

The Public

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EDITORIAL

Mr. Taft's "Confession and Avoidance."

President Taft's plea regarding his solemnly judicial condemnation of Mr. Glavis in his sweeping acquittal of Secretary Ballinger last September (vol. xii, pp. 920, 921, 985), can be valued best by considering what its probable effect upon public sentiment would have been if he had disclosed its facts at the time he decided the Glavis-Ballinger controversy. Suppose the President had stated then that Mr. Lawler—Secretary Ballinger's subordinate and his partisan in the controversy—had drafted the President's opinion in deciding the controversy, and that the President had adopted this draft as his own with such alterations as he now says he made in it, what effect would that explanation have had at that time? Wouldn't it have discredited the President's decision from the start?



A similar test applies to the President's admission that Attorney General Wickersham's opinion in the same controversy was written and filed after the President's decision, and was antedated so as to make it appear upon its face to have been written before and filed with the decision. Suppose this admission, stated precisely as the President states it now, had been endorsed upon the Attorney General's opinion and published with that opinion when it was first published. What would have been the effect upon public sentiment?

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Wouldn't the good faith of the Attorney General's opinion have been at once discredited?

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In connection with the inferences suggested above it should be borne in mind that the President delayed making his admissions until the facts had been otherwise disclosed. It should also be remembered that when at last he did make them, it was *because* they had been otherwise disclosed. This motive of his is not an inference; it is part of his admission. "References to the matter have crept into the record," he writes, in his extraordinary letter of the 15th to the Congressional investigating committee whose Standpat majority had long before decided not to call for the documents to which his belated admissions relate; and then he proceeds: "*For this reason*"—because references to the matter *had* crept into the record—"I deem it proper to write you and state with such accuracy as my memory permits what the facts are."

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Until references to the matter did creep into the record of the investigating committee, President Taft's friends—the accused Secretary, the accommodating Attorney General, and the Standpat majority of the investigating committee—had done their best to make a state secret of what President Taft now admits; and during all this time President Taft, like Bre'r Rabbit, "he ain't sayin' nothin'." But because references did creep in—"for this reason," as he expresses it—Mr. Taft has come into the open with what lawyers might call his "plea of confession and avoidance."

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It all goes to further confirm Senator Dolliver's characterization of President Taft as "a good man surrounded by persons who know exactly what they want."

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Gov. Folk's Democracy.

Gov. Folk's public declarations regarding democracy continue to ring true. He was interviewed a few days ago on the possibility of his being the Democratic candidate for President in 1912, and here is his answer as we find it in the Chicago Tribune of May 1:

It is gratifying if any of my friends think me worthy to be mentioned in connection with the Presidency of the United States. Beyond this, however, the matter has given me no serious concern. I am more interested in the success of real democratic principles than I am in my own advancement. Of course any political fakir might say that; but listen now to Folk's reply when asked what he

meant by real democratic principles. He is reported in the same interview to have said:

There is now in progress a fight over the question whether the interests or the people shall rule this nation. This question must be fought out first within the parties and later between parties. Those who see the general dissatisfaction with the party in power should not take it for granted that this necessarily will inure to the benefit of the Democratic party. Real democracy is growing everywhere. Whether the present Democratic party will ride on the crest of the wave or be buried beneath it, depends upon whether the Democratic party will be really democratic. It cannot be democratic by representing a class or by truckling to special interests. Privilege cannot, by capturing the name of the party and hiding behind it, deceive the people. The Democratic party never had a greater opportunity for service than now. This opportunity will be lost if the party merely occupies a position of negation without announcing affirmative and progressive principles.

Such declarations do not come from political fakirs. Nor do they sound platitudinous. To utter them, a man must believe in them. And then listen to this in the same interview in answer to a question as to what he thought of property rights:

No property rights should be inconsistent with public rights, and the former can be best safeguarded by preserving inviolate the latter.

Mr. Folk may not be the Democratic candidate. He certainly will not be if plutocratic Democrats control the convention, as some of the news from Ohio implies that they are trying to do. But declarations such as we quote above, place him high up in the list of eligible candidates for that rapidly growing democracy of both parties which demands a genuine democrat regardless of the party label he may hitherto have worn.

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The Oregon Government.

A high tribute to the Oregon system of popular government was paid by Senator Bourne in the Senate recently. He said that—

Oregon has the best system of popular government in the world. The Australian ballot insures secrecy, prevents intimidation and eliminates bribery. The registration law protects the right to participate in government. The initiative develops the electorate and the referendum restrains the legislature. Brains, ideas and argument rather than money, intimidation and log-rolling are the standards of legislation.

Senator Bourne said more that was reported in the dispatches, and still more that was not. But here is enough to justify a question for Oregon voters. Will they permit the interests to lead them up against such a government to overthrow it? Intentionally it is not likely, but unless they are very careful about that proposed Constitutional

convention which the Interests are trying to foist upon them, they will lose it, and without knowing it until too late. Eternal vigilance is the price also of what Senator Bourne justly calls "the best system of popular government in the world," the government of Oregon; and a Constitutional convention is a dangerous thing for a people already armed with the initiative, the referendum, the recall, direct primaries and the Australian ballot.

* *

President Cleveland's Military Invasion of Chicago

In commenting upon a recent coal strike in Nova Scotia, the Ottawa Citizen of April 30 made reference to the late President Cleveland's use of Federal troops in the Chicago railroad strike of 1894. The Citizen says that—

the National Guard were found useless for the purpose of maintaining order, and finally President Cleveland stretched his powers under the Constitution sufficiently to order regular troops to the scene, and after one brush with them the rioters dispersed. That President Cleveland stretched his Constitutional powers is a mild form of the truth (vol. vii, p. 195); but the Ottawa Citizen is mistaken in the remainder of its statement. According to President Cleveland's own strike commission, there was not much violence prior to the coming of Federal troops, and none at all that the local authorities did not suppress. Not only did President Cleveland "stretch" his Constitutional powers in sending Federal troops to Chicago during that strike, but even if he had acted within his Constitutional powers there was nothing in the situation to warrant the action.

* *

Is It Good Citizenship or Good Business?

In the report of the Chicago Commercial Club's meeting of last winter on the subject of the plans for remodeling Chicago (vol. xii, p. 1111; vol. xiii, p. 37) so as to make it a "City Beautiful"—a "City Practical," as one of the speakers at that meeting preferred to call it—the president of the Club, Theodore W. Robinson, is quoted as conceding the plan to be a dream, "but a dream of business men for whose *disinterested* effort there can be no other reward than the satisfaction of good citizenship." We italicize "disinterested" not for the purpose of implying that the business men alluded to by Mr. Robinson are expecting more marketable rewards than "the satisfaction of good citizenship;" but as a basis for suggesting that some of them will reap substantial rewards abundantly and that they can hardly be quite free of such expectations, if the expenses of the plan are met out of general taxation. That Charles H.

Wacker, the chairman of the plan commission, understands this, is fairly evident from his speech as it appears in the same report. Real estate on the West side, he said, "has been practically a drug in the market," for lack of public improvements. Does he not realize then that public improvements such as the city plan would be, would add greatly to the value of real estate? Not buildings, of course, for he knows that they could still be built cheaply, but building lots. Business men who own building lots to be increased in value by the "City Beautiful"—or the "City Practical" as you please—may not be so "disinterested" as Mr. Robinson implied, nor so completely limited for reward to "the satisfaction of good citizenship." A test of their disinterestedness would be their attitude toward the proposition to pay for the "City Beautiful"—or the "City Practical"—out of the increase in lot values (the "unearned increment," as it would be called in Great Britain), instead of paying for it out of general taxation. How do the *disinterested* business men of Mr. Robinson's dream regard that proposition? Not with a great deal of enthusiasm we have reason to suspect.

* *

Migration from Great Britain—Why?

The protection organs of Great Britain—they call it "tariff reform" over there, being ashamed to say "protection," or afraid that the word may recall the "hungry '40's" under British protection—point to migration from Great Britain to Canada as evidence of the superiority of protection over free trade, Canada having a protective tariff. But if British emigrants are going to Canada now because Great Britain is free trade and Canada is protection, why did British emigrants come to the United States in the '40's when both England and the United States were protection? Or, if free trade in Great Britain explains British migration to protected Canada now, why did Britons migrate from free trade England to the United States in the '50's, when this country also was free trade? Again, if British free trade is the reason for British migration to Canada, why don't those British emigrants come to the United States? Our tariff protection is ever so much farther away from free trade than the Canadian. Further, if free trade in Great Britain explains the British migration to protected Canada, why do Americans also migrate to Canada? Canada's tariff policy is nearer to free trade than ours. There is one, and only one explanation of all those migrations, and it is not the tariff. The true explanation is the relative dearness of land in Great

Britain. Land was dear in Great Britain and cheap in the United States in the protection '40's and the free trade '50's, and it is dear in Great Britain and in the United States now and cheap in Canada. Tax the unused land of Great Britain high enough to make the lordly monopolists eager to sell it, and British migration will cease.

* * *

THE BALLINGER INVESTIGATION.

There is in progress at Washington, as every newspaper reader knows, a Congressional inquiry into the official conduct of Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, the successor (under President Taft's appointment) to James R. Garfield, who was appointed by President Roosevelt and who held the place until President Roosevelt's term expired.

The investigating committee consists of the following members of the two Houses:

Republicans: Senators Nelson (chairman), Flint, Sutherland and Root; Representatives McCall, Madison, Olmstead and Denby.

Democrats: Senators Fletcher and Purcell; Representatives James and Graham.

The testimony taken is voluminous, and a summary of that which has been produced by Louis D. Brandeis, the Boston lawyer who is prosecuting the charges, has been furnished to the American press. The points of this brief of facts, the only summary as yet available for public use, we purpose here setting out.

I.

The first point relates to the Cunningham coal claims of Alaska.

*

Some time prior to March 4, 1907, about 900 coal claims in Alaska had been "located," which means staked out by intending claimants; and only 33 of these had passed to "entry," which means to the point of payment of \$10 an acre to the government and the delivery of a receipt therefor. Those 33 were the so-called "Cunningham claims."

Nothing remained to be done regarding the Cunningham claims, in order to transfer title from the government to the claimants, but the issue of "patents" for them by the Commissioner of the General Land Office in the Department of the Interior.

While they were in that state, and on March 4, 1907, Mr. Ballinger became Commissioner of the General Land Office under Secretary Garfield.

*

Meanwhile the Land Office had been frequently

advised of fraudulent schemes for monopolizing Alaska coal mines.

Consequently, Assistant Commissioner Dennett instructed Special Agent Jones on June 21, 1907, to investigate and report. But sometime between July 20 and 29, 1907, Commissioner Ballinger told Jones to make only a partial report—enough to enable him (Ballinger) to advise Congress intelligently to enact legislation favorable to Alaska claimants.

Jones accordingly furnished only a partial report. He recommended, however, that a strict investigation of every claim be made; and at a later date, August 13, 1907, he reported to Commissioner Ballinger a list of claimants of different groups, one of them being the Cunningham group, for use "in a further investigation of frauds in coal lands in Alaska." The latter report closes with a recommendation "that these entries be carefully investigated by an experienced and fearless agent."

*

In November, 1907, Louis R. Glavis, another special agent, got permission to go to Washington, where he laid before his superior, Commissioner Ballinger, reasons for strict inquiries before "clear listing" the claims. "Clear listing" a land claim means to "O. K." it for a "patent," and implies that if there was ever any suspicion it has been removed through investigation.

Notwithstanding that recommendation, however, and about December 26, 1907, Commissioner Ballinger ordered the Cunningham claims "clear listed." He explains now that he did so upon a favorable report by Special Agent Love of August 2, 1907. But after that report Mr. Love wrote that he "did not 'clear list' those entries for patent, but on the contrary raised a question of their regularity." He is borne out in this assertion by the text of the very report upon which Commissioner Ballinger says he acted.

Right at this point a peculiarly significant fact appears. An option for a half interest in the Cunningham claims which had been bought (before Mr. Ballinger became Commissioner of the Land Office) by the syndicate composed of J. P. Morgan's banking house and the Guggenheim family, was taken up by the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate at about the time that Commissioner Ballinger (against the advice of his agents, Glavis and Love) ordered the Cunningham claims to be "clear listed." The inference would not be far fetched, therefore, that Commissioner Ballinger was influenced not by Love's report, as he weakly ex-

plains, but in some way by the interests of the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate.

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Although he had already "clear listed" the Cunningham claims, Commissioner Ballinger officially notified Glavis, on December 28, 1907, that the investigation of the Alaska coal frauds was placed in his (Glavis's) charge. Yet, as soon as January 6, 1908, the patents were actually before Commissioner Ballinger for his signature; and the next day, January 7, 1908, a letter from Commissioner Ballinger's bureau informed Mr. Glavis that the Cunningham claims had been taken out of his jurisdiction and referred to the patenting division.

It was upon receipt of that letter that Mr. Glavis became "insubordinate," in order to prevent the fraudulent transfer of millions of dollars worth of coal lands to the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate and other claimants. He telegraphed Commissioner Ballinger that the Cunningham coal entries "should not be clear listed." This telegram he followed with a letter in which he said: "During the summer of 1907, said entries among others were partially investigated by Special Agent H. T. Jones, who, under date of August 10, 1907, reported that from the preliminary investigation made, he believed that the said entries were fraudulent and recommended further investigation; twice since making said report he has called your attention to the same, recommending further investigation of all the Alaska cases."

Commissioner Ballinger's official recognition of this "insubordinate" protest consisted in a reply to the impatient inquiries of a representative of the claimants, dated February 28, 1908, that there was "temporary delay caused by report of field agent."

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A new line of procedure was then adopted by Commissioner Ballinger. He drew a Congressional bill relating to the Cunningham clauses, known as the Cale bill, and on March 3, 1908, appeared before a Congressional committee to urge its approval. He himself explains the last section of that bill by saying that it provides "for the consideration of existing entries, and *does not call for proof of good faith* of the original entrymen." He did not succeed in getting the bill passed.

On March 4, 1908, the day following his advocacy of that bill before the Congressional committee, Commissioner Ballinger resigned.

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A few days later, ex-Commissioner Ballinger became attorney for the Cunningham claimants.

For this he is criticised as for a breach of professional ethics. Also for violation of a Federal statute making it unlawful for a Federal officer to act as counsel "for prosecuting any claim against the United States" which was pending in any department while he was such officer, within two years after ceasing to be such officer. But, Attorney General Wickersham advised the President that it was not unlawful under this statute for Mr. Ballinger to become counsel for the Cunningham claimants. His advice was based upon an opinion of Hoke Smith, when Secretary of the Interior, to the effect that the statute applies only to money claims. But Mr. Wickersham ignored the opinion of Secretary Lamar (then of the Interior Department and afterwards a Supreme Court Justice), which held the exact opposite, and with far better reason as any fair man might infer.

Mr. Ballinger continued to represent Alaska coal land claimants at the Land Office at various times thereafter until President Taft appointed him Secretary of the Interior in place of Secretary Garfield, about a year after his resignation as Commissioner.

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Immediately upon becoming Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ballinger ordered quick action on the Cunningham claims.

He directed Mr. Glavis to complete his investigation in 60 days and denied his request for further time. A new coal land law had meantime been passed, and Glavis asked Secretary Ballinger to have it interpreted by the Attorney General. Ballinger promised to do so, but referred it instead to a subordinate of his own named Pierce, who made an interpretation admitting the Cunningham claims to patent. Mr. Glavis was then ordered to report the claims in accordance with the Pierce opinion.

Unwillingly he did so, but again became "insubordinate" by securing an interview over Secretary Ballinger's head with Attorney General Wickersham. The Attorney General overruled Pierce's opinion, and the Cunningham patents were once more withheld.

Glavis then re-applied to Secretary Ballinger, July 16, 1909, for further time to investigate, and getting no satisfaction he became "insubordinate" again. This time he brought the Cunningham claims to the attention of the Secretary of Agriculture, who, July 24, 1909, wrote to Secretary Ballinger for a postponement on the ground that the coal fields in question were on a forest reserve.

Mr. Glavis had meanwhile—July 21, 1909—been relieved of the Cunningham cases on the ground that he was not expeditious.

The agent appointed to the work as his successor, James M. Sheridan, had had no previous experience with the cases; and August 25, 1909, Mr. Glavis went over the facts with Gifford Pinchot, then chief forester, who advised him to lay them before the President, Mr. Taft.

On the 11th of August, 1909, Mr. Glavis did this, and on the 18th of September, 1909, he was dismissed from the service.

In sustaining Secretary Ballinger, President Taft (vol. xii, pp. 920, 921, 922) delivered a remarkably sweeping opinion, which now finds defense only upon an assumption that somebody had deceived him.*

II.

The second point of the brief of facts we are considering, relates to water power sites.

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In the last year of his service as Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Garfield withdrew from entry large areas of public land bordering upon rivers. He did this to preserve water power for governmental irrigation, and also to prevent private monopolization of water power sites.

As soon as Mr. Ballinger became Secretary of the Interior in Garfield's place, under the cabinet reorganization which President Taft made immediately upon coming into office, he ordered his subordinates, Director Newell and Chief Engineer Davis, to recommend the restoration to entry of

*This was the opinion which Mr. Taft now admits (not in the brief of facts we are condensing, but by letter of President Taft to Senator Nelson, Chairman of the Congressional investigating committee), was drafted by the Assistant Attorney General in Mr. Ballinger's department. He had co-operated with Secretary Ballinger in the hearing on the Glavis matter before President Taft, at which Mr. Glavis was not present nor represented. The President revised the draft prepared for him at his request by Secretary Ballinger's Assistant Attorney General, before adopting it.

In the course of the Congressional inquiry subsequent to the proofs embodied in the brief of facts here under consideration it came out that Mr. Taft had based his decision in the Glavis-Ballinger controversy upon a report by Attorney General Wickersham to the President, which was alleged to have been antedated, but which the Congressional committee, in executive session and by a vote of 7 to 5—one Republican, Mr. Madison, voting with the minority—refused to ask for. In his letter of May 15 to the committee, explaining his use of Secretary Ballinger's draft opinion in making public his decision in favor of Mr. Ballinger, President Taft has now admitted and explained the antedating of Attorney General Wickersham's report.—See News Narrative in this week's Public at page 466.

the water power sites which Garfield had withdrawn, saying that the withdrawals were illegal. This means that public land which had been withdrawn from private appropriation by Secretary Garfield and President Roosevelt was to be reopened for private appropriation by President Taft and Secretary Ballinger.

Secretary Ballinger's two subordinates protested, but Secretary Ballinger peremptorily directed them to proceed. He acted, so Mr. Davis testifies, "as though a great crime had been committed in making the withdrawals."

Significant here is the fact that Secretary Ballinger afterwards told the President, so the President says in his sweeping decision of September, 1909,* in favor of his Secretary of the Interior, that in restoring the water power sites to entry he had acted upon the very recommendation which the evidence now shows he had ordered his subordinates to make.

Other testimony is outlined in the summary before us, which goes to show that Secretary Ballinger's motives for placing again within the reach of water power monopolizers the sites his predecessor had withdrawn, must have been extra-official.

To quote the summing up on this point of the brief of facts here condensed, the testimony indicates—

that not only did Mr. Ballinger give the President an essentially false explanation of his acts, but that he also gave such an explanation to Senator La Follette, Mr. Pattison, and others who made inquiries of him. It shows, too, that his original excuse given to his subordinates for restoring the lands to entry, namely, that the withdrawals were contrary to law, was abandoned by him as untenable when the President ordered him to rewithdraw the lands on exactly the same warrant of law that Garfield had acted upon; and that he then attempted to justify himself for restoring the water power site to private entry by offering other excuses, also essentially false, to-wit: that the restrictions were recommended by Messrs. Newell and Davis (his subordinates), and that Garfield's withdrawals were made upon insufficient information.

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Quite apart from the summary of evidence we are here condensing, it should be noted, regarding the lawfulness of withdrawals of land from entry, that the utmost that can be said for Secretary Ballinger is that there was a doubt. In this view of the law his position is no better than if the law had clearly not been as he construed it. For whereas such doubt as there may have been was resolved by Secretary Garfield in favor of the public

*See previous footnote.

interest, Secretary Ballinger resolved that doubt in favor of the ring of water power monopolizers.

III.

The reclamation question is third in the order of the brief of facts here under consideration.



In Secretary Ballinger's department there is a branch known as the Reclamation Service. It has charge of reclaiming (generally by means of irrigation) the arid lands of the West, and its Director is T. H. Newell.



Soon after Mr. Ballinger was called into the President's cabinet, it came to be believed by the best men in this branch that Secretary Ballinger was trying to destroy the usefulness of the Reclamation Service, and Gifford Pinchot laid the matter before President Taft. The President gave him assurances; but the situation continued, and subsequently the President publicly justified Secretary Ballinger. According to the brief of facts, Secretary Ballinger had completely stopped one of the important projects of the Reclamation Service which Secretary Garfield had set a-going.

That project was a system under which associations of settlers upon arid lands did reclamation work under the direction of government engineers. As compensation they were allowed reductions in payments for their land, and the associations thereupon issued to their members, individually, co-operative certificates—popularly known as "Garfield currency"—for their respective contributions of work. "This," to quote the brief of facts, "was merely doing the work by contract with the settlers instead of the usual contractors."

Although the system had worked well, and good reasons for pronouncing it unlawful have not been brought out, Secretary Ballinger seems to have had no difficulty in getting an opinion against it from the new Attorney General.

President Taft, too, found the system illegal, but upon a basis of fact which did not exist. He found that the law prohibited the "Garfield currency" because there was not, as the law required there should be, "money enough in the Reclamation Fund to pay for the project or the part thereof contracted for." But, in fact, there was a clear \$8,000,000 available in that fund at all times to meet these certificates, which did not exceed \$500,000 in the aggregate.



Another matter in connection with the Reclamation Service related to "the Perkins affair."

An engineer in that service of the name of Perkins, had been exposed as a hired lecturer for the Harriman railroad interests. His lecturing in exploitation of reclamation projects, the railroads paying his expenses, were approved by Secretary Ballinger and not objected to by Director Newell—upon condition, however, that all the railroads be invited to participate. But it subsequently appeared that Perkins was drawing a monthly salary from the Harriman roads of \$300 above his expenses. It appeared also that he favored the Harriman roads in the shipment of reclamation freight. Those facts were officially reported to Secretary Ballinger, and Director Newell asked Perkins for his resignation. For doing this, Director Newell was reprimanded by Secretary Ballinger. Perkins is still retained in the service by the Secretary, and with increased official power.

IV.

Secretary Ballinger's attack upon the forest service, a bureau of the Department of Agriculture, is the fourth point in the brief of facts before us.

The Director of this service, established in 1897, was Gifford Pinchot, who became Chief of the Bureau of Forestry in 1877. Its special function is the conservation of timber on government lands.



In the prosecution of the work of this bureau it had been customary for the Secretary of the Interior, upon request from the Secretary of Agriculture, to withdraw from entry small pieces of land as "ranger" stations, or headquarters, where rangers could have cabins for themselves and pasture for their horses. But requests of this character were refused by Secretary Ballinger on the ground that they were illegal. He did not solicit an opinion from the Attorney General, however, until the Secretary of Agriculture protested; and the opinion he then solicited has not yet been given. Meanwhile the Forest Service is hampered in its conservation work.



Secretary Ballinger also annulled an arrangement between the Departments of the Interior and of Agriculture of 18 months' standing, with reference to forestry on Indian reservations. He pronounced the arrangement illegal, but upon a Comptroller's precedent which was not relevant and had not before been applied in this way.

Secretary Ballinger's act in this connection has crippled forest timber conservation on Indian reservations.

Still another of Secretary Ballinger's interferences with the forestry service related to the technical training of forest rangers.

Fully trained men for this highly important duty could not be had. Those partially trained were therefore at first instructed in groups by officers of the forestry service who went from place to place for the purpose. Then camp schools were improvised by the forestry officers for courses of eight or ten weeks. Finally the men were sent to agricultural colleges which offered courses prescribed by the forestry service.

"We sent no men to college," Mr. Pinchot testifies, "in the sense in which that term is used; we simply ordered them to go where they could get instructions in their duties, partly from officers of the government and partly from other men; and we did so on the basis of a very considerable experience, and with the foreknowledge that that was the best scheme open to us for raising the standard of the work." Instruction at these colleges was given to the rangers free, and the government paid their traveling expenses but not their living expenses.

This system of ranger education was stopped by the Secretary of Agriculture, after the President had dismissed Mr. Pinchot from the service at the instigation of Secretary Ballinger. It was stopped as illegal, upon an opinion of the Comptroller. Of that opinion the brief of facts before us says: "The matter was presented to the Comptroller without notice to the forest service and without giving its law officers opportunity to present their side of the case;" and "the document submitting the question of legality to the Comptroller is practically a brief against the forest service."

V.

The fifth and final point of this brief of facts relates to what is known as "the Ronald letter," and goes to show that Secretary Ballinger has been untruthful in his public defense.



He had been editorially defended by the Outlook on the basis of President Taft's sweeping and now badly damaged vindication; but with a reservation to the effect that he had acted in "bad taste" in becoming the Cunningham claimants' attorney before the bureau of which he had been the head while that claim was pending there. To that reservation J. T. Ronald, a former partner with Mr. Ballinger, took exception, admitting that it would be just if the facts upon which it rested were true, but asserting that they were not true.

In making this assertion Mr. Ronald relied upon annotations by Mr. Ballinger upon the Outlook editorial. Thereafter and until further developments, the Outlook "maintained an editorial column distinctly friendly to Mr. Ballinger."

From those circumstances it is argued that Mr. Ballinger vouched for the veracity of the Ronald letter, the statements of which are now proved to be false. On the subject of his motive in that connection, the brief makes note of the additional fact that "at the time this happened, no Congressional inquiry was contemplated and the chance that the records of the Land Office disproving Ronald's inspired statements should be made public was remote."

VI.

The foregoing summary of evidence in the Congressional investigation comprises only the evidence against Secretary Ballinger. The committee proceeded with testimony in Secretary Ballinger's behalf, and he himself has been a witness. So far then as oral testimony enters into this summary, it must be taken with the understanding that it may be in conflict with evidence for the defence. But in so far as it rests upon public records and reasonable inferences therefrom (as most of the important facts stated above do), it cannot but be regarded as a strong indictment against Mr. Taft's Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Taft's own conduct in connection with the matter can hardly be characterized more gently than it has been by one of his newspaper defenders which calls it "clumsy."

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

PRICES AND LAND VALUES.

Morgantown, W. Va.

Though it is generally true that high prices make dear land, and not dear land high prices (p. 293), I wish to call attention to circumstances that suspend the operation of that well-proved law. They may be of interest in our present era of high prices.

The market price of an article is determined by its cost of production on the leanest land that must be worked to supply the market's demands, or on what is called "marginal" land by Ricardo, in his law of rent. An increase in the price of an article would thus mean that its cost of production on marginal land had gone up.

On marginal or rentless land only the cost of labor and capital affect the cost of production, and an advance in the latter would mean either a rise in wages or interest or that more labor and capital than formerly had to be exerted to obtain the same output, i. e., that marginal land had become leaner.

As the recent rise in interest has been little or nothing, and as the general rise in wages has been

only a fraction of the rise in commodity prices, we are forced to the alternative conclusion that leaner land has had to be worked to supply the steady increase of market demands during the past decade.

Even then, only the holding idle of the richer land for speculative purposes would cause the price of land to affect that of commodities by artificially lowering the margin of cultivation. For agricultural land there is little available data, but I believe that the area of richer land, held at speculative prices and wholly or partly idle by railroads, land syndicates and speculating farmers, is a considerable fraction of the country's arable area. In the case of timber and mining land the statistics are easier to obtain, and the great speculative reserves of Southern pine and of iron ore are especially noteworthy.

When all the land from which a commodity can be produced is monopolized by one productive interest and offered for sale only at prices which make its commercial development impossible, we have no longer the competition between land owners that fixes the relative value of land of varying qualities. Here Ricardo's law of rent does not hold, and commodity price is independent of the cost of production on marginal land. This condition now prevails nationally for Pennsylvania anthracite and for bauxite (aluminum ore), and locally often for such commodities as lime, bituminous coal and natural gas, where the products of competitive lands are barred by the cost of transportation. In such cases the absurdly high price of land simply indicates its monopolization and that the prices of its products are set on the principle of "what the traffic will bear."

R. B. BRINSMADÉ.

* * *

HEARD ON A STREET-CAR.

Topeka, Kansas.

On Saturday night I happened to be riding on the back-end of a crowded street-car. Near me stood two honest workmen, one of whom was an intelligent Swedish bricklayer. I paid no attention to their conversation until the Swede happened to make a remark about the delivery wagons which were passing.

"How would you like to drive a grocery-wagon at \$9.00 a week?"

"Some of those boys only get \$7.00 a week," said the other.

"Yes, and there are men who are laying cement blocks for three cents a block. And then we wonder where the deadbeats come from. If I only got three cents for a block, I couldn't pay my grocery bill either."

W. S. PROUT.

* * *

How many people think they're good because they've done no crime;

How many think they've won success who merely didn't fail!

How many who're untempted think their virtue is sublime—

And that they'll land in heaven because they didn't land in jail!

—Life.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before, continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, May 17, 1910.

The Political Fight in Iowa.

The Insurgent Republicans of Iowa opened their State campaign on the 10th at Des Moines, Senators Cummins and Dolliver (p. 409) being the principal speakers. The meeting is said to have been tremendous in size and enthusiasm. Harvey Ingham presided, and introduced as the first speaker Senator Dolliver, who urged the election of Warren Garst for Governor, and then devoted himself to national politics. He said he did not intend to get out of the Republican party, but that its present leadership have betrayed its welfare and that of the country and must be put out. He decried President Taft as "a good man surrounded by people who know exactly what they want," and declared that in his Winona speech (vol. xii, pp. 920, 938), President Taft had used as his principal argument in favor of the new tariff a collection of figures which were not only false but had been prepared with deliberate intent to deceive. Taking up the tariff law, schedule by schedule, he denounced it as having been deliberately framed to exploit the people in the interest of trusts. Senator Cummins's speech, which was in the same spirit, arraigned Aldrich, Cannon, Payne and Dalzell as men who look at all vital problems from the corporation standpoint. The defeat of Hull, Smith, Towner and Kennedy, Republican members of the lower House of Congress from Iowa, was frankly asked for. From Washington on the 11th these speeches were reported to have been delivered after and in accordance with the action of a conference of all the Insurgent Republicans in both houses of Congress.

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The President's Railroad Bill.

Events subsequent to our report of last week on the President's railroad bill (p. 441) are indicative of a good deal of demoralization among President Taft's supporters in Congress. After his hurried return to Washington he ran over to Passaic, New Jersey, to keep the only speaking appointment he had not cancelled, and in his speech there he talked hopefully of the possibilities of his railroad bill, while conceding that it seemed then to be in jeopardy in some important respects.

But on the 10th the House passed the bill with the pooling and merger clauses struck out and amendments objectionable to the President inserted. A motion of one of the President's supporters to restore the merger clause was defeated by 169 to 160. The bill as altered passed by 200 to 126, receiving the solid support of the Republicans and the votes of 14 Democrats.

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On the 13th the President's supporters in the Senate were forced to accept an amendment prohibiting any railroad's charging a lower passenger or freight rate for a long haul than for a shorter haul until the Interstate Commerce Commission, after a thorough inquiry, determines that the two hauls so differ in circumstances as to warrant a difference in passenger or freight rates. This amendment was adopted in the Senate by 56 to 10. Senators Aldrich and Elkins had assured the President that they could rally a sufficient vote to prevent the adoption of any "long and short haul clause." They depended upon 15 Democratic Senators whose votes however they were unable to command when the test came. In a vote on the 16th upon the Court of Commerce clauses of the bill, Senator Cummins having moved to strike them out, 8 Insurgent Republicans—Borah, Crawford, Beveridge, Bristow, Clapp, Cummins, Dolliver and La Follette—and 20 Democrats were defeated, the vote to strike out standing 37 to 28.

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President Taft's Letter on the Ballinger Case.

A letter dated the 15th from President Taft to Senator Nelson, chairman of the Congressional investigating committee in the case of Secretary Ballinger of the Department of the Interior (pp. 83, 272, 413), has created a sensation of historical magnitude. This committee has been engaged in its inquiry for several weeks. The prosecution, conducted by Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston, as counsel for Louis R. Glavis (vol. xii, pp. 921, 922), had closed its case before the committee (p. 460), and Secretary Ballinger had entered upon his defense. At various times it had appeared vaguely that President Taft's opinion of last September (vol. xii, pp. 920, 922) exonerating Mr. Ballinger, had been written by one of Secretary Ballinger's subordinates; also that a report upon the case by Attorney General Wickersham, upon which President Taft acted, had not been written and filed at the time it purported to be, but was written several weeks later and antedated. On the 12th Attorney General Wickersham's admission that his report had been antedated was brought before the committee by Secretary Ballinger in the form of a letter from Mr. Wickersham, in which the latter said he had discussed the matter with the President and supplied him with a mass of information

bearing on the subject, but that the summary "necessarily was made up afterward and properly bore the date upon which the matter it contained was presented to and considered by the President." Then there was published in a Washington newspaper a statement by a stenographer in the Department of the Interior (whom Secretary Ballinger has since dismissed for "treachery"), who said that Mr. Lawler, Assistant Attorney General in the Department of the Interior, and therefore Secretary Ballinger's subordinate, had drafted the opinion which President Taft afterward revised and used as his own in deciding the Glavis-Ballinger controversy last September. Thereupon President Taft wrote to Senator Nelson, chairman of the Congressional committee, the letter which is mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph.

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Beginning with a reference to his decision of last September in favor of Secretary Ballinger, Mr. Taft says:

The majority of the committee have decided that my action was not within the jurisdiction of the committee to investigate. In spite of this ruling, references to the matter have crept into the record. For this reason I deem it proper to write you and state with such accuracy as my memory permits what the facts are.

The President's letter then relates interviews on the Glavis charges between himself and members of his Cabinet, including Secretary Ballinger, and tells of his having read the whole record at Beverly, Mass., on the 6th and 7th of September and come then to the decision he subsequently made. Mr. Ballinger and Mr. Lawler were at Beverly together on those days. They had come on September 6 and conferences were had on the 6th and 7th. The letter then proceeds:

In the discussions of the second evening Mr. Lawler, who was present at my suggestion, discussed the evidence at some length. I said to Mr. Lawler that I was anxious to write a full statement of the case, and set out the reasons for my decision, but that the time for my departure on a long Western trip, occupying two months, was just one week from that day; that I had six or seven speeches to deliver at the beginning of that journey, and that I could not give the time to the preparation of such a detailed statement and opinion as I would like to render in the matter. I therefore requested Mr. Lawler to prepare an opinion as if he were President. During the 8th, 9th and 10th I gave such consideration to the Glavis record as was consistent with previous engagements, but paid no attention to the speeches. On the 9th I telegraphed the Attorney-General to come to Beverly in order that I might consult him in respect to the case. He arrived there Saturday afternoon, Sept. 11, and, pursuant to an appointment made by telephone, he came to my home on Sunday morning, Sept. 12. He then delivered to me the draft of opinion prepared by Mr. Lawler and said

that he had had an opportunity on coming from New York to read the answers of Mr. Ballinger and others. I then said to him that I had made up my mind as to my conclusions and had drafted part of my opinion, but that I wished him to examine the full record and bring me his conclusions before I stated mine. He took the whole record away. During the day I examined the draft opinion of Mr. Lawler, but its thirty pages did not state the case in the way in which I wished it stated. It contained references to the evidence which were useful, but its criticisms of Mr. Pinchot and Mr. Glavis I did not think it proper or wise to adopt. I only used a few paragraphs from it containing merely general statements. The Attorney General returned in the evening with notes of the examination which he had made, and reported to me the conclusions which he had reached, which were in substantial accord with my own. We then discussed the matter at some length, particularly some points of law which were involved, and took up the opinion which I had finished and made a number of alterations, and as the result of that discussion, I determined the final form which I employed, and signed the same on Monday, Sept. 13. The conclusions which I reached were based upon my reading of the record, and were fortified by the oral analysis of the evidence and the conclusions which the Attorney General gave me, using the notes which he had made during his reading of the record. I was sorry not to be able to embody this analysis in my opinion, but time did not permit. I therefore directed him to embody in a written statement such analysis and conclusions as he had given me, file it with the record, and date it prior to the date of my opinion, so as to show that my decision was fortified by his summary of the evidence and his conclusions therefrom.

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American Socialist Congress.

A Socialist party congress of the United States recently chosen (p. 350), assembled in Chicago on the 15th for the purpose of settling certain questions of party policy, namely, (1) the attitude of the party toward immigration; (2) its relation to agriculture; (3) organization; (4) campaign methods; and (5) propaganda.

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On the question of immigration, the committee to which that subject had been referred, was unable to agree upon a report. The majority, consisting of Victor L. Berger, Joshua Wanhope, and Ernest Unterman, reported against permitting immigration of Japanese, Chinese, Koreans and Hindus. The minority report is by John Spargo. Premising that "the Socialist party aims to realize a system of society in which economic distinctions, the foundation of all other class distinctions, shall no longer exist, and in which all human beings without regard to nationality or race, shall have equal opportunities as members of the industrial army of the world," the majority report declares nevertheless that—
our present decaying capitalist system generates many contradictory phases in antagonisms which at

times compel the Socialist movement in its efforts to conform its acts to the present immediate interests of the working class, to come into apparent conflict with its ultimate ideals. This, however, is an unavoidable condition of the general law of social progress. We work toward our ultimate ideals through and despite these apparent contradictions. . . . The general question of immigration and emigration with its multitude of conflicting elements falls clearly into the category of contradictions referred to above. In a conflict between ultimate and immediate class interests, the law of self preservation asserts itself above all ultimate ideals. The Socialist party, in its present activities, cannot outrun the general development of the working class, but must keep step with it. . . . In advocating the policy of restricted immigration, or even a temporary exclusion of specific races, we are not necessarily in contradiction with the essential principles of solidarity of the working class. On the contrary, we are convinced that this policy may, under some conditions, and especially under present conditions in the United States, be the most effective means of promoting the ultimate realization of international and inter-racial solidarity.

Proceeding then to disapprove of so much of the declarations on this subject of the Stuttgart international congress of Socialists as "refer to specific restrictions or to the exclusion of definite races or nations," the report declares that—

present conditions in the United States compel us to make an important exception in the matter of exclusion of immigrants from specific and definite nations. This exception refers altogether to the mass immigration of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Hindus to the United States. We advocate the unconditional exclusion of these races, not as races per se—not as peoples with definite physiological characteristics,—but for the evident reason that these peoples occupy definite portions of the earth which are so far behind the general modern development of industry, psychologically as well as economically, that they constitute a drawback, an obstacle and menace to the progress of the most aggressive, militant and intelligent elements of our working class population.

The minority report asserts that "the movement against Asiatic immigration is due to a misunderstanding of facts," the volume of such immigration being "too small to constitute a menace," and there being "no signs of an appreciable increase." Final action on the subject has not yet been taken by the Congress.

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Tom L. Johnson's Home Coming.

A large meeting in Cleveland welcomed ex-Mayor Tom L. Johnson home (p. 441) on the 13th, at which, after an enthusiastic reception, he spoke without referring to local politics. Of his health the Cleveland Press in reporting the meeting said:

Thinner, perhaps, and with some traces of illness remaining, it was apparent to everyone of the crowd of 2,000 that he has gained much in strength and

vigor. His step as he mounted the platform was strong and firm. The old smile of confidence was there. His voice was more vibrant than in months. Among the other speakers were Atlee Pomerene and Newton D. Baker.

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On the 30th at New York City a large bronze medallion designed and modeled by Richard F. George, son of Henry George, is to be presented to Mr. Johnson at a dinner at the National Art's Club. The medallion commemorates Johnson's public work under the influence of the spirit of Henry George's teachings.

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The British King's Oath.

London dispatches of the 10th relative to the coronation oath to be taken by George V (p. 440) point to a situation that may develop political consequences of importance. They were to the effect that the new King has notified the Ministry of his invincible objection to the following declaration, a landmark of the triumph of the Protestants over the Roman Catholics in the obsolete politics of Great Britain—

I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after consecration thereof, by any person; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint and the sacrifice of the mass as now used in the church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain, ordinary sense of words as commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatever and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority or person whatsoever.

To the Duke of Norfolk, the leading English Catholic, also a leading Tory, this declaration is offensive, religiously and politically. The political importance of the matter at present has to do with the possibility of an amending measure being fathered by the ministry in deference to the King. The dispatches that tell of the King's objection also say that the Ministry intends to introduce an amending bill when Parliament assembles. If they should do so, large bodies of non-conformists would doubtless resent it; and if, now that the question is raised, the Ministry should refuse to father such a bill, their Irish support might be prejudicially affected.

NEWS NOTES

—The first National Conference on Industrial Diseases will meet at Chicago on June 10, 1910.

—Ecuador and Peru are reported to be mobilizing

their little armies for the threatened war between Ecuador and Chile as allies, against Peru, their unhappy mid-neighbor (p. 276).

—The third National Conference on Industrial Accidents and Workmen's Compensation will meet at Chicago June 10, 1910.

—The General Administrative Council of the American Association for Labor Legislation will meet at Chicago on the 10th of June.

—The battleship "Florida," the biggest of the American "dreadnaughts," (21,825 tons), was launched at the Brooklyn navy yard on the 12th.

—Devastating forest fires are destroying lumber and villages and threatening towns in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Manitoba (vol. xi, p. 710).

—A Chinese National Assembly—the first—is reported to have been called for next October. This is a marked step in China's advance toward constitutionalism (pp. 112, 294, 302, 304).

—The medieval Passion Play which is performed by the peasants of Oberammergau in Upper Bavaria during one season only in each ten years, was given for the first time in 1910, on the 16th.

—Mrs. Dora Montefiore, the English "Adult Suffragist" (p. 195), will address a mass meeting at the Garrick Theater in Chicago on Sunday morning the 22d. The meeting will begin at 10:30.

—The biennial conference of the National Federation of Women's Clubs last week at Cincinnati, began and continued into the present week. A feature of the gathering was a thorough-going debate on the question of suffrage.

—George V. Wells and George A. Schilling will discuss Charles E. Russell's article in *Everybody's*, on "Sanity and Democracy in American Cities," before the Chicago Single Tax Club in the Schiller Bldg., Friday evening, the 20th.

—A bronze tablet to the memory of Henry George and one to the memory of the elder William Lloyd Garrison, both modeled by Richard F. George, will on the 30th be placed on the houses in New York in which respectively these men died. . .

—The late Mrs. Marion Heald Perkins (p. 445) was a daughter (and not the widow, as we carelessly stated last week) of former Treasurer Heald of Cook County, who died in 1871. A memorial service to Mrs. Perkins will be held on the 22d at Abraham Lincoln Centre at 3 p. m.

—A tablet marking the site of the Chicago "wigwam," where Abraham Lincoln was nominated for President of the United States, May 18, 1860, was placed on the 12th upon the Reid-Murdoch building at the corner of Market and Lake streets, by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

—Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President of the United States, and by appointment of President Taft, special American ambassador to the funeral of Edward VII (pp. 433, 440), arrived in London under royal escort on the 16th, where he was formally received at once by George V at Marlborough House.

—The hundredth anniversary of the Swedenborg Society of London, founded in 1810, will be the occasion of a gathering from all parts of the world of an International Congress of the students and admirers

of Emanuel Swedenborg, to be held in the city of London, the event to occupy four days, July 5 to 8, inclusive. According to the New York Times the assemblage is not an ecclesiastical or sectarian one, but a meeting to be devoted to the consideration of Swedenborg's contributions in science, philosophy and psychology, as well as in theology, to the higher thought and investigation of the world of today.

—Prisoners must hereafter be convicted of the crimes charged against them before their portraits can be placed in the rogues' gallery (p. 291) in Boston. Portraits already in the gallery of persons not convicted will be removed. This is the order of the Boston police department issued on the 14th.

—Universal municipal suffrage to women over 25 years of age was voted on the 14th by a large majority in the Odelsting, the lower house of the Norwegian parliament. Since 1907 women have been allowed to vote (vol. xii, p. 1095) on the same terms as men when they, or the husband if husband and wife have property in common, pay an income tax.

—James W. Van Cleave, of St. Louis, noted for leadership in the fight of business organizations against labor organizations, and especially for his prosecution of Samuel Gompers and others for boycotting the Van Cleave stoves (vol. xii, pp. 515, 1188; vol. xiii, p. 121), died at St. Louis on the 15th, at the age of 61.

—The Chinese government (pp. 112, 294, 302, 304, 370, 394) has abolished slavery throughout the Empire, except that the retainers of Manchu princes are left bound to their hereditary masters, though it is forbidden to call them slaves. But the purchase and sale of human beings, under any pretext, is henceforth absolutely prohibited.

—Gov. Draper of Massachusetts, having signed the direct nominations bill (p. 256), the voters of Massachusetts may nominate directly in each district candidates for the State Senate and House of Representatives if 10 per cent of the voters in the district so petition. The bill makes no provision for the direct nomination of any other candidates.

—The writ of habeas corpus obtained by Frank N. Hoffstot, president of the Pressed Steel Car Company (vol. xii, p. 900), who was indicted in connection with the Pittsburg bribery cases, was dismissed on the 14th by Judge Holt in the United States Circuit Court in New York. Hoffstot's extradition to Pennsylvania was recently ordered by Governor Hughes.

—The Single Tax Information Bureau (p. 160), of which E. B. Swinney is manager (134 Clarkson street, Brooklyn, N. Y.), reports during the quarter ending April 30 the following expenditures:

Postage	\$ 5.71
Literature	71.50
Freight	4.05
Stationery25

	\$81.54

Receipts during the period were \$108.51, leaving a balance on hand of \$26.97. Personal services are rendered without compensation.

—The first Polish National Congress opened at Washington on the 12th. One thousand delegates from all parts of the United States and from the

Polish provinces of Russia, Germany and Austria, assembled publicly to discuss economical, educational, scientific and emigration problems affecting their people. The Congress took on an international character since this is the first time since the "partition of Poland" 115 years ago, that the Poles have met in convention to consider the welfare of their race. Maryan B. Steczynski of Chicago was elected President of the Polish National Alliance, as the fusion of the Polish American societies is called.

—Rudolph William Renkert, national chairman of the Christian party, issued a call from Davenport, Iowa, on the 13th, in which all "people who will co-operate in lifting up the Lord's standard and in a united national demand for a direct vote of the people on all leading issues of vital importance to all, and demand that all our rulers, lawmakers and judges shall adopt and use the decalogue and Jesus' rule as a standard measure for all our laws and government, are invited to gather in His name in the Watch Tower in Rock Island, Ill., May 18, 1910, to confer, plan and work for this great world-wide purpose to the glory of God and for humanity, regardless of sex, nationality, creed, color or party."

—In connection with the bribery prosecutions in Illinois with reference to the election of Senator Lorimer and the distribution of a legislative "jackpot" (p. 445), States Attorney Burke at Springfield began proceedings before the Sangamon County grand jury, and Attorney General Stead applied for an injunction on the ground that Mr. Burke was interfering with States Attorney Wayman in Cook County. The injunction was denied by Judge Shirley on the 11th and the grand juries of each county are now investigating. On one hand it is charged that Mr. Burke is using the Sangamon grand jury to balk Mr. Wayman's proceedings regarding Senator Lorimer; on the other it is asserted that Mr. Burke aims to attack corruption "all along the line," and that this is not desired by certain business and political interests.

—Fred D. Warren, managing editor of the Appeal to Reason, who has been convicted by a Federal court (vol. xii, p. 700) under a postal statute of misuse of the mails in offering a reward for the delivery alive to the crime authorities of Kentucky, of ex-Gov. Taylor, indicted for murder (vol. xii, p. 420), argued his own case on appeal on the 11th before the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, at St. Paul. He waived all technical points and asked the court to decide the case squarely upon this issue: "Is the mailing of this envelope with its offer of a reward, printed in red, for the capture and return to the Kentucky authorities of ex-Gov. William Taylor, under indictment at that time for murder, a violation of the Federal statutes?" He said he had discharged his lawyers because they refused to say what he thought should be said. Mr. Warren was on the same day named by the Socialists of his county in Kansas for nomination for Congress at the August primary.

—The following sentences were imposed at Pittsburg on the 14th upon persons convicted of bribery in connection with municipal affairs (pp. 276, 313): A. A. Vilsack, former cashier German National Bank, eight months in the county jail and a fine

of \$5,000; Charles Stewart, former select councilman, eight months in the county jail and a fine of \$500; Hugh Ferguson, former common councilman, eight months in the county jail and a fine of \$500; Dr. W. H. Weber, former select councilman, six months in the county jail and a fine of \$500; P. B. Kearns, former select councilman, four months in the county jail and a fine of \$250; Morris Einstein, former select councilman, six months in the county jail and a fine of \$2,500. Because of illness in their families the sentencing of E. H. Jennings, president of the Columbia National Bank, and F. A. Griffen, former vice-president of the same institution, was postponed. The sentencing of G. W. Friend, vice-president of the Clinton Steel and Iron Company, (son of the late James W. Friend, the multimillionaire), and M. L. Swift, Jr., former common councilman, was also postponed.

PRESS OPINIONS

That Downright Plunderbund.

The (Portland, Ore.) Labor Press (Lab.), April 23.—The plunderbund don't care a rap for States' rights unless the prospects are better to swipe some natural resource like timber from the State than from the Nation. . . . It is surprising how well disciplined the plunderbund is in every community.

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Wages and Unions.

The (Portland, Ore.) Labor Press (labor), April 30.—If the only way the "open shop" employers in Portland can be successful in preventing the establishment of unions among their employes is to raise their wages, then the way to raise wages is to establish unions.

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Property Rights.

The Milwaukee Journal (ind. Rep.), April 25.—There are no property rights in the sense that property has rights in itself. A stone wall or a forty-acre field or a franchise or a steel mill can have no rights. The rights are those of their owners. If we should analyze the question, if we would be more exact in our use of terms than Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Bryan has been, we should say that the revolt is against monopolistic privileges granted at the expense of men's natural rights. The tariff beneficiary has no rights in his privileges. His privilege is a denial of the natural right of men to exchange their products to their common benefit. The same is true of every monopolistic privilege that is employed to exploit the public.

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Wickersham's Antedating Document.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), May 13.—There was no explanation of the antedating of the report. Nothing was said concerning it and nothing would have been said had it not been for the persistence of Glavis' attorney in demanding the truth. He was thwarted in various attempts to obtain the documents, and it was not until he had announced his intention of summoning the Attorney General as a witness that the explanation was forthcoming. It

may be that the summary contained only the data on which the President acted in discharging Mr. Glavis. But the antedating, the subsequent efforts to evade public knowledge of this action and all the rest of it savor too much of sharp practice to rebound to the credit either of the President or his Attorney General.

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A Significant Comparison.

Everett (Wash.) Tribune (ind.), April 27.—Three years ago, in an address to an Everett audience, Senator J. A. Falconer made the prediction that the question of taxation would in a few years become the most important and insistent issue in the State. His prediction is fast being fulfilled. . . . Views may differ as to the soundness or equity of the single-tax theory, but there can be no dispute as to the effect of the two systems in operation side by side, as they are in this State and in British Columbia. Here the property owner is penalized for his enterprise in contributing something to community development. His building is taxed in proportion to its value, while the owners of unimproved lots adjoining and made more valuable by the enterprise of the man who builds pay only a nominal tax. In British Columbia improvements are exempt, and all tax is imposed upon land and land only. The owner of a vacant lot must pay just as much tax as the owner of a lot covered by a building. So the Everett man owning lots in Everett and in Vancouver "will build in Vancouver and sleep in Everett."

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A Socialistic View of Individuality.

Appeal to Reason (Socialist), May 7.—We live as individuals, and the only object of having a social organization is to enable the individual to enjoy and develop. The great object of a political government, according to the Constitution, is to provide for the common defense and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and children. But time has demonstrated that the political organization has failed to do this. It has not given many liberty to work without depending on others for the job. It has not given many liberty to have a home without paying others rent for a shelter. It has not defended our children from the white slavery, from the maw of the mill and from the slums and tramping. The social organization is necessary, as a completion of the political organization. There can be no individuality for the masses of the people without this; and individuality and happiness for all is better than individualism and opulence for the few. Socialism stands for manhood, for womanhood and childhood. Its aim is to stop the robbery of the worker by the master, and to make this a free world. There never can be freedom until the robbery of profits is at an end. There never can be a high civilization until every person shall find means to employ himself and to retain his full social product, and the means can be found only in full social organization of Socialism.

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One unsatisfactory thing about the month of May is that it always makes it necessary for us to burn up all the coal we have saved during the lovely month of March.—Chicago Record-Herald.

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

GATHERED INTO HIS CARE.

From the San Francisco Star of May 7.

The Editor of the Star, James H. Barry, says: "This poem is Frances Margaret Milne's last message to the world. It was written, with pencil, several days before her death, and given to her brother with instructions that it be handed 'directly to Mr. Barry' when she was no more."

I am going away on a journey
Sometime, in the gray of the dawn—
Or haply it may be at midnight
Or just when the sunset is gone.
I know not the time of my going,
I know not the road I shall fare,
But I know that the Lord of the Harvest
Will gather me into His care.

The leaf of my life is in fading,
Oh, long hath the Spring tide been past!
And Summer hath blossomed and withered
And here is the Autumn at last.
Ah, small is the sheaf of my gleanings
From fields where the gleaners had share—
But I know that the Lord of the Harvest
Will gather me into His care.

I have faltered and stumbled in treading
The way He appointed me here,
Tho' eyes that were pure as His seraphs'
Dropped for me the suppliant tear.
The dear human love that unfolded,
Oh, had I been worthy to share!
But I know that the Lord of the Harvest
Will gather me into His care.

The sheaf that I gleaned for His service
Has withered in breath of my sighs;
And salt as the spray of life's ocean
The dew of my grief on it lies.
How shall I approach Him to render
Such off'ring unworthy to bear?
But I know that the Lord of the Harvest
Will gather me into His care.

I am going away on a journey—
The journey my loved ones have gone,
And whatever the time of our going,
We travel it always alone,—
Alone, to all mortal beholding:
But shall not His angels be there?
For I know that the Lord of the Harvest
Will gather me into His care.

* * *

FRANCES MARGARET MILNE.

From the San Francisco Star of April 30.

A God-crowned Queen of Women has passed away, and none there is can fill her vacant chair. Frances Margaret Milne is dead—but of the living dead; the dead who never die. Her lamp of life is extinguished, but the light

of her inspired soul is with us yet—a beacon to the erring and fallen; to the underdog in the struggle for existence; to all the world!

We deem it no slight privilege to have known Mrs. Milne, and to have been regarded by her as something more than friend—as a brother.

Although she won honorable distinction by her splendid writings, her only ambition in life was to do good—to help the helpless to help themselves.

For nearly a quarter of a century we shared her joys and tears—her triumphs and her sorrows.

Our earthly association is no more—it is as a tale that is told—but it will ever be a pleasant, precious memory.

We first knew Mrs. Milne through the receipt



of a poem of surpassing beauty, which she modestly hoped we would publish if deemed worthy.

Needless to say, the poem was published. Then followed others, and others, which have since appeared in book form, and made her name known throughout the English-speaking world.

She did not write for fame, but for human rights—for liberty! She wrote to make men free! She believed that—

Whether on life's peaceful plain,
Or in the battle's van,
The only fight that's not in vain
Is when we fight for man.

She herself knew the pangs of poverty; and knowing, sought to bring about conditions that

would make involuntary poverty impossible. She and her venerated mother read together "Progress and Poverty"—which they interpreted as another "Sermon on the Mount"—and they saw and led the way.

She once wrote, for *The Star*, a poem in laudation of Henry George. When Mr. George saw it, he sent a message, deprecating the fact that praise should be given him for duty done. He said: "When I am gone, if it can be said of me, 'he kept the faith, he fought the fight,' then write me a requiem song of gladness and of hope." He "kept the faith"; he "fought the fight"; the song was written.

She, too, "kept the faith" and "fought the fight." . . .

California can boast of many sweet singers, but Mrs. Milne was the sweetest singer of them all. We say this now—for she cannot hear; and yet, somehow, we wish she could.

Mrs. Milne was a native of Tyrone, Ireland, but came to the United States with her parents when she was but three years old.

She was Librarian of the Free Public Library of San Luis Obispo for ten years, which position she resigned lately because of the illness which she knew would soon be followed by death.

In accepting her resignation, the Library Trustees paid her high and deserved tribute which she appreciated to the last.

Rev. George Willett, President of the Board, in voicing the genuine sorrow of himself and associates, added these touching words: "The enclosed resolutions do not express half that we feel. Your resignation was accepted with sincerest regret. We think of you with very tender regard." . . .

Mrs. Milne stood on the mountain top. She did "good by stealth and blushed to call it fame."

She did not see the fruition of her hopes; but she saw the light breaking, and knew that it would soon be day.

Let there be no monument of marble, or of stone, or of bronze, to her memory. She cared not for ephemeral glory! She lived for the "luxury of doing good." The republication of her great book, "For To-Day"—which was destroyed in the cataclysm of 1906—would be the best way to not only honor her, but to fulfill the mission for which her life was sacrificed.

* * *

TAKING LIFE OR LAND.

From *The Citizen*, Ottawa, Canada, of Jan. 29, 1910

We have sufficiently evolved from a state of barbarism to esteem life at its proper value. The old days when one man might slay another with impunity have long since gone. Nothing is more sacred than a human life, notwithstanding the belief of Dr. Porter and his ilk. Whatever may be

our opinions on other lines, it is quite certain that with but few exceptions all of us believe that a man's most sacred right is his right to life.

We have wisely enacted laws against murder. It is an offense not to be justified by any process of reasoning. A man's station does not shield him from the penalty of law. A murderer is one upon whom human society frowns, exacting the supremest penalty as the result of his crime.

But it is seriously open to question as to whether we have taken wisest measures to safeguard the lives of whose value we are assured. We have evidently forgotten that there are many modes of murder. A man may be slain either by an assassin's dagger or by a legal deed or decree. He may be robbed of life by being robbed of those things that are absolutely essential to the continuance of existence. The murderer masks under many guises, and wise shall we be when we are able to discern the real fact under a seemingly harmless form.

It is now accepted by all who have given the matter any real study that land is the basis of life. It takes only a moment's consideration to realize the fact that everything we use comes from the soil. The land is the most ancient ancestor of life and the modern source of its continuance.

Hence it is evident that to separate life from the land, barring in any way a man's access to the soil from which come the necessaries of life, is in reality to strike a blow at very life itself. Any mercenary enterprise whereby land is monopolized or used purely for private profit, is to be recognized as murderous in its real character, and, in a true sense of the word, to take land is to take life. To confine life to the city, denying it the right to utilize the soil, is to strike a blow at the very root of human existence.

In Canada, at the present time, we are dealing with the land problem. New areas are being opened to the public and also to the financial exploitation of the individual. There will never be a time in the history of Canada when greater influence will be made upon its future than in our treatment of this particular matter at this special time.

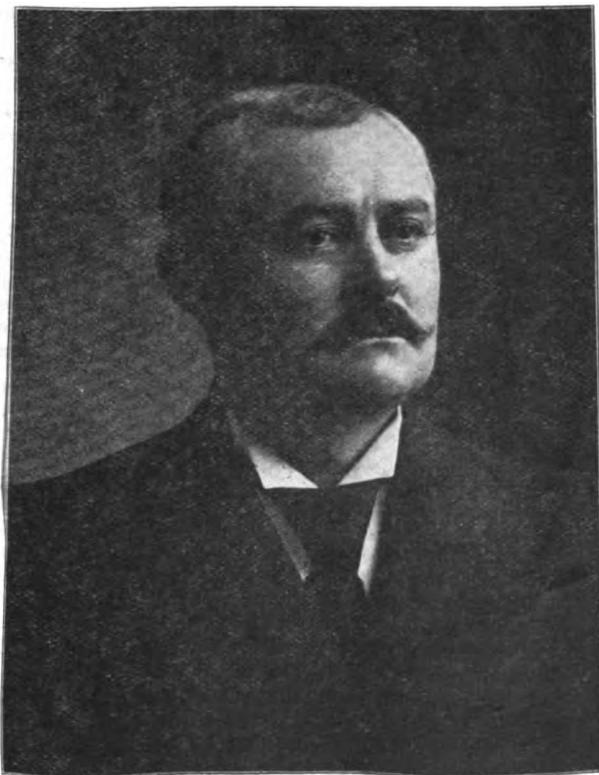
Let it be written large on Parliament hill, where every legislator may see it clearly and remember it always, that land is as sacred as life. It cannot be handled carelessly without possibilities of infinite harm. It cannot be given into the hands of private exploiters without giving to these men the right to rob their fellows of life itself. It deals with the primary sources of supply; with the storehouse of nature from which shall come the necessities of life in future years. It is quite as important as safeguarding human life from the dagger-thrusts of the murderer, or the villain's plot to secure profit at the sacrifice of the life of others.

In the United States today it is being realized that for any beef trust, or other food combination, to come between the soil and the consumer is perilous to the life of the Republic. As never before, Americans are realizing the real relation of life to the land and the absolute necessity of having free access to it. To have a trust standing between the land and life, compelling a man to pay for existence on arbitrary terms, is foolish and fatal. The result of the movement against the beef trust will at least reveal more clearly the necessity of keeping life and land in close union.

Unless we are wiser than they to the south have been, we shall sometime have to face similar conditions. The time to take action against such a peril is now, in the young days of this nation. Let us therefore see that the way is kept clear, that man has free access to the soil, and that all mercenary obstacles between nature's storehouse and human life are removed. If Canada will only realize the necessity of this action and will safeguard its life by making sacred its land, it will present an object lesson to the other nations of the world that will be of tremendous value. Let this be our present task.

+ + +

JOHN MACMILLAN.



Distinguished among the men who have brought Vancouver, B. C., to the point (pp. 243, 252,

434, 470) of abolishing all taxes on real estate improvements, leaving the land in proportion to its value to bear the burden of municipal taxation, is John Macmillan. Of Scotch descent, he is of Canadian birth, and in early life for sixteen years he earned his living by the hardest kind of manual work. He was elected to the City Council of Victoria, B. C., in 1895, reelected in 1896, and after settling in Vancouver upon his return from a tour of Queensland, New South Wales and New Zealand, he was three times elected to the Vancouver City Council—in 1906, 1908 and 1909. He had succeeded, while in the Victoria Council in 1906, in reducing the tax valuations of improvements to 25 per cent, the land being valued at 100 per cent, but upon his defeat for reelection the old system of valuing improvements at 50 per cent was revived. Upon entering the Vancouver Council he joined Aldermen Macpherson, Morton and Williams in a successful effort to reduce the valuation of improvements from 50 per cent to 25 per cent, and this rate remained in force until the present year. Meanwhile he and his coadjutors had succeeded in securing a revaluation of the land of Vancouver. This made it possible to abolish all taxation on improvements, which was done last March. Mr. Macmillan has long been a disciple of Henry George.

BOOKS

MUNICIPAL MORALITY LAWS.

On the Enforcement of Law in Cities. A Reply to a Letter from Representatives of The Federation of Churches. By Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo.

Although this is a public document, and no price is charged for printed copies, the demand for it is likely to be so great as to make it reasonable, we should suppose, that persons sending to its author for copies should accompany their requests with modest contributions to the necessary expense fund for printing.

A book in character, it is an open letter in form, and a 27-page pamphlet in shape. It is the first instance, so far as we know, of a thorough-going essay from an all-round competent source on the subject of morality laws and their enforcement in cities. Although Toledo is the immediate object of the essay, it fits perfectly to every other city.

The occasion for this publication was, as indicated in the title, a formal presentation to Mayor Whitlock by representatives of the Federation of Churches in Toledo, of a statement of their views regarding the importance and methods of enforcing morality laws in their city. Mayor Whitlock reserved his reply for purposes of careful consideration, and this valuable little book is the result.

The sincerity of the men who waited upon the

Mayor is cordially acknowledged and their assistance invoked in behalf of the author's method of making Toledo clean. He describes his method as in the line of "the movement toward democracy, toward that condition in which the ideals of America, and indeed the ideals of lovers of humanity in all ages, shall be realized."

Vice and crime are spoken of as being deplored by all, but "you propose to abolish them by the use of force," says Mayor Whitlock, whereas "in my philosophy they can never be abolished until we ascertain the causes of them and then remove those causes." And the cause as he sees it is "involuntary poverty and its direct and indirect effects." Therefore, he declares that "our duty is to make involuntary poverty impossible;" and that "to do this we must do away with monopoly and with privilege."

Referring specifically to laws against prostitution, Mayor Whitlock asserts that they are "as well enforced in Toledo as in any large city," but that "of course this does not cure the evil." As to "street walking," for instance, he believes that under his orders Toledo is free from it. But he adds:

Do you know that when I said that this had been done by my orders I did not experience any sense of personal elation or satisfaction? . . . Having been driven from the streets, where are these women to go? Are they to be driven out of town? That would be only to transfer the problem to some other locality. They cannot be driven into the river, or put to death, at least any faster than society already drives them into the river or to death. Who will take them? At whose door will they knock for shelter? At whose establishment shall they apply for employment? What are they to do? I'll tell you; they can go either to the river or to the brothel.

In either case has the situation been improved? If they select the brothel, their own moral condition certainly has not been advanced, and I doubt much if the general tone of society has been raised. About the only advantage gained is that the calm breasts of the good men who walk the streets are to be no longer agitated, and a visible temptation has been removed from the young. . . . But the condition of these women is to me so abject, so pitiable and so sad that I have no relish in such work.

Somehow the sins of others, the mistakes and the failures of others, cannot excite in me that moral indignation which exists in the breasts of some, nor can it in me be artificially provided by an affectation of that impersonal precision, which as it is supposed, should replace in an official all human feeling. . . .

As the saying is and as the general belief seems to be—each with reference to himself at any rate—they "have to live." How are they to live in our civilization unless they can get money? And how are they to get money unless they can get a job? And what job is open to them other than the one they have? . . .

Until the dawning of a better day in which there shall be equal opportunity for men and women, equal opportunity to find employment and to earn money and to keep what they make, just so long will this class of poor creatures exist in our communities.

Referring then to another aspect of the same problem, this Mayor who has been hounded by the "unco-guid" whenever the beneficiaries of privilege in Toledo have desired "to divert attention from themselves and their large immoralities"—this Mayor who feels for his fellow mortals and thinks of their perplexities as well as his own, asks his virtuous visitors to consider "just where the money goes" which women of ill repute "make at such dreadful sacrifice of body and of soul," and to reflect that—

there are gentlemen who are respected and count themselves among the good and eminent of the town, who own the property where these poor creatures dwell. . . .

We have had in this town quite recently an example of the very practical manner in which economic changes may affect what are called moral conditions. The board of assessors of real property the other day raised the valuation of realty in that portion of the city called the tenderloin; that is, the board wisely assessed it according to its earning power. We all know the sinister implications of the phrase "earning power" in this relation; we all know what it connotes; we all know its vast implications. And no action taken by the police or by the criminal courts could have the influence for good that this blow struck at the root will have; this very practical method of rendering vice unprofitable, not to its immediate practitioners, for they suffer now from it, but to the ultimate recipients of its profits, those higher up in society, to whom all this vice ministers and whom it supports.

I do not wish, however to be understood as blaming particularly those who rent places for this purpose. I should be disposed to blame them more, if I blamed them at all, for their public protestation than for their participation in the business, for they, too, are but the impotent victims of our social system; they can be released from its difficulties, from its pains and from its insidious influences for evil only when all men are released from it. This social system, with privileges for the few and proscription for the many, creates these conditions and these types, and we cannot get rid of either, no matter what we do, so long as we continue to produce them.

Gambling is another of the vices which Mayor Whitlock discusses in this essay. The forms of gambling to which his visitors objected, he says are now suppressed in Toledo, as he believes, but those forms, he adds, are—

but one expression and it is in a sense, bad though it be, a minor expression, a somewhat feeble note of that larger spirit of speculation which animates so many in society. This spirit leads a certain few to imagine that government is made for them and their personal interest and that it should give them the privilege to exploit the labor of the many, to take from them what they produce. It expresses itself in speculative operations in stocks and bonds and in grain and produce, just as it expresses itself in the gambling that goes on in clubs, in private homes, at the whist table, at the poker table and on the stock exchange. All of these forms of gambling are as abhorrent to me as they are to you, and I am

trying as best I can to do away with them all by seeing to it that the law shall cease giving privileges to the few in the way of franchises for street railways, gas companies, electric light companies, exorbitant tariffs, exemptions and the like. These processes represent gambling on an immense and sinister scale, and are far more dangerous than any other kind.

To Sunday laws also a careful and extended consideration is given—one that is intensely interesting whether as literature, history, or law, for it is an excellent example of all.

Nor is there anywhere in all this little book any evidence of a resentful spirit. Mayor Whitlock might be excused some indulgence of that kind with reference to the pharisaical attitude which business-bolstered churches in Toledo have held toward him and his predecessor, "Golden Rule" Jones; but he speaks true when in closing his essay he says:

I have written in all kindness and in all sincerity. I respect your views and I sympathize with your aims, for I know that you have no desire other than to make a city and a world better for men to dwell in. I have tried to make it clear that I desire this no less than you, and according to the light that has been given me, I have tried to discharge my duties, so that this good purpose may be advanced.

The appeal the author then makes rings out clear and strong. It is a true lesson in religion and in politics, and one which it were well if it could be taken to heart not only in the Federation of Churches in Toledo but wherever else men profess religion or practice politics or business:

Religion teaches that all men are the children of one common all-loving Father, and are therefore brothers. Our nation has proclaimed to humanity in its fundamental law that all men are equal. And, as I have looked out upon the world, and witnessed the spectacle of misery, heard the long sad litany of human woe, I have seemed to see that it was all because we had lost faith in these precepts; that we were living lives, administering government, and all that, in a manner that traversed the claim of human brotherhood and denied flatly the proposition of human equality. Looking more deeply, I have seen that our governments have abandoned the principle that all men are endowed with equal rights, and have adopted the theory that some are entitled to more rights than others, and that accordingly a few are to be selected and favored by privileges, and that all others are to be proscribed and compelled to toil and to give the proceeds of their toil to the few privileged ones.

As a result of all this, there have been idleness and viciousness and crime in the privileged, and those who have been proscribed and denied equal rights have been driven to poverty, and hunger, and despair; and thence have come, naturally, logically, inevitably, vice and crime in them and their children.

This condition is a blasphemous denial of religion; it is treason against our theory of government. And it has seemed to me that there was no other thing for me to do than to try, by the use of

such poor powers and such small talents as I may possess, to aid and advance that cause which seeks to do away with privilege in the land, and to bring about equality and brotherhood. This is the oldest, as it is ever the newest, cause in the world.

Those who have enlisted in it, even the most obscure of them, have found that it demands sacrifice, and yet those sacrifices or any sacrifices are immeasurably outweighed by the consolations that come with the mere effort to serve humanity. They find, indeed, a greater solace and a greater satisfaction than any of which they had ever dreamed. Life has a new meaning, existence a nobler aim, for in this old cause men come into better and more beautiful relations with their fellow men, especially with those who are suffering and sinning in darkness and misery, and they can look forward with hope to that day when conditions will permit all men to live equal and brotherly and beautiful lives.

In this cause, the one for which all the sacrifices of the past have been made, the one in which all the long line of prophets and martyrs and poets have enlisted, the one in which the hope of the future rests, men learn a new philosophy.

In that philosophy, all crime, all evil, all sin, are as abhorrent on Monday, or on any other day of the week, as on Sunday. They are abhorrent by whomsoever committed, whether rich or poor, high or low. Drunkenness, be it in a squalid or in a luxurious environment, is abhorrent to it. The prostitution of a man who sells his talents as a lawyer, or preacher, or editor, or cartoonist, or speaker, to a cause in which privately he says he does not believe is found to be not only as bad as, but even worse than, that form which drives a girl into the street. Gambling remains gambling whether in a low den or a drawing room, a swell club or a stock exchange, whether on a large or small scale, whether it be for pennies or for street car franchises. In that philosophy, it is as great an offense to steal a railroad as it is to steal a ride, as great a crime to appropriate a coal mine as it is to pick up coal along the tracks. In that philosophy public property is as sacred as private property.

And those committed to that philosophy are trying to put an end to these things, not by denouncing others who do them, but by trying to live lives that have no place for them, and by doing their utmost in every relation of life to stop them, and by doing away with the thing which very clearly is the cause of them, that is Privilege.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The American Anti-Vivisection Society. Twenty-seventh Annual Report, 1909. Published at 36 S. 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa., 1910.

—A Preliminary Report on the Mineral Resources of Georgia. Bulletin No. 23, Geological Survey of Georgia. By S. W. McCallie, State Geologist. Printed by Chas. P. Byrd, Atlanta, Ga., 1910.

—Twentieth Biennial Report of the Illinois Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities. Being a Statistical Record of the Public Charity Service for July 1, 1906 to June 30, 1908, with Recommendations.

tions for July 1, 1908, to June 30, 1910. Printed at Springfield, Ill., by the Illinois State Journal Co., 1909.

—Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 85, November, 1909. Review of Labor Legislation of 1908 and 1909. State Labor Laws enacted since January 1, 1908. Published by the United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C., 1909.

PAMPHLETS

The Will to Recover Health.

"My Personal Experience with Tuberculosis" is the title of a small paper-covered book of common-sense advice to consumptives, written by Will M. Ross. Here is reflected the present attitude of science toward this disease, both in its specific recommendations about fresh air, rest and food, and also in its sane hope of recovery. The patient's best help, in the author's opinion, is not a mild climate, but a strong and patient will.

A. L. G.

+ +

Social Reform and the Military.

Captain J. W. Petavel (Moore Place, Stanford-le-Hope, England), who is organizing secretary in London of the British branch of the Alliance Scientifique Universelle, believes that the solution of every branch of the social question would result from the thorough solution of any one of them. He therefore proposes the organizing of military armies for industrial work; which would lead, as he argues, to the equitable settlement of the question of unemployment, of individualism or collectivism, and of the land question.

PERIODICALS

"In all European countries," reports our Consul-General from Hamburg (United States Consular Reports, May 7, 1910), "parcels have been handled by post for so long a time that no arguments for or against this service, such as one hears in the United States, are ever raised. If it should be proposed in Germany to abolish the parcels post (a most unthinkable proposition), loud complaint would no doubt be heard immediately from the people of the small towns and the farming population, who ship to

the cities their butter, eggs, vegetables and flowers to actual consumers, thus competing directly with the retail provisioning establishments of every city."

A. L. G.

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Argentina, with a progressive Minister of Public Instruction, Dr. Romulo S. Naón, is establishing a graduate institution of learning, the Higher Normal School in Buenos Ayres, besides many rural normal schools for both sexes in the Provinces. (United States Consular Reports, May 7.) The first normal schools in Argentina were founded by teachers brought from the United States by President Sarmiento.

A. L. G.

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"The housing and town-planning act passed by the recent Parliament is regarded as one of the most important pieces of legislation in England in recent years," writes Vice-Consul-General Carl R. Loop of London in his Report for May 7. By this act the Local Government Board, a branch of the national executive government, may, through local authorities, forcibly acquire land sites for housing purposes and compel adherence of owners to strict building and sanitary regulations. To this important Board must be brought for approval every scheme for the laying out of a new town or for an extension to an old one.

A. L. G.

+ + +

The price of pig
Is something big
Because its corn, you'll understand,
Is high-priced, too;
Because it grew
Upon the high-priced farming land.
If you'd know why
That land is high,
Consider this: its price is big
Because it pays
Thereon to raise
The costly corn, and high-priced pig!
—Smith County News (Carthage, Tenn.).

+ + +

The politest man in Boston collided violently with another man on the street. The second man was angry.

"My dear sir," said the polite one with a bow, "I don't know which of us is to blame for this encoun-

Why Bolton Hall Needs The Public.

I seldom read the daily papers; I have not time; nor have I discrimination enough not to be misled by their alluring headlines. Neither could I dig out of the mountains of paper the buried nuggets of real news. So I must trust to my friends to call my attention to what specially interests me. Therefore I need *The Public*.

Bolton Hall.

ter. If I ran into you, I beg your pardon; if you ran into me, don't mention it."—Success.

+ + +

A medical paper claims that a dentist's fingers carry disease germs. Moral: Boil your dentist.—Boston Transcript.

+ + +

An editor was asking for admission to heaven. "Can't let you in," said St. Peter; "the record of

your good deeds never came to our exchange table."

"But," said the editor, "the postal authorities are to blame if you didn't receive my paper."

"Then you'll have to go to the other place and fight it out," said St. Peter; "the postal authorities are all down there."—St. Louis Star.

+ + +

"I want the office, of course," said the aspiring statesman, "but not unless I am the people's choice."

"We can fix that, too," said his campaign man-

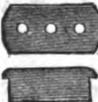
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EMIL SCHMIED, Mgr.

It isn't the wearing,
 but the washing that sends light clothes to the rag-bag before their time. The way to stop that is to wash them with Fels-Naptha soap in cold or lukewarm water. No boiling to weaken their fabric; no hard-rubbing to wear and tear them. And Fels-Naptha won't harm the most delicate lawns or laces.

Say you have a lot of white shirtwaists and things to wash. Just wet them, soap with Fels-Naptha, roll and soak for a few minutes in cold or lukewarm water. Then rub lightly, rinse and hang on the line. Easy, isn't it? And the clothes will be cleaner and whiter and sweeter than you can get them any other way.

Follow directions on the red and green wrapper for using Fels-Naptha.

ager; "only you know it's a good deal more expensive to be the people's choice than it is to go in as the compromise candidate."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

A gallant young man of Duquesne
Went home with a girl in the ruesne;
She said with a sigh:
"I wonder if Igh
Shall see such a ruesne-beau aguesne."
—Vest Pocket Limericks.

+ + +

A lad was arrested on Broadway by a policeman who had seen him pick a gentleman's pocket of a handkerchief. When the gentleman learned what had happened he looked sympathetically at the boy, and said to the policeman: "Officer, I ask as a favor

that you let the little fellow go. I cannot forget that I began in a small way myself."—The Crown (Newark, N. J.).

+ + +

One of the smartest foes of the heckler is Dr. Macnamara, whose witty replies to questioners have often turned the laugh on his side.

"Are you in favor of the repeal of the blasphemy laws?" asked an excited old lady at one of his meetings.

"Madam," replied "Dr. Mac" gravely, "I am a golfer."—M. A. P.

+ + +

Tourist (in retired village): "So that's the oldest inhabitant? One hundred and four years old? No wonder you're proud of him."

Native: "I dunno; he ain't done nothin' in this yer

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