

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

How to Get Senators.

There are two ways of picking men for the United States Senate—the old way and a new one. Under the old way the seat is knocked down to the highest bidder; under the new one the people choose the candidate and the legislature obediently ratifies their choice. Though a public man who prefers the old way may not be crooked, the people will be more secure if they take no risks.

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Ballinger's "Traacherous" Stenographer.

Apart from its ineffable meanness as a purely personal matter, the treatment of Mr. Kerby, the Department stenographer who has exposed evidence of treachery to the government on the part of his official superiors, is essentially vicious as a matter of official fidelity. Are subordinate civil servants of the Federal government to understand that when they are used by their superiors as instruments in defrauding it, they must be silent and let the fraud go on? Is it true that the loyalty of government subordinates is to their superiors in the common employment and not to their common employer—the people's government? This notion seems indeed to accord with the ethical code of Big Business in its relation to public interests, but is it to receive the stamp of public approval? The branding of that stenographer because he was treacherous to public officials in order to be loyal to public interests, inverts every sound principle of official integrity. As mat-

ter of good morals, and also of public protection, his "treachery" should be applauded as a virtue. If the documents the young man exposed were innocent, he has done nobody any harm. If they were evidence of maladministration, it was his duty to expose them when he found his superiors secreting them. That the officials concerned regard them as evidence of maladministration is quite evident from the behavior of those persons.

* *

The Recreant Party of Lincoln.

It was the spirit of democracy that called out the Republican party more than half a century ago to battle with the recreant Democracy of that day, and the Insurgent movement now testifies to a survival of that same spirit in the party of Abraham Lincoln. Indeed there is further evidence than the Insurgents give that the Republican party does not nestle contentedly in the lap of the Standpatters. Take this quotation, for example, from recent remarks of Gen. James S. Clarkson upon his relinquishing a custom house office in New York: "Aside from the solution of economic questions our party must, to maintain its existence, reassert, redeem and carry out its pledges on certain lines bearing inevitably on human rights. I instance the case of the American Negro, who stands today practically betrayed by the Republican party, if the repeated promises made in State and party platforms amount to anything. The only way in which the Republican party can hold its own is to put its house in order without fear or favor all along the line, no longer confining itself to issues largely sordid and mercenary, and thus relieve itself from its present position of self defense, the most humiliating pass in the destiny of a political party."

* *

Are We Giving Goods Away?

The official Protectionist tract writer of President Taft's administration, boasted in his tract of May 6 that the American exportation of finished manufactures during the preceding nine months exceeded the importation of finished manufactures by \$78,000,000, a vast increase. But of what advantage is that to the country, if its excess of exports has not been and is not to be paid for? A manufacturer wouldn't boast of increasing sales if he had nothing to show for them. Yet Mr. Taft's Protection tract writer would find it exceedingly difficult to tell us how that boasted excess of exports has been or is to be paid for. Considering merchandise as a whole, American exports

(p. 396) exceed imports; considering gold, the exports exceed imports; considering silver, the exports exceed imports. How, then, is the excess of exports paid for? The expenditures of tourists are a trifle in comparison with our excess of exports; freight charges to foreign ship owners do not account for the difference; rates of exchange on money leave no room for an inference that foreigners are in debt to us commercially; and the fact that foreign stocks and bonds do not figure in our stock markets indicates that there is no permanent debt in our favor. Why then should any one infer that we, as a nation, are doing a profitable business with the world, merely because we are increasing our export balance of finished manufactures?

* *

The Public School Superintendency in Chicago.

In re-electing Ella Flagg Young to the superintendency of the Chicago schools (vol. xii, pp. 745, 756, 1144), Mayor Busse's "business" school board have paid more or less unwilling tribute to the manifest success of her past year's administration. But in having first altered the rules so as to make her next term only six months long, they raise reasonable suspicion of an intent to get down to "business" next winter. If the superintendent's term under the old rules had begun in the middle of the school year, the object of creating one six months' term so as to make that and every succeeding year's term end with the school year, would have been clear; but to do this so as to make the official term end in the middle of the school year, certainly has no educational purpose; and if it has any legitimate purpose at all, it is a purpose not yet discovered. The real purpose will doubtless ooze out in due time—possibly when too late to frustrate its probable ill intent.

* *

Charles L. Deyo.

The recent death of Mr. Deyo, a member of the editorial staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, has removed a man whose work in the channels of progressive thought was influential far beyond the sphere of his personal reputation, which though local was not narrow. Whoever recalls the effect upon his own mind of any of the brilliant and illuminating editorial paragraphs in the Post-Dispatch during the past decade or longer, may safely acknowledge an obligation to Charles Loveland Deyo. About twenty years ago Mr. Deyo read "Progress and Poverty;" he held to the end its fundamental principles as axiomatic. Inspiration

for his editorial work was derived primarily from this source, and its influence started him on a course of sociological study which he pursued assiduously for years. All his conclusions would not have commanded the assent of minds less socialistic in tendency, but some of his striking expressions, preserved by a friend, indicate the drift of his own beliefs and the incisive habit of his thought. For both reasons, they are worthy of consideration in memory of a man whose long and excellent service was whole-heartedly devoted to the cause of progressive democracy:

We must now legislate for the Social Man and secure to him his Bill of Rights.

Our Constitutional limitations are hampering and obstructing the free growth of society. Checks and balances are anachronisms. Restraints put upon a king are out of place when Social Man is sovereign. Why should he tie his own hands?

Every man is the ward of society. The doctrine of caveat emptor says that the law does not protect the fool. Why should it not? The differences between men based on age, experience, and wealth are real, and the law must take these into account before there can be equality before the law.

Liberty and equality really become merged in fraternity. When this last is realized, the others will take care of themselves. Find the logic to accomplish this latter.

Our courts are trying to apply a logic, true and proper for an individualistic era, to a new socialistic era. All our fundamental conceptions will have to be exchanged for new ones in which the social side shall have due emphasis.

It takes at least three parties to make a contract. The state is a party to every contract. It guards the public rights. This is the basis of the right of the state to dictate terms in the contract between employer and employe, or to declare a contract void as against public policy.

Proprietors and operatives do not stand on an equality. The proprietor lays down rules to which the laborer must conform. Let labor make its own rules.

Heretofore the individual had to protect himself; now Society recognizes that it must protect him against himself if necessary.

Mr. Deyo is reported to have indicated his conviction that as various industries become so organized and systematized as to make their management of national concern, they would be gradually taken over and controlled by government. "Monopoly is all right," said he, "in this connection, it is *private* monopoly that is all wrong." His comment upon chuck-penny charity, made in his later days, has a wider application than the incident that drew it from him. A lady prominent among St. Louis social exclusives, told in his hearing of a trip she had made to the East Side in London and of the entertainment she had derived from scattering pennies among the poor children on the

sidewalks. "Those children," said Mr. Deyo, "were no more than so many monkeys to her!" At his death, which occurred May 1, Mr. Deyo was 53 years old.

* * *

Good Roads.

An excellent speech in favor of good roads was made in the Senate of the United States last March by Senator John H. Bankhead of Alabama. Not the least valuable part of it was his explanation of the effect of good roads upon the value of neighboring farm lands. On that point this is what he said:

If the cost of constructing and maintaining a road system is compensated by the increased values of farm lands; lessens the cost of delivering products to the market place; improves the public school system; increases the efficiency of rural delivery; facilitates the operation of parcels post, and promotes the moral, social, and educational condition of the community, no one can complain at the cost, since the outlay for their improvement is an investment constituting only a small per cent of the enhanced value of property. Lands within easy and accessible reach of centers of population, churches and schools command a much better price than those more distant, even though lands 10 miles removed from such point are more fertile and productive, the only reason being the distance and means of transportation. Experience in thousands of localities where road improvement obtains invariably shows that farm lands in reach of the improved roads immediately increase from 50 per cent to 100 per cent, because the reasons for their depressed valuations are removed and they are placed in reach of those advantages enjoyed by those who reside near centers of social refinement, culture, and education.

In that statement there is a lesson in taxation. Why shouldn't the enhanced value of property which can be so easily identified with public improvements be used as a public purse out of which to pay for public improvements? To tax the farmer's produce, his buildings, his clearings, his product of any kind, in order to meet public expenses, so long as land values due to good roads remain to any extent the property of those whose land has been so enhanced in value, is to discriminate among farmers. It is to give the values of public improvement to some, while taking away values of private production from others.

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Senator Bankhead was speaking in favor of a bill appropriating half a million dollars toward improving country roads. Now why should tenant farmers and farm hands be made to pay for those improvements through tariffs on the store goods they buy? While good roads will indeed increase the values of farm lands, as Senator Bankhead

says, they will not increase farm wages nor diminish farm rents. And why should farm owners whose lands are increased only a little in value, be made to pay for good roads as much or more than those whose farm lands are increased in value a good deal?

* * *

THE SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The Socialists of the United States consist of two groups.

The smaller is known as the "Socialist Labor Party." It emphasizes "international solidarity of the working class," "economic determinism," "class consciousness," "materialistic interpretation of history," "straight-out Marxism," "revolutionary socialism," etc.

The larger group is the "Socialist Party." Its working theory and ultimate ideals are the same as those of the "Socialist Labor Party," but it is disposed to adjust its immediate policy to circumstances in order to attain its ideals. It is willing to act in a less revolutionary way for the present in order to be more revolutionary after a while. It is at present the leading Socialist group in the United States; and its attitude reflects more accurately the condition of Socialism in Europe than does the position of the much depleted Socialist Labor Party. Socialism in Europe is winning political victories and undergoing transformation.

The recent remarkable victory of the Socialists in Milwaukee (p. 412) was won by an organization working under a local name of its own, but affiliated with the Socialist Party of America. It sent delegates to the first national congress of the Socialist Party of the United States held last week at Chicago.

Delegates elected by the "locals" to that congress were present from nearly every State in the Union. Many leading Socialists of the country were in attendance. Such congresses are well known in Europe, but this is the first in America. The gathering of the same party which nominated Mr. Debs for the Presidency two years ago was not a congress like the present meeting, but a nominating convention. The present congress was called midway between Presidential years for the purpose of advising upon questions of party policy and attitude.

This first national congress of the Socialist Party was characterized by sharp factional controversies which, in a general way, tended to repeat the differences that separate the two Socialist

groups. Arrayed against each other were the so-called "impossibilists" on the one side, and "opportunists" on the other.

The preponderance of influence and weight of argument were clearly with the opportunists.

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Factionalism was in evidence from the start.

The committee on immigration could not agree. The majority report was against Asiatic immigration, while the minority report took the opposite ground. More than two days were consumed in hot argument over this point. On behalf of the minority report against exclusion of Asiatics, it was claimed that this position alone represented the true and original principles of socialism, which are for "solidarity of the working class" all over the world. If the majority report shutting out Asiatics were adopted, then the great historic position of Socialism would be abandoned. The majority report was declared by its opponents to be a bid for trade union votes.

On the other hand, those in favor of the majority report declared that the admission of immigrants from Asia tended to bring cheap foreign labor into competition with the American working class, thus weakening that class and cutting away support from the Socialist movement in the United States.

This entire matter was cleverly and logically side-stepped by the adoption of a substitute resolution or report. The substitute put the Socialist Party on record neither for nor against exclusion of voluntary or individual immigration, but against "mass importation" of alien workers by capitalists in order to break down the American working class. The substitute was adopted by the close vote of fifty-five in favor and fifty against. As the minority vote against the "mass importation" substitute was undoubtedly far greater than the strength behind the original minority report against exclusion, the vote on the substitute does not indicate the proportion between the straight-outers and the opportunists.

*

The tendency thus indicated came in evidence with still greater distinctness when the report of the farmers' committee was brought in.

Significant passages in that report are as follows:

When it comes to outlining definite steps to be taken by the Socialist Party, we are confronted with a mass of detailed difficulties and forced to recognize that there is no royal road to the goal we are seeking. . . . We, in America, are not alone in this indefinite position. It is the position of every Euro-

pean Socialist party, many of which have worked for years upon this problem. . . . One thing that must be recognized by Socialists is that any program that neglects the largest single division of the producing class cannot rightly call itself a working class movement, and is certainly doomed to failure. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that careful study be given to the question of cooperation with the farmers and that some plan of common action shall be developed.

Many of Marx's critics have said that in "Das Kapital" he did not carry out the economic analysis of society beyond the field of bourgeois production. This is now admitted by leading socialists of Europe and America. Marx identified his theory too exclusively with the factory worker in the large cities. He took for granted that the "capitalist method of production," which became standard in the nineteenth century, was to be forthwith transferred to agriculture. The large corporations in the city were to be matched by large corporations working in the country. The appearance of a few "bonanza" farms in America seemed to support this position, and was taken as a vindication of Marx. But it now seems clear to leading socialists that Marx did not analyze those economic phenomena which directly concern "the largest single division of the working class" in every civilized country.

The report of the farmers' committee at the congress was neither adopted nor thrown out. It was recommitted for the consideration of an enlarged farmers' committee, which is to report to the national convention two years hence. No other action upon this matter could have reflected more faithfully the trend of the present socialist movement as a whole.

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The adoption of the report of the woman's committee on Socialist propaganda among women defined the relation of the party to the movement for woman suffrage. It pointed to the recent enormous growth in the number of women industrial workers, and emphasized the primary importance of converting women workers to socialism rather than to woman suffrage. Conversion to socialism brings with it conversion to the votes-for-women proposition; on the other hand, conversion to the suffrage movement does not imply conversion to socialism. The Socialist Party stands for universal adult suffrage without distinction of sex. It is against a limited franchise for women who own property and pay taxes; but favors the vote for all women, regardless of property qualifications. At the same time the Socialist Party, as a party, does not ally itself with any other movement. This leaves opportunity for in-

dividual socialists to co-operate with worthy movements on this subject, and avoids the danger of making the party itself the tail-end of anything else.

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The clearly evident general position of the congress was this: Our previous doctrinaire attitude toward the social problem is impossible for the time. We must work out a program based on a wider analysis of society. Meanwhile, let us hold our ultimate ideals in full view, but adjust ourselves to circumstances.

This attitude was illustrated more distinctly by the discussion over the problem of agriculture than by anything else at the congress. The debate brought the land question fully before the congress; though not fairly, for it was taken for granted that the land question as relating to the farmer can be separated from the land question as a universal economic problem. Hence, the "straight-out" faction scented a scheme to endorse private monopoly of one of the "means" of production. But this was not the intention of the farmers' committee. The report embodied suggestions for a "farmers' program," based upon the experience of Socialists in Oklahoma, which called for "exemption from taxation and execution of dwellings, tools, farm animals, implements and improvements to the amount of one thousand dollars," and "a graduated tax on the value of rented land and land held for speculation." These items, however, did not come into the discussion, which was closed by the re-commitment of the report.

The farmers were well represented at this congress. It will be interesting to note the future effect of their entrance into the councils of the Socialist Party.

LOUIS WALLIS

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SOCIOLOGICAL MEETINGS IN ST. LOUIS.

St. Louis, Mo., May 24.

The week has closed upon a remarkable series of meetings and doings in St. Louis. The National Conference of Charities and Corrections alone drew about two thousand delegates and visitors, while affiliated societies and sub-societies seized the appropriate moment to meet and discuss their special problems.

The leading note of the Conference was struck in the opening address of the woman presiding over the whole, Miss Jane Addams. She traced the connection, ever becoming closer, between the sympathy of which charity was the earliest expression, and the passion for justice finding scope in the struggles

of organized labor and the demands for industrial legislation. The emphasis placed upon industrial and economic justice as the bases through which sympathy must nowadays more and more work, was the main subject of many of the most important sessions, notably that on Occupational Standards for wages, hours and sanitation, where Mr. Paul U. Kellogg and Dr. H. B. Favill were the chief speakers. The paper of Mr. Sherman Kingsley on the relief given to the sufferers by the Cherry disaster, as compared with ordinary charity relief, is likely to form the basis of any forthcoming American legislation for compensation for industrial accidents.

Parallel with the Conference were the sittings of the Executive Board of the National Women's Trade Union League, which welcomed a new local league in Cleveland presented by Mrs. Frederick C. Howe. Two public meetings were held—one a large banquet with 300 present, and later a conference held on the vacant Saturday afternoon attended by numbers of the delegates to the Charities' Conference, who were able thus to listen to the women workers' story, and question women and girls themselves. The local president, Mrs. D. W. Knefler, and her fellow-members surpassed themselves in the welcome they extended to their sisters.

Alice Henry.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LAND FOR THE LANDLESS.

New York, May 19.

A recent number of the German "Year Book for Land Reform" prints the following statement by the Mayor of Posen, chief city of German-Poland:

An interesting experiment was made last year by the City Council of Posen, upon the suggestion of Councillor Lemmel. This was to give land to the poor, instead of the usual money support given by the city.

The City Department of Land Ownership bought 1,450 square yards of land at a reasonable price and gave it to families with children at the rate of 200 square yards to each family. The land was given to the people in the month of April. They bought the necessary seeds themselves and the Department of Parks gave a number of cart loads of manure from the streets. The favorite crops were potatoes, cabbages, carrots, beans, spinach, lettuce, tomatoes. As a rule the produce was used for the table of family raising it, but several families, accustomed to garden work, found it possible to raise enough, beyond what they needed for their own use, to send to market. This giving of land to the poor reduced to an astonishing extent the sum of the official charity in money-giving for that year. A number of families needed no more money assistance, even among such families as were accustomed to receive a yearly dole from the Public Charities. And many others received much less than they had done before.

But it is not in this saving of the public money that we find the most important factor of the new idea. . . . It is rather in the educational value of such a plan. As the season drew to a close and the balance was drawn up to find out whether the plan should be continued in the following year, even its promoters were surprised to see the general interest among the working people for the farm project. There was a universal request that the plan be continued and enlarged so that many more families might be aided in this way. The results for the second year are equally satisfactory and the City Council has decided to make the scheme a permanent feature of city government and to add to the number of farms as rapidly as possible.

(Signed) DR. WILMS,
Chief Mayor of Posen.

Interesting and beneficial of itself, the important factor of this Posen experiment is the right spirit in which it was undertaken, and the comprehension of the lesson taught by it to the municipal authorities.

Mayor Wilms' closing words show that he understands the immense value, along educational lines, of this new departure in public "charity," which, unlike most charity, is based on an understanding of justice. A spreading of the Posen scheme would do much to teach all kinds of people in the cities some important economic truths about the connection between a right to the land and the wages question.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

* * *

THE LAW IN THE JURY BOX.

Cincinnati, May 20, 1910.

The mysterious manner in which juries are drawn in this country has resulted in my being summoned into court several times as talesman. Each time I was excused as soon as I explained to the judge and the attorneys in the case at trial, that I would be guided entirely by my own views concerning the law as well as the evidence. The last time this occurred the case happened to be a murder trial. If I had not already made my position clear on the previous occasions, I might have succumbed to the temptation this last time to keep my opinion to myself, get on the jury, and prevent the State from committing a legal murder. I could easily have done so with a clear conscience, for while I know the custom is to question prospective jurors regarding their private opinions, it is clear that such questioning is merely to obtain information which does not properly concern the court. While the statute law may ordain that citizens opposed to capital punishment may not serve as jurors in murder cases, it is one of those legislative acts which are invasive of natural rights and not entitled to respect.

The theory that jurors, because they are laymen, are in duty bound to accept the judge's opinion of the law in preference to their own because the judge is a graduate of a law school, is one that cannot be justified by any reasoning. The judge's opinion of the law is just as likely to be declared wrong by a higher court as is that of a lawyer not on the bench, or even a layman's. In fact, there are only five men in the United States, the majority of the Supreme Court at Washington, who can deliver a legal opinion without risk of being overruled by a higher court; and even they run the risk of one of their number changing his mind, joining with the minority and thus reversing the previous opinion.

As a matter of fact, the courts do hold that it is a layman's duty to know all about the law, even though he has never attended a law school. This is evident in the legal maxim that has been made to have all the force of law, to the effect that "ignorance of the law excuses no one." This principle is adhered to by the courts in face of the fact that it is utterly impossible under existing conditions for any man, whether lawyer or layman, to be absolutely sure what the law is on any matter. If any one doubts it, let him ask a lawyer's opinion on a legal question. He will get the opinion probably, but no valid guarantee that the courts will uphold it. If he should summon up enough courage before guiding his action by the lawyer's advice, to ask a judge on the bench whether he may safely follow the advice given, he will get very little satisfaction. If the judge should graciously refrain from sending such a sacrilegious scoundrel to jail for

contempt, he will nevertheless tell him that if he wants to find out whether or not the action he is contemplating is within the law he must try it and see if the experiment will result in landing him in jail or not.

A year ago a Philadelphia editor received an article for publication which severely criticized a certain politician. The editor was cautious. He submitted the article to two attorneys to learn whether or not it was libelous. Both assured him that it was not. He accordingly published it. He got six months in jail for libel, and had to serve it, too, although judge, jury, Governor, Board of Pardons and the Supreme Court of the State knew all the circumstances of the case quite well.

The principle that "ignorance of the law excuses no one," is justifiable only on the assumption that the law forbids nothing but what a man ought to refrain from doing, even though no law on the subject existed. It is perfectly proper to assume that whether a man has studied law or not, he ought to know the difference between what is morally right and what is morally wrong. It is perfectly proper to punish a man who deliberately violates moral law whether he knows anything about statute law or not. If no law existed against murder it would be all right to punish a murderer anyway.

The ante-bellum law that punished a man for assisting a fugitive slave to freedom made it none the less the moral duty of every man to assist a slave's escape. The principle that ignorance of the law is no excuse, clearly implies that such immoral enactments as the old fugitive slave law are not valid. Otherwise, it is itself unreasonable and wrong.

A prominent lawyer to whom this reasoning was submitted was unable to return any other answer than that if a man did not know the law he ought to consult a lawyer and be guided by his advice, or if unable to hire one should consult a legal aid society. He declared that any attorney would be guided by established legal principles in giving advice, and that the court will "usually" be guided by the same principles in rendering decisions. Then when he was further asked whether his own statement that "the courts will usually be guided," etc., did not imply an admission that sometimes they will not be, admitted that such was the case. So it seems that even the lawyers admit that a man who follows legal advice is only gambling after all. Under such circumstances, a layman is certainly justified in placing as much confidence in his own opinion of the law as in that of a legal student.

Another attorney who found fault with my position on this matter, declaring it to be every citizen's duty to submit to the law no matter what he may think of it, backed down from his stand when asked how his return of property for taxation squared with the State law on the subject. There are very few advocates of unquestioning submission to law who can measure up to that test.

DANIEL KIEFER.

* * *

A little New York five-year-old—this is a true story—heard his parents talking of King Edward's death. "Why did he die?" he asked. "Perhaps Roosevelt wouldn't have shot him after all."

A. T. P.

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 24, 1910.

The Ballinger Investigation.

Frederick M. Kerby, the government stenographer whom Secretary Ballinger dismissed for "treachery," was a witness in the Ballinger investigation on the 17th before the Congressional committee (pp. 460, 466). He explained his reason for making public the fact that Secretary Ballinger's subordinate, Assistant Attorney General Lawler, had made the first draft of President Taft's opinion exonerating Ballinger and condemning Glavis, by saying that—

so long as there was a chance of his (Kerby's) appearing on the witness stand he thought it would not be right to give the matter to the press; but upon seeing that Ballinger had falsely told the committee that he had no knowledge of the Lawler draft, and learning that Mr. Brandeis was cut off from getting his (Kerby's) information before the committee, also that documents called for by Mr. Brandeis were being withheld, he (Kerby) thought it his duty to make the facts public.

Asked by Secretary Root, who is reported to have exhibited extraordinary excitement, if he did not consider himself engaged in a very disreputable transaction in making his public statement, Mr. Kerby replied that he considered it reputable. In the same connection at another stage of his testimony, being asked why he gave out confidential information, he replied:

I considered that my position as one of the clerks in the government service was not as a confidential clerk to the Secretary, but a confidential clerk to the government.

From information derived from this witness, correspondence between Secretary Ballinger, George W. Perkins (of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.) and R. H. Thomson (formerly city engineer of Seattle), was sent for. One of the letters from Ballinger to Thomson, dated May 9, 1909, and marked "personal and confidential," was as follows:

Last Sunday I was the guest of George W. Perkins at Yonkers. Mr. Perkins is at the head of the house of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., as you perhaps know. He told me that he had arranged for a special boat to take himself and party, including his family, to Alaska for the investigation of the feasibility of ex-

plotting Alaska in railroad construction and in other lines in which he is deeply interested. He will sail from Seattle about the middle of July. He is desirous of having an engineer accompany him who is not allied in any Alaskan interests or to any railroad interest or other private connection which would in any way influence his judgment, and he has been insistent on my recommending some one familiar with the western country to take this voyage with him and to advise him. Naturally, I could think of no one so well equipped as you to fill this office, and as the connection is one of importance and the trip would be one of great pleasure and profit, it has occurred to me that you would enjoy this form of vacation. On receipt of this letter please write me whether it will be worth while for Mr. Perkins to consider it possible for you to accompany him. I hope you will not understand by the suggestion above that I have in any sense abandoned the hope of securing your services in the matter about which we conferred in Seattle. I anticipate that not later than September I will be able to formally present the matter to you.

Concluding that it would be inadvisable for Mr. Thomson to go with Mr. Perkins, because he (Secretary Ballinger) wanted him to be in Seattle to meet President Taft, the Secretary wrote, June 2, 1909, another "personal and confidential" letter to Mr. Thomson, saying that Mr. Perkins was quite insistent upon Thomson's assisting in getting a man; and in this letter the Secretary made the following explanation of Mr. Perkins's object in order to enable Mr. Thomson to know what kind of man to get:

The purpose of his trip, in the strictest confidence, is the investigation of feasible railway construction in Alaska with mineral resources and possibilities tributary to any line or lines of road that might be considered feasible, and, in short, desires a man of that experience in engineering and in mining who would be a safe and conservative adviser along these lines. While I know a number of persons on the Coast who might possibly fill the bill, I hesitate to recommend any of them whom I recall at the present time. I know that your acquaintance with men of engineering and mining experience ought to enable you to suggest a man who would fill the bill.

Mr. Thomson undertook to get the right man. While Mr. Kerby was on the witness stand, he spoke of Mr. Thomson as unfit for chief of the reclamation service, to which Secretary Ballinger desired to appoint him. Being asked by Senator Root why he considered Thomson unfit, the witness replied: "Because he had exhibited a willingness to work for Morgan and the Guggenheims." "You think a man who ever worked for Mr. Morgan unfit to serve the government?" inquired Senator Sutherland; to which the witness answered: "When he had worked for them in Alaska, yes."

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The taking of testimony before the Congressional committee was completed on the 20th. Fol-

lowing are the claims made by each side, according to the Washington news dispatches of the 20th:

Against Ballinger: That Secretary Ballinger is unfit for public service and is not to be trusted with the administration of the public domain. That he entertained friendly relations with the Morgan-Guggenheim principals, such as made it impossible for him to administer Alaskan affairs in the interest of the people. That he was an easy tool for the special interests who sought to exploit Alaska. That Glavis was dismissed without a chance to answer the charges made against him. That the exoneration of Ballinger and the dismissal of Glavis, as authorized in the President's letter, was based on the findings of Assistant Attorney General Lawler, who had a long standing prejudice against Glavis. That Ballinger attempted to shove the Cunningham coal claims through to patent, even while they were under investigation by field agents. That Ballinger capitalized his friendship and political influence and attempted to persuade Garfield to authorize the issuance of the Cunningham patents. That he reversed the Roosevelt policy of conservation so far as as he was able. That he restored the water power sites to entry and gave the power trust an opportunity to locate valuable powers.

For Ballinger: That there is a cold blooded conspiracy on the part of Garfield and Pinchot to discredit the administration. That Glavis was the instrument of this conspiracy, and Ballinger the object of immediate attack. That the Glavis charges submitted to the President were found by him and by the Attorney General to be groundless. That the clear listing of the Cunningham claims by Ballinger was by and with the advice of Schwartz, chief of field service, whose character was vouched for by Glavis. That when Glavis protested, the claims were sent back to their original status, and have remained there ever since. That not an acre of land in the power site withdrawals has been lost and not a claim in the Alaskan coal fields has been patented. That the Lawler memorandum disproves the assertion that Taft allowed Lawler to judge the Glavis charges. Taft did not accept the Lawler conclusions. That Glavis was given full authority and opportunity to prove the fraudulent character of the Cunningham claims. Such proof never has been submitted.

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Republican Politics in Wisconsin.

Francis E. McGovern, Insurgent candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor, published his platform on the 21st. It is summarized as follows by the news despatches:

Government for popular rights; protective tariff limited to difference between cost of production at home and abroad; permanent nonpartisan tariff commission; home rule for cities; initiative, referendum,

and recall; perfection of primary election law; stringent corrupt practices act.

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President Taft's supporters in Wisconsin are to have a conference on the 8th of June at Milwaukee for the purpose of formulating a party platform and indorsing or recommending candidates for State officers. Delegates will be selected through the committees in each county. Although the call does not so specify, the movement is strictly anti-La Follette.

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The First American Socialist Congress.

Although the Socialist parties have held numerous conventions, the gathering at Chicago last week (p 467) was the first advisory congress held officially by the party for the United States. An editorial review of the meeting will be found in another column under the signature of Louis Wallis, a sociologist formerly connected with the State University at Columbus, Ohio, and now at the University of Chicago, whose studies have given him distinction in the sociological field and whose editorial review for *The Public* (p. 437), of the recent missionary conference, is one of the valuable contributions to this paper. Mr. Wallis's review of the Socialist congress leaves nothing to be stated here but a bare outline of the proceedings.

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The text of the declaration on Asiatic immigration, which was adopted by 55 to 50 as a substitute for the majority and minority reports (p. 467), on motion of Mr. Hillquit, is as follows:

The Socialist party of the United States favors all legislative measures tending to prevent the immigration of strike breakers and contract laborers and the mass immigration of workers from foreign countries, caused or stimulated by the employing classes for the purpose of weakening the organization of American labor and of lowering the standard of life of the American workers. The party is opposed to the exclusion of any immigrants on account of their race or nationality, and demands that the United States be at all times maintained as a free asylum for all men and women persecuted by the governments of their countries on account of their politics, religion or race.

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On the farm-land question, the resolutions presented by A. M. Simons, as chairman of the committee which had investigated that subject, along with proposed amendments, were recommitted. Among the suggestions were the following:

The taxation of all lands to their full rental value, the income therefrom to be applied to the establishment of industrial plants for preparing agricultural products for consumption, such as packing houses, canneries and grain elevators.

Establishment of a system of public warehouses for the storage of agricultural products.

A system of State credit for making loans direct to farmers.

State and national insurance against diseases of animals or plants, insect pests and natural calamities.

Formation of co-operative societies among farmers, for co-operative creameries and cheese factories, and for the co-operative ownership of machinery.

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A question relating to the commission form of municipal government arose on the last day of the session. This form of government was approved. But over the policy Socialists should pursue where it is adopted, when they fail to nominate Socialist candidates, there was a marked division. One side stood for supporting the best candidate, at the final election, though he be not a Socialist; the other side stood for abstention from voting when Socialists are out of the running. The latter policy was adopted by 48 to 17. Resolutions were adopted against employment of United States forces to aid Mexican capitalists; for investigation of industrial training in the public schools; and for investigation of the economic causes of "white slavery."

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Important Municipal Election in Denver.

By more than 3,600 majority on the 17th, a referendum on a new franchise for the water company in Denver went against the company. In addition progressive amendments to the charter (under the Rush bill) were adopted, including authority to set up a municipal water plant, and also the referendum, initiative and recall. The Citizens' ticket was elected over the Democratic and the Republican machines. Judge Lindsey describes the result, in which "the public service corporations were overwhelmingly defeated," as "one of the most hopeful signs of the hour."

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An Illinois Crisis for Organized Labor.

In overruling a trial court decision in a labor strike case, the Appellate Court at Chicago, recently decided, 2 to 1 (the dissent being by Judge Mack), that it is unlawful for members of labor unions to co-operate in refusing to work with non-union men, and that injunctions will be granted against threatened strikes having that purpose. The case has been appealed to the Supreme Court of the State; but as this decision operates practically to suppress all effective labor organization, the Federations of Labor are making public protests. The first of a series of protesting meetings will be held at Lyric theater, Chicago, on the 29th, under the auspices of the Federation of Labor of Chicago.

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Women's Suffrage Demonstration in New York.

Large open air meetings were held on the 21st

at Union Square, New York, to protest against the refusal of the judiciary committees of the two houses of the New York legislature to report upon the suffrage amendment referred to them (p. 421). Among the speakers at these meetings, which were preceded by a large and representative procession down Fifth avenue from the plaza to Union Square, were Mrs. Jessica Finch, Rev. Anna H. Shaw, Miss Harriet M. Mills, Robert Elder, Dr. Julia Seers, Judge William Wood, Miss Florence King, Mrs. Mary Dennett, Mrs. Priscilla Hackstaff, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Miss Mary Donnelly, Miss Henrietta Mercy, Dr. Anna Mercy, Mrs. Harriet Johnston Wood, Joseph O'Brien and Miss Crystal Eastman. The resolution adopted declared:

Whereas, The demand for women's enfranchisement has grown to an unprecedented degree, women in every class having risen as never before in America to urge their political freedom; and, whereas, the judiciary committee in Senate and Assembly in Albany, N. Y., in refusing to report the suffrage amendment has ignored this enormous growth of public sentiment in favor of granting self-government to one-half the citizens of the State; therefore, be it resolved, that this meeting, representing every political division and every class of women in the State of New York, protests against the tyrannical action of the judiciary committees and calls upon those who cherish their freedom to defeat at the polls the false representatives who withhold from the voters an opportunity to vote upon the greatest political question ever before the citizens of the State of New York.

* *

International Anarchist Conference.

An international conference of anarchists was reported by the European news dispatches of the 18th as in session at Berlin. According to the same dispatches, 57 delegates, representing anarchist organizations in 15 countries, were in attendance; and almost unanimously they decided against policies of terrorism and in favor of peaceful agitation.

* *

Funeral of King Edward.

The body of Edward VII (pp. 440, 468) was taken on the 17th from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Hall, where it lay in state until the funeral. Meanwhile a vast procession of British subjects passed through the historic Hall and by the dead body of the king. On the 20th the body was taken with impressive ceremonial, military and civic, to the Paddington railway station, whence it was transported in a funeral car to Windsor. The Church of England service was conducted in St. George's chapel at Windsor, and then the body was lowered into a crypt.

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In the London procession male members of royal

families rode on horseback, King George with the Duke of Connaught and the Emperor of Germany riding abreast at their head; then came other royal personages in state carriages, including the queen mother and the queen; after them, in the seventh carriage, the Chinese representatives; and in the eighth ex-President Roosevelt with special representative of the United States, with whom were the French minister for foreign affairs and the Persian representatives. Many persons were injured in the crowd, 6,014 injuries having been treated by the St. John's Ambulance Society, a score of them so serious that the sufferers were sent to hospitals.

* *

The Tom L. Johnson Medallion.

This large bronze medallion in commemoration of Tom L. Johnson's public service under the influence of the spirit that animated Henry George,



is to be presented to Mr. Johnson (p. 468) on Decoration Day. The committee having the matter in charge consists of August Lewis, Bolton Hall, Joseph Fels, Warren Worth Bailey, John J. Murphy, Lincoln Steffens, Bishop Chas. D. Williams, C. B. Fillebrown, Frederick C. Howe, Charles Frederick Adams, Frank Stephens, Jackson H. Ralston, William Marion Reedy, S. A. Stockwell, George L. Record, Charles H. Ingersoll, Judge Samuel Seabury, Lawson Purdy and Daniel Kiefer. The presentation is to take place in the Hotel Astor, Broadway and 45th street, New York City, May 30, at 6:30 p. m., at a dinner to which ladies will be welcome. The price of tickets is \$2.50; they may be obtained of George R. Macey, Secretary, 258 Broadway, New York. At the dinner the following speaking program will be observed: "John-

son, the Man," by Herbert S. Bigelow; "Johnson, the Friend and Disciple of Henry George," by Henry George, Jr.; "Johnson in the George Campaigns," by Louis F. Post; "Johnson in Congress," by John DeWitt Warner; and "Johnson in Cleveland," by Newton D. Baker. Response by Tom L. Johnson. Richard F. George, second son of Henry George, is the sculptor who designed and modeled the medallion. On the obverse are the profiles of Johnson and George, with the quotation from "Progress and Poverty," which suggested the design:

The truth that I have tried to make clear . . . will find friends—those who will toll for it, suffer for it, if need be die for it. This is the power of truth.

On the reverse is the inscription:

From loving friends of Tom L. Johnson, to commemorate his public service in the truth proclaimed by Henry George. 1910.



Reduced copies in bronze of the medallion have been arranged for by Daniel Kiefer, 530 Walnut street, Cincinnati, with a view to meeting inexpensively any demand there may be for them.



Our Comet Visitor.

The old friend who has come down our way out of the vast aerial spaces about once in every long human life, during two thousand years, if not during two hundred thousand—Halley's comet (page 395)—crossed the Earth's orbit during the evening of the 18th, reckoned by Chicago time, and thereafter was due to be seen in the western instead of the eastern sky. To the surprise of the watching world the tail was again visible in the eastern sky on the morning after the transit, and again the following morning, while, when the comet was first seen above the western horizon on

the evening of the 20th it appeared to be without a tail. The tail was then assumed to have become separated from the comet about the time of transit. In the meantime assumptions as to greater irregularity in the form of the mysterious tail than had been looked for, including a forked and curved shape, were among the hypotheses in explanation of its prolonged detention in the morning sky. It is now expected that the presumably detached tail, following the usual course of detached comet tails, will become dissipated in the void. At latest reports the comet is developing a new tail growing in length and brightness. Whether the Earth passed through or was touched by any portion of the tail of mystery has not yet been established.

NEWS NOTES

—John Z. White is to speak in Burlington, Iowa, on June 6.

—The income tax amendment (p. 444) was adopted in the Senate of New York on the 17th by 26 to 20.

—The forest fires which have been raging destructively in northern Wisconsin (p. 468) were extinguished by heavy rains on the 17th.

—The convention of the United Christian party (p. 469) at Rock Island on the 18th, named Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa for the Presidency.

—The Senate committee on Federal relations of the Louisiana legislature reported favorably on the 19th upon the proposed income tax amendment (p. 444) to the Federal Constitution.

—The proposed income tax amendment (p. 444) was defeated in the Senate of the Massachusetts legislature on the 19th by 23 to 1. It had been defeated in the lower house two weeks before by 126 to 101.

—Associated Press dispatches of the 16th reported the sailing from Brooklyn, New York, of two boys, Harold and Francis Andrews, on a 35-foot cat boat of their own building, for a westward trip around the world.

—A Congress of Aviators opened in Paris last week, meeting especially for the formulation of rules for the regulation of international aerial traffic (p. 111). The British and some other governments sent official representatives.

—William J. Bryan, who has recently returned from South America, sailed for Europe on the 21st. He and Tom L. Johnson had a friendly meeting at his train in the Cleveland station on his way to his ship at New York.

—General Louis Botha, who has been Premier of the Transvaal, has been summoned to form the first union ministry cabinet of United South Africa (vol. xii, pp. 875, 891, 915), of which Viscount Gladstone is the first Governor-General (p. 14).

—The Hebrew Aid Society of Berlin has received a dispatch from Kiev, Russia, which asserts that in spite of the denials of the Russian Government (p. 420) the expulsion of Jewish families is going on in

that city and in Moscow, and under circumstances of great hardship.

—Henry George, Jr., was petitioned on the 6th by 150 enrolled Democrats of the Seventeenth Congressional District of New York, headed by Franklin Pierce and Frederick C. Leubuscher, to become a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress from that district.

—The suspension of coal mining in Illinois since April 1 (p. 321) may continue indefinitely because the joint convention of miners and employers at Peoria adjourned on the 20th without reaching a compromise for the renewal of their contract which expired on the 31st of last March.

—Upon an indictment for smuggling, while a passenger on the *Lusitania*, a former Governor of New Hampshire, Frank W. Rollins, was arraigned in the United States Circuit Court at New York on the 20th, and upon his plea of guilty was fined \$2,000. The value of the smuggled goods was alleged in the indictment to be \$4,736.

—Mayor Seidel of Milwaukee (p. 412) has appointed as health officer, Dr. William C. Rucker of the United States health and marine hospital service. He is distinguished nationally for work in connection with the bubonic plague on the Pacific Coast and with yellow fever in the South. The board of aldermen have confirmed the appointment.

—The 16th annual session of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration (vol. xii, pp. 494, 541), closed its sessions at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., on the 20th. Announcement was made to the Conference by James Brown Scott, speaking for the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, of the probable early establishment of an international court of arbitral justice.

—Elections for senators were held in Spain on the 22d, but there is no change in the character of the Senate. The composition of that body, as shown by complete returns, including grantees and life members, is as follows: Liberals, 176; Conservatives, 119; Republicans, 4; Carlists, 6; Independents, 18; Catholics, 22, and other factions, 9. The grantees and members appointed for life number 162.

—The Belgian elections, held on the 22d, resulted in victories for the Clerical party over the Liberals and the Socialists in alliance. The principal propositions favored by these two parties were the substitution of universal suffrage for the present system of plural voting based upon property and education, and enforcement of compulsory neutral education in place of the present religious system.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 396) for April, 1910, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910:

Gold Reserve Fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	83,462,138.77
Total	\$233,462,138.77
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1909	274,453,841.25
Decrease to April 30.....	\$ 40,991,702.48

—Madame Michelle Pauline Viardot-Garcia, daughter of Manuel Garcia and sister of Madame Malibran, died in Paris on the 18th in her 90th year.

Pauline Viardot-Garcia is the last of a famous family of musicians, vocalists and teachers. Her brother Manuel died in London in 1906, at the age of 101 years (vol. ix, p. 322). As a prima donna Madame Viardot-Garcia achieved success before a long past generation, and she retired from the stage in 1862.

—The National Women's Trade Union League announces that Professor Frances Squire Potter has undertaken the function of general lecturer for the League. Professor Potter's subjects will include The Organization of Women Into Trade Unions from an Educator's Point of View; Women's Trade Unions—The Voice of the Working Girls; The Social Significance of the Strike of the Forty Thousand; The Women's Trade Union League—Its Purpose and Its Methods; and The Social Cost of Industrial Conditions.

—A committee, of which Frederic Cyrus Leubuscher (258 Broadway, New York) is the chairman, and which was appointed for the purpose at a Jefferson birthday dinner in Albany, has called a conference of the democratic Democrats of New York for consideration of the political situation, to meet at Syracuse, N. Y., July 4. Citizens of the State of New York who regard themselves as democratic Democrats are invited to correspond promptly with Mr. Leubuscher with a view to securing a large and representative attendance.

—The 9th annual Conference of the Women's National Single Tax League is to be held in New York on the 28th, 29th and 30th, at the rooms of the Women's Municipal League, 19 East 26th Street. Among the speakers announced for the Conference are Henry George, Jr., Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Mrs. E. M. Murray, Miss Amy M. Hicks, Mrs. Jennie L. Munroe, Mrs. G. E. Mackenzie, Geo. L. Rusby, Miss Jennie A. Rogers, Mrs. Belle De Rivera, Miss Mary Dreier, Mrs. Horace Ruggles, Bolton Hall and John S. Crosby.

—A National Congress was held on the 17th at Chicago, under the auspices of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association at which 300 delegates representing over 200 commercial organizations and individual shippers of freight on railroads were in attendance, for the purpose of considering the proposed increase of rates on July 1. Resolutions were adopted setting out that an advance in rates is not justified and offer this alternative to the railroads: First, that the proposed increase be suspended and the whole question be submitted to the Interstate Commerce Commission for arbitration; or, second, litigation in which shippers will apply in every Federal court within whose jurisdiction rates are advanced for injunctions against the railroads.

—It is suggestive of a new "crowd spirit" in place of the old "mob panic," to read that when Barnum and Bailey's main circus tent caught fire at Schenectady, N. Y., on the afternoon of the 21st, fifteen thousand people who filled the seats to overflowing fled out like school children at drill. The press dispatch reports Manager Bailey as saying: "I consider the attitude of the people something marvelous. In all my experience of circus life I have never seen anything like it. At least ten thousand of the crowd were women and children, and they all fled out like veteran soldiers." The dispatch states

further, in regard to the self-control of the crowd: "Energetic men and cool women in the crowd, aided by employes, assumed direction of the audience and orderly files were soon moving steadily from the exits. When a woman fainted or a child shrieked in terror, shouts of reassurance rose and strong arms were instantly ready for support. Not a person was hurt, not an animal was injured."

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government (p. 396) for April shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910:

I.—Ordinary:		
Receipts—		
Customs tariff	\$282,113,975.79	
Internal revenue	220,917,995.66	
Miscellaneous	37,753,402.49	
		\$540,785,373.94
Disbursements—		
Civil and miscellaneous.....	\$143,192,795.92	
War	134,074,329.88	
Navy	103,703,365.14	
Indians	12,479,800.19	
Pensions	134,529,336.19	
Postal deficiency	13,495,628.45	
Interest on public debt.....	19,252,783.88	
	\$560,728,039.65	
Less repayment of unex-		
pended balances	3,238,842.64	\$557,489,197.01
Excess of ordinary disbursements over		
ordinary receipts	16,703,823.07	
II.—Panama Canal—		
Excess of Panama Canal disbursements		
over receipts	27,239,850.76	
		\$43,943,673.83
III.—Public Debt—		
Excess of public debt receipts over dis-		
bursements	1,030,384.50	
Excess of all disbursements over all re-		
ceipts	\$ 42,913,289.33	

—The World's Sunday School Association, in session at Washington, elected officers for three years on the 23d, as follows: President, Dr. George W. Bailey, Philadelphia; vice-presidents, Sir John Kirk, England; Justice J. MacLaren, Canada; Bishop J. C. Hartzell, Africa; W. N. Hartshorn, Boston, and E. W. Fritchley, India. Joint secretaries, Marion Lawrence for the United States and Rev. Carey Bonner for England. Statistical secretaries, George Shipway for England and Hugh Cork for the United States. Joint general treasurers, F. A. Wells, Chicago, for the United States and Sir George White for England. Chairman of executive committee, E. K. Warren, Three Oaks, Mich. The British delegates declared on the 22d that the local committee's barring of Negroes from the men's Bible class parade on the 20th was an unchristian act, and said that such a thing would not have happened in England, where the Negro can occupy positions on an equality with the white man. On the 23d Booker T. Washington was made a life member of the Association. A white delegate from Kentucky in nominating him said: "We may all have our own ideas of how the Negro problem is to be worked out, but we owe it as a tribute to the Christian Negroes of the world to make Mr. Washington a life member." The necessary subscription of \$1,000 was promptly pledged, mostly by delegates from Southern States.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Political Outlook.

Harper's Weekly (ind.), May 14.—Before giving oneself over to unrestrained merriment at the mess Republicans are making of their attempt to deal with the combinations, one would like to have from the Democrats something more definite than vague talk about Democratic principles. One would like at least to know whether that phrase means the principles of Cleveland or of Bryan.



"Surrounded by People Who Know Exactly What They Want."

Collier's (ind.), May 21.—Mr. Ballinger's character has been so conclusively demonstrated that it is hardly worth inflicting more evidence on a public which has its mind made up about this weak and discredited official. It is more important to understand the system of which he happens to be the storm center. The President of the United States was called upon by the Senate to deliver all documents upon which he founded his letter exculpating Ballinger and dismissing Glavis. He furnished, in response, a long opinion by the Attorney-General. This opinion was not written until two months later, and then the date was altered in order to fit the trick. The President did not furnish the document on which he founded his opinion, a statement by Lawler which was essentially identical with the President's letter. We intimated on October 30 that Lawler might have written the substance of the President's letter, but we never expected to have Mr. Taft definitely deceive the Senate on that subject.



Mr. Taft and the Ballinger Case.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), May 19.—Is the public finally forced to believe that Ballinger was given his present position in order to further the selfish interests of the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate? . . . Gifford Pinchot's charge of unfaithfulness with the facts offered in its support was the first of a train of exposures that has completely discredited the head of the Interior Department. He has been shown to be an unsafe man to direct the department of the government particularly concerned with protecting the public resources. An ally of J. P. Morgan cannot be trusted to preserve property which J. P. Morgan wants. . . . Unfortunately Ballinger's offenses have not left his chief unscathed. In his laudable effort to preserve peace in his official family, the President is shown to have decided the charges preferred by Pinchot on insufficient evidence; to have resorted to a possibly harmless deception in the matter of the antedated Wickersham summary; to have laid himself open to suspicion by permitting Ballinger's subordinate to dictate Ballinger's defense.



Official Fidelity.

The Boston Common (non-partisan review), May 21.—Was Stenographer Kerby disloyal? What

is loyalty? It has seemed to many that "the Administration" has been insisting upon a brand of loyalty too narrow at its base. When Glavis raised the danger signal which interrupted a private raid upon public treasure in Alaska, he was accused of "disloyalty." When, in backing Glavis up, Gifford Pinchot had to disregard a technicality in order that the country might be informed, he, too, was placarded as disloyal. It has been the same with respect to others in the Federal service who have placed obligation to the people above subserviency to "the Administration." The bludgeon of bureaucracy appears to be the present big stick. In these insurgent times it is getting to be difficult to prevent subordinates in office from shifting their loyalty to a public instead of a party or an "organization" basis. The blood of decapitated martyrs to this new spirit of democracy promises to become the seed of an early revolution in our political control.

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The Aurora (Ill.) Daily Beacon (ind.), May 18.—The public at large will endorse the attitude of Stenographer Kerby of the Interior Department, who went before the investigating committee and told what he knew about the whole nasty Ballinger affair. The public, who paid Mr. Kerby for his services, will appreciate that in him it had a servant who knew his business. If Kerby had been in Ballinger's pay, his publication of confidential letters would have been little short of treason. But as he was in the pay of the people, it was eminently fit and proper for him to act as he did. Mr. Kerby has been discharged by Secretary Ballinger. If Uncle Sam's men know a good public servant when they see one, they will not let the grass grow under their feet until he has been offered a position in some other Department where his services are needed.

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Bryan and Politics.

The Commoner (Dem.), May 6.—A number of Eastern papers and some in the West have made the mistake of assuming that because Mr. Bryan takes part in the discussion of moral and religious questions, he has therefore lost interest in politics. For the benefit of any who may have been misled by assumptions or suggestions of this kind, The Commoner begs to give assurance that Mr. Bryan is as deeply interested to-day as at any other time in his life in the science of government, in political problems, and in the discussion of the principles and policies under consideration by the American people. He expects to continue in politics during the remainder of his days, and he expects to be just as active and just as earnest in the discussion of these questions as he has been in the past. The readers of The Commoner may therefore expect that Mr. Bryan will deal with all questions, State and national, upon which the people are ready to act. The fact that Mr. Bryan is not a candidate for any office and does not expect to be, instead of lessening his interest, really relieves him of embarrassment and makes it possible for him to do more than he could when he might be accused of having a personal interest in the result of the campaign.

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Irving Park (Ill.) Signal (ind.), May 13.—Among

national leaders, Mr. Bryan has been especially singled out during the last decade as an example of the "impractical" man. He has been soundly berated and maligned. He has suffered much because of withering comparisons with "practical" men. During the stress of campaigns such attacks can be attributed to partisan heat and rancor. If Mr. Bryan was a public official, adverse criticism might be expected, but, as a private citizen who has had but few honors from his country in return for considerable disinterested service in its behalf, his views might at least be received with the respect accorded those of other men. . . . Mr. Bryan is not perfect. He has his faults. On some questions, such as that of woman suffrage, for instance, he has not taken the broad stand that would have delighted his friends and confounded his enemies, still we believe that he has sacrificed as much, if not more, in order to hold fast to his ideals than almost any public man of his day. We believe, moreover, and that is the main thing, that he distinguishes between "bottom" evils and "incidental" evils more clearly than many others of our so-called great man. We may be mistaken, but it is our honest conviction that he would go farther and strike harder to destroy these fundamental evils than Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Hughes. And, further, we believe that "the interests" knew these things long before others did, wherefore they have decided to keep Mr. Bryan on the "impractical" list for all time to come.

† †

Tom L. Johnson in Great Britain.

(London) Land Values (taxation of land values), May.—Those who have been privileged to meet Tom L. Johnson, those who have looked for his coming to this country for years, have found all the impressions they formed of him more than realized and fulfilled. If they have one feeling of disappointment, it is expressed in the question: Why did he not come earlier? Those who have followed the accounts of Mr. Johnson's fight against the gigantic and relentless forces of monopoly in the United States appreciate the ability and strength of character which were required for this task. No other man could have accomplished it. It was Shelley who said, when he was about 28 years old, that he had lived longer than his father, even if the latter lived to be 90. The saying applies to Mr. Johnson's strenuous and crowded career. He has lived long, if life is measured by achievement. His brief holiday here is perhaps the first real respite he has had since he entered politics in Cleveland. With good health we believe he is capable of carrying out the highest and most effective work for freedom in American politics, and we hope that the rest and change which he has enjoyed in this country will fit him for the work on which his mind is still so firmly set.

† † †

"Give one verse of 'The Star Spangled Banner.'"

"I can't do it, Judge."

"Quote a passage from the constitution."

"Too many fer me."

"Then I can't naturalize you, my man."

"But I was born here, Judge. I don't want to be naturalized. I'm after a bailiff's job."—Kansas City Journal.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE POTTER'S FIELD.

For The Public.

Oh, hapless dead, unrequemed, lowly laid,
 What thoughts you bring to those still battling here
 'Mid sordid strife, and Need's perpetual fear
 Of poverty, your own sparse hopes decayed?
 E'en though a frail will's weakness hath delayed
 The World-prized bounty of fair Fortune's cheer,
 Let not the strong look coldly on your bier,
 For Fortune's groove hath many a devious grade.

Now here above your bleak uncarved bed,
 Where but the raven and the wild bird soars,
 And little by the steps of mourners trod,
 A brother blest in life light tribute pours
 To the great host of the uncounted dead,
 At rest, we trust, within the ports of God.

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

* * *

A NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR MEDICAL FREEDOM.

An Address Delivered May 18 Before the Biennial
 Congress of Federated Women's Clubs in Ses-
 sion in Cincinnati, by Lydia Avery
 Coonley Ward.

There are five bills before Congress in regard to the establishment of a National Bureau of Health, and all the bills give far too much power to the proposed bureau. They are so worded that they may deny the people the right to decide for themselves what kind of medical treatment they shall have. Not among us, but outside there is graft in the background.

Prof. Irving Fisher, president of the "Committee of 100," which is the moving power, was confronted at a recent Senate hearing with a letter he had written to a physician asking for funds to push this bill, and saying that within a decade the project will so expand that "millions upon millions of government money" will be used to carry out its provisions.

To defeat this pernicious effort "The National League for Medical Freedom" has been established, with Mr. B. O. Flower as president, and with many prominent men—doctors, druggists, as well as bankers and lawyers—on its advisory board. For no good physician wants to work in underhand ways.

If we want health we should not go about with lanterns looking for disease. We should get telescopes and look in the sky where health is found—star, planet, comet—all in one!

We emphasize the material too much! A tuberculosis paper told of wonderful cures in Colorado,

and gave all the credit to pure air, pure water, pure food. Not one word of the divine power that only is able to make them effective—not one word of the star of hope that gilds the sky of life and points the way to health.

Doctors have splendid qualities, and I love them! But they must not be taken too seriously. An old Kentucky quack long ago told me he had never been able to understand why when one part of the body is out of order we put the stomach out to get that in.

Health departments are all very well till they become disease departments. Then look out for them. Why should we poison ourselves with fears? What is gained by telling nauseating details about drinking cups till we almost have spasms when we see one? Why not tell us to label them big: "*To be washed before taking*"?

Let us make health catching—and it is! A cheerful face is an active tonic that we can all carry around. Joy is a health asset. So is fun. We don't have half enough of them at our conventions. Let us play a bit more. Here are some simple rules of health that need no department to teach:

Stop talking about the bad and talk about the good! Say do, instead of don't. Yes, instead of no. Embrace opportunities. If we do not enter the open gate of opportunity how can we ever walk in the garden of life?

Friendship and love are splendid medicines, why not take them? Stop looking at the ground and look at the sky. Heaven is full of days, and they are all coming this way.

Yesterday is dead; forget it. Tomorrow does not exist; don't worry. Today is here; use it—use it voting against an effort to make us think more of disease than of the divine gift of health. Vote against the establishment of a National Bureau of Health.

* * *

A COMET—ICAL INCIDENT,

Not Observed by the Astronomers.

Certified by Jackson Biggles, for The Public.

The condition of Biggles' mind at the time was surely sound and clear. This is attested by the fact that although he was passionately fond of automobiling he had just refused to mortgage his house to make a payment on a sixty horse power car, and had on that very morning mailed a letter given him by his wife at the first letter box he passed on his way to the office. This ought to prevent controversy as to the truth of the statements made by him to his friends confidentially on the evening of May 22, while the debate was going on among the astronomers about the failure of the comet's tail to brush the people off the earth.

He was sitting on the back porch of his comfortable residence one mile east of Streeterville,

watching the western sky with a pair of gold mounted opera glasses hoping to catch a glimpse of the elusive comet, when a dark object came suddenly within the field of the glasses and rapidly made its way toward him. Its motion was so fast that he could not determine its nature until it lightly landed upon the porch very near the chair upon which he sat.

The strange visitor was of pleasing appearance and address, and seemed closely related to the people who now inhabit the earth and make such a mess in trying to live in peace and harmony upon it. But Biggles insists that he could not have been an earth man for his clothing was not made according to the decree of high priced tailors, and there was no odor of tobacco or other earthly perfumes about him.

"I crave a welcome, sir!" he said in a melodious voice. "My name is Sparks. I just dropped off to see what the trouble is, in this part of the Universe. Your appearance indicates knowledge——"

It may be said that this is the weak point in the narrative. Biggles was never accused of looking wise at any time. He dropped the opera glasses to the floor and managed to inquire: "What did you drop off from? What part of the hemisphere claims you?"

"Well!" replied the stranger, "as we were coming by just the other side of the moon I heard many wild cries about, 'Back to the land,' and 'High prices,' and I thought I would stop over and find out what it was all about. I saw you sitting on the porch, and as the tail switched by, dropped off and landed here. We never have any such noises in our country."

"Where is your country," bluntly queried the puzzled Biggles.

"I just remarked that I stepped off the tail to see you a minute," replied the stranger.

"Off the tail!" ejaculated Biggles. "You don't mean to tell me that you came down with Halley's comet?"

"I came down or up or across on a comet, surely, but it isn't Halley's or any other man's comet."

"Who does it belong to?"

"It belongs to the One who made it," replied the visitor reverentially. "He allows us to use it on equitable terms; He doesn't allow any of us to hog any part of it. Each of us has an equal right to stay there, and if any one has a better part of it than others he has to pay to our Lord Treasurer the difference in value between his part and the less desirable parts. The Lord Treasurer uses this fund for purposes that equally benefit all our people. In olden times there was a party that tried to set aside this plan and establish an aristocracy of comet owning, but the One who made our comet banished the ringleader of the party to the North Star, where he is making an honorable living and trying to fit himself for the company of his kind. I never heard anything about 'Hard Times' and

'High Prices' and 'Back to the land' until we were passing by you on this trip. What does it mean anyway?"

"It means that we are so prosperous down here," replied Biggles in desperation, "that the prosperity is putting the majority of us down to the level of poverty. Everything that we eat and wear and sleep on is getting so high priced we groan and cry out every time we eat or sleep. Land is getting so high priced that only the few can afford to stay on it, so we have taken to the upper air and spend our breath in stair-climbing. Money is so plenty that the money dealers are at their wits' end to know where to invest it, and those who would borrow it can't find an opportunity to use it profitably, and even the gamblers can't make the markets wobble fast enough to pay office expenses. The wise men are saying there are too many people in the cities and that they must get the people back to the land, and when they figure on it they find the land they want them to get back to is so high that only the millionaires can get back to it. That's what made the noise you heard on the comet's tail."

"My instinct led me to the right place for information," said the stranger. "We've been through it all. It took us most a hundred years to get things straight. But in the few minutes I have to stay I will remark that it is of no use for your people to try to make money and other earth products fast enough to keep pace with this earth monopoly that you are cherishing. The demands of the monopolists will ever be just a little ahead of your capacity. You must make it so that the fellow that has the title to the best location shall pay to your Lord Treasurer the difference between the value of his location and the value of the poorest location in use, and the locations that are not of sufficient value to be monopolized must be left free to such of your people as desire to use them. The products of the labor of your people must be left in the hands of those who produce them, and the fund that gets into the hands of the Lord Treasurer must be used for purposes that equally benefit all the people. The value of locations is the product of all the people, and all the people should get it. If you take this value and use it for public purposes and leave the earnings of the people in their own hands, things will regulate themselves. The people that want to get back to the land will go there, and the people that want to hustle and jostle one another in the big crowds of the cities will do so. There will be plenty for all and none will suffer from want. The tail of the comet is rapidly passing and I must embark. I'll see you in 1985."

"I would remark," said Biggles to himself, "that there are some people here on earth that talk just like this fellow, and they are not respected half as much as they ought to be."

GEORGE V. WELLS.

SALUTATION TO HALLEY'S COMET.

Editorial in the Chicago Inter Ocean of May 18.

Halley's comet is due to make us a visit—or the nearest approach to a visit that we can hope for—this evening.

Such an event, it is hardly necessary to remark, is exceedingly rare. It is worthy of being marked with a white stone. Or, better still, a poem.

With this idea in mind we take pleasure in presenting the Office Poet's metrical salutation of the approaching visitor. The comet will receive no prettier compliment while it is with us:

Of gases all compounded,
Forever chasing far,
And yet engaged in doing
Naught in particu-lar;
The solar system putting
At sixes and at sevens—
We gladly, proudly greet thee,
Thou Roosevelt of the heavens!

Thou comest, and excitement
Attends thee, and delight;
Thou goest, and excitement
Doth follow thee in flight.
The tribute of their wonder
From millions thou dost get;
Thou makest them to murmur:
"Ain't that the greatest yet!"

Thy shining tail is lighter
Than is thy nucle-us;
It follows thee with rapture
And doesn't give a cuss.
And hast thou, too, O comet,
In these thy wildest flights,
A train of R. La Follettes,
And William Allen Whites?

Thou dost not stay, O Halley's,
When men have got a fill;
A while the world beholds thee,
And then the sky is still.
Thou understandest absence—
Its profit and its grace;
Thou hast thine Afric voyage
In shining realms of space!

Of gases all compounded,
Forever chasing far,
And yet engaged in doing
Naught in particu-lar;
The solar system putting
At sixes and at sevens—
Hail and farewell, O comet,
Thou Roosevelt of the heavens!

It is believed that Mr. Roosevelt will be mag-nanimous enough to overlook the comparison of himself with a heavenly body.

† † †

"There is plenty of room at the top," quoted the Wise Guy.

"Not for all the people who think they ought to be there," added the Simple Mug.—Washington Star.

HENRY GEORGISM IN GERMANY.*

An Explanation Which Under the Above Title the Boston Transcript of April 13, 1910, Makes of Land Value Taxation in the German Empire.

Under the stimulus of mounting expenditures, recurring deficits and growing indebtedness the Imperial Government has arrived at the conclusion that the carrying out of its vast projects of social reform and the maintenance of Germany as a world power worthy of respect involves inevitably the substantial broadening of its basis of fiscal support. This is taken to mean an invasion by the Empire of those domains of taxation which have ordinarily been regarded as closed to it.

Four years ago a beginning was made, when by the law of June 3, 1906, an Imperial tax was laid on collateral inheritances. Last year it was proposed to take another big step in the same direction through the levy of Imperial death duties. The plan miscarried, but the principle of direct Imperial taxation received a decided impetus.

In lieu of certain of the proposed death duties the Conservatives in the Reichstag at that time proposed an Imperial tax on the unearned increment of land. Chancellor von Bülow and Finance Minister Sydow argued forcibly against it, but their successors have chosen an alternative. The probability now is that the measure will be adopted. . . .

What apparently changed the mind of the Imperial authorities was the remarkable strides this tax has made recently and the very favorable consideration which Berlin itself is giving the proposition. It will be noted that the Government does not intend to levy this tax as an Imperial tax, but to levy upon those communities which already have this tax a portion of it for Imperial purposes. Undoubtedly the municipalities will object, but just as surely they will lose.

While this action of the Government does not fix the Henry George idea in the Imperial tax system, it gives it recognition and indorsement. It is a most notable action and, taken in connection with the grafting of a similar scheme into British law as was proposed by the Budget that failed, but will probably pass sooner or later,† will hearten the friends of more equitable taxation throughout the world.

There is no question of the success of this scheme in Germany. The communities which levy the tax are increasing yearly by leaps and bounds. For instance, in the course of the current year no less than six "kreise" (corresponding roughly to American counties), and sixty cities, including such important centers as Erfurt, Cuxhaven, Wil-

*See The Public, vol. xii, pp. 1098, 1190, 1206, 1212.

†Passed at the close of last month. See Public of May 6, pages 410, 417.—Editors of The Public.

helmshaven, Hildesheim, Lübeck and Königsberg, have introduced this form of taxation. No homogeneous method prevails, each community following a different plan for computing land values, fixing the scale of the tax and deciding the measure of its retroactiveness. It is, however, alleged, that in the large towns groups of land speculators are able to influence the municipal councils to levy the tax according to the convenience of the former.

Appended to the Government exposé last fall was a most instructive review of the extent to which the tax has already been introduced in the German Empire, a notable feature of which is the following table giving the average annual return of the tax with the average annual amount falling on the population per head. Here is the table:

Places with 100,000 Inhabitants and Over.

	Population.	Total Average, Marks.	Per Capita, Marks.
In Prussia	2,812,246	1,613,676	0.57
In Kingdom of Saxony	503,672	312,012	0.62
In Hamburg	874,878	1,000,000	1.14
Total.....	4,190,796	2,925,688	0.70

Places of 20,000 to 100,000 Inhabitants.

In Prussia	1,265,824	872,940	0.69
In Saxony Grand Duchy.....	26,360	45,429	1.72
In Oldenburg	22,367	1,940	0.09
Total.....	1,314,551	920,309	0.70

Places of 5,000 to 20,000 Inhabitants.

In Prussia	69,123	352,238	5.10
In Kingdom of Saxony.....	59,525	30,071	0.51
In Oldenburg	21,432	65,204	3.04
Total.....	150,080	447,513	2.98

Places of Less Than 5,000 Inhabitants.

In Prussia	22,127	17,805	0.80
In Kingdom of Saxony.....	77,040	93,132	1.21
In Saxony Grand Duchy.....	2,116	374	0.18
In Oldenburg	4,379		
In Waldeck	3,714	565	0.15
Total.....	109,376	111,876	1.02
Grand total	5,764,803	4,405,386	0.76

A very interesting and sympathetic history of the land reform movement in Germany apropos of this new movement was published in the Berlin correspondence of the New York Evening Post last Nov. 6. This correspondent said, in part: Over twenty years ago men first began to preach Henry George's gospel in Germany and a Land League was formed. In 1895 this was turned into the "Bund der Bodenreformer" with Herr Adolf Damaschke as chairman, whose little work, "Die Bodenreform," is more than anything else responsible for the immense progress the movement has made in modern Germany. To-day with its 640,000 members the Bund can look with righteous pride on what its agitation has accomplished. Up to the end of 1908, 133 cities and communes and five counties in the German Empire had adopted the unearned increment tax, including fifteen cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, of which may be mentioned Hamburg with over 800,000, Breslau with close on half a million, Leipzig, Col-

ogne and Frankfurt-o-M. The influence of the League has increased in proportion, and the Government has frequently followed its suggestions, notably with regard to its land policy in the German African colonies and mortgage legislation at home.

It was Herr von Miquel, the Prussian finance minister, who paved the way for the introduction of the increased values tax. In 1893 he got the Prussian Diet to pass a bill enabling municipalities and communes to tax land according to its current value instead of, as hitherto, in accordance with the revenue derived from it. The old system put a premium on real estate speculation, and as soon as the German cities began to avail themselves of Von Miquel's law, the introduction of the unearned increment tax only became a matter of time.

Yet it was not in Germany that this tax was applied, but in China, at Kiauchau, which Germany took on a ninety-nine years' lease from China in 1898. The admiral commanding the German squadron which hoisted the German flag at Tsingtau, Von Diedrichs, and Dr. Schrameier, the Chinese commissary, were both members of the German Land League. With remarkable foresight, they recognized how easily the port under German administration might become the prey of the real estate speculator, so a tax of 33 1-3 per cent was placed on all unearned increment on land irrespective of the amount and without conditions. A 6 per cent tax was further imposed on the current value of land. It is in no small measure due to this wise precaution that Kiauchau has in eleven years risen from being the thirty-sixth to be the seventh most important Chinese port.

Still the German cities tarried, and it was not until the spring of 1904 that Frankfort-o-M. followed suit, since when the unearned increment tax has triumphed all along the line, in proof of which it may be remarked that not a single city or commune which has introduced it has ever abandoned it. Besides Prussia, Saxony and the grand duchies of Hesse, Saxony and Oldenburg have passed bills permitting the imposition of the tax, and several years ago the Baden government succeeded in getting a similar bill, in the case of towns of five thousand inhabitants and more, through the lower house, but it was thrown out by the upper chamber of the Grand Duchy.

To give any complete review of the system on which the increased values tax is raised in Germany can only be done with the help of tables, for in every case the method followed is different. The systems vary as to the period elapsing from one transfer of land to another; as to the rate of the tax and as to the amount of increment upon which the tax comes into force. Many towns, in order to hasten building operations, discriminate against unimproved property, and in most places where the tax is in vogue a rebate is made according to

the length of time during which a lot has remained in the same hands. Kiauchau remains unique in that the tax is imposed by the Government and not by the municipality, and is collected every twenty-five years instead of on the transfer of land, as is done elsewhere.

Let us take Frankfort as the first German city to resort to the new means of raising the municipal income. According to the original scheme (modified in 1906), the increase on property up to 30 per cent on the value (15 per cent by the 1906 amended scheme), remained duty free, anything above this paying 5 per cent (2 per cent since 1906), up to 130 per cent, after which 25 per cent was imposed. From this was excepted property which had not changed hands during the last twenty years, for which a special scale of charges came into force, as follows:

(a) Improved Property.

- 1 per cent in the case of 20-30 years' possession.
- 1½ per cent in the case of 30-40 years' possession.
- 2 per cent in the case of 40+ years' possession.

(b) Unimproved Property.

- 2 per cent in the case of 20-30 years' possession.
- 3 per cent in the case of 30-40 years' possession.
- 4 per cent in the case of 40-50 years' possession.
- 5 per cent in the case of 50-60 years' possession.
- 6 per cent in the case of 60+ years' possession.

These charges are levied irrespective of the amount of increased value, save in the event of proof being brought that there is no such increase. For all other land the retroactiveness of the tax is restricted to the twenty years before the change of hands.

Generally speaking, however—and in this respect Frankfort is an exception—accretions of land value up to 10 per cent for improved property and 5 per cent for unimproved are duty free. Essen and Gelsenkirchen, in the Westphalian industrial region, extend this to 20 per cent. As to the rate of the tax, it ranges from 3 per cent as a minimum up to 25 per cent as a maximum. The point at which the maximum rate comes into force is generally high, varying from 90 per cent to as much as 500 per cent in small localities. Hamburg claims a percentage on all unearned increment at the rate of 1 per cent up to M. 2000, and 5 per cent on more than M. 40,000 increase of value. If, however, the increment is more than 10 per cent of the purchase value, a supplementary tax of from 10 per cent to 100 per cent is taken. If less than ten years have passed since the last transfer, a supplement at the rate of 25 per cent of the tax is charged. Dortmund and Gelsenkirchen take 3 per cent as the minimum, and then move up the steps of 1 per cent, till a maximum of 15 per cent is reached at Dortmund and 20 per cent at Gelsenkirchen.

When one turns to the computation of original values, the picture is still more kaleidoscopic. Liegnitz, for instance, goes back as far as 1870. Other communes take the current value tax of the year before or after the unearned increment tax

is introduced as basis. This heterogeneity is one of the difficulties in the way of the application of the tax to Imperial purposes, for every commune is influenced by local interests and conditions.

Certain reductions are made in almost every case. In addition to the discrimination against unimproved property already mentioned, deductions are made for taxes paid, for contributions to municipal improvements, and the length of time that property is held also, in some instances, carries with it a rebate. Cologne excepts farm lands within the city limits worth less than a certain figure. At Leipzig from two-thirds to one-sixth of the tax is remitted in the case of improved property held from five to twenty years, and five-sixths to one-half in the case of unimproved property. In all places in Saxony, with population of from five thousand to twenty thousand, improved property is not liable to the unearned increment tax.

The governmental table of the financial results of the tax per head of the population is somewhat misleading, inasmuch as it stands to reason that in smaller places the contribution of the individual must often be much higher than it is in the large cities. Thus, in the rapidly growing outer suburbs of Berlin, for example, Reinickendorf, Weissensee and Pankow, the tax amounts to approximately M. 4.50 per capita as compared with M. 0.50 at Breslau.

Of course speculators—and they are a great force in a rapidly expanding country like modern Germany—are up in arms against the tax. But it has come to stay, for, notwithstanding the fact that its imposition by the communes is optional, its popularity as an equitable and productive fiscal measure is increasing.

BOOKS

SERMONS BY BISHOP WILLIAMS.

A Valid Christianity for Today. By Charles D. Williams, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of Michigan. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1909.

Churchmen find valid Christianity in its sources, the practical minded in its present character; or, as the author crisply puts it, the former know it by its roots, whereas the latter would know it "not by its roots but by its fruits." It is to the practical minded, therefore, that this churchman's present preaching is addressed.

Can the church, he asks, "invigorate our moral and ethical life?" Can it "raise up a new generation of seers and prophets such as the age imperatively demands? Can it meet the need of a universal religion felt by an expanding and unifying world? Can it moralize our industrial, political and commercial life and humanize our social life?"

Those and other penetrating questions are the

subject of the discourses, delivered on various occasions, which this full-minded and full-hearted bishop has now brought under a common title for a larger audience.

Here is an extract from the chapter on "the legal conscience," which indicates the spirit of all the chapters: "The world rightly looks to the church for moral vision and ethical leadership; and if she can not or will not fulfill that expectation, if she does not raise up a generation of seers and prophets, she must shrink and shrivel and become effete."

And in discussing "the value of a man," this extract shows the direction of the preacher's thought: "I sometimes think that our government itself is fast being made a machine for promoting commercial schemes for privileged parties rather than an institution for protecting the common rights of the common people and developing the patriotism of the average citizen."

The chapter on "the gospel of democracy" reads to organized religion the wholesome lesson that the Christian church, if she would be true to her commission, "must cut straight down through all the strata of society; she must break through all crusts and limitations of class consciousness of whatsoever sort; she must forswear all exclusive dependence on special clientages; she must open and keep open the way for a free circulation of the red blood of a common humanity throughout all the arteries and veins of our sadly divided body—political, social, and industrial."

Were organized religion as faithful to its functions as this Michigan bishop's book frankly and boldly demands, people of the church would not have occasion to wonder so much at its loss of influence with the masses, and the world would be a happier place in which to live.

✦ ✦ ✦

MODERN GOODNESS.

Latter Day Sinners and Saints. By Edward Alsworth Ross. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1910. Price, 50 cents net.

The author of "Sin and Society" speaks again with the same accent in this small book. The evil conditions of modern society, its triumphant sinners and ineffective saints, the old-fashioned philanthropists, are once more haled before us. But Professor Ross brings a cheerful message. This very last decade has seen a great change. Many "philanthropists" are turning into "reformers." The difference? He states it well.

"The old-time saint 'went about doing good.' The new-time saint . . . goes about *checkmating evil*. And his is the more dangerous, the more heroic enterprise. Nobody objects to your doing good so long as you don't bother him, don't interfere with his particular graft. It was not because He healed the sick and made the blind to see that

Jesus was crucified; it was because He denounced the Pharisees and drove out the money-changers."

Yet there's a mistake here somewhere; and Professor Ross's illustration brings the trouble to light. No true reformer, nor any keen and candid opponent of his, will grant that iconoclasm is either his characteristic or most important work. He is a "reformer" because he is possessed of a "reform." It was neither for healing the sick nor for denouncing the Pharisees that Jesus met his death, but for "preaching a new gospel"—for spreading a doctrine which was fast turning Rome's obedient slaves into Judæa's thinking rebels. The winning over of the multitude to a new sanction—be it reason, conscience or communal justice—to an authority higher than the one in power, this, and this alone, poisoned Socrates, crucified Jesus and starves the prophets of today.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

✦ ✦ ✦

REAL ESTATE WISDOM.

The Real Estate Educator. A Repository of Useful Information for Ready Reference, especially designed for Real Estate Agents, Operators, Builders, Contractors, Manufacturers and Business Men. By T. M. Payne, author of "The Legal Adviser," "Business Educator," etc. Published by T. J. Carey & Co., 63 Fifth Avenue, New York. Price, in leather, \$2.00; in cloth, \$1.00.

A handsome specimen of the bookmaker's art, both as to printing and binding, this little volume is as useful as its title implies. There is little that real estate investors would likely wish to know, that does not seem to be set out in its pages, even to all necessary information as to the single tax proposed by Henry George. The latter may be, indeed, the most important of all the information given—and the title is not misleading in that respect—for the question of taxing land values and exempting improvements has come to be a factor in the minds of prudent real estate investors. Among the subjects regarding which advice is crisply given, are valuation, insurance, measurements, contracts, mortgages, leases, and evictions. A technical dictionary of 70-odd pages rounds out the volume, which aggregates only 246 pages and may be easily carried in a coat pocket.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Red Flag and Other Verses. By Joseph A. Labadie. Published by The Labadie Shop, Detroit. 1910.

—The Wonders of Life. By Ida Lyon. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. 17th St., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00.

—Abraham Lincoln. The Tribute of A Century. Edited by Nathan William MacChesney. Published

by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, \$2.75 net.

—Tariff Teachers Cross-Examined. By George Brickett. Published by George Brickett, Melrose, Mass., 1910. Price, paper, 10 cents.

—Björnsterne Björnson. 1832-1910. By William Morton Payne. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1910. Price, 50 cents net.

—Our Slavic Fellow Citizens. By Emily Greene Balch. Published by Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1910. Price, \$2.50 post-paid.

—Injured in the Course of Duty. By William Hard and Others. Reprinted, with some additions, from Everybody's Magazine. Published by The Ridgeway Co., New York. 1910.

—The Dethronement of the City Boss. Being a Study of the Commission Plan. By John J. Hamilton. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.20 net.

—The Brain of the American Negro. By Burt G. Wilder. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the First National Negro Conference, 1909. Published by the National Negro Committee, 500 Fifth Ave., New York.

—Current Events Index. A Guide to Materials in the Daily Press. First Quarter 1910. Published by the Wisconsin Free Library Commission, Madison,

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PERIODICALS

"The Boston Common" (18 Kingston St., Boston), of which the fourth number appeared last week, is the most promising and inviting periodical that has been launched in many a long day. Its whole appearance is suggestive of a purpose to instruct without dullness and to interest without frivolity, and this appearance is verified by the reading. The paper is controlled by more than a hundred owners, who have but one vote each in its management regardless of the number of shares they hold—this

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"By the way, Jones, what became of the English Budget—did it pass?"

Jones stares into vacancy—tries to think—and says: "I'm sure I don't know."

"Well, I'm astonished. Here is the most important political event that has happened in 500 years—a revolution in taxation—and you, a supposedly intelligent, wide-awake man of affairs don't know that it has become law in England. Give me a dollar for The Public, and read a paper that gives you the news you ought to know."

A friend of The Public says that within the past few weeks he has used this way of introducing The Public to about twenty of his friends who rather pride themselves on their intellectual progressiveness. Only three out of the twenty knew the budget had passed.

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If you are acquainted with an advertiser—one who is doing general publicity—you can do us a service by calling his attention to The Public.

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Mgr.

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* * *

In addition to individual consciences, there are types of conscience peculiar to certain classes. The cowboy, for instance, has a very good conscience, but it is silent on the subject of sheepmen. A merchant's conscience would keep him awake nights if he short-changed a customer; but he will hire a clerk for a salary that wouldn't keep her in chew-

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CHICAGO

ing gum. And though the farmer is pretty sure to pay his debts, an awful lot of Methuselah eggs and Samson butter somehow get on the market.

Most peculiar of all is the famous New England conscience. This type of conscience has one microscopic eye for viewing little things, and a glass eye for use when things of importance are to be considered. When a man afflicted with a New England conscience, picks up a pin on his neighbor's sidewalk, or takes the largest piece of pie at dinner-time, his conscience goes into convulsions and stings him like a nest of hornets; but when the government levies a crushing tariff duty on the entire country for the benefit of his private industry his conscience sleeps as peacefully as a babe. All of which shows what a man can do when he gets on the blind side of his conscience. If the government would only test everyone's conscience, and make them bring it up to a standard, it wouldn't be necessary to spy on

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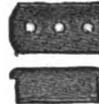
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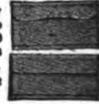
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+ + +

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Motor Boatist: But with a motor boat you can take your noise into such awful still places!—Life.

+ + +

Distinguished Guest (in the course of his speech):
Wha's use wastin' time—tryin' t' help laborin' man?

Soon's he gets li' money—spends it for liquor. Have no (gulp) hes-(hic)-tation in shayin' drink ish the cursh of the laborin' man!

Chorus (at ten dollars a plate).—Thash ri'! Rish you are!!—Puck.

+ + +

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