animal kindred, vegetarianism, the author devotes three chapters, going into some detail about "what we shall eat." The book as a whole is more emotional than argumentative, though the subjects broached attack ancient prejudices and racial habits, and as such call for schematic reasoning and step-by-step argument. It might be said with some reason, however, about the principles declared, that of their truth men need reminding, not convincing.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

enters it she finds it to be the open resame of fellowship and understanding. . . . We are often told that the reason it is so difficult to organize women is because their interest in the trade is of short duration. . . . No conclusion could be further from the truth. Granted that the average woman works but seven years in her trade, yet is her interest in the conditions of that trade a life interest. If the young woman acts as under-bidder before marriage, then her husband must bring home a lesser wage after marriage; let her be willing to work longer hours during those seven working years and . . . she will have aided in making her husband an industrial slave, thus losing for herself his fellowship, for her children the companionship of a father and for the community the services of a citizen; for time is the fundamental need for growth and exercise of all the mental and spiritual heritage of the home." These extracts from Mrs. Robins' address as President, in opening the Second Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League of America (Chicago, Sept. 27, 1909), are earnest of all the following Proceedings. The fifty-page report, to any one the least interested in to-day's questions, industrial, political, social, is fascinating reading straight through. Besides the compact information, there is, even more important to get, a new point of view which the reader feels—not philanthropic, not amateurish, not coldly businesslike, but the thought-out opinions of concrete industrial experience welded into wisdom by some acknowledged ideals. The broad purposes of the organizers of this league are remarkably mirrored in the convention's formal speeches and reports; but most clearly in the informal discussions. The efficacy of street meetings, the employment of physicians by the organization, the linguistic difficulties of uniting various nationalities, the organizing of "Federated Unions" for the trades having few workers in a locality, the organization of a labor party in the United States,—these

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among other topics called out most able and instructive debates. From the now well-known seal of the League as cover design, to the table of contents on the last page, are evident very attractive printing and careful, coherent editorial work.

A. L. G.

+ + +

Hogan: "Phwat makes ye swally all your dinner in two minutes, Grogan? Are yez atin' on a bet?"

Grogan: "It's for the good av me dyspepsy, Molke.

Sure the docther tould me to rist an hour after 'atin', and how else am Oi goin' to get the hour to rist in onless Oi ate loike the divil?"—Boston Transcript.

+ + +

"Honey, I can't find a retraction of that story about your sister's elopement with the Chinese cook after poisoning her husband and forging her father's name to a \$50,000.00 check! Where did you see it?"

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column, and about the size of a pure food law label." —Life.

+ + +

An Englishman sat outside a café on the Nevsky Prospekt at St. Petersburg, and remarked casually to a fellow Englishman:

"Oh, the Emperor is a hopeless idiot!"

Instantly a man, who proved to be a plain-clothes policeman, rose from an adjacent seat and said:—

"Sare, I arrest you for lèse majesté. You have say zat ze Emperor is a 'opeless idiot."

"Goodness me, my dear chap!" said the English-

man, by way of temporising. "I didn't mean your Emperor. There are other Emperors in the world surely!"

"Zat may be, sare" replied the policeman, "but ours is the only Emperor who is a 'opeless idiot. Come wiz me!"—London Labor Leader.

+ + +

Sillicus: "Do you believe there is honor among thieves?"

Cynicus: "No, they are just as bad as other people."—Philadelphia Record.

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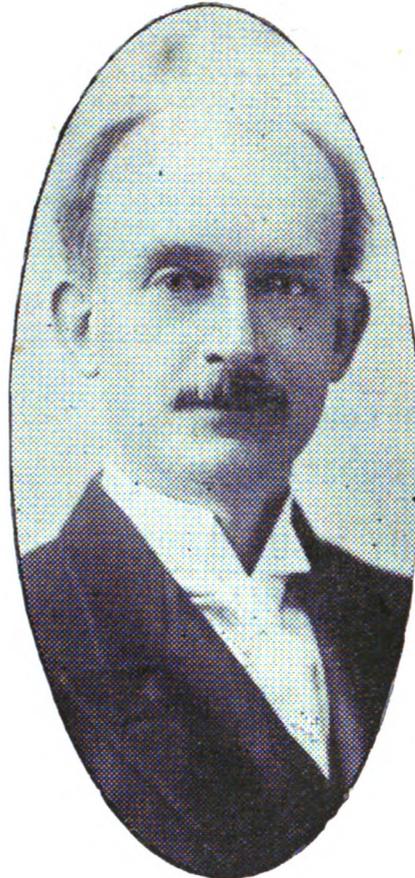
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