

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### Senator Dolliver's Insurgency.

Senator Dolliver's impatience at the enthrallment of his party organization by the Interests, and his eager wish to throw off its plutocratic shackles at the first fair chance, have been an open secret in Washington ever since the proprietary collar of the Interests upon President Taft became visible to the naked eye. This Republican Senator from Iowa has now yielded to his wish so far as to confess and to denounce, officially in the Senate and without hesitation or reservation, the fact of that enthrallment. The rest cannot in the nature of things be very long put off, either by Mr. Dolliver or the other Insurgent Republicans. Whether they be those of the timid kind, who have run back and forth between insurgency and obedience, or the holdbacks who have thus far patterned after the village lawyer who when he loses a case goes into the woodshed to swear, or those like Senator La Follette who has long been conspicuous in the open and on the firing line—whatever brand of Insurgents they are, they cannot much longer yield any allegiance whatever to the Republican party under its present control. The parting of the ways is surely almost at hand, when a distinguished and able Republican Senator like Mr. Dolliver, representing a great Republican State like Iowa, rises in his place in the Senate as Mr. Dolliver did last week, to denounce the Republican party for being under the hand of an "ironclad organization" of Interests.

Not at all does it follow, however, that the Insurgents either will or should go into the Democratic party. That would only expose them to the pluto-Democratic taunt that they are newcomers and should take a back seat, just as they are now exposed to the pluto-Republican taunt that they are rebels and ought to get out. Nor would it probably do any good if they were really welcomed into the Democratic party. Time was when there was nowhere else for a disgusted Republican to go, but the signs are that this may be so no longer. At any rate, Mr. Dolliver was quite right in coupling the Democratic party's organization with that of his own party when denouncing plutocratic control. It is painfully true, as he said, that—no man looking towards a larger progress in our institutions can count with much confidence on the ironclad organization which has had its hand on one or the other political party in the United States. The rank and file of the Democratic party, and a very few conspicuous leaders, have indeed tried hard to shake loose the grip of that "ironclad" hand; and not without temporary successes within their party, but at the cost of defeat in battles with "ironclads" sailing under Republican colors. And now that Republican treachery, defiant and unashamed, makes Democratic prospects fair, those same "ironclads" are putting on Democratic paint. Signs are plentiful of such an outcome of Democratic victory as the outcome of 1894, when the Interests, now represented in the Senate by a Republican Aldrich, were represented there by a Democratic Gorman. The Interests are so catholic politically, that Senator Dolliver's arrow went true to the mark when in his Senate speech he said: "I know, and every Democratic Senator knows, that it has been as difficult to use the Democratic party to promote progressive government in the United States as it has been to use the Republican party."

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What, then, is that parting of the ways which appears from Senator Dolliver's speech to be so surely almost at hand? To answer this question would be to indulge in futile prophecy. As one may see a storm coming without so much as an inkling of the course it will take, or may watch the sprouting of a crop without knowing exactly what the harvest will be, so one may predict a political revolution without perceiving its processes or foreseeing its results. Senator Bailey of Texas ventures the statement that unless the Insurgents either stay Republicans or join the Democrats, they must become Socialists. Well? Couldn't worse than that happen, if there were enough socialistic sentiment in the Republic to raise it in

national affairs above the level of merely playing at politics? Senator Dolliver declared his intention of remaining as a democratic Republican inside the Republican party, in the hope—which he must feel to be vain when he reflects upon the failure of democratic Democrats to drive plutocracy out of their party—of rescuing his own party from the bedevilment of the Interests. But out of the contest now raging he thought he saw possibilities of new parties, one the champion of special privileges and the other based upon Abraham Lincoln's maxim of "an unfettered start and a fair chance for every man in the race of life." Not a happy simile, that of a race, as if one man's success were necessarily another's failure. But the thought rings true. What Lincoln meant, as doubtless Dolliver does, is that every man shall have the fruit of his own labor, with an unfettered opportunity to produce it; and this implies, of course, that none shall have what is another's without the other's free consent.

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We should be glad to believe that a great party might soon base itself securely upon that principle. Possibly such a party is coming. But whether so or not, Senator Dolliver's speech is further assurance that there is near at hand a parting of the political ways, after which, be the political parties in name what they now are or something else, the political cleavage will be along the line that separates privilege from democracy. And the warfare will be fierce. The best guess at the moment, for it can only be a guess, is that the Insurgency now stirring in the Republican party, coupled with that which has so long saddened the spoilsmen of the Democratic party, may bring about one of those political upheavals over a burning issue, like the historic one over the Kansas-Nebraska bill, out of which a new party of democracy will spring spontaneously, and ready equipped not only with a good platform but with an army of enthusiastic voters to give it political vitality, as did the Republican democracy of the '50's.

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### The British Revolution Under Asquith.

If the world realized the big meaning of the British Budget, the news of its enactment last week would not have been overshadowed in our newspapers by sensational reports of scandals. But something like this has always been true. Even the greatest event in the history of civilization—the career of the Founder of Christianity—was so lightly considered at the time, that no con-

temporaneous record of it is found in the ordinary sources of history. That Budget is the thin end of a great wedge. Its aim and effect is by means of taxation to take the value of land for public revenues. Not because land value is private property and therefore ought to contribute to public uses along with other private property, which is the American idea, but because land value is public property and therefore ought to go to public uses, which was Henry George's idea.

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So far, this Budget is radical and revolutionary with reference to public revenues, but that is not all. It is radical and revolutionary with reference also to private rights. At the core it is a vigorous practical expression of the popular shibboleth regarding it, that "God made the land for the people." By taxing land values because they are public property, this Budget opens the way for taxing them more and more heavily, and labor less and less so, until approximately all ground rent will go to society as a social income. At the same time, desirable land out of use and producing no ground rent, and land only partly in use and producing less than full ground rent, will, by the development of that Budget, be forced into its best use, thereby at once adding to the social income from ground rent, and, through the consequent multiplication of opportunities for labor, increasing individual incomes for useful work.

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For this accomplishment Mr. Asquith seems to us to be entitled to more credit and gratitude than he has been getting. As responsible head of the Ministry, with a cabinet partly radical and partly whig to hold together in order that anything at all could be done, his political task might have been easier in the direction of reaction than of progress. At any rate, it was not easy to marshal the conflicting groups in a solid mass behind the progressive program, nor a happy experience to bear meanwhile in silence with the misunderstandings of those whose purposes he was trying to bring to realization. It was necessary, however, that he should patiently endure this experience. Thus and thus alone, perhaps, could the whigs in his political following be whipped into line. The whig Liberals of his cabinet had to be made to understand that Mr. Asquith's keynote speech of last December must be redeemed or their own political careers would end. And Mr. Asquith was both patient and true. He appears now to wear worthily the mantle of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman whose policies

he and the other, progressive members of the Ministry are carrying out. Every pledge of his keynote speech is in process of redemption in good faith and efficiently. His tactics thus far are justified by the outcome, and the outcome inspires confidence in his good faith and good sense for the future.

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### The Land Question in Australia.

An idea of the progressive character of the Labor victory at the Commonwealth elections in Australia (p. 368) may be got from the campaign literature of the Labor party, some of which is now at hand. In the March 16 issue of "The Worker," of Sydney, official organ of the trade unions and labor organizations, and a vigorous adversary of the Fusion which the Labor party defeated, we find this pronounced declaration against tariff taxes on necessities:

Who should pay? Competent authorities admit that the Commonwealth Government will have a deficiency during the first year of the new Parliament. The Fusion refuses to tax the great land monopolists of Australia. Sir Phillip Fysh, M.H.R. (Tas.)—one of the most respectable of the Fusionists—made the following statement in the Federal Parliament when the need of additional revenue was pointed out: "There are £3,000,000 worth of piece goods imported annually as yet untouched" (by duties). One of the first acts of the Fusion Government would be to impose heavy revenue duties upon tea, kerosene and cotton piece goods which are now admitted free. Such taxes will increase the load on the worker's back. The Labor party proposes on the other hand to raise any necessary revenue from direct taxation upon those best able to bear it, as for instance, the land monopolists, and the absentee wealth owners. In the same publication and same issue, a still more direct attack upon land monopoly is made. Here it is:

Land for the people! Stalwart Australians, Sons of the Soil, are you prepared to tramp for ever seeking land? If not, support the Labor candidates. Dear land means cheap people. Do you want to become cheaper? If not, support the Labor candidates. Land is the chief tool of industry. Land monopoly makes slaves of the landless. Do you wish that monopoly to increase? If not, vote for the Labor candidates. Land monopoly has driven thousands from the Old World. Do you wish to see similar conditions perpetuated here? If not, vote for the Labor candidates. All the land monopolists support the Fusion. Can you vote with them? The Labor party is pledged to burst up the big estates. It keeps its promises.

Land monopoly, the keystone problem in the arch of the whole social problem, is getting to be better understood by men who abhor the present plundering social order, which associates leisure with wealth and work with poverty. They begin

to understand it in Australia, and the radicals of all parties put the Labor party with its program of the land for the people into power. They begin to understand it in Great Britain, and the Labor party, the Irish democrats, and the radical Liberals co-operate to pass a Budget calculated to secure the land for the people. We are beginning to understand it here, and the time may not be far away when democratic voters of all parties will ask in deadly political earnest, why the mines, the city sites, the agricultural soils, the railroad ways, the water power, the forests, and all other kinds of land in this Republic, are monopolized by some of its citizens while the rest are trespassers in the country of their birth.

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### Socialists in Office.

Mr. Seidel, the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee (pp. 386, 392), together with his party associates in the board of aldermen, are showing a better appreciation of the essentials for good government than professed "good government" movements have ever shown. The idea of non-partisanship or bi-partisanship has prevailed in those movements, with the effect of destroying party responsibility, and, instead of putting an end to graft, of merely shifting it to "better people" in subtler ways and enveloping it in an odor of respectability. But the Milwaukee Socialists do not dispense with party responsibility. They make it responsible. Nor do they treat public office as a party spoil. The offices that determine policies, they fill with none but trusted partisans; those that are charged with the details of execution, they try to fill with experts regardless of party affiliation or social class, of nativity or present place of abode. This is the true principle of public service.

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### Frances Margaret Milne.

When Mrs. Milne died, a long and useful educational service as librarian of the public library at San Luis Obispo, California, came to an end, and the voice of a singer whose poems exalted humanity was silenced. She died at San Luis Obispo, on the 21st. A sympathetic review of her life and work has been announced to appear in the San Francisco Star of the 30th, which is on its eastward way as we write. It was through the Star, that moral oasis in the desert of San Francisco journalism, that most of her verses were published first. One of Henry George's earliest disciples, she was his personal friend while he lived

and a gentle teacher of his message to the close of her own life. We reprint in our department of Related Things this week her appreciative lines on the death of William T. Croasdale, who saw the same vision that lighted her pathway, and followed it as faithfully. What she wrote of him might be written of herself, except that he died at the maturity of his powers whereas she came to those years of life at which it may be said she had finished her course.

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### The Lorimer Scandal.

Senator Lorimer attributes the charges of bribery in connection with his election as United States Senator to a conspiracy to destroy the new bank and trust company which he is about establishing in Chicago. This is probably no very wild guess. There are financial combines in Chicago which "make no bones" of getting outsiders out of their way without much compunction as to the use of means. John R. Walsh (p. 85) in his prison cell probably knows this now. It is common talk at any rate that it was not for his crime—for such crimes as his are common enough, we are told, in banking circles—but because he was somehow in the way, that bank examiners "happened" to be obtrusive at an inopportune moment for Mr. Walsh. Senator Lorimer may also have got in the way with his two new financial institutions, and it is well to bear this in mind. But of course, the real question in his case as in Walsh's, is not why criminality is exposed, if criminality exists, but whether it does exist. Though Senator Lorimer is accused of what might, though true, have been kept secret if he had stayed out of the banking business and been graciously serviceable all round; yet, inasmuch as he is accused, the merit and not the motive of the accusation is the question before the house. If the accusation is false, let us hope it will react on those making it. If it is true, let us hope it will grow beyond the peradventure of factional compromises and mutual suppressions. When Frank Comerford, amazed at the corruption he found in the Illinois legislature, spoke his mind, the rascals expelled him (vol. vii, pp. 705, 713), and upon his reelection they kept him out of his seat (vol. viii, p. 9). In all of which they had the sympathy of that class of "good people" in whom Lincoln Steffens thinks he has found "some good." Now that one of the legislative rascals has told a story of corruption, it may be—whether the story is true or not—that crimination and recrimination will yield better results. For it is clear enough,

whatever be the merits of the story against Senator Lorimer, that it is being used as a weapon in a complex fight in which exposed rottenness in Mayor Busse's administration, factional bitterness between Deneen and Lorimer, Big Business interests with tracks to cover, the whiskey and brewing ring with powerful agents in public office, the interests of school land thieves both in the school board and out, conscienceless newspapers with sordid ends to serve, and legislators with fingers financially foul, are mixed in dizzy confusion. Bad as is the crime of Senator Lorimer if the accusation he denies be true, the crimes which are being shielded behind the entrenchments of this accusation are worse.

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### A Just and Important Protest.

"Letters to the editor" as they appear under various fanciful titles in the daily newspapers, are not always very much worth while. The department serves as a sort of public waste basket. But here is one from the Chicago Tribune of the 28th, which ought to be copied far and wide and taken to heart by every prosecuting officer in the land. It is dated at Milwaukee, is signed Henry Waldorf Francis, and has special reference to the conduct of the prosecuting officer in a noted murder trial now in progress at Kansas City. The letter follows:

The incident of the obtaining possession by the defendant's attorneys in the Swope murder case of papers belonging to the prosecuting attorney containing evidence tending to prove the innocence of their client calls for more than passing attention. These counsel are severely criticised, and even the judge presiding at the trial seems to have been hot to condemn them; but for the conduct of the prosecuting attorney there seems to be no censure. The fact that the State's representative is supposed to protect the people and that the prisoner, at least until he is convicted, is one of the people as much entitled to his protection as any of the others, is completely overlooked. Apparently it is considered entirely proper for the State's officer to suppress evidence favorable to the prisoner and to proceed upon the theory that it is a personal question of victory or defeat; and he is justified in endeavoring to secure a conviction regardless of guilt or innocence. This is the idea upon which many State's attorneys act and a bare statement of it should be sufficient to condemn it. Public denunciation of prosecutions so conducted should be so scathing as to cause the practice to forever disappear. State's attorneys should be made to understand that they owe duties to the accused; that the people do not desire convictions improperly or by underhand means secured; that criminal prosecutions are not private cases to be used as stepping stones to personal ends and the furtherance of private ambition, and that they violate their oaths of office and betray private trust

when they suppress any information that may come to them tending to assist a prisoner to establish his innocence. Any one of us—you and I—may at any time through malice or accident fall into the meshes of the law. Let us take the case home to ourselves and we will realize that public safety demands the strictest honorable conduct on the part of state's attorneys and that they recognize to the fullest extent their obligations to the accused and that they are not in office solely to convict, but to assist in an even handed administration of justice.

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### The Indiana Senatorship.

In nominating John W. Kern for the United States Senatorship, the Indiana Democrats have chosen better than many of the party leaders would have liked. Criticisms of his democracy are unfounded. He is a Democrat of the democratic variety, loyal to his political convictions and intelligent in following them. With Senator Beveridge making his Insurgent fight for re-election, the democratic Democrats of Indiana might have been pardoned for taking pleasure in having a candidate whom they could knock out at the polls by giving their votes to Beveridge. They might well have been grateful, in view of the Beveridge candidacy, for a bad democratic nomination. As it is, whichever way the vote goes, Indiana will have two democratic Senators—a democratic Republican or democratic Democrat, to cooperate with the democratic Democrat she already has. But between Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Kern, the choice is with the latter. Mr. Kern's democracy has no use at all for the Protection fetish, but Senator Beveridge's permits him still to worship at its shrine.

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### The Ballinger Investigation.

If the Nelson committee which is making the Ballinger inquiry, intends to whitewash Ballinger, it ought to be more careful not to let its whitewash bucket drip. The drippings might make a trail. An investigating committee which, for instance, by a majority vote on party lines, refuses to send for public papers needed by the investigators either to prove a fact or to help in the cross examination of the person being investigated, cannot expect to command public respect for a report of acquittal. The trail of the whitewash bucket would be too easy to follow.

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### Jenkin Lloyd Jones's Proposed Civic Cathedral.

At the Hiram W. Thomas memorial meeting in Chicago last Sunday, Jenkin Lloyd Jones supplemented an eloquent tribute to the memory of Dr. Thomas, with an indictment of the City of

Chicago for its lack of a common meeting place. As an example of the disgrace of such a lack, he described the difficulties in finding a place for a people's funeral for Dr. Thomas and a people's memorial meeting. And he closed with a plea for a public building at the center of the city, "a cathedral, a chapter house, a folkmote house, where the poorest would be welcome and the wealthiest be at home." Why not? Boston has her Faneuil Hall, and New York her "Hall of the Union;" can't Chicago have this civic cathedral, this folkmote hall? To no more important purpose could she say "I will."

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### THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT AND ARTHUR H. GRANT.

Burdensome exactions by the Post Office Department at Washington upon periodical publications of radical tendencies have been frequently complained of during the past ten years.

The complaints often relate to admission to second class mailing privileges.

This may need explanation.

The second class privilege consists in permission to the publishers of periodicals to mail them in bulk from the place of publication at the relatively low postage rate of one cent a pound. To obtain this privilege the publisher must apply for it formally, and until the Department grants it, he must deposit with every issue of his publication money enough to cover a very much higher rate of postage. The difference between the two rates is returned to him if he obtains the second class privilege. Otherwise he loses it. But as it is not returned until the privilege is granted, delay in granting the privilege imposes a financial burden which, increasing with each issue of a new publication, may eat so far into its capital as to be destructive to the venture.

Since the capital of radical publications is likely to be small, the Post Office Department may put them at serious disadvantage without directly discriminating in favor of plutocratic publications. The well capitalized periodical would not be even crippled by a delay that might mean death to the financially weaker one.

And there is reason to believe that this disadvantage is sometimes increased by postal authorities at Washington, through greater delays in the case of the latter than of the former.

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What seemed to us to be an instance of added discrimination by the department at Washington

was brought to our attention not long ago, and we commented upon it.

The apparent discrimination in that instance was against "The Twentieth Century," of which B. O. Flower, a well known radical, is the editor, and in favor of "The American City," of which the editor is Arthur H. Grant, whose principal editorial career has been plutocratic.

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Our comment appeared in The Public of March 25 at page 279, under the title of "Postal Subsidies and Postal Favors." Referring to the second class privilege as a "subsidy," a term adopted by the Post Office Department, that article stated 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."

The truth of that statement was denied by Arthur H. Grant, in his own behalf and in behalf of the Post Office Department, in a letter which we reproduce below. Before going further, however, we beg indulgence for an explanation of the policy of The Public with reference to the errors it may make.

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Any periodical covering a field so wide geographically and so diversified in subject matter as The Public does, cannot be inerrant either in opinions or as to facts. Were it to express no opinion until the opinion expressed had become incontrovertible, and to publish no statements of fact not incontestably proved to it in advance, its expense bills for typesetting would be low and its usefulness at the minimum. The most that such a periodical can do or should be expected to do, is to form its opinions thoughtfully and in good faith, to make its statements of fact from information which it has good reason to trust, and then to alter such of its opinions as may prove to be unsound and to make frank corrections of its misstatements of fact if any occur.

From its first issue, therefore, The Public, while it has been careful both in formulating editorial opinions and in publishing statements of fact, to be faithful to the truth as its editors see the truth and to the facts as they are able to verify its statements of fact, has also been ready to alter the one and to correct the other whenever it has been in the wrong. We have not claimed inerrancy for The Public, but we have endeavored to be just.

Regarding editorial opinions, our policy has

sometimes involved us in misunderstandings. Having no "letters to the editor" department for expressions of opinion contrary to our own, we are held editorially responsible by our readers for the opinions we publish, even though set out in articles signed by contributors, and have therefore been obliged to reject expressions of adverse opinion. It has often been hard, however, to make contributors understand that on its editorial side The Public is a vehicle for editorial views and not a forum for multifarious discussions. But while rejecting contributions in opposition to the paper's opinions, we have never consciously hesitated to yield to arguments that have convinced us, or to publish opposing arguments along with editorial comment when they have raised vital points we had not theretofore considered.

As to statements of fact, we have not only never claimed inerrancy, but have acknowledged and been always ready to acknowledge error. Not invariably, however, do accusations of error prove upon investigation to be true. Quite the contrary. When they are mistaken, we do not as a rule trouble our readers with any restatement or discussion; but as the instance we now present involves much more than the accuracy of any disputed statement of ours, we depart from our usual rule.

This brings us back to the denial by Arthur H. Grant of one of our statements, and to his relations to the Post Office Department at Washington.

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Arthur H. Grant is the editor of "The American City." It is a new magazine published at New York, with an advisory board comprising several persons of excellent reputation and character with reference to the best possibilities of such a magazine, and some who might inspire less confidence in that regard. The magazine itself appears upon the face of it to be devoted to high civic purposes, though its editor is the same Arthur H. Grant who, until he started "The American City," was editor of the magazine called "Concerning Municipal Ownership," which was pretty generally regarded as a devoted organ of public utility corporations.

Soon after the publication of our article under the title of "Postal Subsidies and Postal Favors" (p. 269), mentioned above, in which we called attention, as already stated, to what we then had good reason to believe the fact to be, that the Post Office Department had discriminated against Mr. Flower and in favor of Mr. Grant in allowing them second class mailing privileges, Mr. Grant favored us with his denial, also mentioned above, of

the accuracy of our statement. He did so in the following letter of April 1, 1910:

I had hoped that the many misstatements in The Public were due not to deliberate intention on your part, but to misinformation from your correspondents. Now, however, I am coming to the conclusion that you are just an ordinary liar, and not only that, but the worst sort of a liar, namely: one who uses his superior knowledge to play upon the ignorance of others.

In your editorial "Postal Subsidies and Postal Favors" the traits referred to above are exhibited to the best advantage. You tried to give the impression that we got our entry practically without any delay and without having to pay "large sums of money," whereas the Twentieth Century was subjected to unusual delay and that the difference was due to favoritism.

You, of course, knew that we, like all others, had to put up the regulation deposit. You could have ascertained, if you had wanted to tell the truth, that we made our application in September and did not get our entry until December, whereas the Twentieth Century, making application in October, got their entry in February (not five or six months, as you stated, but only four). In other words, your whole argument for unfairness is based upon the fact that it took them a month longer to get their entry than it did us. As a matter of fact, we had circularized tremendously before our first issue appeared and had a good paid subscription list before we applied for entry.

I should not have taken the trouble to write this except for the fact that you set yourself up as an apostle of righteousness and exercise neither charity nor discrimination in your condemnation of people who do not happen to agree with you in all details. It is therefore quite a satisfaction to be able to "catch you with the goods on," showing that you are inherently quite as dishonest as the men you rail at.

The source of our information had been so trustworthy that we were shocked less by the form of Mr. Grant's denial than by the denial itself, and we immediately set about an investigation. Meanwhile we assured Mr. Grant, in a courteous letter, that if we found, as we assumed we would, that we had been wrongly informed, we were going to correct our statement.

Accordingly we wrote for dates of second class entry, to the Postmaster at Boston with reference to "The Twentieth Century," to the Postmaster at New York with reference to "The American City," and to the Postmaster General at Washington with reference to both.

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The Postmaster at Boston made this reply under date of April 7, 1910:

In reply to your communication of the 5th instant, concerning the "Twentieth Century Magazine" of this city, you are respectfully referred to the Third Assistant Postmaster General (Classification Division), Washington, D. C., for the information which you wish.

To our letter to the Postmaster General, we got this response under date of April 12, 1910, from A. M. Travers, "Acting Third Assistant Postmaster General":

In answer to your letter of the 5th instant, which the Postmaster General has referred to me, and in which you request certain information regarding the applications for admission of "The American City" to the second class of mail matter at New York, N. Y., and the "Twentieth Century Magazine" to the second class of mail matter at Boston, Mass., you are informed that if you will direct your inquiries to the respective publishers, no doubt is entertained that they will furnish you the desired information.

Why the Post Office Department referred us to the publishers for official information of a public character, solicited of the Department, is for the Postmaster General and not for us to explain. There is probably some reason, good or bad, why a postmaster should refer you to the Third Assistant Postmaster General for legitimate postal information about a periodical, and the Third Assistant Postmaster General should pass you on to the publisher. This secretiveness appears, at any rate, to be in keeping with the new departmental custom at Washington as disclosed by the Congressional investigation of Secretary Ballinger, who, by the way, is a member of the advisory board of Mr. Grant's magazine.

We followed the instructions of the Acting Third Assistant Postmaster General, however, by writing to Mr. Grant. We had already written to Mr. Flower and received his reply.

Our letter to Mr. Grant was not discourteous. It expressed our surprise at the information we had obtained, and asked him to "kindly inform us, before we go further, if 'The American City' had to make a deposit to cover other than second class rates for more than its two issues of October and November."

In due time Mr. Grant responded to that request as follows:

Replying to your favor of 21st inst., I beg to say that in my letter of 1st inst., I gave you all the information necessary to make a correction. I am not, however, in the least interested in having you make such a correction, as nothing that you could say would undo the damage that your very nasty paragraph may have done. I would suggest, however, that in future, when you are moved to malign public officials or private persons, you make your investigations first instead of afterwards.

Mr. Grant probably misinterpreted our letter. We had no intention of implying in it, as he seems to infer, that we were surprised at finding him in the right. We had not found him so, but the reverse.

One thing that had surprised us was the Post Office Department's significant refusal to give us the official information which would have determined conclusively whether Mr. Grant's complaint was well founded or not.

Another thing that had surprised us was the evidence in support of our original statement which the following letter from the Postmaster at New York had revealed in response to our inquiry of him:

In reply to your letter of the 5th instant, I have to state that application for admission of "The American City" to the second class of mail matter was filed at this office September 29, 1909. The publication has not been formally entered as second class matter, but the acceptance of mailings at second class rates of postage was authorized by the Department under date of November 24, 1909.

So far, then, as Mr. Grant's magazine is concerned, the so-called "subsidy" of second class privileges was authorized not quite two months after the application, and it required—although the Postmaster General and Mr. Grant withhold the information—a higher than second class rates for only two issues of the magazine. This may be called prompt action, we think, in comparison with the action regarding Mr. Flower's magazine.

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Regarding his magazine, Mr. Flower, whose high and just reputation for veracity has been won in a quarter of a century of devoted public service, writes us as follows:

Mr. Grant's "American City" and "The Twentieth Century Magazine" both started in October. It may be true that Mr. Grant made his application in September. We took up the matter with the Post Office Department in September, but the formal application was not made until the first week in October. Mr. Grant published his October and November numbers, and then his December number he dated January. On page 21 of his January number he calls attention to the fact that he had not been able to get out the December number by the first of the month, stating, "In order, therefore, to make the date of publication the first of the month, as was originally intended, it has been deemed best to date this issue January instead of December." This January number was, as you know, really his December number and it carried the formal entry. We did not get ours in December and had to put up our money for that edition. Then we had to put up money for the January edition, and it was not until after the February number was printed that we got news of the second-class rates having been granted us. When we went to press on our February number, after holding the forms as late as we possibly could, hoping to hear favorably from the Post Office Department, I called your attention to the fact that though "The American City" and our publication both started in October, and "The American City"

had received their second-class rates in December, we were still waiting for a favorable answer. The first month it was possible for us to put on "Entered as second-class matter" was in March, though the acceptance was received by us shortly after I wrote you. I think we received our notification of the acceptance on Jan. 24 or 25. I know it was not till our magazine for February was out, and certainly was not received by us before the 24th of January.

To Mr. Flower's magazine, then, the second class privilege was delayed not merely a month longer than to Mr. Grant's, as Mr. Grant asserts, but nearly two months longer.

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Calculated in months, Mr. Grant got his second class privilege in a little less than two after application (from September 29 to November 24), whereas Mr. Flower was delayed for three and a half at least (from the first week of October to the 24th of January). Calculated in days, Mr. Grant got his privilege in 56, whereas Mr. Flower was delayed 109, or 53 days longer. Calculated by magazine issues, Mr. Grant got his privilege in time for the third, whereas Mr. Flower did not get his until after his fourth had been mailed and his fifth had been printed.

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The correspondence quoted above will, we think, satisfy any reader of the fairness of these conclusions:

(1) That the statement of fact in our editorial which Mr. Grant denounces, was justified by the source and character of our information.

(2) That in our investigation, when the truth of that statement had been denied by Mr. Grant, we sought the best evidence.

(3) That in allowing second class privileges to Mr. Flower and Mr. Grant, the Department delayed the application of the former and expedited the application of the latter.

(4) That we were mistaken in saying that there had been five or six months' delay in Mr. Flower's case; but it was something more than three months and a half, and long enough to affect four issues of his magazine financially, besides depriving him of his entry notice in the fifth.

(5) That we were not mistaken in saying that Mr. Grant got his mailing privilege promptly. He did get it promptly, compared with Mr. Flower. For he got it in less than two months after application, instead of three months and a half, and after only two issues of his magazine were published instead of four.

(6) That it is a reasonable inference—at least until the Post Office Department at Washington

shall be less reticent and make a reasonable explanation—that in comparison with Mr. Flower's magazine, Mr. Grant's was consciously favored by the Department. What legitimate explanation can there be for having withheld Mr. Flower's mailing privilege 109 days, and yet allowing Mr. Grant's in 56?

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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.

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Week ending Tuesday, May 3, 1910.

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### Adoption of the British Budget.

The Lloyd George Budget for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910 (p. 394), has, without alteration, now become law in Great Britain. It passed its third reading in the House of Commons on the 27th by a majority of 93. Going immediately to the House of Lords it passed the usual perfunctory first reading there on the same day, and its third on the 28th. It was signed by the King on the 29th.

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The vitally important feature of this bill, that which makes it revolutionary and radical, and consequently of world-wide interest, is its provision for an immediate valuation of all the land of the Kingdom as of April 1, 1909, and for perennial revaluations hereafter. No capitalized valuation of the lands of that country has ever been made. The machinery for this, now in process of organization under the direction of Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer, is to be a permanent institution, and upon the basis of the records it makes and revises, the Imperial government will, simply in consequence of the growing necessity for revenues, to say nothing of growing radicalism, develop a system of land value taxation in accordance essentially with the ideas of Henry George—that land values are public values and should be devoted to public uses.

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When the Budget had become a law Parliament adjourned until May 26th.

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### The Outlook in British Politics.

British politics will now center about the question of the Lords' right of veto (p. 368.) There

may be an early election and there may not. It will depend upon whether the King accedes to the policy of the Ministry. If he accedes, the Lords will doubtless relinquish the veto as to financial legislation and make themselves content with an advisory veto as to other legislation, and the Liberal Ministry, in co-operation with the Irish and the Labor parties, will go on with its progressive policies; if the King does not accede, elections for a new Parliament will soon be held.

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The following extracts from T. P. O'Connor's cable letter to the Chicago Tribune of May 1, are the best indications as yet available in this country, of the outlook in British politics since the enactment of the Lloyd George Budget:

The contrast between the enthusiastic, chattering, and chaffing House of Lords which met to reject the Budget last November, and the sullen, silent assembly which passed it last Thursday at breakneck speed symbolizes the changes in the temper of both parties. Since, to add to the confusion of the Tories in the House of Lords, Lord High Chancellor Loreburn, one of the stoutest of the Radicals in the ministry, reasserted in emphatic language the determination of the Liberals either to resign office or break down the veto power of the House of Lords, the Tories exhibit the same confusion and despair in the House of Commons. They cannot hope for any great change in the situation before another election. Their most sanguine prophets do not claim a change of more than twenty or thirty seats, which would leave the Liberals still a handsome majority sufficient to carry the anti-veto legislation. This prospect seems a scarcely sufficient return for the immense expenditure of money which another election would call for from the Tories, with their funds depleted by the enormous cost of the last election, and with the big brewers and publicans so hard hit by the Budget as to be unable to subscribe largely to this election. Barring some unexpected accident, I see no reason to doubt that the road to Liberal success and to home rule within three years now is clear and open. At present the lull before the storm, which may continue to come for weeks. Yet the country is strangely quiet to all appearances, but much volcanic stuff is bubbling underneath. The Liberals are organizing huge meetings; hundreds already are taking place every week and when the summer is more advanced giant gatherings will take place in all the great centers. Half a million will gather in Hyde Park, where the cabinet ministers will take the unusual course of appearing on open air platforms. Gatherings on the same gigantic scale are preparing in Manchester. The English and Irish masses are acting cordially together in this campaign. Two hundred thousand London Irishmen will swell the Hyde Park gathering, with the bands and banners of every Irish organization. The same will happen in Manchester, where there is a large Irish population. . . . Even the Tory attacks on the Liberal ministry tend to augment the prestige of the Irish party. Their whole cry now is that Asquith attacks the King by demanding the guarantees

on the dictation of Redmond. These attacks doubtless will rally large masses of the ignorant anti-Irish Tories, but will help, on the other hand, to increase the respect and gratitude of the real British democrats to Redmond and his colleagues for forcing the issues against the Lords to the present vigorous and promising campaign. The talk of a compromise in the Tory journals is not worth consideration except as flags of distress. A referendum is vaguely haunting certain minds in the hope of avoiding the expense and trouble of a new election, but a referendum is impossible without the assent of the Tories and the House of Lords. Such assent is unlikely. A large section of the Liberals and Irish were equally hostile, so a general election in the middle of June, with a Liberal triumph, still seems inevitable. It came with a rush in the end. For weeks, running into months, the struggle over the form in which the guarantees are to be asked from the King at once divided the Irish from the Liberals and even the rank and file of the Liberals from the cabinet. That body, consisting of heterogeneous and partly conflicting elements, first had to arrange its own differences before it could meet either its Liberal followers or Redmond. Redmond and the Liberals were consistent in one demand. That was that the guarantees should be asked from the King. . . . The whig element in the cabinet fought against a policy so radical; the courtiers among them shivered at the idea that such a blunderbuss should be presented at the head of the King; and cabinet council succeeded cabinet council, now leaning one way, then another, and breaking up continually with nothing decided and often with only the question of how many members of the cabinet would resign if either of the two policies were adopted. It was to be Grey and Haldane if the radical policy were adopted, Lloyd George and Winston Churchill if the timid policy were preferred. The whole cabinet, face to face with the inscrutable attitude of Redmond, with the revolt in its own ranks, with the specter of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill leading a great Radical and Irish revolt against it, took the plunge at last. All hesitations were swept away and in an hour the cabinet unanimously agreed to Asquith's tremendous statement.

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#### Finland Struggles Against Being Assimilated.

The constitutional committee of the Finnish Diet recommended on the 30th that the Russian proposition for joint legislation which would in effect extend the authority of the Douma over Finland (p. 370), should be returned to the Czar without action. The Associated Press dispatch states that the Imperial ukase accompanying the measure limited the Finnish Diet to a consultative role, and that body was instructed simply to submit its views thereon to the Imperial Parliament, in which the legislation was introduced. The committee declares that the manifesto is unconstitutional. The bill appropriating \$2,000,000 as a Finnish military contribution for 1910 has been the subject of violent debates in the Diet. The appropriation will be refused.

**The President's Railway Bill.**

One of the features of President Taft's railway bill came to a vote in the Senate on the 29th, upon an amendment offered by Senator Cummins (Insurgent Republican), which was defeated. This bill, as approved in advance by the President, permits railroads to make pooling agreements with one another. By his amendment Senator Cummins proposed that such agreements which are now illegal, should not be legalized without the approval in each case of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Just before the vote Senator La Follette (Insurgent Republican) made a vigorous speech in favor of the Cummins amendment. He stated that the corporations had begun long ago to lay the foundation for the present legislation, which, he declared, was an attempt to repeal the anti-trust law completely, so far as it applied to the railroads. "The great organizations first enlisted men of soft fiber but eminent respectability," he said, "to propagate throughout this country a sentiment that would warrant an amendment breaking down the wise provisions of the Sherman anti-trust law,"—an allusion to the Civic Federation,—and in the course of his speech he gave this political warning:

There is an aroused public sentiment that will not be diverted. The people will not be misrepresented in Congress much longer, nor are they going to blindly follow some political leader. If the Republican party is to continue to command any respect it must free itself from the leadership that has controlled legislation in both branches of Congress.

All the Democrats present and the following Republicans voted for the Cummins amendment: Beveridge, Borah, Bristow, Burkett, Clapp, Cummins, Dixon, Dolliver, Gamble, La Follette, Nelson. But it was defeated by 35 to 29.

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In the House, the Insurgent Republicans and the Democrats who, working together, make a majority, have amended the bill in many respects. Their amendments are understood to weaken it as a corporation measure, and a long deadlock with the Senate has been predicted in consequence. Later news from Washington, however, is to the effect that the President's support is breaking down in both houses.

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**Senator Lorimer's Election Questioned.**

An accusation of bribery in connection with the election of William Lorimer (Republican) as Senator from Illinois (vol. xii, p. 537), in place of Senator Hopkins (Republican) who had been recommended by popular vote, was made sensationally and exclusively by the Chicago Tribune on the 30th. The accusation so far as then disclosed rested upon the testimony of a Democratic

member of the legislature, Charles A. White. Circumstances have since been published by the Tribune as confirmatory. Mr. White states with circumstantial detail that he was paid \$1,000 to vote for Mr. Lorimer, and that the Democratic leader, Lee O'Neil Browne, made the bargain with him and afterwards paid him the money. Also, from asserted conversations with Mr. Browne and others, Mr. White regarded several other members whom he names as having been bribed in the same way and for the same price. His story included the further statement that upon Browne's suggestion and a telegram from Robert E. Wilson, also a member of the legislature, he had gone to St. Louis to get his share of the legislative "jackpot" (a fund for division among bribed members in consideration of their general fidelity to corrupting business interests during the session), and that there he met several members on the same errand, all of whom he supposed were paid as he was. As to his own share of this "jackpot" he states that it amounted to \$900 and was paid him by Mr. Wilson. Mr. White explains that in taking the money and voting for Mr. Lorimer his purpose was to cleanse the legislature by exposing its corruption.

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Mr. Browne denounces Mr. White's story as absolutely false, and characterizes it as the climax of an attempt at blackmail. Mr. Wilson denies that he ever paid White or any one else bribe money, and asserts that he never sent the telegram purporting to come from him to White to meet him at St. Louis. Senator Lorimer makes this statement:

The White statement is absolutely false from start to finish. It is a lie on the face of it. What is the matter with White is beyond me. What is the matter with the people behind him—the Chicago Tribune—is easier to tell. They are trying, by deliberately lying, to wreck the financial institutions which I am known to be starting—[the LaSalle Street National Bank and the trust company connected with it.]

Grand jury investigations are being made. But in this connection serious complaints are made that these investigations are being pushed forward in some directions only, in order to prevent investigation in others.

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**Another Charge of Legislative Corruption.**

A day or two before the Lorimer accusations were published, a lawsuit brought in behalf of John C. Fetzer, a Chicago business man of large interests, has led to accusations of colossal bribery of the Illinois legislature and the Chicago City Council. An arbitration before ex-Judge E. C. Field had resulted in an award by the arbitrator on March 18, 1910, in

favor of the Chicago and Western Indiana Railroad Company and against Benjamin Thomas, Charles R. Kappes and Mr. Fetzer, for the restoration by the latter of \$525,000. The arbitrator, who had been agreed to by Mr. Fetzer, found that Fetzer, Kappes and Thomas had conspired and forged to defraud the company in real estate purchases in which Mr. Fetzer was a purchasing agent for the railroad. No sufficient proof of legislative bribery appears to have been made before the arbitrator; but on the 28th of April, Mr. Fetzer applied for an injunction against enforcement of the award; and in his bill for the injunction, among other grounds for the lawsuit, he denied that he was an agent for the road, and contested the right of the arbitrator to decide that he should return to the railroad money used in expenditures to secure aldermanic and legislative favors. House bill 777 of the legislature of 1907 is referred to as one of the favors secured. It validated a \$50,000,000 bond issue of the railroad. A special grand jury has been ordered to investigate Mr. Fetzer's accusations of bribery, but it is complained that the prosecutor refuses to prosecute the fraud and forgery charges against Mr. Fetzer.

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#### Other Corruption in Chicago.

The results of some of the work of the Merriam Commission of Chicago, which has unearthed extensive corruption in connection with the relations of Chicago business concerns to the city government, have been considered, but only slightly, by the grand jury the term of which has expired. There are expectations of further grand jury investigations, but in this matter as in that of Mr. Fetzer, complaints of factional favoritism are made.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Wm. M. Salter spoke before the Chicago Ethical Society on the 1st upon "The Deeper Meaning of Faith."

—E. A. McEachron was nominated for Governor by the Prohibition convention of Iowa at Des Moines on the 27th.

—The Chicago Woman's Trade Union League held its sixth annual ball in Illinois hall on the evening of the 30th.

—The controversy between the union miners and the operators of the Pittsburg soft coal district (p. 321), which resulted in a month's suspension of work, was settled on the 28th.

—Tom L. Johnson (pp. 299, 322, 369, 395) sailed for home on board the Mauretania on the 30th. He is reported as having gained in health daily while abroad.

—Dr. Thomas O'Hagan of Ottawa, Canada, has been appointed editor of the New World (p. 298), the

Roman Catholic organ of Chicago, by Archbishop Quigley.

—The Democratic convention of Indiana on the 28th nominated John W. Kern, the Vice Presidential candidate of 1908 (vol. xii, pp. 75, 85), for United States Senator.

—The proposed amendment of the Constitution specifically allowing a Federal income tax (p. 350) was defeated in both houses of the Rhode Island legislature on the 29th.

—A resolution favoring the election of United States Senators by popular vote was adopted by the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature on the 26th, by a vote of 109 to 98.

—At the Democratic primaries in Alabama on the 2d the local option candidate for governor, Emmett A. O'Neal, defeated the Statewide prohibition candidate, H. S. D. Mallory, by about 20,000.

—A decision of the Supreme Court of Tennessee ousting the Standard Oil Company of Kentucky from doing business in Tennessee was affirmed on the 2d by the Supreme Court of the United States.

—President Taft has been making another speaking tour (vol. xii, p. 1118), his first point being at Buffalo on the 30th. On the 2d he spoke at Pittsburg, on the 3d at Cincinnati, and on the 4th at St. Louis.

—A brutal expulsion of 2,500 Jewish families (p. 299) from Kiev, Russia, beginning on the 27th, was reported from Russia to the Jewish Daily News of York. The news was denied from Kiev and St. Petersburg.

—John Quincy Adams Ward, the maker of the Henry Ward Beecher statue in Brooklyn and of the victory group which crowns the Dewey arch in New York, died at his home in New York on the 1st. Mr. Ward was born at Urbana, Ohio, nearly 80 years ago.

—An injunction forbidding the City of Milwaukee to establish a municipal lighting plant was sustained on the 26th by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin on technical grounds. To obviate these technicalities the movement must begin over again.

—The first men's Missionary Congress, with representatives from all the Protestant churches of the United States, opened at the Auditorium in Chicago on the 3rd. The congress is a development of the Laymen's Missionary movement "to evangelize the world."

—By payment of \$1,620 and costs, settlements have been made by the St. Paul Coal Company of Cherry, Ill., in forty-one of the suits brought by widows and parents against the company for the deaths of miners in the terrible disaster of last November (vol. xii, p. 1164).

—An overflowing memorial meeting for the late Hiram W. Thomas (p. 396) was held at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on the 1st, at which Jenkin Lloyd Jones presided. The other speakers were Bishop Fallows, Rabbi Hirsch, Frank W. Gunsaulus, George B. Foster, Jane Addams and R. A. White.

—The Democratic Union of New Jersey, which is enrolling citizens desirous of encouraging its efforts "for a revival of Democratic faith and the principles of government laid down by Jefferson and endorsed by Jackson and Lincoln," begins at Newark on the

11th a series of mass meetings at which addresses are to be made by U. S. Senators Joseph W. Bailey, Thomas P. Gore, Charles J. Hughes, Joseph Forney Johnston, Benj. F. Shively, Robt. L. Owen, and other public men.

—The resolution before the New York legislature, for a Constitutional amendment giving votes to women (p. 256), was defeated in the lower house on the 27th by an adverse vote of 87 to 56 on a motion to recall the resolution from the judiciary committee, which had been making horse play with it.

—The commission form of city government was adopted at Mankato, Minn., at a special election on the 26th by 969 to 681. As the State law requires four-sevenths majority, 915 affirmative votes were necessary. Mankato is the first city in Minnesota to adopt this form. The election under it will be held in thirty days.

—The National Farmers' Convention (p. 322) assembled at St. Louis on the 2d. It was addressed by C. S. Barrett, president of the Farmers' Union, C. O. Dayton, president of the American Society of Equity, Don Farnsworth, O. F. Dornblasser, W. H. Wright, R. D. Bowen and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor.

—Miss Lucy White Hayes, daughter of one of Jefferson Davis's two daughters—Mrs. J. A. Hayes (vol. ix, p. 679)—has been adopted as the "Daughter of the Confederacy" by the United Confederate Veterans, in session at Atlanta last week. The first "Daughter" was President Davis's other daughter, Miss Winifred Davis, who died some years since.

—Edward Payson Weston, the famous long distance pedestrian, now 72 years old (vol. xii, p. 396), reached New York City on the 2nd, at the close of a transcontinental journey of 3,483 miles from Los Angeles, made in 77 walking days—pronounced an unparalleled feat. Mr. Weston left Los Angeles on the 1st of February. The Sundays were counted out as rest days. He was accompanied through New York by great crowds, and at the city hall was welcomed by Mayor Gaynor.

—The fourth international conference on State and local taxation will be held under the auspices of the International Tax Association (vol. xii, p. 946), at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on August 30 and 31 and September 1 and 2. The principal subjects for discussion will be reports of committees on uniform classification of real property, cause of the failure of the general property tax, taxation of insurance, and prevention of the taxation of the same property by more than one State under inheritance tax laws.

—The Buffalo Bureau of Single Tax Literature (56 Congress street), has distributed from November to March 800 pieces of literature, at a cost of only \$700. The Bureau is supported by voluntary contributions. They state that some of their literature is being read in pioneering cabins in the provinces of Alberta and Manitoba, and some of it has been sent to the far off Orkney Isles, Scotland, where during the late election they deposed a Unionist and elected a Liberal. A request for more literature has very lately been received from that locality.

—The aged Nord Alexis died on the 1st at Kingston, Jamaica, where he had lived since his deposition as President of Haiti in December, 1908 (vol.

xi, p. 878). Nord Alexis was a remarkable personage. He has been described as six feet, four inches in height, of pure African blood, and able neither to read nor write, beyond painting his signature. His wife, who died only shortly before he was forced to leave Haiti, was also of full African blood, and they had lived together for 68 years. His age at that time was placed between 91 and 96 years.

—The usual May-day labor demonstrations in European cities passed off quietly, and without disorder, except at Geneva, Switzerland, where a group of anarchists came into collision with the police. In Madrid the Laborists placarded the city with the demands of the party, which include an eight-hour day, the liberation of political prisoners, the reopening of schools and the exemption of meat and cod-fish from customs dues. In London there was a demonstration of 20,000 workingmen in Hyde Park. One hundred trades unions and Socialist societies were represented.

—The new building of the International Bureau of American Republics at Washington was dedicated on the 26th. Cardinal Gibbons pronounced the invocation, Secretary Knox delivered the formal address, and other speeches were made by Andrew Carnegie, Senator Root and Don Francisco Leon de la Barra, the Mexican ambassador. Mr. Carnegie described the building as "a capitol in the capital of the United States, of all the American nations," and Senator Elihu Root said it was a "temple of peace, commerce and friendship." Twenty-one American republics were represented at the dedication.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### Lest We Forget.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem.-Dem.), April 19.—"Did you ever know a man who had health, common sense, honesty and will power who was poor?" asks John D. Rockefeller. There was the Man of Sorrows, Mr. Rockefeller.

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### Common Highways.

(Portland, Ore.), Labor Press (lab.), April 16.—The good roads movement proposes to permit counties to issue bonds to build roads with. This is all right, but where would the anarchy and general destruction of American liberty and principles come in if some of these roads had strips of steel laid on them and were leased for the operation of trolley lines?

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### Seeing the Point.

The Kansas City (Mo.) Star (ind.), April 17.—A few blocks southeast of the new station site is a rugged tract of land with a street frontage of six hundred feet. Half a dozen years ago this 600-foot tract was offered for sale at \$6.50 a foot—\$3,900 for the whole. Now this same land is held at \$250 a foot. The owner had done nothing to cause this increase in value. The sole reason for the advance from \$3,900 to \$150,000 was the determination of the railroads to spend several million dollars in erecting a monumental station on the South Side. This actual

instance is cited only because it is typical of the movement in real estate that goes on whenever any great improvement is carried out. . . Doesn't it seem a little absurd that a community should be so easy as to permit individual owners to appropriate this unearned increment? In general the state insists that a man shall work for what he gets. Trading in wheat for future delivery, for instance, while it involves speculation, does actually perform the service of providing a market which enables the miller to sell his flour at a much closer margin than otherwise would be possible. But the land owner who happens to be fortunately situated may make a big stake out of the community without turning his hand over. . . This sort of thing evidently is unfair. The man who improves his property deserves the profits that come to an efficient manager, but it is hardly reasonable to permit big rewards to go to men who do not earn them.

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#### Judge and Jury.

Philadelphia North American (ind), Apr. 3.—A phrase of frequent recurrence in the news reports of court proceedings recently has been "The judge expressed his disapproval of the verdict and discharged the jury." This form has been varied to suit the degree of censure which the court visited on the offending jurymen, in some instances amounting to a severe and humiliating rebuke. \* \* \* What would his astonishment be if the jury in a case should undertake to publicly censure a judge because in the opinion of the jurors the sentence was too heavy or was not adequate to the degree of guilt shown by the evidence? Yet in the nature of things the jury would be quite as much justified in such action as the judge is who rebukes a jury for a verdict that doesn't suit him. The assumption of authority by the judiciary over other branches of the government has been a matter of serious discussion and some popular fear. The assumption of authority that the people have retained to themselves in the jury box is quite as dangerous a manifestation of judicial usurpation. The degrading of the jury from its original high place probably has had more to do with the palpable defects in the system as it exists today than any other cause. The judiciary has been responsible for this more than any other influence. The sooner the people insist on the rehabilitation of the jury as the people themselves acting in their courts, the better it will be for the administration of exact justice and the more secure will be the liberties of the public.

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#### Curing Consumption.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind), Apr. 9.—Continually the Mirror is in receipt of literature concerning the war on consumption. The Mirror favors that war, but doubts the extent of the efficacy of the plan of campaign. The thing to do is to "carry the war into Africa." That consumption flourishes because of bad housing conditions we all know. So long as there is poverty, the poor will be forced to live under conditions favoring the spread of not only consumption, but other diseases. Therefore, the way to abolish the white plague is to abolish the

conditions that foster it. Abolish poverty, in other words. The way to do this is to wipe out the laws that force people into poverty. Those laws are many. They are laws that give privilege to the few to tax the many. Chief of all such privileges and the foundation of most of them is private ownership of land. Land ownership can be destroyed by taxing land values so that the increment will go to the community rather than the individual. When it will not pay men to hold land they cannot use, then that land will be open to use by everybody. When land is open to use by everybody there will be no crowding of people into sium tenements. Everybody will be able to have a home with plenty of light and air. With plenty of living room, the consumption microbe will be prevented from spreading, through close contact between people. With plenty of fresh air the people will be able to throw off the infection if it come. The slum and the tenement can be taxed out of existence. A tax that will take all land value for the public will tax the people into health.

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#### The Fight Against Toryism.

(St. Louis and Milwaukee) American Journal of Education (educational), April.—Toryism always dies hard and is ever prone to re-appear in some new guise. Men chosen by the people are not safe guardians of the rights of the people, and never will be so long as human nature is weak. Judas was only one in twelve, but he was able to betray the Master into the hands of the criminal rich. Only a small minority of a legislative body needs to be bought in order to betray the people. An honest majority in a legislature is no effective safeguard, for it may be a divided majority. Until the insurgent movement shall secure to the people the initiative and referendum—the people's veto—there can be no guarantee of permanence to any movement for reform. Big Business with its soulless greed will be in the market to buy the public official who has no conscience as long as he is for sale and can "deliver the goods." The people by adopting the initiative and referendum will supply the representative with a practical and efficient substitute for a conscience—the fear of being found out and of having his acts passed upon at any time by the people; and this will leave him with nothing to sell to the lobbyist, therefore he will be delivered from the temptation of the bribes which Big Business is ever ready to offer. . . . The young student of American history reading the thrilling chapters in the story of liberty that give him a picture of the stirring times before and during the Revolution and the Civil war is sometimes prone to think that in comparison this is a tame and prosaic generation; but the men of those earlier days, even while in the very midst of the movements of which they were a part did not fully realize the great importance of the history they were making. So also the people of today are not yet fully awake to the profoundly momentous significance of the struggle which is now going on to decide whether we shall establish a democracy or continue to be a plutocracy. One reason for this is the fact that so many people still depend for information touching current events on a press that is

either corruptly subsidized or so timid and "conservative" that it fears lest the people may partake of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. But an encouraging indication is the fact that there are a goodly number of publications, such as *Everybody's*, *Hampton's*, *Collier's*, *The Public*, *LaFollette's* and the *American Magazine*, which to a remarkably clear insight into the significance of passing events add a splendid courage that does not shirk the duty of giving forth the warning, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

\* \* \*

#### The Worldwide Trend Toward Democracy.

(New York) *Journal of Commerce and Financial Bulletin* (finance), April 25.—The United States, in common with European and Oriental countries, is undergoing an evolution in the character of its dominating legislators. The overthrow of Speaker Cannon, the crushing defeat last week of "Boss" Aldridge, the election of a Socialistic Mayor in Milwaukee and the general insurrection against autocratic domination by capitalistic interests or those acting for them all find parallel abroad. Great Britain is being governed by an administration that inaugurated old age pensions, that is striving to abolish the House of Lords, that has raised the ire of vested interests and has even gone the length of promising Ireland home rule. In Germany the Radicals and Socialists have been giving remarkable demonstrations of their discipline, they have captured many Parliamentary seats and they are making some progress in their fight for equitable franchise reform. In France, too, the Socialists have made progress. Russia has been enrolled among the countries enjoying representative government, although of course the system is still in its somewhat impotent infancy. The natives of India only a few months ago were granted enlarged powers in the halls of legislation. Even China, the land of yesterday and probably of tomorrow, has been promised a Parliament, although, true to the national characteristic, the reform is not to be introduced until nine years from now. Japan has become much more democratic in its government. In Turkey there was a successful revolt against unbridled monarchical power. South Africa is about to elect its first Federal Parliament, which will exercise the almost untrammelled power granted to other British colonies. It will thus be seen that the uprising in the United States against political overlords is part of a worldwide tendency of the twentieth century, and, as has been the case elsewhere, the transition occasions more or less unsettlement.

\* \* \*

"And how are the tomatoes coming on?" asked Mr. Younghusband of his little wife.

"Well, dear," began the lady, nervously, "I'm rather afraid we shall have to buy them after all."

Mr. Younghusband frowned.

"But, my dear Maria," he expostulated, "I distinctly understood from you a couple of months or so ago that you had planted a whole row!"

"That's quite right, dear," explained Maria, "but I've just remembered that I forgot to open the tins!"—Answers.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### WHERE THY FOOTSTEPS LED WE FOLLOW.

In the early autumn of 1891, a memorial meeting for James Russell Lowell and William T. Croasdale, the latter Henry George's successor as editor of "The Standard," was held by the Reform Club at its club house in the City of New York. Among the speakers were ex-Congressman J. Hampden Dougherty, R. R. Bowker, George Foster Peabody and Henry George. In closing his address, Mr. George read the following verses by his friend and disciple, Frances Margaret Milne, of San Luis Obispo, California. The verses, which appear in Mrs. Milne's volume of poems entitled "For To-Day," are here reproduced as a tribute to her memory.

\* \*

Not for thee the requiem strain,  
 Friend beloved and comrade trueest!  
 Gazing upward, we would fain  
 Watch the path that thou pursuest.  
 But from yearning mortal sight,  
 Clouds of heaven, do ye receive him!  
 Ah! the gateway, opening bright,  
 Closes dark for us who grieve him.

Fought the fight, and kept the faith!  
 Not for him be wild lamenting.  
 He, unrecking life or death,  
 Gave his gifts without repenting.  
 Shall we falter, shall we fail—  
 We who named him friend and brother?  
 Still his memory will prevail,  
 Kindling light Time cannot smother.

When did Freedom's roll-call sound  
 That she found her son not ready?  
 Foremost still to take the ground,  
 Eye alert and footstep steady!  
 "Forward—March!" The bugles rang;  
 Old the fight, yet just beginning.  
 Why the stern, relentless clang  
 Of the "Halt!" that stayed his winning?

Why—oh, why? We may not ask.  
 Ours to tread where duty beckons;  
 Ours the faith, the hope, the task;  
 God alone the future reckons.  
 Press we where our hero fell!  
 Fell? Nay. Rose to heights supernal.  
 Yet with us his thought must dwell,  
 Even 'mid the peace eternal.

Beating heart that, full and warm,  
 Pulsed with human joy and sorrow—  
 Soul for sunshine and for storm—  
 Not for thee earth's brief to-morrow.  
 Loosed the clasp of mortal hand;  
 But the spirit, what can sever?  
 Life nor death can break the strand  
 Love and truth have knit forever.

Not for thee the requiem strain,  
 Tho' our lips with sorrow quiver,  
 And the tears, that fall like rain,  
 Mingle in Grief's ceaseless river.  
 Friend beloved and comrade tried,  
 Hearts are faint and eyes are hollow;  
 But, whatever fate betide,  
 Where thy footsteps led, we follow.

\* \* \*

## ABOLITION OF PERSONAL TAXATION.

Abstract of Address of Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher at a Regular Meeting of the New York Real Estate Owners' Protective Association of the 12th and 22nd Wards on April 4th.

"A man who cannot be acquainted with me, taxes me; looking from afar at me, ordains that a part of my labor shall go to this or that whimsical end, not as I, but as he happens to fancy. Behold the consequences. Of all debts men are least willing to pay the taxes. What a satire is this on government! Everywhere they think they get their money's worth, except for these."

This was not written by a wild-eyed anarchist with his pen dipped in blood, but by that American philosopher of sweetness and of light, Ralph Waldo Emerson. We all know that what he says is true,—of all debts men are least willing to pay the taxes, for which they do not think they get their money's worth. And consciously or unconsciously, even those who have never given the subject of political economy a passing thought feel that the taxes on personal property are the most unjust and vexatious of all. The average land owner pays his real estate taxes more willingly, for he feels that the value of his land was made largely by the community in which he lives, and not by himself. His personal property, however, he acquired himself, either with his own labor, or in exchange for money which represents his labor; and if any part of it is taken away from him, in the shape of taxes or otherwise, he suspects that he is being robbed.

I oppose the taxation of personal property for two reasons: first, it is economically wrong; second, it cannot be equitably assessed or collected. My opposition is therefore based on both moral and business grounds. As compared with a tax on land value it is an economic mistake, because a tax on land value will not reduce the quantity of land an iota, while a tax on personal property will lessen production.

Take a homely illustration: If the State of New York were to impose a tax of \$5 on every suit of clothes manufactured in the State, the manufacturer would add the tax, in his charge to the wholesaler, the wholesaler would pass it on together with a little profit to the retailer, and the retailer would charge it to you and to me. Summer is now coming on, and the other day I opened

the chest in which my summer suits were carefully laid away in camphor, to see if they would do this year. I found them quite shabby, and decided to get some new ones. But supposing the legislature had, at this session, enacted such a law and I found that the manufacturer had passed that tax on until it reached the retailer, I might decide that my last year's suit would do for another summer. And millions more would decide the same way, with the result that the consumer would buy fewer suits from the retailer, he in turn would order fewer from the wholesaler, who in turn would cut down his orders on the manufacturer. The result would be that all along the line workingmen, salesmen and clerks generally would be discharged. You must realize gentlemen, that though the individual workman or clerk has a small income, and therefore, a small purchasing power, in the aggregate he constitutes the great majority of our ninety millions of population and is the biggest buyer. So, if the workman does not receive steady and remunerative employment "the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker" will suffer.

This homely illustration suffices to show the effect of the taxation of personal property, not only in lessening production, but in shifting the tax on to the consumer. A tax on the value of land however, cannot be shifted, for land is a fixed quantity, and its value is dependent entirely on the number of people in the community who demand sites for business and for homes.

Not only is a tax on personal property economically unsound, but it is inexpedient and impracticable. Here is a community of almost five millions of people. How is it possible for seven tax commissioners and sixty assessors to appraise the value of the personal property of this enormous population? Assuming that only one million have any personal property, and assuming that one assessor can appraise the personal property of one thousand men and women, it would take one thousand assessors to do the job. The average pay of an assessor is \$2,500 per annum, so that a thousand additional assessors would add two and a half million of dollars to the budget, and about four points to the tax rate,—probably equalling the amount of the additional personal tax they would succeed in unearthing.

The method now employed in making up the personal tax rolls is about as unscientific as one could imagine, for it is almost entirely guesswork, the names being largely selected haphazard. A most notable exception is made in the case of widows and orphans, whose names are obtained from the Surrogate's Court. This fact alone is enough to condemn the whole system, were it otherwise sound.

I have in mind the case of a client,—a widow with four children,—whose husband left her about \$26,000, of which \$25,000 consisted of four

per cent railroad bonds. The remaining \$1,000 was used up in the payment of funeral expenses and other debts. She received a notice from the tax office that she was assessed for \$25,000. The will was probated only a short time before the first Monday of January, so that no opportunity was afforded for investing the \$25,000 in non-taxable securities. There is no way therefore of getting rid of the tax this year, and she will be obliged, to pay about \$425, out of her income of \$1,000, leaving for the support of herself and her children for the whole year but little more than \$500.

You may say that this is exceptional, but try to take it home to yourselves. Probably most of you are married and have children who are dearer to you than anything else on earth. There is nothing more certain than death and taxes, and if the grim Destroyer should suddenly seize upon you, yours may be that exceptional case.

A gentleman just interrupted me to say that if the man who left a widow and four children with only \$25,000 in four per cent bonds had had any sense, he would have sold the bonds and invested the proceeds in a mortgage, thus escaping the personal tax. In the case I cited, it happened to be to the business interest of the man to hold these bonds; but the gentleman's question accentuates another point I was about to make.

This point is, that the personal tax is inexpedient because it can be so easily evaded. There are hundreds of ways in which even a rich man can swear off personal taxes. If you have one million dollars in personal property, and also two million dollars in real estate on which you have given your bond and mortgage for one million dollars, in the eyes of the law you have no taxable personal property.

Let us assume that you are in partnership with Smith, Brown, Jones & Robinson, and that your firm, although perfectly solvent, owes \$100,000. You receive a personal tax notice that you are assessed for, say, \$50,000; and your lawyer advises you that you are personally liable for all the debts of your firm, and that therefore, even if you possess \$50,000 personal property you legally owe \$100,000, and are therefore not subject to the personal tax.

Many people imagine that the Carnegies, the Morgans and the Rockefellers should be assessed for at least fifty or a hundred millions apiece. As a matter of fact, if the truth were known the greater part of the property of such multi-millionaires is invested in non-taxable securities. Another way of evading personal tax is to commit perjury. This can be done with such comparative impunity that many men and women, chafing under the injustice of the whole system, are tempted to do so.

The State of New York, when it passed a law imposing taxes on personal property, perhaps did not realize that by doing so it sought to undermine

the morale of the whole community. A man who will stretch his conscience by swearing he has no taxable personal property so far forth weakens his whole moral stamina, and lessens his power of resistance when a greater temptation arises.

And is the tax worth the candle after all? Last year the great City of New York collected only about four and a half million dollars in personal taxes at an expense of probably hundreds of thousands of dollars, and at the expense largely of widows and orphans, and worst of all, at the expense of weakening the moral fibre of the community.

But, it is said that if more stringent laws were enacted, this amount could be increased perhaps twenty-five times over. And what are the proposed laws to produce this alleged beneficial result? Why laws that would invade the personal liberty and privacy of the individual, that would give the authorities the right to examine the books and private correspondence of every citizen. To do this would require the appointment of possibly 10,000 assessors at an expense of millions of dollars, but, worst of all, would enlarge the opportunities for graft to colossal proportions. If such a law were enforced, I venture to say that not a month would pass before the righteous indignation of the people would result in a repeal at a special session of the legislature.

\* \* \*

## AN OPEN LETTER TO COL. TH. ROOSEVELT.\*

"An Egyptian Patriot" in the *Labour Leader* of April 15.

Sir:—I have just read the report of your speech delivered at the Egyptian University on Monday, March 28th, 1910. As an Egyptian patriot may I write you a few words on the subject of this speech?

I believe in your impartiality. You said that substantial education, whether of an individual or of a people, is only to be obtained by a process. But I add to this principle that freedom to the individual, as well as to a people, is the first and the most important part of this educational process. Therefore, the struggle in Egypt for national independence is a constant and conscious effort in this direction.

Again, you said Egypt is not ripe for self-government, because self-government is not a matter of a decade or two, but of generations. This is an incomprehensible declaration on the part of a man who has been twice the first citizen of a free republic which has fought for its freedom. The question of the maturity of a nation for self-government cannot even be posed, because self-government, as you know, is a natural right.

\*See *Public* of April 1, page 297; of April 3, pages 313 and 319; and of April 29, page 394.

How do you know, sir, that the Egyptian people is not ripe for self-government? Such a statement can be only made by a man who had had a prolonged residence in our country. Sufficient knowledge of our language, literature, history, political, social and economical problems is most necessary. This, sir, you do not pretend to possess.

We cannot be convinced that during your seven years' presidency in the U. S. A. you had enough time to study Egyptian questions sufficiently to be able to pass such an important and grave judgment upon a nation. Therefore, it is quite natural that your only source of information on Egyptian matters was the writings of British Imperialist politicians who, besides being partial, cannot be in favor of our movement. The first duty of a judge is to hear both sides.

I will venture to tell you, sir, that Egypt is today as ready as, if not more so than, both the English and American nations when they fought for their freedom. We have as testimony the declarations of many eminent politicians in Germany, France, and England itself.

Do you know, sir, that Egypt had had a parliamentary government 28 years ago? Our first Magna Charta dates from February 7, 1881. It was Great Britain, the champion of oppressed nations, who suppressed this constitution on September 4, 1882, the date of the British occupation of Egypt.

Supposing that self-government is a matter of generations, we have no need of any political guardianship. We must be emancipated. England is not responsible for the fate of nations. We are more fit for self-government than Cuba was when it gained its autonomy.

The best way to learn swimming is to dive head first. The best way to prepare a country for self-government is to allow it to govern itself.

Think for a moment, sir, how the Turks and the Persians behaved themselves after the constitution, and, believe me, that Egypt is not less worthy of her public rights and political liberties than both these two nations.

Your reference, sir, to envy and hatred, based on religion and race, has no place whatever in a speech delivered in a country like Egypt. Because, on the shores of the Nile there is but a single race. Copt and Muslim have not the least cause of envy or hatred. For us all our Mother Country is our most sacred object of worship.

You said, sir, that the type of man that turned out the assassin is a type alien to good citizenship, producing bad soldiers in time of war and worst citizens in time of peace. This is an insult to all races. Every country has had political assassins. This did not prevent them from producing good soldiers and good citizens.

Ibrahim Nassif Al Wardain, the assassin of Botros Pacha, has professed to be a Nationalist.

That does not mean that all Nationalists are terrorists. The National Party did neither apologize for nor condone this isolated act of terrorism, either by word or deed, directly or indirectly, whether before the act or after it.

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that Egypt is awakening like a giant after a long sleep, shaking his locks and turning his eyes towards the light. All the East is beginning to take on a new life. Hoping that you will consider my letter as a simple defence of a noble cause, I pray you in the future to deign to reflect before passing a judgment upon a rising nation.

M. LOUTFI GOUMAH,  
Editor of the "Voice of the People."

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### "BLACK FRIDAY."

There was a great financial crash in Wall Street on Friday, September 24, 1869, which has ever since been known as "Black Friday." Immediately afterward, under the title of "Israel Freyer's Bid for Gold," Edmund Clarence Stedman published these verses in the New York Tribune, of which Horace Greeley was then the editor and to the staff of which Mr. Stedman had belonged. They were famous in their day. We reproduce them, not only for their interest as a vivid picture of a tragic episode in financial history, but also because they are one of the first, if not the very first, notable recognitions in literature of the beginning of the plutocratic era in the United States.

\*

Zounds! how the price went flashing through  
Wall Street, William, Broad street, New!  
All the specie in all the land  
Held in one Ring by a giant hand—  
For millions more it was ready to pay,  
And throttle the Street on hangman's-day.  
Up from the Gold Pit's nether hell,  
While the innocent fountain rose and fell,  
Louder and higher the bidding rose,  
And the bulls, triumphant, faced their foes.  
It seemed as if Satan himself were in it:  
Lifting it—one per cent a minute—  
Through the bellowing broker, there amid,  
Who made the terrible, final bid!

High over all, and ever higher,  
Was heard the voice of Israel Freyer,—  
A doleful knell in the storm-swept mart,—  
"Five millions more! and for any part  
I'll give One Hundred and Sixty!"

Israel Freyer—the Government Jew—  
Good as the best—soaked through and through  
With credit gained in the year he sold  
Our Treasury's precious hoard of gold;  
Now through his thankless mouth rings out  
The leaguers' last and cruellest shout!  
Pity the shorts? Not they, indeed,  
While a single rival's left to bleed!  
Down come dealers in silks and hides,  
Crowding the Gold Room's rounded sides,  
Jostling, trampling each other's feet,  
Uttering groans in the outer street;

Watching, with upturned faces pale,  
The scurrying index mark its tale;  
Hearing the bid of Israel Freyer,—  
That ominous voice, would it never tire?  
"Five millions more!—for any part,  
(If it breaks your firm, if it cracks your heart,)  
I'll give One Hundred and Sixty!"

One Hundred and Sixty! Can't be true!  
What will the bears-at-forty do?  
How will the merchants pay their dues?  
How will the country stand the news?  
What'll the banks—but listen! hold!  
In screwing upward the price of gold  
To that dangerous, last, particular peg,  
They had killed their Goose with the Golden Egg!  
Just there the metal came pouring out,  
All ways at once, like a water-spout,  
Or a rushing, gushing, yellow flood,  
That drenched the bulls wherever they stood!  
Small need to open the Washington main,  
Their coffer-dams were burst with the strain!  
It came by runners, it came by wire,  
To answer the bid of Israel Freyer,  
It poured in millions from every side,  
And almost strangled him as he cried,—  
"I'll give One Hundred and Sixty!"

Like Vulcan after Jupiter's kick,  
Or the aphoristical Rocket's stick,  
Down, down, down, the premium fell,  
Faster than this rude rhyme can tell!  
Thirty per cent the index slid,  
Yet Freyer still kept making his bid,—  
"One Hundred and Sixty for any part!"  
—The sudden ruin had crazed his heart,  
Shattered his senses, cracked his brain,  
And left him crying again and again,—  
Still making his bid at the market's top  
(Like the Dutchman's leg that never could stop),  
"One Hundred and Sixty—Five Millions more!"  
Till they dragged him, howling, off the floor.  
The very last words that seller and buyer  
Heard from the mouth of Israel Freyer—  
A cry to remember long as they live—  
Were, "I'll take Five Millions more! I'll give,—  
I'll give One Hundred Sixty!"

Suppose (to avoid the appearance of evil)  
There's such a thing as a Personal Devil,  
It would seem that his Highness here got hold,  
For once, of a bellowing Bull in Gold!  
Whether bull or bear, it wouldn't much matter  
Should Israel Freyer keep up his clatter  
On earth or under it (as they say,  
He is doomed) till the general Judgment Day,  
When the Clerk, as he cites him to answer for't,  
Shall bid him keep silence in that Court!  
But it matters most, as it seems to me,  
That my countrymen, great and strong and free,  
So marvel at fellows who seem to win,  
That if even a Clown can only begin  
By stealing a railroad, and use its purse  
For cornering stocks and gold, or—worse—  
For buying a Judge and Legislature,  
And sinking still lower poor human nature,  
The gaping public, whatever befall,  
Will swallow him, tandem, harlots, and all!

While our rich men drivell and stand amazed  
At the dust and pother his gang have raised,  
And make us remember a nursery tale  
Of the four-and-twenty who feared one snail.

What's bred in the bone will breed, you know;  
Clowns and their trainers, high and low,  
Will cut such capers, long as they dare,  
While honest Poverty says its prayer.  
But tell me what prayer or fast can save  
Some hoary candidate for the grave,  
The market's wrinkled Giant Despair,  
Muttering, brooding, scheming there,—  
Founding a college or building a church  
Lest Heaven should leave him in the lurch!  
Better come out in the rival way,  
Issue your scrip in open day,  
And pour your wealth in the grimy fist  
Of some gross-mouthed, gambling pugilist;  
Leave toil and poverty where they lie,  
Pass thinkers, workers, artists, by,  
Your pot-house fag from his counters bring  
And make him into a Railway King!  
Between such Gentiles and such Jews  
Little enough one finds to choose:  
Either the other will buy and use,  
Eat the meat and throw him the bone,  
And leave him to stand the brunt alone.

—Let the tempest come, that's gathering near,  
And give us a better atmosphere!

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## BOOKS

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### THE PATERNITY OF "BIG" BUSINESS.

The Book of Daniel Drew. A Glimpse of the Fiske-Gould-Tweed Regime from the Inside. By Bouck White. Doubleday, Page & Co., 1910. Price \$1.50 net.

Among the odds and ends in the commonplace books of diplomacy is something to the effect, though more diplomatically expressed, that "the truth told when a lie is looked for, is an effective form of deceit." Possibly the editor-author of this volume has adopted that honest device for making his readers think the book a new kind of satire though it be in fact a veritable autobiography. There certainly is little in the book itself to mark it as Mr. Drew's own.

However, the autobiography (if it be autobiography) is excellent satire, and the satire (if it be satire) meets all the conditions of instructive autobiography. And whether it be either the one or the other it is well worth welcoming as both. Nor this alone for what it discloses of the Big Business methods of the earlier days of American plutocracy, but also for its suggestiveness with reference to the plutocracy of the present time.

Told in the first person, the narrative is ostensibly a complete and candid exposure by Daniel Drew himself of what he was, what he did, and what he thought about what he did as he did it.

Historically the incidents are true in fact. Psychologically the story is either fact, or else a good guess at it. This sordid, mean, shrewd, swindling and paganistic manipulator of corporation shares, a very type of the Big Business notables who came in with the private monopolization of public utilities, and whose name was as familiar as the President's fifty years ago, is either skilfully made to confess, or has frankly done so, to the piratical career of himself and his gang. Incidentally, other gangs with which his was sometimes at war and sometimes in collusion are shown up. One of the instructive features of the story is its demonstration that there is not always honor among thieves—not if they are big and respectable thieves.

The humor of the book is furnished by emphasizing some of the incongruities of unions of business piracy with church piety. As the Russian burglar does homage to his Icon when about to go "a-burgling," so Daniel Drew relied upon God to favor his rascalities. On one occasion he prayerfully took God into partnership. It was after one of Drew's regular attendances at church. The sermon was on "Taking God into Partnership with You in Your Business." This was "a brand new thought" to Drew, and on his way home with a friend he asked if there was "anything in what the preacher told us this morning." The friend thought "there was a great deal in it," and that God "would really bless a man who took him into partnership with him." So Daniel decided to "give the message of that Sunday morning a try." Pretty soon, to quote the book literally now, that sermon—

seemed providential. I took it to be a leading of the spirit. So that night in my room in the hotel I got right down on my marrow bones—it's knee work that brings the blessing every time—and told the Lord that I was going to try the thing, and see if he really wanted to be taken into partnership in my business. I prayed good and long—in fact, I prayed right out loud, so earnest was I in the deal I was making then and there with the Lord. If he went in with me as a partner, and helped in the work, I saw from all my experience in partnerships, that I'd have to divide up some of the profits with him. So I told him that if he'd prosper me in this stock market move that I was about to venture into, I'd pay up in cash the promises I had made toward the benevolences that my name had been attached to.

The next morning the pious "Dan'l" went down to Wall Street with a light heart and put up a treacherous job on his less pious but equally rascally partners—Jay Gould and Jim Fisk—in connection with a swindling job the three of them were putting up on other speculators. But those two master swindlers grilled "Uncle Dan'l" to the queen's taste, and when he next met his friend who had approved that sermon he said to him:

"Do you remember that new fangled notion that was brought out in the sermon we heard some weeks

ago about taking God into partnership with you in your business?"

He said yes, he remembered it very clear. "Well," said I, "there's nothing to it."

Big Business is not so crudely carried on in our time as in the days of Drew, Vanderbilt, Gould, Fisk, and its other progenitors who set it a-toddlng upon its infant feet. But the child is father to the man. In Mr. White's story of Daniel Drew's part among those unjailed rascals, and as one of them, the true character of Big Business in its present maturity may be detected through the polish of a more dainty but no more scrupulous generation of manipulators.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—In Quest of Prosperity. By Henry Rawie. Published by Henry Rawie, Columbus, O. 1910. Price, paper 25 cents.

—Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Forty-Sixth General Assembly at the Special Session, Dec. 14 to Mar 2, 1910. Illinois State Journal Co., Printers, Springfield, Ill. 1910.

—History of the 103d Regiment Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteer Infantry, 1861-1865. By Luther S. Dickey, Corporal of Company C, with Sergeant Samuel M. Evans as Collaborator. Published by L. S. Dickey, Chicago, 1910.

—State and Local Taxation. Third International Conference. Under the auspices of the International Tax Association. Held at Louisville, Ky., September 21-24, 1909. Addresses and Proceedings. Published by the International Tax Association, Columbus, O., 1910.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### For Democracy—And Health.

The report for the year 1909 of the Special Park Commission of Chicago is something for any citizen to be proud of. These sixty-two small parks, fourteen playgrounds and two bathing beaches have been most evidently planned and operated for the people's true benefit. So much has been accomplished this year with only \$132,000 that one is bewildered—and yet for so useful and growing a municipal work there was, as compared with 1908, a \$50,000 decrease in expense funds! Street tree planting is a new responsibility put upon the Special Park Commission, and the report of the City Forester (Mr. J. H. Prost) for his first year is full of interest. Several pamphlets, among them, No. 3—"Causes Destructive of our Tree Life; Preventive Remedies," and No. 4—"What, When and How to Plant," are held ready by him for free distribution to applicants. The whole report contains many admirable photographs and a most useful directory of the small parks and playgrounds of Chicago.

A. L. G.

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## PERIODICALS

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Portland's festival of roses is written about by J. W. Winchester in the Pacific Monthly (Portland, Ore.) for May, in a way to stimulate the interest of Eastern readers in the Pacific Slope, which that magazine primarily and so excellently represents. In the West its account of the pony express and such fiction as the "Scouts of the Cross," "Tie Trail," together with its fine illustrations of Western scenes, add to its effectiveness as a first-class American magazine with an over-the-Rockies flavor.

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George Kibbe Turner writes of the Des Moines plan of municipal government in McClure's (New York) for May. He finds that "it has succeeded, not because, as had been expected, new and extraordinary ability has been brought into the city's service, but with exactly the same class of men as had previously been in charge of city affairs. The system itself has compelled a revolution in the conduct of the city's affairs, and in its general life. According to competent observers, it is safe to say that ninety per cent of the people of Des Moines would vote for its retention."

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Lynn Haines's article in the American Magazine (New York) on the Pullman car investigation will interest all railway travelers; and Samuel Hopkins Adams's on the "joker" in legislation and adjudication appears in the same issue. An interesting and instructive exemplification of "how not to do it," will be found in Jane Addams's second installment of her autobiography, where she writes: "During the first decade of Hull-House it was felt by propagandists of divers social theories that the new Settlement would be a fine 'coign of vantage' from which to propagate social faiths, and that a mere preliminary step would be the conversion of the founders; hence I have been 'reasoned with' hours at a time, and I recall at least three occasions when this was followed by actual prayer. In the first instance the

honest exhorter, who fell upon his knees before my astonished eyes, was an advocate of single tax upon land values. He begged, in that indirect phraseology which is deemed appropriate for prayer, that 'the sister might see the beneficent results it would bring to the poor who live in the awful congested district around this very house.'

+

The night college opened last October by the College of the City of New York has so far proved a success. With the same academic standards and instructors as the day school, but with only twelve hours a week class work and almost no preparation time, eighty per cent of the two hundred and one men enrolled in the fall are still steadily doing good work—ninety-five of these having matriculated for the Bachelor's degree, which demands eight years of night study. The director of this educational experiment, Stephen Pierce Duggan, writes enthusiastically about it in The Independent for April 21.

A. L. G.

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The "Heraldo de Madrid" of March 26, presents on its first page pictures of Henry George and Lloyd George, under which Senor Antonio Albendin of San Fernando, Spain, devotes a half column to comment on the great economic struggle now waging so fiercely in Great Britain. Following this he gives a column and a half Spanish translation of the first chapter of Edward Homer Bailey's little book, "How to Get Rich without Work." Senor Albendin states that the movement now being pushed by Mr. Lloyd George gets its inspiration from the different books published by Henry George, but principally from "Progress and Poverty," which is said to be, next to the Bible, the most read book in England. He then outlines the George theory of the cause of poverty as being the private appropriation of ground rent, the cure being the absorption by the public of all this ground rent in lieu of all other taxes. To apply this cure is the present endeavor of the English Liberals, with Lloyd George at their head. Working toward the same object he mentions Single Tax propagandists in Austria and Aquiles Lavia in

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## From the Week's Correspondence.

IRMA, ALBERTA, CANADA, APRIL 23, 1910.

Your paper has a musical ring that reminds me of a beautiful chime, and when I feel lonesome on the homestead I soon find a cure in The Public.

Yours very truly,

B. LAWRENCE BROWN.

PITTSBURG, PA., APRIL 30, 1910.

Enclosed please find postoffice order for two dollars. I raise the subscription price myself thinking that all who believe in the paper, and can afford it, should pay \$2.00 annually. This would be one way of making the paper self-sustaining. I remain,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN BRADLEY.

Italy. He mentions that this is not the first effort to apply this tax in Great Britain; that antecedents are recorded in the economic literature of both England and Spain, the system having been presented to the Spanish House of Representatives by Senor Martinez Marina on the suggestion of Senor Florez Estrada.

C. L. LOGAN.

+ + +

"I suppose you must find it hard to please all your constituents all the time, don't you?" asked the beautiful widow of the popular M. P.

"Oh, it's impossible to do that," replied the statesman; "and, besides, it would be foolish to do so if

one could. All that's necessary is to think of some way to please them just before it is necessary to get elected again."—Tit-Bits.

+ + +

"Money talks," said the alderman from the Steenth ward, winking slowly with his left eye.

"Well, if this does any talking," whispered the promoter, handing it over, "it will be the last you'll ever get."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

The small son of an English family in this country attends public school. Recently he rushed an-

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grily into his mother's presence with the tearful complaint that "they" had tried to make him believe the impossible story that British soldiers had been defeated by the Americans in some war. His mother explained the painful circumstance as gently as she could.

"And did the Americans really beat the British?" wailed the boy.

"Yes, my son."

The boy tore his hair and pounded the arm of the chair.

"How could they do it!" he demanded. "Why did the British soldiers let them! What could they have been thinking about?"—The Circle.

\* \* \*

Peer from the Backwoods: "Constable, where is the 'Ouse of Lords?"

Policeman: "Where's the 'Ouse of Lords, sir? Why, close 'ere. Bear 'round to the left by Oliver Cromwell;—but 'ow long it's goin' to be there, I

shouldn't like to say" (retires chuckling).—Punch (London).

\* \* \*

"Why do people read the advertising section in the magazines?"

"Say, I guess you never tried to read the other section!"—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

\* \* \*

Salesman (lately promoted to Curio Department.): "This necklace, Madame, was originally made for

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Let us have 2, 3, 5 or a dozen names—we will do our best to bring The Public to their attention in a Convincing way.

**EMIL SCHMIED, Mgr.**

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the Duke of Buckingham, who gave it to Anne of Austria. We're selling a lot of them."—Punch.

\* \* \*

Little Sigrid was born in America, of Norwegian parents.

"What is your nationality, Sigrid?" asked the teacher.

Sigrid tossed her flaxen braids. "I'm an Ameri-

can of Norwegian design," she said proudly.—Harper's Magazine.

\* \* \*

"Shucks, what does the census amount to?"

"What's the trouble, Uncle Peleg?"

"All that durned enumerator wanted was a lot of figgers. Wouldn't pay no attention to the details of my rheumatism or my fust marriage."—Pittsburg Post.

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