

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### When Burbank "Returns."

Luther Burbank is not cast down because the Carnegie Institute has withdrawn the annual grant of \$10,000 to him, which was voted conditionally about five years ago for a period of ten years. He says that it brought a crop of cares, responsibilities, envy and jealousy, and—personally I have no desire for wealth or fame. A thirst for these is the root of many evils. My ambition has been to leave the world the better for having passed this way. To be misjudged is a passing trifle; to have lost a life of honest labor is a tragedy.

The Koreans never say of one, "He is dead," but "He has returned." They take it for granted that birth is a coming and death a "return" whence one has come. One thinks of the Korean expression upon reading the foregoing words of Burbank. His life has been one of honest labor. In passing "this way" he has rendered great service to his fellow men, those of the present and those of the future, and the world is better for his unselfish life and work. His concluding sentence, "To be misjudged is a passing trifle; to have lost a life of honest toil is a tragedy," is indeed a fragrant mental flower from one who has been for so many years the intimate friend and associate of flowers. Surely, when he "returns," he will have no cause to think that he has lost a life of honest toil.

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### Getting the News.

We are glad to acknowledge the excellence of a

### CONTENTS.

<b>EDITORIAL:</b>	
When Burbank "Returns".....	265
Getting the News.....	265
Possible Historical Parallels.....	266
Good Feeling and Good Politics.....	266
Liquor Referendum in Chicago.....	266
Steel Trust Capitalism.....	267
The Rockefeller Foundation.....	267
The Cure for Cannonism.....	267
Outlook for the Democratic Party.....	268
Are They Talking Too Much?.....	268
Why Society Is Savage.....	268
Judicial View of Boycotts.....	268
Prosperity.....	268
A City as a Landlord.....	268
Postal Subsidies and Postal Favors.....	269
Progress Among Farmers.....	269
Personal Property Taxation and Homes.....	269
Governmental Coddling.....	270
The "Dying Nation" (Eliot White).....	270
<b>EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:</b>	
The Unearned Increment Tax.....	272
An Inside View of Ballinger (Puget Sounder).....	272
<b>INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:</b>	
An Appeal to Parents (James Poppers).....	274
<b>NEWS NARRATIVE:</b>	
Victory for Insurgent Republicans in Congress.....	274
The British Parliament.....	275
The French Ministry Tides Over Its Crisis.....	275
Alsace-Lorraine Desires Statehood in the German Empire.....	275
The Prussian Suffrage Bill Is Passed.....	275
News Notes.....	276
Press Opinions.....	277
<b>RELATED THINGS:</b>	
Sanctum Sanctorum (Guy Kendall).....	279
The City of Our Dreams—How Can It Be Made Real? (Wm. M. Brundage).....	279
Service (Annie L. Muzzey).....	280
A Certain Other Rich Man.....	280
James Dundas White, M. P. (with portrait).....	281
If (Jos. Dana Miller).....	282
Economic Possibilities of San Domingo (R. B. Brinsmade).....	282
<b>BOOKS:</b>	
A View of the Harvester Capitalist.....	284
For Young Men.....	284
A "Health Culture" Book.....	285
Books Received.....	285
Pamphlets.....	285
Periodicals.....	285

recent editorial in the Chicago Record-Herald on the journalistic function of "getting the facts" of the daily news "to the public." As that editorial truly explains, this "is always a mighty difficult process, simply because a given 'fact' means different things to different observers." But the indictment that lies against American newspapers of the present day—and the Record-Herald itself is no exception—is not that they miss perfection innocently, but that they conceal, distort and falsify intentionally. Sometimes they do this to make a sensation, sometimes to serve advertisers at the expense of readers, and sometimes in obedience to vicious orders from financial backers. Let the newspapers reform in these respects, and no one will condemn them for honest mistakes or reasonable differences in their perception of facts.

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#### Possible Historical Parallels.

Early in the Civil War and under title of "The New Gospel of Peace," there appeared in this country a remarkably good outline history of that period. It was also among the best American satires, if indeed it is not even now the very best. This product of Richard Grant White's pen is recalled by the present political situation at Washington. In one of its earliest chapters there can be found a concise characterization of Abraham Lincoln's immediate predecessor which may come now to have a new interpretation. "And after these things," says this New Gospel of Peace, "James, whose surname being interpreted meaneth facing-both-ways, ruled in the land of Unculpsalm." A little farther on we read that "Robert who dwelt among the tombs, being seized upon by his demon Blustah, sent a threatening message," etc. See, now, how history repeats itself, in general spirit though so different in particularities. In the present political situation—when new questions are agitating the land of "Unculpsalm" in place of those that had evolved the Republican party just before the satire we have quoted—what a perfect type of "James whose surname being interpreted meaneth facing-both-ways," does President Taft appear to be. And how like is Speaker Cannon unto "Robert who dwelt among the tombs," and was "seized upon by his demon Blustah."

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Out of the present political turmoil who can say what big events may not come? When the pro-slavery Democrats and the pro-slavery Whigs of the fifties presumed so far upon the other extreme of both parties as to attempt to thrust slavery over the compromise degree of latitude and

into free territory, they furnished the concrete issue that gave birth to the Republican party under which slavery was finally abolished. And may not the concrete issue be now near at hand, out of which shall spring another new party (vol. xi, p. 771), honest successor to the party of Lincoln, only to resist certain further aggressions of monopoly, yet destined to abolish monopoly? If that conjecture came true, would not Cannon figure picturesquely in our future history somewhat as Robert Toombs has figured in its past, with his futile threat to call the roll of his slaves at Bunker Hill? And wouldn't William H. Taft seem as piteous a figure in our history then as James Buchanan does in our history now?

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#### Good Feeling and Good Politics.

Not always does good feeling go with good politics, but ex-President Roosevelt manages to mix them in germinative proportions when he thus announces his wishes regarding a "welcome home" reception:

Naturally I am deeply touched and pleased to learn that my fellow countrymen feel they would like to receive me on my return to New York. I shall be more than glad to see them, but my reception must be nonpartisan. It must be participated in by Republicans, Democrats, Populists and men of other or no political faith alike—in short, by all who care to take part in such a reception, whatever their politics may be, or whether they be Easterners, Westerners, Northerners or Southerners.

What possible testimony to Mr. Roosevelt's generosity toward all kinds and conditions of citizens, desirable and "undesirable," could be so neatly commingled with such impressive proof of his having heard from Mr. Root and learned about the bafflements of Mr. Taft?

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#### Liquor Referendum in Chicago.

At the coming municipal election Chicago is to vote on the question of a "wet" Chicago or a "dry" one—unless the distillery and brewery rings succeed on technical grounds in ruling out the petition for a referendum vote. This they are trying to do. But in expectation of a fight at the polls their agents are nevertheless busy with campaign documents. One line of this literature of theirs pleads for the liquor traffic because in the thousand dollar license tax on saloons it furnishes a large proportion of the municipal revenue. Another pleads for it because it "makes work" for workingmen. Both pleas are fallacious. The liquor trade does not "make work"; it only transfers workers from occupations that would demand

them if this occupation didn't lessen demand in those. And while the liquor trade does furnish a large proportion of the municipal revenues, its doing so merely relieves the public-utility franchise companies and the vacant lot owners who now lawlessly evade far more taxation than the liquor trade pays.

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This referendum does not necessarily raise the question of whether men shall be prohibited by law from drinking liquor. The important question it raises is whether the drinking habits or customs of these men shall be accommodated through a business that works out into a public nuisance. Whether or not men shall be allowed to drink, is one thing; whether or not a nuisance shall be maintained for their convenience, is another and quite different thing. No one's liberty is invaded when a business which has come to endanger the community—physically, morally, or politically — is stopped. And this is the essence of the issue in Chicago. It is a simple and obvious fact that the brewing and distilling interests are debauching the politics of Chicago. As a political nuisance alone, they ought to be suppressed.

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### Steel Trust Capitalism.

Last year's report of the Steel trust shows its net earnings for the year to have been \$131,491,413, after the payment of \$151,663,394 in wages and salaries. The proportion, therefore, of all wages to net profits was about as 53 is to 48. In other words, for every 53 cents that went to employes, 48 went to the owners of stock. And let it be noticed that these employes included not only the poorly paid "workingman," as that term is usually understood, but also the highly paid office man and expert and high salaried officials. But the point we wish especially to direct attention to is the fact that of the 48 cents which went to stockholders for every 53 that went to laborers and officers, a large percentage was due to the value of the natural opportunities which the Steel trust had monopolized and which in all fairness belonged not to this trust but to the people. Few of us think of the Steel trust as a landlord, but it is one of the most stupendous landlords in the world. Its rents are concealed in its dividends, its land values in its capital stock.

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### The Rockefeller Foundation.

The millions of John D. Rockefeller, which have long figured as the most dramatic monument to

the unjust social conditions that made their accumulation possible, are offered as a peace offering on the altar of implacable Justice. But the struggle to get the control or the benefit of this offering will prostitute thousands who might otherwise be of real benefit to their kind, and will leave to its administrators a sickening sense of disillusionment. Nothing has been more clearly proven than the impotence of money outside the domain of purely material things. It is hard to tell which is the more unfortunate—the man who thinks he can buy everything he wants, or he who wants nothing but what he can buy. The need of the world is justice; and money, however intelligently used, cannot buy it. Indeed such largesse as Mr. Rockefeller's may prove an insurmountable obstacle to its own realization. And the injustice which unconsciously he may do his son, may not be the least in the long roll of the father's offences. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., if he takes up the task he is reported to have assumed, is doomed to inevitable cynicism. The meanness of the world will be opened to his gaze with an extension and intensity which even a god could scarcely gaze upon unmoved. The exploitation of the poor for selfish ends has become one of the most appalling phenomena of our times; cynical disregard of misery is not one-tenth as repugnant as hypocritical solicitude for their welfare based on sordid self-interest. If you would find a wholly soulless man, seek one who has made a living by mercenary benevolence. And such inevitably will be the vultures who will flock around so far-smelling a carrion. Yet Mr. Rockefeller will have done a service to the American people; not in the good which his money can do as a colossal "drawback," but in the test of our national fibre to be afforded by the spirit in which his donation will be met. Even the corrupt Jewish priesthood of an earlier day rejected with scorn the thirty pieces of silver which were the price of innocent blood. Being unable to dispose of the money otherwise, they used it to buy the potter's field. The Rockefeller gift may ultimately buy a tract (if the American people do not utterly reject it) which will be a perpetual potter's field for the earlier hopes and ideals of a degenerate Republic.

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### The Cure for Cannonism.

Representative Norris, of Nebraska, he whose resolution on rules has made him famous and Speaker Cannon a "has been," writing recently in *La Follette's Weekly* on the secret of Cannon's power under the old rules, arraigned the Speaker as a despotic "Iron Duke." Mr. Norris was incor-

rect in his statement. Cannon was not "iron," nor was he a duke, but a mere chauffeur for the automobile of Privilege. His power as Speaker was due primarily to the private ownership of governmental functions by the possessors of privilege. Give the people direct legislation and all the Cannons would shrink like a toy balloon in a furnace. They have the power to obstruct legislation, but that power would vanish if the people had the power to initiate legislation and vote on it at the ballot box. They have the power to cause the enactment of vicious legislation, but what would become of that power if the voters had the initiative and referendum?

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### Outlook for the Democratic Party.

It does indeed seem as if the Democrats might have a good chance to win at the Congressional elections next fall; but we can think of few things that might be more unhappy for democracy, whether you consider democracy as the Democratic party or the democratic impulse. A Democratic victory at the Congressional elections next fall, would for obvious reasons be prophetic of a plutocratic victory at the Presidential and Congressional elections two years later. But let no one infer, therefore, that he should not work for Democratic victory this year. It were better to work for victory, though he might wisely pray for defeat.

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### Are They Talking Too Much?

Suggestions are made in many quarters that the railroad magnates "talk too much;" that they are trying to deceive the people, especially the farmers; and that their object is to bamboozle the people into dissatisfaction with the policy of government control of the railroads. But is the "policy" a success up to date? And, instead of deceiving the people, are not the railroad magnates really teaching the people that government ownership of transportation involves a principle, while government "control" of private monopoly is a mere "policy" that has in it all the elements of failure? So, the more the railroad magnates talk, the better. They are teaching the people. True, the people are paying for their tuition; but it is often true that the more we pay for a thing the more we think of and prize it.

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### Why Society Is Savage.

Jacob Riis' statement before the City Club of Chicago, that "when a city's police force costs ten times as much as its health department it is an

indication of the generally savage condition in which modern society lives," brings the thought that Mr. Riis should use a rake and scrape away the muck that prevents his seeing what is just beneath the surface. Modern society is called "civilized." But why is modern civilized society savage? Because it fears the hell of poverty; and society itself has invented that hell by permitting monopoly to levy tribute upon industry, as Mr. Riis might see if he were to look beneath the surface. But for looking beneath the surface a man needs eyes inside his head.

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### Judicial View of Boycotts.

Judge Ogden, of Oakland, Cal., recently denounced boycotts by labor unions. A few days before he delivered his denunciation, Judge Waste, also of the Oakland bench, refused to listen to an attorney from Nevada because he had not been admitted to practice in the courts of California—that is, he had not joined the California lawyers' union. So the attorney was judicially boycotted by Judge Waste, showing that the justice of the boycott depends on the kind of union that does the boycotting.

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### Prosperity.

All through the year 1909 we were told by the newspapers of the prosperity in which the American people were enveloped. To most of us the telling seemed necessary, lest we fail to discover it by other means. It is not easy to discover a non-existent fact unless some one does tell of it. But here and there evidence of the falsity of those prosperity reports has appeared. For instance, the American Credit Indemnity Company of New York, a member of the Bankers' Association and an insurer of credit alone, made this confidential communication to its customers, under date of Oct. 18, 1909:

You have had the protection of our bond the past year, and are fortunate if you have escaped the inordinate losses that have come to many and caused the payment by us of over \$1,200,000 to bondholders to reimburse them for panic losses during the past year, which proved to them the collateral value of our bond.

"Inordinate losses that have come to many" is not suggestive of a first rate report upon the prosperity of the year.

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### A City as a Landlord.

Among the observations in out of the way places which Dr. George A. Dorsey recently contributed to the Chicago Tribune, was an account

of a land owning city of Hungary. The name of the city is Szeged. In its immediate neighborhood, wrote Dr. Dorsey—

the city itself is the greatest landlord; it owns 92,000 acres of land, of which about 16,000 acres is pasture and 9,000 acres is forest. The city as landlord rents its land from time to time to the highest bidder, some of the land in small plots on short term leases to gardeners, larger plots to farmers for longer periods, some of it for twenty-five years. Much of the garden truck land is leased to Servians or Bulgarians; for this \$20 or more a year is paid. For land which is best suited for the growing of peppers for paprika \$30 a year is paid; this is the highest priced land. Land about here varies in price from \$150 for sandy soil, and from \$300 to \$400 for vineyard land. Land suitable for truck farming near the city is worth as much as \$1,500 an acre. The property of the city of Szeged is worth about \$10,000,000; of this \$2,000,000 is in agricultural land, which is available for outright sale to the peasants; this, it is hoped, will help to prevent emigration. The income of the city from rent on lands, etc., is about \$1,000,000 a year; of this a certain sum is expended each year on the poor; these pensioners number about 13,000, and receive from \$1 to \$2 a month.

This is not the best way, surely, of realizing for the people the wealth that belongs to them; but how much better it is than our way of selling public lands, and thereby frittering away the values of the future which social growth develops. In this case the city is, as Dr. Dorsey describes it, a landlord, and his brief account shows how much better it is for all the people of a city to be a landlord than for some of them to be landlords and most of them to be tenants. Better than either would it be, however, if the city as a whole were, not the landlord of a piece of outlying land, however valuable, but the almoner for all its inhabitants of the growing values of its own site.

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#### Postal Subsidies and Postal Favors.

It is to be presumed that the postal department of the United States deals fairly with publications in the distribution of what our servants there are pleased to call a "subsidy," meaning the right of any periodical to pass through the mails on the same terms as other periodicals. But the fact remains that whereas the Twentieth Century had its "subsidy" withheld without explanation for five or six months after first publication, being required meanwhile to deposit large sums of money, the American City got its "subsidy" promptly. It is possibly "irrelevant, immaterial and impertinent," but one might beg to state that whereas B. O. Flower, the editor of the Twentieth Century, is a well known advocate of public ownership of public utilities, the editor of the American City,

Arthur H. Grant, won his distinction as editor of a publication which by its principal title implied that it stood for municipal ownership, but which actually stood for private monopoly, and was probably an organ of the monopoly interests.

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#### Progress Among Farmers.

A fact of much concern to the farming interests of the United States—the farmers who farm farmers as well as those who farm farms, but in different ways—is the adoption by the State Grange of Washington, at its session in Ellensburg last summer, and by unanimous vote, of a memorial to the voters of the State on the subject of taxation. Nothing yet done by any other farmers' organization has been so hopefully significant. This memorial advocates the adoption of a Constitutional amendment providing for—

1. An assessment, once in five years, of the "community-made" value of all lands within the State.
2. An assessment of all other "community-made" values in private ownership.
3. The collection of an annual rental or tax of 6 per cent on all future increases of "community-made" value.

Not the least significant feature of this farmers' memorial is its recognition of the essential difference between incomes due to what it happily names "community-made" values, and what may in contradistinction be appropriately called "individual-made" values. If this proposed amendment is adopted, and improvements are exempted from taxation, as seems to be contemplated, Washington will prosper as no State has ever prospered yet. Not only will the State grow in wealth, but so also will her people. The day will then have passed when a State's prosperity means inordinate wealth for a few at the top, a struggle for bare existence by the many at the bottom, and a banded and battered middle class between.

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#### Personal Property Taxation and Homes.

The Hearst papers have editorially announced their opposition to the New York movement for abolishing personal property taxation. Several objections are raised. For one thing, Mr. Hearst's editorial asserts that the abolition of personal property taxation "means that the city's taxes are all to be paid upon real estate," which "means that the expense of running the city is to be paid by those that pay rent or buy homes." But this is not what the abolition of personal property taxation does mean. The increased taxes that would fall upon valuable sites, occupied or vacant—vastly

the larger proportion—would not be borne by renters nor by “home owners”; and so much of the slightly increased real estate tax as might fall upon rent payers and home owners would be less than they now pay in personal taxes, if they pay the personal taxes the law prescribes. Another of Mr. Hearst’s editorial objections to abolishing personal property taxation is that “there isn’t any single tax feature in this business.” As if his papers as now edited would support it if there were! But in truth there is a single tax feature in the abolition of personal property taxation. It is the first step (the abolition of taxes on improvements being the second) toward the placing of all revenue taxes where they belong—on that distinctly social property which is commonly called “land value.” Mr. Hearst’s third editorial objection to abolishing personal property taxation seems to be that Mayor Gaynor favors it. These objections are expressed in the editorial in question, but there is a fourth, which must be looked for in other editorials of the Hearst papers—those that urge investments in real estate as a safe method of getting easy money.

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But let no one overlook the good in the particular Hearst editorial under consideration, because it happens to be in bad company. One of its recommendations is excellent. This urges the exemption absolutely from taxation of “the home in which a man is bringing up his family,” meaning “the house that he pays for slowly with his daily labor, the house in which he uses up all of his income to take care of his children.” Here is an exemption that ought indeed to be made, and some persons in New York and some newspapers there have for several years been trying to have it made. We allude to the movement in New York for exempting from taxation all houses used as homes (vol. ix, p. 10) up to the capital value of \$3,000. Neither Mr. Hearst nor his papers have yet gained prominence in this movement, but it is by no means too late. Nor is it too late for those who oppose personal property taxation to include homes of \$3,000 or less in their proposed exemption law. They would thereby strengthen their own position against demagogic attack, while making a further fiscal advance in the interest of all persons who eat bread in the sweat of their own faces.

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### Governmental Coddling.

A critic thinks that “the government which protects its citizens from the effects of poverty” is to be viewed with alarm. He argues that “the

fear of absolute destitution, dying children, a sickened wife, are the only things that will keep some men from squandering their salary in a saloon or raising enormous families when unable financially to do so, or being otherwise imprudent.” To remove “starvation and other effects of lack of foresight,” he regards as “removing Nature’s one means of calling attention to error,” it being “like removing the pain of a cancer without healing the cancer itself.” Strange as it may at first blush appear, this is good abstract reasoning. What makes it abhorrent is the critic’s upside down application of it. His sense of the fitness of things is offended because he has dropped into the procession with those who protest against movements for protecting the workers of the world from legalized property-sucking by the parasites of the world. To use the argument he does against abolishing conditions that make us think of workmen and poor men as the same, is folly; and when these conditions have produced the cruel results that every settlement worker can testify to, the person guilty of such folly is to be pitied for his inhumanity. Doubtless it is true that the government which protects its competent citizens from the natural effects of voluntarily invited poverty, is to be viewed with alarm. Doubtless deprivation is Nature’s method of punishing idleness and unthrift. But granting it all, and whom does the application fit? Whom do governments protect from the effects of poverty? Is it the impoverished workers, who get less than they earn because they are forced by monopoly laws to bid for work in a glutted labor market? Or is it the rich beneficiaries of special privilege, who get more than they earn, and often get without earning at all, because they are allowed by monopoly laws to take, though they neither plant nor reap? By all means, let government withhold its hand from protecting its citizens from the natural effects of idleness and unthrift. By all means let governments allow starvation to stand out in bold relief as the natural penalty. But let governments begin this obedience to natural law by divesting the idle and thriftless rich of their special privileges, and not by relegating the wives and children of the working poor to keener suffering and deeper degradation than governmental interference with natural economic law has already sunk them to. The critic’s argument is good, but let us apply it somewhat to dukes before applying it any further to peasants; let us apply it to grabbing and grinding plutocrats, in degree at least, before applying it in its totality to their serfs.

## THE "DYING NATION."

Relentlessly as some male Atropos, whose office is to cut the fate-thread of a whole people, an English Tory Premier declared Spain a "dying nation."

England he lauded in contrast, assuring the world that in her steel-bound lexicon the word "moribund" could not be found.

Yet what other judgment could be expected from a noble Lord whose criteria of national health were the empire of "Dreadnoughts," the survival of Privilege, and the obeisance of an ever-duped proletariat to sumptuously-staged Exploitation.



But very stubbornly the Spanish nation refuses to display the normal symptoms of dissolution to bear out the English leech's diagnosis.

First she startles the world of art with the work of painters that puts to shame the academicians with their plethora of titles and famine of vitality: a Sorolla contrives to make sheer sunlight a glad prisoner of his canvases; he causes the galleries where they are exhibited to blaze with the Spanish noontide, and echo with the far-heard roar of surf on Valencian sands. The uncorrupt sea that the English Premier thought chiefly created to float ruinously expensive ships of death, this painter of the "dying nation" thinks more truly poured over the clean beaches to bring vigor to crippled boys, and mitigate their "sad inheritance." Again he depicts straight-bodied, ingeniously nude lads escorting little maids, with winning gallantry, to the foaming ocean bath; or shows a pair of the innocents a-sprawl side by side where the mercurial tide clings about the comely forms, and washes the plump flesh to the gleam of burnished silver. Unremittingly this artist prophesies the health and vigor that shall be Spain's when sun and sea are once given their beneficent will with the nation's babes and adolescents.

Then another token of unsubmitive life quickens the world's democracy to braver march toward radiant liberty: Spanish working men and women in their thousands refuse to fight the war of Greed for a hostile, hoaxing class, but bid them be starved and shot for their own profit if they will; mothers and sweethearts join the remonstrant throngs, and cry a plague on feeding the maw of battle any longer with their loved ones, for the masters' gain. Rulers and priests shout the frantic slogan of "Patriotism," and thunder the old anathemas of spiritual perdition in vain; barricades rise in the streets, and the foundations of the state are

proved by their appalling agitation to be the despised masses themselves. Whether such insurrection portend the death of Spain, or rather the death of Powers that keep her enslaved and crippled, must the future tell.



And now to these flagrant contradictions of the British fiat is added a resurrected teacher, whose body at instigation of Baal priests the rulers slew, but whose fate the next day stirred the nations to one cry of pain, and whose spirit leagues the world's enlightened in new pacts of love.

As Sorolla pleads the therapeutic ministry of sunlight and seacoast for his people's bodies, so Ferrer demanded the radiance of unveiled Truth, the ozone-breath and stimulant surf-drench of the great deep of Freedom, for their minds and souls.

The mole-blind filchers of the people's heritage can hear at least, and rage to find their bullets wing the martyr's words and work to every land, till all earth's bigots and tyrants read their fate afresh, in blood-red writing on the wall.

Though but the cell-wall of a lonely captive, yet the writing throbs now flame-bright with his outpoured life, and however restrained his words, what doom to hoar Slavery sounds like a trumpet through "Mene, Mene!" such as this:

Let us not fear to say that we want men capable of evolving without stopping,

Capable of destroying and renewing their environments without cessation,—of renewing themselves also.

Men whose intellectual independence will be their greatest force; who will attach themselves to nothing, always ready to accept what is best;

Happy in the triumph of new ideas, aspiring to live multiple lives in one life.

Society fears such men; we must not then hope that it will ever want an education able to give them to us.



A "dying nation" then, that thrives on death as others on sheer life, this Spain appears. Perchance another English verdict must be heeded, in presence of such portents, that avers:

Spain is not merely the land of the gypsy with the guitar, for there is a youthful and muscular Spain, covered with sweat, wearing a blue blouse, and with face blackened by the smoke of the forge.

It may be the English Premier who prophesied such a nation's demise, mistook the pallor of hunger for the ghastlier hue. Perhaps he would have been among those of old who laughed to scorn a certain Vagrant of the Syrian roads, when of a little maid they all agreed was dead, He steadfastly declared she did but sleep. But when He

raised her up and shamed the scoffers, He bade who loved her give her food to eat.

So might we now hear pleading for their famished land, the myriad martyrs who through long ages have died for Spain and Freedom and the Truth.

ELIOT WHITE.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE UNEARNED INCREMENT TAX.

About the middle of January the First Hebrew Congregation of Oakland, California, bought a site for a new synagogue, paying \$40,000 for a lot containing 14,000 square feet, which is equivalent to \$124,146 an acre. That Congregation was organized in 1875, at which time it could have bought five acres in the same locality for about \$1,000—and held it for the workers and the increasing population of Oakland to make more valuable. By exercising that "business foresight," the Congregation would now be in much better "financial" condition. The five acres bought for \$1,000 would now be worth \$615,380, after writing off the original "investment" and the accrued interest; and, retaining the 14,000 square feet needed for the new synagogue, valuing it at \$40,000, the Congregation would have an "unearned increment" net profit of \$575,380; which shows that it pays to get in the way of others and make them pay you to get out of their way.

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Yes, it pays. Two weeks before the First Hebrew Congregation paid into a private pocket the \$40,000 of unearned increment to get a site for a synagogue, the Bixby ranch of 500 acres, in Orange County, California, near Los Angeles, was sold for \$200 an acre. That is, the less than one-third of an acre in Oakland sold for 200 times as much as a whole acre in Orange County. The land of the Bixby ranch is specially adapted for fruits and vegetables, has a railroad line running through it and fine markets within easy reach. The new owners will not use it. They did not buy it for use, but to subdivide and sell in small parcels to users; and as such productive land is scarce near Los Angeles, there will probably be plenty of buyers at prices ranging from \$500 to \$1,000 an acre. At \$1,000 an acre, the 500 acres will sell for less than the present value of five acres in that part of Oakland where the First Hebrew Congregation has bought the site for its synagogue. Who says a tax on the "unearned increment" would fall most heavily on the farmer?

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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### AN INSIDE VIEW OF BALLINGER.

Tacoma, Wash., March 13, 1910.

The Ballinger-Pinchot investigation has developed one fact that is not news to some of us, and which President Taft should have understood when he was making up his cabinet. It is that the Secretary of the Interior, who is charged with the administration and protection of the public domain, should not

have been chosen from the region lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. Public sentiment in this vast region is as tolerant of robbing the public domain as in olden days it was tolerant of opium smuggling—an industry, by the way, which formed the foundation of several large and respectable Pacific coast fortunes.

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In an article in *The Public* last summer (vol. xii, p. 752) the writer pointed out that in economic thought and civic morality the Pacific slope is the most backward section of the country. Special reference was made in that article to the demand of the Western raw material men for inordinately high protection. It was pointed out that this demand was buttressed in the public sentiment of the Pacific coast region; that the West believes the first duty of government is to "encourage capital" by special privilege in one form or another, and that members of Congress, in supporting the most greedy demands for protection, were actually representing the sentiments of their constituents.

What is true of Western sentiment on the tariff question is likewise true of Western sentiment on the question of conserving and protecting the national resources. It is not the truth to say that Western public sentiment on this issue has become demoralized. There never was any contrary sentiment on the subject. You can't demoralize something that never existed. From the days of the pioneers the Western feeling has been, and now is, that "the earth belongs to the Lord's chosen, and we are the chosen."

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The history of the development of the West is merely the history of the exploitation of national resources by Big Business and for Big Business. Eastern millions and billions have been poured into this sort of enterprise, and the fact that the people of the whole country had an equity in the resources thus exploited has always been either ignored or vehemently denied. Public officials from Presidents down have winked at the robbery of the government; land-grabbing has for fifty years been a respectable occupation; public sentiment has condoned and does now condone the theft of the national domain.

The great bulk of the Western people, who, of course, have not themselves participated in despoiling the nation, have been taught to believe and do believe largely that it is necessary for the public domain to pass into private hands, in order to "develop the country" and "encourage immigration." The West is population mad; any appeal, made ostensibly in the interest of building up the country and attracting investment, is more potent than appeals to patriotism or civic honesty.

This feeling extends into all parties. No public man of prominence in the West is exempt from it. Take the case of ex-Senator George Turner, of Spokane, a man who has spent years in fighting railroad extortion, and who is the leader of the Democratic party in Washington State. Senator Turner, at the National Irrigation Congress last summer, indorsed the administration of Secretary

Ballinger and condemned the forestry department. When a leading Democrat—and, in most respects, a real democrat—can be induced to take this attitude, what is to be expected of men in the Republican party? The truth is that Mr. Taft could not have found a Republican of cabinet calibre in the whole Western country who was not tinctured with the same ideas.



No attempt was ever made to check this wholesale spoliation until the forestry department was created and Gifford Pinchot was placed at the head of it. It is unjust to Pinchot to call conservation a Roosevelt policy. It was primarily a Pinchot policy, which Roosevelt was led to adopt, and which, despite his many shortcomings, stands out as a particularly bright page in his public service.

Roosevelt let Pinchot have his way, and Pinchot promptly tramped on the toes of Big Business. He kept on tramping on them for seven years. He created forest reserves, he caused the withdrawal of water power sites; he made trouble for the cattle barons and the sheep kings. In short he shocked the West and then angered it by actually trying to protect the government's interest. No Washington bureaucrat had ever seriously tried to do that before. When it recovered from its surprise, therefore, the West started to "get" Pinchot.

An open attack was impossible. Pinchot was too strongly entrenched. But the retirement of Roosevelt from the Presidency, and the installation of Taft, afforded an opportunity to clip his wings and limit and cripple his activities. Enough has come out before the investigating committee to show that Big Business, led by the Guggenheim interests, otherwise known as the smelter trust, contributed so heavily to Mr. Taft's campaign fund as to place Mr. Taft's managers under deep obligation to them. How much of this Mr. Taft knew is immaterial; the fact remains that his managers have religiously tried to cancel the Guggenheim debt.

The first demand for payment came in the shape of a request that Secretary of the Interior James R. Garfield, a faithful supporter of the Pinchot policies, be displaced. This demand was made upon Frank H. Hitchcock, then chairman of the Republican national committee, and now postmaster-general in Mr. Taft's cabinet. It was granted, through Mr. Hitchcock's insistence, despite the fact that Mr. Taft had promised Mr. Roosevelt to reappoint Garfield.

The rest was easy. Judge Ballinger, as we call him out West, had led the fight in his State for Taft's delegates to the national convention. He was a lawyer of high standing in his home community. He had been a judge, mayor of Seattle, and commissioner of the land office under Roosevelt. Mr. Hitchcock brought him forward as his candidate for Garfield's place. His respectability, his high standing with Big Business, and his reverence for the ancient technicalities of the law, made Mr. Taft see in him the ideal man for Secretary of the Interior. It is highly improbable that the President ever gave a thought to his views on conservation and on the protection of the public interest.

It is doubtless true that Mr. Ballinger's appointment was never urged upon the President directly by any person of the name of Guggenheim. But that

he was made Secretary of the Interior because of Guggenheim influence is beyond question. The act was as direct as if Daniel Guggenheim had taken the President into a backroom and given him a large sum of money to secure Ballinger's appointment. In morals there was no difference. Let us call things by their right names.

It has developed since that Judge Ballinger, at the time of his appointment to the cabinet, was the retained attorney of the Cunningham coal claimants; that these claimants had given an option to the Guggenheims on a half-interest in their claims, worth about one hundred million dollars, and that this option was worthless unless the Secretary of the Interior could be induced to patent the claims. Ballinger has tried faithfully to deliver the goods. Pinchot and Glavis blocked him.



Mr. Taft may or may not have known, when he appointed Judge Ballinger, of the latter's intimate professional relations with coal land grabbers. Had he known of it, I think, he would have appointed him just the same. Mr. Taft's devotion to Big Business is so ardent that one must write him down knave or fool; and, whether knave or fool, he would have seen no impropriety in naming a Guggenheim lawyer as Secretary of the Interior. The steel trust, the railroad interests, and the sugar trust were given representation in the cabinet. Why not the Guggenheim smelter trust, pray? Even granting that Mr. Taft was ignorant of Judge Ballinger's affiliations, he certainly was not ignorant of the affiliations of Knox, Dickinson and Wickersham, nor of the bias and prejudice of Justice Lurton.



The writer for fifteen years has known Judge Ballinger intimately. According to his lights he is honest. He rendered yeoman service once in trying to impeach a corrupt State judge in Washington, and he made an excellent mayor of Seattle. But as a servant of the public, his whole bent of mind is wrong. He is a creature of his environment. He has made a success practicing corporation law. He believes that Big Business ought to have what it wants, and that its rights are paramount to those of the public. He has the peculiarly elastic legal conscience, believing that a retaining fee covers all sin, and that there is no dishonor in using his high official position for the benefit of his former clients. Are not they "our leading business men"? Do they not purpose to "develop our magnificent country"? Yea, verily. Then what are you muckrakers kicking about?

It is difficult to believe that Mr. Taft ever seriously intended to carry out the Roosevelt-Pinchot conservation policies. If he had, he would have investigated Ballinger's affiliations and sounded his ideas before he appointed him. Let us be charitable, and, in the language of Collier's, assume that Mr. Taft is an "easy mark." Let us assume that he never really understood what the Pinchot conservation policies were. To his judicial mind, doubtless, they seemed "demagogic," and their advocates "disturbers."

PUGET SOUNDER.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### AN APPEAL TO PARENTS

#### To Awaken in Children Their Inherent Love of Cultivating the Soil.

Chicago, Mar. 22, 1910.

Let your children co-operate with Mother Earth in bringing forth fruit and flowers.

She will reciprocate by giving them vitality, health and strength. Aye, she will reveal herself to her loyal brood for their loving recognition, by instilling in them sweetness, ecstasy and love.

Friends, when the day arrives when idle hands shall have an opportunity to apply themselves to the source of all wealth, without let or hindrance, then the Glad Day, so long foretold by poet, sage and seer, shall have come.

JAMES POPPERS.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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#### 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 22, 1910.

#### Victory for Insurgent Republicans in Congress.

By a combination vote of Insurgent Republicans and regular Democrats in the lower house of Congress, the regular Republicans under the leadership of Speaker Cannon, were on the 19th defeated in a matter of vital importance.

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The question was finally determined by the vote on a resolution offered on the 17th by George W. Norris of Nebraska, an Insurgent Republican; but the first skirmish occurred on the 16th over a ruling by the Speaker. He had ruled that a census resolution had the right of way (being privileged business under the Constitution, which provides for a census), over the regular calendar unless otherwise ordered by a two-thirds vote. From this ruling on the 16th an appeal was taken, and the Speaker was overruled by a vote of 163 to 111. The roll call then disclosed Insurgent Republicans to the number of 42. On the following day, the 17th, Mr. Norris offered his resolution, which, as subsequently amended in some details of no essential importance, is as follows:

Resolved That the rules of the House of Representatives be amended as follows: (1) In rule 10, paragraph 1, strike out the words "on rules shall consist

of five members." (2) Add a new paragraph to rule 10, as follows:

Paragraph 5—There shall be a committee on rules elected by the House consisting of ten members, six of whom shall be members of the majority party and four of whom shall be members of the minority party. The Speaker shall not be a member of the committee and the committee shall elect its own chairman from its own members. Resolved, further, that within ten days after the adoption of this resolution, there shall be an election of the committee and immediately upon this election the present committee on rules shall be dissolved.

The points about this resolution are that it takes from the Speaker the power of appointing the powerful committee on rules, that it doubles its membership, and that it excludes from the committee the Speaker who has heretofore dominated the committee.

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Immediate consideration of that resolution was demanded in accordance with the Speaker's ruling of the 16th that a Constitutional subject is privileged (the duty of making rules being provided for in the Constitution as well as the duty of taking a census), but the Speaker refused to rule. The regular Republicans, however, were in a minority, and could not sustain him; but in support of the Speaker they battled for time. The Insurgent Republicans and the Democrats, battling back, tried to force a ruling from the Speaker; but he refused to make one, and the parliamentary struggle went on. Three times on the 17th the regular Republicans were defeated on motions to postpone. Shortly before midnight they moved a recess which was defeated by 142 to 141. Then the regulars resorted to the tactics of breaking the quorum by leaving the chamber, and at half past two on the morning of the 18th, a roll call showed no quorum, only 154 members being present. Orders to fetch absent members were then voted, and the House was kept in session far into the following day.

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On the 18th, in the afternoon, after 26 hours of continuous session, a short recess was taken to promote a proposed compromise; but the Speaker would agree to nothing divesting him of dictatorial power. Upon the reassembling of the House, however, he announced his readiness to rule on the Norris resolution. But he was interrupted by his chief supporter, Mr. Tawney, with another motion to postpone. This having been assented to in advance by the Insurgent Republicans, against the protest of the Democrats, the matter went over to the 19th by a vote of 164 to 150. When it came up accordingly on the 19th the Speaker ruled the Norris resolution unprivileged, and the House, promptly overruling him by a vote of 182 to 160, thereupon adopted the Norris resolution by 191 to 155. By the same vote a Demo-

cratic motion (invited by the Speaker) to declare the Speakership vacant was then defeated.

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The adoption of the Norris resolution, by taking from the Speaker the powers of concentrated control over the House of Representatives which he exercised under the old rules, makes him simply the presiding officer of that body.

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#### The British Parliament.

Pursuant to the program agreed upon by the House of Commons on the 28th (p. 254) this House will adjourn on the 23d, over the Easter holidays, and its sessions will be resumed on the 29th, when the movement to curb the power of the House of Lords will proceed. Meanwhile, Mr. Asquith, the prime minister, has given formal notice of the veto resolutions the Ministry have agreed upon. He did this in the House of Commons on the 21st. As reported by cable the proposed resolutions, three in number, are in substance as follows:

The first declares it is expedient that the House of Lords be disabled by law from rejecting or amending a money bill.

The second declares that it is expedient that the powers of the House of Lords over bills other than money bills be restricted by law, so that any such bill which has passed the House of Commons in three successive sessions and has been rejected by the House of Lords in each of these sessions shall become a law without the consent of the House of Lords, on Royal assent being declared, provided that at least two years have elapsed between the date of the first introduction of the bill in the Commons and the date it passes the Commons for the third time.

The third proposes to limit the duration of each Parliament to five years.

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In the House of Lords the Rosebery resolutions for reforming that House from within (p. 254) were adopted in part by that House on the 21st. The first two resolutions, declaring that a strong and efficient second chamber is not merely an integral part of the British constitution, but is necessary to the well being of the state and the balance of Parliament, and that a second chamber can best be had by reconstituting the House of Lords, was unanimously adopted; but the third renouncing the hereditary principle went over. It was passed on the 22nd by 175 to 17.

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#### The French Ministry Tides Over Its Crisis.

The French Premier, Mr. Briand, has met the scandal of the exposure of vast graft in the liquidation of the church property for the Republic (p. 254), with a pluck that has brought a popular vindication. In a powerful speech in the Chamber

of Deputies on the 15th he made no attempt to plead extenuating circumstances for what had happened; but contended that the government was not responsible for individual breaches of trust in the great work of the separation of the church and the state, which, he said, "had freed the country from ties which tomorrow other countries will be obliged to sever." The Chamber adopted a resolution by 343 votes to 79, condemning in the severest terms the manner in which the liquidations were executed, but expressing confidence in the government's promise to fix the responsibility and punish the guilty, whoever they may be found to be. On the 17th the Senate adopted a similar resolution by a vote of 261 to 13.

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#### Alsace-Lorraine Desires Statehood in the German Empire.

The provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, ceded by France to the German Empire in 1871, at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, have since been governed as the "Reichsland," or Imperial Land, of Alsace-Lorraine, under laws voted by the Reichstag, or Imperial Parliament, administered by a Governor-General bearing the title of "Statthalter." The double province now desires the standing of a Federated State, like the other States of the Empire; and on the 15th the Reichstag, by a narrow margin, adopted a resolution presented by Mr. Preiss, an Alsatian member, asking for such Statehood. Dr. Gregoire, another Alsatian member, offered an amendment, which was adopted, providing that in the event of an Alsatian parliament being formed, its members should be elected by universal, equal, direct secret ballot.

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#### The Prussian Suffrage Bill Is Passed.

The Government's suffrage bill (p. 254) was passed by the Prussian Diet on the 16th, without essential changes, by a vote of 238 to 188. The bill substitutes direct for indirect suffrage, the old system having been for groups of 150 electors to elect delegates, who in turn elected the members of the Diet. In other respects the bill fails entirely to meet the desires, not only of the Socialists, but of all radical and progressive groups, including the "intellectuals," as the professional classes are called. The Government refused to include secret balloting in the new measure, which also provides for the retention of the three-class electoral system, whereby the electors are divided according to the amount of taxes they pay, but officers, officials and other members of the educated classes are placed in the first or second class, irrespective of the amount of their taxes. The majority for the measure in the Diet was composed of the Conservative and Free Conservative parties, only two members of which refused their support. The minority was made up of the National Liber-

als, Progressive People's party, Poles and Socialists, who raised a storm of protest on the passage of the bill. Mr. Liebknecht, the Socialist, denounced the Diet as a den of hucksters, peddlers of old clothes, and merchants who had bartered away the rights of the people. This set the house in an unparalleled uproar. After speaking at length with a vehemence of accusation which impelled the Conservatives and Catholics to make a dramatic withdrawal from the Chamber, Liebknecht closed with this defiant prophecy: "The trumpet of the last judgment, which is the judgment by the people, will break harshly on your ears. Your present parliamentary victories will cost you dear. The franchise fight will go on despite everything."

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Rapid City, South Dakota, adopted the commission form of government (vol. xii, pp. 114, 520) on the 18th, by a majority of 45 in a vote of 739.

—The grand jury at Pittsburg returned indictments on the 21st against forty members and ex-members of the city council for bribery (vol. xii, p. 470).

—The Manhattan Single Tax Club will hold a house warming on Saturday evening, March 26th, at their new rooms, southeast corner of 125th street and Eighth avenue, New York City.

—Through jumping a track, a combination Rock Island train, running to Minneapolis from Chicago and St. Louis was wrecked near Green Mountain, Ia., on the morning of the 21st, and 47 persons were killed, and 43 injured, many of them fatally.

—Chile (vol. xii, p. 1163) and Peru (vol. xii, p. 731) are working up a disagreement, while Chile, very likely for war-alliance purposes, is demonstrating affection for Ecuador (vol. xii, p. 804), Peru's contiguous neighbor on the north, as Chile is on the south.

—The withdrawal of 350 of the 1,459 United States marines on service in Nicaragua (p. 231), was announced on the 15th. It is understood that the American fleet under Admiral Kimball is to be shortly recalled from Nicaraguan waters, as President Madriz is regarded as having practically re-established peace.

—Mr. Khomyakoff, the president of the Russian Douma (vol. xii, p. 1095), has resigned his office for the second time, on account of his failure to control the disorder of that body and now refuses to reconsider his resignation. Mr. Khomyakoff is an Octoberist, and has been serving his third term as president, having been re-elected for the last time on the 12th of November.

—An ordinance which provides that no person can walk in the public streets, ride in street cars, elevated trains or elevators of public buildings of Chicago, wearing a hatpin which protrudes more than half an inch from the crown of the hat, was passed by the Chicago City Council on the 21st, and was

signed by the Mayor on the following day. A maximum penalty of not more than \$50 is imposed for violation of the ordinance.

—A court at Brussels has awarded \$2,000 damages to a man who was blinded in one eye by a woman's hatpin, according to a dispatch of the 15th. The man had been standing on the platform of a street car, which stopped with a jerk, which caused the hatpin to pierce his eye. The damage was assessed equally between the woman and the car company, each being condemned to pay \$1,000.

The "No-Vote—No-Tax League" of Chicago (p. 229) has decided to secure petitions for a referendum next fall on two questions: Whether women shall be exempt from taxation (both direct and indirect) until they are allowed to vote, and whether personal property taxes shall be abolished and a 5 per cent tax on the full value of the franchises of public service corporations be levied instead.

—The exports and imports of the United States (vol. xii, p. 1257) for eight months of the current fiscal year, ending February 28, 1910, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for February, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$1,210,205,125	\$1,021,079,710	\$189,125,415 exp.
Gold	78,146,750	29,145,847	49,000,903 exp.
Silver	37,319,566	30,719,357	6,600,209 exp.
	\$1,325,671,441	\$1,080,944,914	\$244,726,527 exp.

—A bill in equity charging criminal conspiracy to fix prices, was filed in the Federal court at Chicago on the 21st, by the Federal district attorney, against J. Ogden Armour, Louis F. Swift, Edward Morris, Edward Tilden, Edward F. Swift, Charles H. Swift, Arthur Meeker, Thomas E. Wilson, L. H. Heyman, Thomas J. Connors, Frank A. Fowler, L. A. Carton, Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., and the Continental Packing company. The bill asks dissolution of the packing company and its subsidiaries.

—An indictment of the beef trust under the anti-trust law (p. 180) was returned by the Federal grand jury at Chicago on the 21st. The persons indicted are the National Packing company of New Jersey, G. H. Hammond company, of Michigan, Fowler Packing company of Kansas, United Dressed Beef company of New York, St. Louis Dressed Beef and Provision company of Missouri, Hammond Packing company of Illinois, Omaha Packing company of Illinois, Anglo-American Provision company of Illinois, Western Packing company of Colorado, Colorado Packing and Provision company of Colorado and New York Butchers' Dressed Meat company of New York.

—A half of the 15,000 inhabitants of the little Principality of Monaco are said to be demanding of their ruler, Prince Albert, who is an absolute monarch, that he should grant his subjects a constitution. Monaco, which lies on the Mediterranean, and is surrounded on three sides by France, has an area of only eight square miles. While the people have no measure of self-government, they also have no taxes to pay—the expenses of the principality being born by the Prince, who in turn derives vast sums for the gaming concessions of Monte Carlo, the greatest gambling resort in the world. This does not, however, compensate; and the Monacans are said to be bitterly complaining that their country is

the only absolute monarchy remaining on the face of the globe.

—Henry George Jr., debated with Arthur M. Lewis at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on the 20th (pp. 241, 264), the unauthorized title for debate having been first changed to the one originally agreed upon, "The Theories of Henry George." Clarence S. Darrow presided. The debate will be printed in the *Evolutionist* for May (180 Washington St., Chicago, the price of which is 10 cents each or 6 copies for 25 cents). Mr. George spoke on the same day before the Anthropological Society, and in the evening before the Sunday Evening Club at Orchestra Hall. He had spoken on the 19th at the City Club, his subject being "Japan", and this address is published by the club.

—The Illinois commission, to be composed of six employers and six employes and authorized to draft a bill regulating employers' liability for injuries to employes, was appointed by Gov. Deneen on the 16th. The commissioners are: E. T. Bent, Illinois Coal Operators' Association; Robert E. Conway, East St. Louis, Armour & Co.; P. A. Peterson, Rockford, Union Furniture Company; Charles Piez, Link Belt Company; Ira G. Rawn, president Monon Railroad; Mason B. Starring, president Northwestern Elevated Road; M. J. Boyle, officer of the Switchmen's Union of North America, representing the railroad department of the American Federation of Labor; Patrick Ladd Carr, officer of the United Mine Workers of Illinois; John Flora, Chicago, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor; George Golden, president Packinghouse Teamsters' Union and vice president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Daniel J. Gorman, Peoria, Street Car Men's Union; and Edwin R. Wright, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### The Way To Conserve Natural Resources.

Stout City Tribune (Ind. Rep.).—Senator Beveridge has drafted and introduced a bill designed to save to the people the vast coal resources of Alaska. . . . Roughly stated, Senator Beveridge's bill provides that title to the coal lands shall remain for all time in the United States, and that they shall be leased on a royalty basis, for periods not exceeding 30 years, to those who desire to operate them. In principle the bill is unassailable, but it should contain some provision that will render impossible the monopolization of coal lands by means of leases. The backbone of the coal monopoly in this country is our system of land tenures, which permits private individuals and corporations to retain the ownership of vast bodies of coal land and hold them out of use. All the great coal corporations keep out of use much more land than they work, and by so doing they are enabled to limit the supply of their product and levy an arbitrary price upon the consumer. . . . There should be incorporated in Senator Beveridge's bill an air-tight proviso that would render it impossible for any lessee of coal lands to hold such lands out of use. The end might

be reached by a provision that any lease should become void upon the failure of the lessee to work the lands, and that under such circumstances the lands should be at once open to lease to other persons willing to work them. But there is a better way of reaching the matter. It would be to charge no royalty, but to tax the lands to their full rental value. Under such an arrangement the lessee would be compelled either to work his lease to the full value or to relinquish. Where the taxes were placed high enough, there would never be the slightest danger that lands would be allowed to lie idle under the paralyzing grasp of monopolistic ownership. Nor would this policy result in waste of resources, for coal would never be mined beyond the point where such an industry would be remunerative. Timid, shrinking souls and reactionaries, of course, will cry out in agony of mind that this is Henry Georgeism, and so it is. It is likewise sound public policy and common sense. The main point to be kept steadily in mind in dealing with public resources is that they belong to the people, and that any policy which permits their monopolization by a few of the people is a crime against the public.

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### Roosevelt's Welcome Home.

Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), March 22.—Col. Roosevelt's announcement that all kinds and sorts of men must be on his reception committee when he arrives in New York and is welcomed reveals him again at his best. \* \* \* The welcome must be that of the nation, not of a party. The Colonel's mind should be set at rest on this matter as soon as possible, and we believe that nothing would so inspire him with perfect confidence, would so guarantee to him the execution of his wishes, as would the immediate appointment of the following general committee on arrangements: J. Pierpont Morgan, chairman, Joseph Pulitzer, Bellamy Storer, Joseph B. Foraker, Judge J. Otis Humphrey, The Rev. William J. Long, Chancellor Day, Delavan Smith, Joseph Bailey, Joseph G. Cannon, John D. Rockefeller, Thomas F. Ryan, Emma Goldman. Then let Mr. Roosevelt be informed that the parade will be routed through Wall street and that it will be made up as follows:

#### FIRST DIVISION.

The Rev. William Joseph Long, Marshal.  
Nature fakery on foot leading John Burroughs in captivity.  
Gifford Pinchot, James R. Garfield, Jack Abernathy, George Curry, Jacob Riis, John Avery McIlhenny, and Booker T. Washington on skids.  
The Hon. Albert Jeremiah Beveridge on foot, with side arms, but with colors furled.

#### SECOND DIVISION.

Chancellor Day, Marshal.  
Malefactors of great wealth on biplanes.  
The Hon. Charles Warren Fairbanks drinking buttermilk.  
Float representing George Washington receiving letter of thanks from Mr. Fairbanks for cutting down cherry tree.  
Shorter and Uglier words on stilts.  
Ananias club members with callopo playing "The Holy City."  
Storks dancing Highland fling.

#### THIRD DIVISION.

The Hon. Joseph Bailey, Marshal.  
The Hon. Joseph B. Foraker, commanding companies B, C and D of Twenty-fifth United States Infantry.  
That Man Cannon.  
Members of Congress bearing "Gates Ajar" and other floral emblems.  
Undesirable citizens wearing wreaths.

If such arrangements were made and information

regarding them cabled at once to Col. Roosevelt, we are sure he would dismiss all fear of the New York reception from his mind and would complete his journey in peace.

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#### El Renacimiento Says Farewell.\*

Summary of Editorial in *El Renacimiento*, Manila, Jan. 15, 1910.—The drama nears its end. This morning the American Judge Jenkins pronounced sentence against us in the civil suit for libel brought by Commissioner Worcester. It is for P60,000 damages, and costs. The *Renacimiento*, which, as our readers know, was not undertaken for the sake of profit and has never been a lucrative enterprise, does not possess any such amount. We must, therefore, expect to be sold out by the sheriff, and this issue is probably our last. These lines must serve as our farewell to the Philippine people. Under conditions so striking as necessarily to attract the attention of the country, arousing it to the realization of an intolerable situation, vainly gilded by hypocrisy and pretense which are but a thin veneer for unbridled greed and triumphant arrogance, this Filipino paper is forced to relinquish the hard task undertaken eight years ago. We have been assured that vandal governments and enslaved peoples, with the accompanying rapacity and tyranny, have been unknown since the dark ages, and that humanity is marching steadily toward a glorious future, enlightened by liberty and democracy. Our readers can judge for themselves how far all this is true. Unasked, the Americans came to these islands, impelled (they say) by the love of humanity, and announcing that they brought with them liberty and prosperity;—all, in short, that an oppressed people dream of. For a moment we believed that the hour of redemption was at hand. When the armed opposition of the people was overcome, and the Americans found themselves undisputed lords of the land, redemption became domination under the guise of "preparing the Philippine people for self government." Some believed, or pretended to believe, in this scheme, supposing that justice, liberty of thought and speech, and the freedom of the press were safeguarded. But soon the veil was torn from their eyes. Suspicion replaced trust, and discontent, hope. The people, shocked and surprised, could no longer explain the acts of the government as resulting from pure philanthropy. Again and again dull murmurs arise from the masses, indicating unrest and discontent, but apparently the government is either too proud to admit the possibility of a protest against its omnipotence, or so credulous as to suppose that the people are in reality increasingly satisfied with American sovereignty and that soon the efforts of agitators to keep alive the flame of independence in the hearts of their fellow-countrymen will be no longer effective. There is an attempt to make it appear that we have in these islands an earthly paradise created by American intervention for the benefit of the Filipino, where no crime goes unpunished, where the American treats the native like a brother, and the native looks to the American as an exemplar of morality, and where the office-holder is a missionary, working solely for the love of God and his fellowmen, unmindful of his pocket, Who-

ever dares whisper the contrary, and attempts to prove it, is Anti-American, a demagogue, an agitator, a rebel, a disturber of the peace. Yet what is, in fact, the avowed purpose of the present Administration? Is it not to attract to these islands American exploiters by offering every encouragement and protection, by representing these islands as a land of promise with which Providence has rewarded American military prowess? Against this course we have protested, seeing in it only a menace to Philippine nationality; and in this, our last issue, we protest once more against the present policy, which is in conflict with the legitimate aspirations of the Philippine people. Conquered, but unconvinced, we lay down our work with the satisfaction of having fulfilled our duty. The battle has been a desperate one, and our last cartridge is spent. One way of safety, indeed, lay open to us; we might have survived the disaster by humbling ourselves before our powerful adversaries and recanting. The instinct of self-preservation was strong, but loyalty to our country was stronger. Money, influence and authority were all on the side of the enemy; on ours only the national conscience, which gave us courage. The people know the outcome of the struggle. The American courts of justice (so-called) have found us guilty. It is well to repeat here the statement made before one of the judges who condemned us: "Your honor, this case involves the good name of the government and the prestige of the American people in these islands." Perhaps, had the tables been turned, we should have done the same, for such is universally the "justice" of imperialism. It may be that at this moment of our cessation great events are impending. During the next ten years,—perhaps sooner,—the country will see great changes, notwithstanding all official assurances to the contrary. We should have liked to play our part, but since this is impossible, we have one last word of advice to give our people. We can never become Anglo-Saxons even though we wished it. We are an Oriental people: a part of the East which is today rising in its strength and shaking off the tyranny of ages. Let us remember now and in the future that the only salvation of our race lies in independence. It may be that notwithstanding the "liberty" of the press in these islands, a successor may take up our work in the vanguard of the people. In such case we bespeak for it all the support which has hitherto been ours.

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He who does wrong does wrong against himself. He who acts unjustly acts unjustly to himself, because he makes himself bad.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

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Andrew Carnegie, asked Friday by a United Press correspondent for a reply to the recent arraignment of himself and other multimillionaires by Joseph Fels, Philadelphia soap man,\* answered the question with a smile and the single comment:

"Is Fels a soft soap manufacturer?"

—United Press despatch from Delmonte, Cal., March 11.

\*See *The Public* of February 5, 1909.

\*See *Public* of March 13, page 259.—"A Candid Millionaire."

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### SANCTUM SANCTORUM.

For The Public.

Men, ye bear God within you, even as an ark,  
Whose rich but unseen womb, mysterious, dark,  
And oft forgotten, enshrines the holiest things,  
Lying before the Mercy Seat, with wings  
Of cherubim overshadowed; there lie hid,  
Under an oaken and rarely lifted lid,  
Manna, the wandering people that once fed,  
Wondrous, unailing (for by perishing bread  
Comes not true life, nay, not by blood-bought grain  
Ground with unfeelingness and leavened with pain);  
—This set in an earthen ewer; and therewith  
Stored the strange rod, whose dead and sapless pith,  
Divinely quickened, waits not the long range  
Of years, and seasons' slow-unravelled change,  
And suns uncertain, and fitful, failing showers,  
But lo a miracle! bud, flower, fruit at once are ours.  
Last and best loved by him who would be saved,  
Two stone-hewn tablets with but one law graved,  
Hard by the manna and ever-blossoming rod:  
"Love man more, ye who haste to love your God."

GUY KENDALL.

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### THE CITY OF OUR DREAMS—HOW CAN IT BE MADE REAL?

From a Sermon Delivered Last October in Brooklyn,  
N. Y., by the Rev. William M. Brundage.

And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming  
down out of heaven from God.—Rev. 21, 2.

Let us paraphrase it in this way: And I saw the holy city, the city of God, the city of God's children, at last coming down out of the realm of the ideal to this earth of ours, to be organized and established here by men and women who have actually learned to treat one another as brothers and sisters.

There is not a serious man or woman among us who sometime or other has not dreamed such a dream as this, who has not, at least for one happy moment, caught a radiant vision of what might be "if men were wise and loved each other." A city of brethren and sisters, a larger home in which good-will reigned. Such a city is infinitely more than a successful business corporation from which all graft shall be excluded. It is this, but it is much more—it is a home in the best sense of that word, in the only true sense of the word; it is a collective undertaking, in which all share, in which there are no clashing interests, no warring wills, in which the good of one is the good of all, in which the good of all is the good of every brother man and every sisterly woman.

The rights of all its citizens are protected

equally well because no citizen possesses any rights which do not imply the highest welfare of the entire body—a rather different conception of "rights" from that which at present prevails, and yet from the view point of social ethics the only conception that can be successfully defended. The necessities of all its worthy citizens are conscientiously satisfied, because "if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." Its mayor, controller, aldermen and judges are not the men who seek for place and power, but the men, or women, who have been tried in subordinate positions and have been found to be its wisest and ablest citizens. Disinterested devotion to duty and success in administration are the sole qualifications for high office. No discrimination as to political rights is made between the sexes. The women who have been trained by the care of their own households and in the protection of their children from disease, are naturally well qualified to attend to the cleanliness and sanitation of the wider household, the city. They are as profoundly interested as their husbands, sons and brothers in the schools and playgrounds of the entire community; in its hospitals and asylums; in its water works, its lighting plants; in its protection against assaults and burglaries, and its fire protection; in its museums and art galleries. And they are just as profoundly interested in their city's means of intercommunication, in the street car lines, ferry lines, subways and elevated railroads, telegraphs and telephones.

In the new city no public utility of any kind will be left in private hands; the efficient administration of such utilities is too vital a matter to the entire body of citizens. Nor will the land upon which the city is built, nor the outlying tracts over which it will naturally expand, be left in the hands of private individuals for exploitation and speculation. Therefore there will be no congested "slum" districts in the new city.

The churches of the new city will cease their ungracious and unreasonable competition one with another, and will solely strive in friendly rivalry to incite one another to good works. Harsh intolerance will give place to genuine cooperation in the noble task of helping to inspire men and women to devote themselves to the service of high ideals, to help to keep the sacred fire burning. . . .

The manifest curse of the present time is what it has ever been—the curse of "practical politics" for which distinguished leaders of public opinion, on the platform, in the pulpit, through the press, are so clamorously pleading: "Be good citizens!" Certainly be good citizens! But do not be too good citizens! "Be not righteous overmuch, neither make thyself overwise; why shouldst thou destroy thyself?" The Bible writer, the unknown author of the book of Ecclesiastes, you see, is on the side of "practical politics." But the great prophets of

Israel, and Jesus and Paul, are on the side of the idealists who choose to be consistently and persistently true, righteous and loving, at whatever cost, even unto death.

My friends, the progress of the past has been impaired and retarded, not as is so often claimed because the minority has demanded too much, but because the minority has demanded *too little*. The claims of liberty and human brotherhood cannot be compromised. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." "I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." What Abraham Lincoln so clear-sightedly said of our American Union is true of all society. It cannot permanently endure "half slave and half free," half false and half true, half unjust and half just, half animated by the spirit of ill-will, half animated by the spirit of good-will.

We demand for our ideal city freedom, truth, justice and human brotherhood, perfect, complete, without compromise. And they shall be attained, sooner or later they shall be attained. It will be sooner or later, as God's prophets and reformers are faithful or unfaithful to their trust, whole-hearted or faint-hearted in their devotion, wise or foolish in their methods, loyal or disloyal in their service of good-will. We claim to believe that the universe is so constituted that the forces of good are mightier than the forces of evil. The final issue of the struggle, therefore, is not uncertain; the *nearness* or *remoteness* of the victorious issue depends upon our faith and wisdom, upon the persistence and fidelity of our efforts. The City of God shall at last come down out of the realm of the ideal to this earth of ours, to be organized and established here by men and women who have actually learned to treat one another as brothers and sisters of one common family. It is already coming, it is already being organized though the progress seems so slow and sometimes so difficult to recognize. It is slow and difficult because of widespread misapprehension.

"Give me the right kind of men and women," certain people say, "and we shall have the ideal city. It must all depend upon the successful education and training of the citizens."

Certainly much depends upon this slow process of the education and training of the individual, incalculably much, and upon awakening within him a response to the best things. But not all depends upon it. *Transform the existing environment* and give men and women the right kind of conditions under which to live, and we will raise up the right kind of men and women. The two processes must go on side by side, are going on side by side—the moral training of the individual and the changed environment in which he lives.

The trouble with us has been in the past, not that we have emphasized too much the importance of education, but that we have emphasized too

little the importance of transforming the environment. *Educate, educate, educate*, physically, intellectually, morally, and religiously—let us never for one moment cease insisting upon this gospel; but let us devote our energies as we have never devoted them before towards the amelioration of present civic, social, and economic conditions, which every intelligent person recognizes to be, in great measure, unjust and inhumane. Those conditions cannot escape observation, for they lie right at our doors. Let us begin by transforming what is most unjust and inhumane in man's present environment, and his progress will be accelerated a hundredfold. Let us never grow discouraged; let us never lose heart for a single moment, never despair! Insist upon the ideal, always, everywhere, and always and everywhere lend a hand.



### SERVICE.

#### For The Public.

The earth is the Lord's—the Lord is Man,  
And man our brother, piously we say.  
Then, unto whom shall we our tribute pay,  
If not to man in whom God bids us scan  
His image and his superscription true?  
To whom is service due?  
For how do men serve God except it be  
In service of each other? They may teach  
The ten commandments, and devoutly preach  
And praise, and pray to Him on bended knee—  
But can they serve Him save in kindly deed  
Unto His souls in need?  
Take down the word from memory's dusty shelf.  
It reads: "Love God with all thy mind and heart."  
—Swift follows the clear showing of our part—  
"And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."  
Ah, who the first love ever truly wills  
Till he the last fulfills?  
And who can love the God he hath not seen  
Before he loves the brother whom he knows  
Scant-fed, scant-clad, unhoused and full of woes;  
Broken with toil and dumbly ground between  
The upper and the lower millstones where  
His very breath is prayer?  
Go to, with empty sacerdotal phrase,  
Pomp, ritual, phylactery and creed!  
Come, let us worship in the daily deed  
And burn in love the incense of our praise.  
He kneels to God who lifts his brother up,  
And shares with him the Cup.

ANNIE L. MUZZEY.



### A CERTAIN OTHER RICH MAN.

#### For The Public.

And he rich was, some said very rich.  
He had come from the metropolis to the little  
city, that his later years might be passed near to  
his children and grandchildren whom he loved.  
He was a good man, of religious instincts, kind,  
charitable and clean. He made a subscription to  
the church of his persuasion and worshiped there.

All was serene until the minister, who bore in his soul a vision of the Kingdom of Heaven among men, and who believed that the gospel is for people now on earth, preached a sermon with the title, "Not Alms but a Square Deal," in which he endeavored to judge certain unjust and oppressive practices in the light of the gospel of the Son of Man. Then the rich man buttoned his overcoat tightly about him and walked out to return no more; and forthwith he notified the treasurer of the church that his contributions had ceased.

The minister was informed, and he called on the rich man, not to plead or conciliate but to understand. He was courteously received and the conversation that ensued was friendly, and prolonged, and—enlightening.

The rich man learned for the first time the difference between socialism and the political economy of Henry George. He learned that a vision of a better day, a day of honesty and justice, has taken possession of some souls; and that as a result a conflict is on, a conflict that will not be suppressed until Justice is enthroned and life, liberty and a fair chance are recognized as the rightful heritage of all.

The minister learned, on the other hand, that there is a man in the world who thinks that a preacher should not so much as mention the fact that certain forms of privilege exist amongst us and that certain wards of privilege are permitted to take tribute from the people in order that their own coffers may overflow, for to speak of these things "is to incite class hatred and stir up strife." For this reason ministers should maintain a discreet silence respecting these matters and "preach the gospel."

"What good does it do?" asked the rich man. "What do you expect to accomplish by telling people that monopolies are extorting from them dividends ranging from 30 to 90 per cent, that tenements are filthy and unsanitary and rents are high? You only make them discontented with their lot in life."

The rich man thinks that the Lord has ordained that a relatively few shall be rich, some very rich, and that the multitudes shall be poor, many of them very poor. The rich must be kind to the poor and give alms; the poor should be "content with their wages" and not aspire to ease and luxury that they can not reach.

Said he, "No deserving person need go hungry or cold. Our charities are splendidly organized and generously supported. Any worthy person will be relieved if he will only apply. Things are getting better; let them alone."

The rich man sees nothing economically or ethically wrong in the appalling extravagance and waste of the idle rich in their homes and hotels or in the ill-getting of wealth that makes possible this extravagance; for, said he, "You forget what great numbers of poor people are clothed by the

cast-off clothing of the rich, and how many are fed from the back doors of their homes and hotels."

This argument was unanswerable—at least in terms intelligible to the rich man—and the two men shook hands and separated, one to seek a church whose minister is more discreet, and the latter more firmly resolved than before to continue preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, which demands something better for the exploited poor than the cast-off clothing of the charitable and access to the garbage pails of monopolists and money lords.

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### JAMES DUNDAS WHITE, M. P.

James Dundas White, one of the Parliamentary leaders in support of land value taxation, has represented Dumbartonshire, Scotland, since the elec-



*Yours sincerely,  
James Dundas White*

tions of 1906. This constituency, won by a Tory at the elections of 1895 and 1900, was carried by Dr. White as a Liberal in 1906 with a majority of 467, and in 1910 with a majority of 1,033. Its electorate numbers 18,399, and the vote cast at the recent election was 16,247. Dr. White, who is now 43 years of age, graduated in 1888 from Trinity College, Cambridge, which gave him the degree of

M.A. and LL. B. in 1892, and in 1894, three years after his admission to the bar, the degree of LL. M. He is the author of works on the merchant shipping acts, on the marine insurance act, on "Economic Ideals," on "Island Economy," on tariffs, and on land and labor, and is a writer of numerous articles and papers, economic, legal and nautical. Although nephew of a lord (Lord Overton), Dr. White is accounted both by radical Liberals and the other side, as an unequivocal disciple of Henry George.

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### IF.

#### For The Public.

What wondrous things would come to pass  
If Christians for a day  
Should shape their conduct to their creed,  
And practice as they pray.  
How low would current values fall  
Held now so highly priced,  
If men believed in God at all,  
And really followed Christ.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

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## ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES OF SAN DOMINGO.

#### For The Public.

In our immense territory of varied resources, a high tariff policy, while injurious, has not been the industrial calamity it has been in such small states as the Dominican Republic, which occupies the eastern two-thirds of the island of San Domingo.

Discovered by Columbus on his first voyage, San Domingo was his headquarters for many years and the repository of his bones. In 1697, the western or Haitian part of the island was captured by the French, but the eastern part was only under their control from 1785 to 1809. In 1821 the Dominicans allied themselves with Bolivar and his Columbians and threw off the yoke of Spain, but the next year they were subjugated by President Boyer of Haiti. Their independence of Haitian rule was gained in 1844, and has been since preserved with the exception of a four-year period (1861-65) under Spanish control.

With a Congress of 12 senators and 24 deputies, a President, a cabinet of 7 members and a supreme court, their political organization resembles ours. As the Republic for generations has been the prey of political adventurers, revolutions have been perennial; and the nation has thus had no opportunity to enjoy that progress which Macaulay asserts may exist under even oppressive regimes that preserve internal tranquillity. With the standing army of about 2,000 men now garrisoned in the strategic cities, and with the custom houses (formerly the purses of impecunious revolutionists) under Uni-

ted States control, the republic has now a good chance of recovering from its vice of rioting.

Unlike Haiti, whose population is almost entirely African, full-blood negroes in the Dominican republic, are in the minority. The bulk of the population are Spanish mulattoes, with a dash in the interior of aboriginal blood. The leading politicians and merchants are usually white, though the governors, generals and other men of influence are often black. There is no color line drawn in either political or social life. The population is about 700,000, but is so concentrated in the ports and railroad towns that much of the total area of 20,000 square miles seems like a primeval wilderness.

When the United States took charge of the Dominican custom houses in 1905, the national finances were in a chaotic condition. This chaos largely sprang from the misrule of President Heureaux, who was practically dictator of the republic for most of the period from 1882 to his assassination in 1899. His regime succeeded in contracting a national debt of some \$30,000,000, mostly squandered on Heureaux's prodigalities, on subsidies to keep powerful politicians quiet, and on usury to money-lenders. After an investigation by United States agents, the various debts were scaled down to a total of about \$20,000,000, which was issued in 5 per cent bonds. Fifty-five per cent of customs revenue is applied annually to interest and sinking fund of the bonded debt.

The present tariff is assessed on most articles ad valorem at a general rate of about 75 per cent. The practical result is that the consumer pays nearly double the price for imported articles as compared with those British West Indian islands with a revenue tariff of 10 per cent. This results in a very high living cost, as native products include few manufactures, and even such essentials for the workers as wheat, maize, rice, codfish, cooking oil and kerosene are mostly imported. As the daily wage of the common laborer varies from 40 cents with rations, to 70-80 cents without, his condition would be miserable were it not that his sunny nature requires little to satisfy it in this beautiful island with its equable climate and luxuriant verdure, so like his ancestral Africa.

Until the United States took the custom houses, not only was there a robber tariff but only a fraction of its exactions reached the treasury, for rebates to influential importers were common. Since the total custom revenue has been collected, there has been for the first time a surplus over the running expenses of the government to devote to public improvements.

Municipal revenue is raised (after the Spanish custom) from business licenses and from stamps on property transfers and mortgages. In this way enough has been obtained in the towns of 10,000-20,000 people (as the capital, Puerto Plata, San-

tiago and Macoris) to do some paving and lighting; but the inability to levy a direct property tax hampers the extension of needed public improvements.

On alcoholic liquors the tax is so low that good native rum is sold for 2 cents a glass or one-fifth its price here. It is a curious fact that the sad results predicted for the policy of cheap liquor by the high license advocates have not ensued in San Domingo. I saw few drunkards during my sojourn of several months in various localities, and even regular moderate drinking is not a common native habit.

Most interesting is the system of land tenure. A large part of the Republic's area is held in large tracts whose title was originally derived from the Spanish crown. As in the case of the Spanish grants of Louisiana and California, these tracts have no definite boundaries, but are delimited by natural monuments as trees or hills. The grants are now owned by "comuneros" or shareholders, who are mostly descendants of the original grantees, though the possibility (until recently) of transferring such shares has, in some cases, introduced alien shareholders. Each grant is covered by a definite number of shares (called pesos), and the owner of even one share has the right to work any part of the grant not already in use. If he gets too hoggish he may be enjoined by suit of a co-owner.

While this communal system insures free access to the land for the large part of the native Dominicans who are land shareholders, it discourages both immigration and wagon roads. At present there are few of the latter on the island and everything for the interior has to be transported by packhorse (except along the two short railroad lines). This expensive transportation and the land grants explain the sparseness of the rural population.

Before an individual title can be obtained to any fraction of a land grant, it must first be divided by legal process, and this can only be done with the consent of shareholders and considerable delay and expense for surveys. Even if individual farm-owners should be willing to pay the cost of wagon-road building through their land, a continuous road between farms would be negated by the many intervening grants, whose shareholders could seldom afford to pay a proportionate road assessment on their little cultivated areas. The government proposal to build these roads from the proceeds of the tariff will benefit the landowners at the cost of the working population.

I believe it possible to develop the island along just and democratic lines by the following reforms, though their inauguration will require a strong and tactful government. The landowners of Spanish countries are the leaders of the illiterate working class and control public sentiment in their own interests. This was well illustrated in Porto

Rico where even the direct property tax made the Yankee regime unpopular, though its introduction greatly increased the selling value of the aristocrats' land by the public improvements it made possible.

Such oppressive import duties as those on quinine and the clothing and food of the peasantry should be abolished at once and the remainder of the tariff removed by easy stages. A uniform system for a systematic survey of the republic should be inaugurated along with a general decree for the compulsory division of the land grants among their shareholders. It will then only require a gradually increasing land-value tax to cause the present landowners to either cultivate their land or offer it for sale at an attractive price. The division of the land grants would make it practical to radiate continuous wagon roads from each port and railroad center with the funds obtained from the land tax.

As primary schools have now been established in the more populous districts, the crying educational need is for instruction in improved methods of agriculture. The native farming is most primitive, the tools being only a pointed stake for planting and a hoe and machete for weeding, while a plow is almost unknown outside of the great sugar estates. It is probable that the system of model government farms, located strategically in each cultivated district, would achieve quick results as it has done in our Southern States. A central agricultural school and a staff of scientists to study soils and plant-culture should also be established.

The nation contains a considerable number of men highly educated in the United States or Europe, but aside from law, medicine and the church they seem to be restricted in occupation to mercantile lines. The last (as in all Spanish countries) are well organized in contradistinction to the primitive agriculture which must have aid from government and from European practical horticulturists in order to reach the development proper to the island's great area of fertile, well-watered land.

Much of the country is still covered with primeval forest which needs only improved ways of transport to become a valuable asset. The minerals are under the Napoleonic code and belong to the state instead of the land-owner. A large quantity of placer-gold was extracted by the Spanish conquerors but the present mineral resources are unpromising. The rugged surface insures good drainage and makes the island the healthiest of the Greater Antilles. The climate of the coast is tempered by the trade winds and much of the elevated interior is cool and well adapted to the labor of Southern Europe.

Starting from the present backward condition, the introduction of free trade, land-grant partition and survey, land-value tax and agricultural

education, should work wonders in a decade. Experience in other countries has shown all these reforms to be safe and practical, but whether they will be applied in San Domingo or not depends on its political leaders. Should they decide to step out from the darkness of traditional ways and prejudices into the light of scientific economics and altruistic statesmanship, they would be astonished at the favorable results of their action.

ROBERT B. BRINSMADE.

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## BOOKS

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### A VIEW OF THE HARVESTER CAPITALIST.

Cyrus Hall McCormick by Herbert N. Casson. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1909.

The romance of the reaper, with its hero an industrial demi-god and its finale the feeding of the world, is Mr. Casson's story. It is a relief to the eye to view history across fields of wheat instead

of battle. Yet over both there lies a haze. This story is romantic. Is it true? Partisan historian the author most evidently is. So the reader, not believing in ex parte trials, suspends hero-worship until the other litigants have spoken.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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### FOR YOUNG MEN.

Personal Information for Young Men. Published by R. F. Fenno & Company, 18 East Seventeenth St., New York, N. Y. Cloth, 50 cts.

This is the third of a series on Personal Purity, by Ernest Edwards. It is a strong, frank and rational discussion of a subject which has been too long postponed. No one can estimate the waste of manhood it might have saved had it appeared a generation sooner. An anatomical, physiological and hygienic treatment of cells, glands and brain, it leads on to considerations of generative subjects in a cleanly manner, treating, also, of the psychological relation of human generation to thought and affection. A book for every youth

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## From the Month's Correspondence.

THE PUBLIC,  
Chicago.

Southfield, Mass.,  
Mar. 7, 1910.

Dear Sir:

*A copy of one of your folders dealing with the policy and purpose of your publication has come to my notice. If there is anything calculated to weary a man who has any fellow feeling for his neighbor and his welfare, it is, in my estimation, the present condition of the press which purports to tell the news and give reliable information concerning the affairs of the nation and world. You read a statement and no sooner do you begin to form conclusions on the basis of the supposed news than along comes another purveyor of the "pure unadulterated article" who quietly informs you the other fellow's statement is all rot.*

*Honest, it gets to one's nerves; what is the fact anyway? Being of such a frame of mind I am moved to chance another dollar for the sake of discovering what your publication does to help a man out or in.*

*Your proposition looks good, but not being in a position to test every statement I suspect I shall have to depend upon the general impression made by the paper. I am enclosing the dollar for a year's subscription to The Public.*

Yours very truly,

IVAN H. BENEDICT.

above ten years of age, it is as instructive to men and parents.

+ + +

A. B. F.

A "HEALTH CULTURE" BOOK.

Scientific Living or The New Domestic Science. By Laura Nettleton Brown. Published by The Health Culture Co., Passaic, N. J., 1909. Price, \$1.00.

Do you wish to live several hundred years? and if you do not, you ought to,—then banish all thought of death, and let common sense and science set a table before you. Simple foods scientifically chosen for their various nutritive values, wisely cooked, all daintily served and eaten with the sauce of contentment—these perpetuate the vigor of youth.

A few chapters on the general principles of hygienic living and healthful, "constructive" thinking are followed, in Mrs. Brown's book, by a practical discussion of the uses of the different foods and a number of attractive recipes.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

conomic Function. By Bertha June Richardson. Published by Whitcomb & Barrows, Boston. Revised Edition, 1910. Price, \$1.00, net.

—Common Honesty. A Study of Fundamental Principles and Their Relation to the Labor Problem. By O. M. Donaldson. Published by the Van-American Press, 522 Kimball Hall, Chicago, 1909.

PAMPHLETS

Public Baths.

The Public Baths Association of Philadelphia (410 Gaskill St.) have just issued their Twelfth Annual Report (vol. x, p. 47), recording gains in attendance at all three bath houses. In 1909, over 163,000 men, women and children used the baths and more than 5,000 patronized the laundries. A person may have the use of a hot and cold shower in bath room with towel and soap for five cents, five-eighths of its cost to the association. If that association makes its bath houses and laundries as sensibly attractive as its report, they must be oases in a desert of dirt.

A. L. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Awakening of Zojas, By Miriam Michelson. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1910. Price, \$1.00, postage, 10 cents.

—The Woman Who Spends. A Study of Her Eco-

PERIODICALS

The illustrated story, by several writers, of the juvenile courts, in many cities, to which the Survey (New York) of February 5th is principally devoted,

Our Five Cent Books.

- Franklin and Freedom By Joseph Fels.
A Syllabus of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" By Louis F. Post.
The Open Shop and the Closed Shop By Louis F. Post.
Success in Life By Louis F. Post.
Marriage as a Present Day Problem By Alice Thacher Post.
The Single Tax—What It Is, and What It Will Accomplish By Judson Grenell.
A 1909 Single Tax Catechism By C. B. Fillebrown.
Direct Legislation—The Initiative and Referendum By John Z. White.
Smaller Profits, Reduced Salaries and Lower Wages—The Condition, The Cause, The Cure By George L. Rusby.
Thomas Jefferson By Sterling E. Edmunds.
The Mission of a Liberal Church By Herbert S. Bigelow.

A single copy of any one of the above titles will be sent to any address for FIVE CENTS.
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loses none of its interest as this number of that excellent magazine grows older.

+

We wish that every one who either believes in vivisection or opposes it could read the report in the March number of the Journal of Zoophily (Philadelphia) of the meeting at Philadelphia of the American Anti-Vivisection Society. When the torture of animals is blandly advocated in the interest of human health, it is time to listen fairly to those who not only protest against that advocacy but deny the alleged facts upon which it rests.

+

"Deceiving the Shopper" is the title of an article in Harper's Weekly of March 5, which will be valuable to "the purchasing agent" of every family partnership. Nellie Crooks, who writes the article, tells us that "all the time new methods are being evolved by which inferior fabrics are given the surface appearance of good fabrics. Cotton is given the appearance of wool, poor wool the look and finish of fine wool. Cotton is chemically treated with magnesia to produce that sense of coolness to the touch by which many people test linen. In spinning the cot-

ton that is to be substituted for linen thread, irregularities, such as the little lumps which always occur in linen thread, can be imitated. Another cotton imitation of linen is obtained by substituting mercerized cotton thread for linen thread." Illustrations of "pure linen" towels with the cotton removed by acids, and of "all wool" dress materials with the wool removed, give enormous emphasis to Miss Crooks' allegations.

A. T. P.

+ + +

"I'm afraid," said Deacon Hardesty, shaking his head, "we'll have to take our new preacher in hand and straighten up his doctrinals a bit."

"Why, he ain't preaching heresy, is he?" asked Brother Keepalong.

"Well, he comes mighty close to it. When I asked him the other day if he didn't think that the upbraidings of conscience would be one of the worst

### THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB

cordially invites The Single Tax associations as well as all unattached Single Taxers in the United States and abroad to affiliate as "Corresponding Members" of The Chicago Single Tax Club in order to facilitate efficient Single Tax Propaganda. The Club volunteers to act as an American Clearing House for the cause without interference with any local or national activities.

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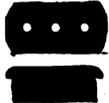
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## Social Service

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FROM "THE SURVEY" of Feb. 10, 1910.

"Describes the intricate interchange of social services in our social organism. . . Is a painstaking attempt to state 'single tax' and other economic ideas and principles which the author holds to be basic, in such simple and well illustrated ways as to induce clear thinking in such matters on the part of readers unlearned and untrained in economics."

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tortures of the lost souls in perdition, he said: 'Non-sense, deacon! Nobody that has a conscience will ever go there!'"—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

A traveling man who stutters spent all afternoon in trying to sell a grouchy business man a bill of goods, and was not very successful.

As the salesman was locking up his grip the grouch was impolite enough to observe in the presence of

his clerks: "You must find that impediment in your speech very inconvenient at times."

"Oh, n-no," replied the salesman. "Every one has his p-peculiarity. S-stammering is mine. What's y-yours?"

"I'm not aware that I have any," replied the merchant.

"D-do you stir y-your coffee with your r-right hand?" asked the salesman.

"Why, yes, of course," replied the merchant, a bit puzzled.

"W-well," went on the salesman, "t-that's your

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## Franklin and Freedom

An address by Joseph Fels to the "Poor Richard" Club of Philadelphia, January 6th, 1910.

**Benjamin Franklin**

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on War and Peace;

on the Land Question; and

on the Single Tax.

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p-peculiarity. Most people use a t-teaspoon."—Success.

✦ ✦ ✦

"I hope you don't mind my asking," said a woman diffidently, "but should I call you professor or doctor?"

"Oh, call me anything you like," was the great man's rejoinder. "Some people call me an old idiot."

"Really?" the lady murmured, with sweet innocence. "But then, they would be people who knew you intimately."—The United Presbyterian.

✦ ✦ ✦

It is narrated that Cunnel Breckinridge, meeting Majah Buford on the streets of Lexington one day, asked:

"What is the meaning, suh, of the conco'se befo' the co'thouse?"

To which the Majah replied:

"Gen. Buckneh, suh, is making a speech. Gen. Buckneh, suh, is a bo'n oratah."

"What do you mean by 'a bo'n oratah'?"

"If yo' or I, suh, were asked how much two and

two make we would reply, 'fo'.' When this is asked a bo'n oratah he replies: 'When in the co'se of human events it becomes necessa'y to take an integeh of the second denomination and add it, suh, to an integeh of the same denomination the result, suh, and I have the science of mathematics to back me in my judgment, the result, suh, and I say it without feah of successful contradiction, suh, the result is fo'.' That's a bo'n oratah."—Chicago Inter Ocean.

## Privilege and Democracy in America

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