

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

School Teachers' Unions.

Dr. Maxwell, the superintendent of public schools in New York City, is reported as saying he does "not see that any good can come of teachers forming a labor union." Perhaps his democratic sight is poor. Nobody will deny that good has come of it in Chicago, except the persons and interests that didn't wish to see any good come of it. Are not public school teachers workers? Do they not serve the community, instead of sponging upon it? Their interests, then, are with all the other servants of the public good. Dr. Maxwell may be an excellent man, a good public servant, an efficient educator, and all that; we don't know; but "dollars to doughnuts" he is welcome among the spongers, and wouldn't be if he *could* see good from teachers forming labor unions. Besides this, a greater and more distinguished educator than Dr. Maxwell has said that Chicago teachers were improved as teachers by their participation in affairs after they joined the Federation of Labor.

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The New Journalism.

Two editors of the Christian Science Monitor, that national daily newspaper, published at Boston, which is one of the best and most successful as well as cleanest of all the newspapers of the United States, gave their views on journalism at a meeting at the Auditorium, Chicago, last week. They are John J. Flinn and Archibald Mc-

Lellan. No empty compliments did these men pay to newspapers such as newspaper men are on such occasions tempted into. While Mr. Flinn and Mr. McLellan ranked the newspaper function high in the realm of human service, they indulged in no boasting about their craft as if it were actually what it ought to be. But they did place the responsibility where it belongs—or rather, they removed it from where it does not belong. "I have worked close to some of the greatest newspaper men in the United States," said Mr. Flinn, "and for many years have been intimately acquainted with most of the newspaper men in Chicago, not only the older, but the younger generation of them, and I can say that their aspirations are the highest and they are working, just as far as they know how, to give the public what the public wants. Newspaper men desire to print good newspapers. I know that the majority of newspaper men dislike to write or see published trivial or worthless matter in their papers." If to his assurance that newspaper men are trying to give the public what it wants "as far as they know how," Mr. Flinn had added, "within the limits of their liberties," his statement would have been complete. But maybe he did; for our quotation is from a daily newspaper report, and the liberties of reporters and editors do not always permit exact reporting.

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Emboldened by certain departures of the weekly and monthly press, and also by the success of the daily Christian Science Monitor, the editor and publisher of "The Fourth Estate" announces a daily newspaper venture which all of us may well watch with some concern and much hope. It is to be published at New York, beginning in December, under the name of The News Letter. The price, five cents, is to be high enough to make it independent of all support except from readers; and its central idea is thus explained by its projector, Ernest F. Birmingham: "It will rest upon the thought that with the multiplication of periodicals the time has come for a daily which will condense and digest not only the reviews and the standard weeklies of the world, but the daily newspapers themselves, and not only for the benefit of the reader day after day, but as a matter of historical reference for public and individual libraries." Mr. Birmingham catches the right theory of news for such a paper when he says that The News Letter "will not pay the usual attention to what are known as newspaper sensations," meaning by this not only "Thaw trials and matters of that kind, but the San Francisco earthquake, the burning of Baltimore, the attempted assassination of

Mayor Gaynor;" for he assumes that readers of The News Letter "will on the day of any great sensation like the Gaynor shooting, buy every newspaper on the news stands as fast as it comes off the press." The ideal of this new daily is precisely what the readers of The Public will recognize this paper as having aimed at for twelve years or more, except that a daily cannot be expected to systematize its news as a weekly paper may. It can have better facilities, however, for verifying news reports and for so extending its service as to cover fully and accurately the serious news in its own field which sensational newspapers either ignore, falsify or minimize. In the way of prophecy, Mr. Birmingham announces the rapid coming, on a comprehensive scale, of a kind of daily journalism which the trade papers foreshadowed, and of which The Public has been a pioneer in the weekly field. "I will make right here the prediction," he says, "that in five or at the most ten years from now there will be in the city of New York perhaps four or six newspapers of large circulation catering to 'the masses,' as we call them, and there will be a very considerable number of specialized daily papers, each covering a distinct field and appealing to a certain limited class of readers of similar desires and tastes."

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Edward Osgood Brown.

Judge Brown, who served six years in the appellate branch of the Circuit Court in Illinois (vol. xii, p. 554; vol. xiii, p. 1010), making a judicial reputation second to none in the State, is again a candidate for election to the bench. His name will appear on the ballot in the Democratic column, for he is a Democrat by party affiliation. But better still, he is a democrat in that broad way in which Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln were democrats. It was Judge Brown's marked ability as a jurist that caused his selection by the Supreme Court for appellate work; and his standing may be inferred from the fact that at the Bar Association primary—an association overwhelmingly Republican in politics—he is endorsed by 83 per cent, with the second highest vote on all judicial candidates, and that vote only 81 short of the highest. The Chicago Tribune, a Republican paper with improving tendencies, has recognized his judicial worth by cautiously yet clearly adopting a suggestion that the vacancy caused by the death of the original Republican candidate be left unfilled, saying: "Judge Brown is a man of high character and exceptional legal and judicial equipment, and his defeat was a recognized loss to the local judiciary;

his return would strengthen the bench and redound to the credit of both parties contributing to that result; it would also, under such circumstances, strikingly emphasize the nonpartisan character of the judiciary." For the information of our own readers we should like to add that prior to his going on the bench, nearly eight years ago, and since his retirement nearly two years ago, Judge Brown has contributed to *The Public* some of the best editorials that have appeared in its columns; but this only by the way, for the purpose of showing that his mind does not live alone among the dry bones of the law. His defeat by a narrow margin nearly two years ago was doubtless due to the appearance on the ballot in the same political column and also for a judicial office, of the name of another candidate so similar to his own as to mislead. We venture the hope that this year Judge Brown will be elected by an emphatic majority.

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William E. Dever.

We are not content with the mere passing notice we made last week (p. 1010), of William E. Dever's candidacy for the Superior Court bench of Chicago. Mr. Dever has been an alderman for many years, and throughout he has been honest, not only in the sense in which every man of repute must be honest—or else not get found out—but also in that better sense which makes even the most honored man who fails in it uncomfortable at night in the same bed with himself. Alderman Dever has been courageous, too—more persistently courageous, we should say, than any other progressive member of Council, during the period of his service there, a period when aldermen's souls were often put on trial and most of them came out among the goats. If Wm. E. Dever was not the only exception, he was the only notable one. He has some of the best native qualities for judicial service, and is well equipped for it as a lawyer. Along with Judge Brown, we bespeak for Alderman Dever the support, with vote and influence, of democratic Republicans as well as democratic Democrats.

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Archibald O. Coddington.

In the choice of a Cook County superintendent of schools (to act only outside of Chicago but to be voted for throughout the county), the only worthy political consideration is on that higher plane of politics which disregards partisanship and considers only political principle. By this test, the candidate for county superintendent of schools in Cook county whose democracy, coupled with fitness as an executive educator, especially commends

him is the Republican candidate A. O. Coddington (p. 796). Of Mr. Coddington's fitness technically, his efficient service as a principal in the Chicago system amply testifies; and for his competency as a citizen of the Jefferson and Lincoln type in general public affairs and of the leadership type in educational affairs, we confidently vouch.

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Your Choice at the Election.

Important considerations are involved in the election next week, especially in Colorado, Oregon, Illinois, California and New York.

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There are critical contests in Colorado between progressives and reactionaries. We are not well enough advised to make more than a suggestion or two as to candidates; but we heartily commend John H. Martin (Democrat) of the second district. He has made a truly democratic record in Congress, which ought to secure him the support of the democrats of all parties. The like support should go to I. N. Stevens of Pueblo (Republican), for Congressman at large. Of highest importance in Colorado, however, is the vote on the Constitutional amendment (p. 1,000) for giving to that State the Oregon system of People's Power—Initiative, Referendum, Recall, etc. The distillery and brewery ring are lined up against it, of course, along with the predatory corporations; but this combined opposition ought alone to be enough to insure its adoption by a majority too big to be scaled down by fraudulent counting.

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Oregon votes on several initiative and referendum propositions, some of them of high importance. But advice to Oregon voters is superfluous. Under the Oregon system every voter gets an official campaign document in which every question is explained, and advocated or opposed by, champions of both sides. This has turned unthinking voters into thinking ones.

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The most important phase of the election in Illinois is on the issues raised by the Peoria conference and agitated by its Committee of Seven (p. 962). One of these is the demand for a corrupt practices act, another is the demand for a civil service merit system, and the third is the demand for a Constitutional amendment establishing the Initiative and Referendum. The larger the affirmative vote on all these, the more certain will their adoption by the legislature be.

Both political parties approve them definitely in their platforms.

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On the question of candidates we here repeat our advice above, together with what we advised last week (p. 1010):

Colorado: For Congress from the 2nd district, John H. Martin, Democrat; for Congressman-at-large, I. N. Stevens, Republican; for the legislature from the Cripple Creek district, Tully Scott. Wherever the Citizens' ticket has a candidate, vote for him in preference to Democrat or Republican.

California: For Congress, San Francisco district, Walter Macarthur, Democrat; for Congress, Sacramento district, William Kent, Republican.

Illinois: For Judge of the Circuit Court, Cook county, Edward O. Brown, Democrat; for Judge of the Superior Court, William E. Dever, Democrat; for Superintendent of Schools in Cook County, A. O. Coddington, Republican; for president and member of the Sanitary District, Robert R. McCormick, Republican; for Municipal Court Judge, Chicago, McKenzie Cleland, Republican; for State Superintendent of Instruction, Francis G. Blair, Republican. For Congress (1st district), Michael E. Maher, Democrat; (2nd district) John Charles Vaughan, Democrat; (5th district) Adolph J. Sabath, Democrat; (7th district) Frank Buchanan, Democrat; (9th district) Frederick H. Gansbergen, Republican; (18th district) William I. Cundiff, Democrat; (20th district) Henry T. Rainey, Democrat; (22nd district) Bruce A. Campbell, Democrat; (23rd district) Martin D. Foster, Democrat. For the legislature: (3rd district) Isaac Peterson, Socialist; (4th district) Joseph A. Ambroz, Socialist; (5th district) Hiram T. Gilbert, Democrat, and Morton D. Hull, Republican; (6th district) Dudley Grant Hays, Prohibitionist; (8th district) James A. Prout, Socialist; (14th district) Bernard Berlyn, Socialist; (15th district) H. Winne, Socialist; (19th district) Rev. Frank G. Smith, Independent; (21st district) Christopher J. McGurn, Independent; (25th district) Andrew O. Silversen, Prohibitionist; (26th district) John Waage, Democrat, for Senator, and Carl B. Strover, Socialist, for Representative; (27th district) Edward Harris, Socialist, for Senator; (31st district) Leland P. Smith, Democrat; (41st district) James O. Monroe, Independent; (49th district) for Senator, Fred J. Kern.

Missouri: For the legislature (2nd district), Percy Pepon, Democrat.

New York: for Governor, John J. Hopper, Independence League; for Congress from the 17th district, Henry George, Jr.

Washington State: For the legislature (6th district), William Mathews, Democrat.

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Value of the Initiative and Referendum.

A better statement of the mechanical value in politics, in one respect, of the Initiative and Referendum, could hardly be framed than this extract, editorially approved by the Chicago Tribune, from a speech by Edgar A. Bancroft, one of the prominent members of the Chicago bar, which he

made in the Peoria Conference campaign in Illinois:

The Initiative and Referendum—to destroy the vendibility of legislative representatives. When the corrupt influence of public officials is futile it will cease. The briber will refuse to pay when he cannot be sure of his purchase; and, after all, it is the briber, the man who furnishes the money, who is the chief criminal. He creates the atmosphere and opportunity and temptation of political debasement. The Initiative and Referendum also removes the small group between the electors and the higher officials and puts the ultimate power in practice, where it is in theory, in the people. It makes the people directly responsible for the public servants, and makes public service responsive to the people.

In those last words, a greater value than the mechanical is implied. Not only would the Initiative and Referendum stand in the way of corrupt legislation, not only would it furnish a leverage to compel progressive legislation, but it would also put political "power in practice where it is in theory, in the people." And this would do for the people more in the direction of what is most needed than any other electoral device. It would educate them in popular government.

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"BACK TO THE LAND"*—A STUDY IN DEMOCRACY.

To suppose that the ideal of "Progress and Poverty," Henry George's great message to mankind on their relation to their planet, the economic essence of which is so picturesquely expressed in Bishop Nulty's famous phrase, "back to the land,"—to suppose that the ideal of this book is merely fiscal, or even no more than comprehensively economic, is to do the memory of its author an injustice, and most gravely to misapprehend its scope.

"Back to the land" in the economic sense alone, is no more truly the ideal of "Progress and Poverty" than is that proposal of this book to which "the Taxation of Land Values" or "the Single Tax" alludes; and these names, as even the most careless reader should know, are allusions only to appropriate and effective fiscal means for the realization of a purpose more remote. Precisely as this message through Henry George is "not for the single tax," as some one has epigrammatically expressed the thought, "but for what the single tax is for," so is it regarding common rights to land values, and common rights to land itself.

From the "single tax" expedient to its

*For an editorial discussion of another phase of this general subject—the economic phase—see *The Public* of October 28, 1910 (vol. xiii, page 1014).

economic principle of common property in land, all the proposals of "Progress and Poverty" are but parts of a process. The structure—not building materials, nor tools, nor workmanship—is the real concern. As parts of the constructive process, materials and workmanship and plans in every part are vital, indeed, and appropriate tools as well; for "Progress and Poverty" wants no "jerry" building, nor does it expect its converts to lay bricks without trowels. But the *object* is the thing; and its object, in the economic field, is what Jefferson's was—the restoration of the earth to its living inhabitants in usufruct. But this is not its largest object; this is not its farthest north, its ultimate pole.

Its author testified for himself when he said:* "Let me not be misunderstood. I do not say that in the recognition of the equal and unalienable right of each human being to the natural elements from which life must be supported and wants satisfied, lies the solution of all social problems. I fully recognize the fact that even after we do this, much will remain to do. We might recognize the equal right to land, and yet tyranny and spoliation be continued. But whatever else we do, so long as we fail to recognize the equal right to the elements of nature, nothing will avail to remedy that unnatural inequality in the distribution of wealth which is fraught with so much evil and danger." This reform, however, as he wrote at the same time and in the same connection,† will make all other reforms easier."

That was the core of Henry George's contention regarding the concentration of all taxation into a tax upon the value of land, and making it heavy enough to take as near as may be the whole ground rent for common purposes. It was not the taxation of land values, and there an end; nor socialization of the land, and there an end. His ultimate object was democracy—fundamental and constructive democracy.

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Had he been a man of leisure, Henry George might and probably would have written "Progress and Poverty" in three volumes instead of one.

He could then have discussed his subject on the three discrete planes of thought on which he did discuss it—the economic, the democratic, and the religious; but more fully as to the democratic and the religious, and, a separate volume for each, with less risk of confusing the three in the minds of readers not over careful.

*"Social Problems," chapter xviii, page 201.

†"Social Problems," ch. xix, p. 209.

Trammeled, however, by the necessity for making a living while at his larger and unremunerative task, and also checked no doubt by publication difficulties, he compressed the whole subject, with its three distinct fields of inquiry, within the bounds of a single volume, exploring none of them in any but a general way except the first.

The volume is broken up into "books," and each "book" into chapters. All the chapters of the first nine "books" are devoted to the domain of political economy. Those of the tenth "book" make an independent monograph on fundamental and constructive democracy. In the final chapter of the volume, the religious hypothesis is considered in a brief presentation of "the problem of individual life."

It is not improbable (and the otherwise unaccountable difficulties which some readers encounter in grasping the meaning of "Progress and Poverty" seem to confirm the guess), that these three discrete divisions of one general subject between the same book-covers sometimes confuse. A reader may fall into the error of supposing the volume to contain a continuous argument from cover to cover.

Yet the marks of distinction are clear.

The *economic* inquiry closes in the ninth "book" with a request to readers who have gone with the author so far, to go with him "further, into still higher fields."

Then comes a monograph on *democracy*. It begins in these opening words of the tenth "book": "If the conclusions at which we have arrived are correct, they will fall under a larger generalization. Let us therefore recommence our inquiry from a higher standpoint, whence we may survey a wider field."

With like preciseness of distinction, the *religious* chapter of the volume is thus introduced: "My task is done. Yet the thought still mounts. The problems we have been considering lead into a problem higher and deeper still." For out of his economic inquiry had come to him something he did not think to find, and a faith that was dead revived.*

Let it be observed, then, that "Progress and Poverty" is not one continuous inquiry, but three independent though correlative inquiries. Whoever reads the first nine "books" as an economic argument, an inquiry into the industrial relations of men to one another and to the land; the tenth "book" as an argument for fundamental and constructive democracy; and the final chapter of the volume as an allusion to those great religious

*"Progress and Poverty," p. 555.

forces that prophets have revealed and science is beginning to sense, and out of which the natural laws of political economy and of democracy spring,—whoever does this with reasonable attention, be he learned and rational or rational without much learning, will find the reading of "Progress and Poverty" easy and its message clear and convincing.

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Even in the economic chapters of "Progress and Poverty,"* its author saw the possibility of society's approaching "the ideal of Jeffersonian democracy, the promised land of Herbert Spencer, the abolition of government. But of government only as a directing and repressive power." At the same time and in the same degree of approach, he regarded it as possible for society also "to realize the dream of socialism."†

This aspect of Henry George's message is often so little understood or appreciated by friend and adversary alike, that a larger quotation may not be amiss: "All this simplification and abrogation of the present functions of government would make possible the assumption of certain other functions which are now pressing for recognition. Government could take upon itself the transmission of messages by telegraph, as well as by mail; of building and operating railroads, as well as of opening and maintaining common roads. With present functions so simplified and reduced, functions such as these could be assumed without danger or strain, and would be under the supervision of public attention, which is now distracted. There would be a great and increasing surplus revenue from the taxation of land values, for material progress, which would go on with greatly accelerated rapidity, would tend constantly to increase rent. This revenue arising from the common property could be applied to the common benefit, as were the revenues of Sparta. We might not establish public tables—they would be unnecessary; but we could establish public baths, museums, libraries, gardens, lecture rooms, music and dancing halls, theaters, universities, technical schools, shooting galleries, play grounds, gymnasiums, etc. Heat, light, and motive power, as well as water, might be conducted through our streets at public expense; our roads be lined with fruit trees; discoverers and inventors rewarded, scientific investigations supported; and in a thousand ways the public revenues made to foster efforts for the public benefit. We should reach the ideal

*"Progress and Poverty," books I to IX.

†"Progress and Poverty," book IX, chapter IV, pages 453-454.

of the socialist, but not through governmental repression. Government would change its character, and would become the administration of a great co-operative society. It would become merely the agency by which the common property was administered for the common benefit."*

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It was those glimpses of democracy that his economic query afforded—a more comprehensive and profound democracy than the political alone,—that led the author of "Progress and Poverty" on to a survey of this wider field, when his economic inquiry had come to an end. Democracy, fundamental and constructive, was the "larger generalization" by which he offered to test the correctness of his conclusions in the narrower field of economics.

In the economic chapters, the specific inquiry had been, "Why, in spite of increase in productive power, do wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living?"† or, as we have paraphrased it, Why does poverty persist with progress? But in his larger generalization, in those chapters on democracy that are comprised in book X, this is the specific inquiry: "What is the law of human progress?"

And in five magnificent chapters, which every politician above the huckster grade ought to know almost by heart, Henry George finds the law of human progress to be "association in equality."‡

In that conclusion "Progress and Poverty" sounds the depths no less of economic than of political philosophy. "Association in equality" is the law of progress on every plane of human life.

Defiance of that law brings social reaction with barbaric splendors at one extreme of society, and barbaric miseries and barbaric revolts at the other.

Allegiance to it promotes further and higher developments of civilization.

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And "association in equality," what is this but *fundamental democracy*? Democracy in economic or industrial relationships; democracy in political relationships; democracy in that religious sense of responsibility, that feeling of human brotherhood connoting creative Fatherhood, to which the last chapter in "Progress and Poverty" is devoted.

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But democracy cannot resist the multiplicity

*"Progress and Poverty," book IX, ch. IV, page 454.

†"Progress and Poverty," chapter I of book I.

‡"Progress and Poverty," page 505.

of diseases that monopoly of land germinates. And though all the other social parasites were destroyed, democracy would nevertheless wither away if land monopoly were undisturbed; for all its vitality would then be sapped by the demands of land monopoly itself.

"Association in equality" being the law of human progress, inequality spells retrogression. And "the great cause of inequality," says "Progress and Poverty" in its democratic inquiry,* "is in the natural monopoly which is given by the possession of land. The first perceptions of men seem always to be that land is common property; but the rude devices by which this is at first recognized—such as annual partitions or cultivation in common—are consistent with only a low stage of development. The idea of property, which naturally arises with reference to things of human production, is easily transferred to land, and an institution which when population is sparse merely secures to the improver and user the due reward of his labor, finally, as population becomes dense and rent arises, operates to strip the producer of his wages. Not merely this, but the appropriation of rent for public purposes, which is the only way in which, with anything like a high development, land can be readily retained as common property, becomes, when political and religious power passes into the hands of a class, the ownership of the land by that class;" and "inequality once established, the ownership of land tends to concentrate as development goes on."

Let those words be read, however, in the full light of the quotation already made from another book† by the author of "Progress and Poverty," to the effect that even when rent is appropriated for public purposes, "much will remain to do." But let the author's supreme contention also be clearly grasped, that "whatever else we do, so long as we fail to recognize the equal right to the elements of nature, nothing will avail to remedy that unnatural inequality in the distribution of wealth, which is fraught with so much evil and danger."

*"Progress and Poverty," chapter III of book x, page 514.
†"Social Problems," chapter xviii, page 201.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

ROOSEVELT AND CUMMINS.

Progressive Republicanism needs to be saved from the folly of some of its accepted leaders. If the spirit of that movement is faithfully represented by Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Cummins, then the movement is foredoomed to extinction. Independent

voters will shun it as they have learned to shun the regular Republican organization.

The attitude of Roosevelt and Cummins has done and is doing much to impair popular confidence in the sincerity of the progressive leadership. Their public utterances betray a willingness to subordinate progressive principles to the perpetuation of the Republican machine. If their ideas are to prevail, the hopes of those who believed that Insurgency was to usher in an era of political independence have been builded upon the sand. They must look elsewhere for the inspiration that will regenerate American politics and bring to an end the reign of special privilege.

The specific offense of which both Roosevelt and Cummins have been guilty is their advocacy of "straight voting." In every public utterance during the present campaign they have belied their own professions by urging the election of the straight Republican ticket, regardless of whether the candidates on that ticket were reactionaries or progressives. Roosevelt, in one instance at least, has vouched for the "progressiveness" of a notorious hardshell Standpatter, knowing that his indorsement when given was untruthful, while Cummins has declared that "any Republican is preferable to the best Democrat," and has outdone President Taft in his plea for "party solidarity" at the expense of what his lamented colleague, Senator Dolliver, termed "party integrity."

Such political gymnastics on the part of men who have hitherto posed as the incarnation of political independence has amazed and shocked hundreds and thousands of men who were anxious to follow them in an independent political movement. They have played into the hands of the reactionaries. They have discredited a movement that was gaining ground with marvelous rapidity, and threatening to undermine the corrupt and rotten machines of both parties. They have driven back into the Democratic ranks nearly every Democrat who was almost persuaded to join hands with the progressive Republicans, and have retarded genuine political reform.

The Indianapolis News, a paper which has supported the Insurgent movement from its inception, senses the situation in a recent editorial. After warning the Insurgents to avoid the treacherous leadership of Colonel Roosevelt as they would the plague, the News says:

"Let it be known that it (Insurgency) is a mere attempt to 'save' the Republican party by promoting a false harmony, and the movement will collapse. Based on principle, it cannot win by trading and political bargaining."

‡

Nobody who has followed Mr. Roosevelt's political career carefully is surprised, of course, at the more recent exhibitions of his innate political dishonesty. The trouble is, however, that the average man has hitherto accepted Roosevelt at his own valuation, until now the real Roosevelt, made incautious by his unprecedented run of political luck, is carrying on his liason with the Mammon of Unrighteousness in the sight of all mankind. The result is that some of his idolators are really beginning for the first time to see their idol in all his nakedness.

Champ Clark, in a recent speech in Kansas City, thus described Mr. Roosevelt's course this year:

"In Kansas he was an insurgent, in Missouri he was a progressive, in New York a standpatter, and in St. Louis he went up in an airship."

The fact remains, however, that notwithstanding all his inconsistencies, Mr. Roosevelt has not failed anywhere this year, or any other year for that matter, to advocate the election of the straight Republican ticket. At Osawatomie he assumed the leadership of the progressive wing of his party, and denounced the Payne tariff bill. True, however, to his crooked political instincts, he returned to New York and struck a bargain with the reactionary Taft administration, whereby the President assisted him to capture, for his own selfish purposes, the New York Republican machine. In return for the administration support he breathed a benediction on the administration in his Saratoga speech, and connived at the indorsement of the Payne bill by the Saratoga convention.

Mr. Roosevelt pleaded for Beveridge in Indiana as a true blue progressive. Then he went into Massachusetts and declared Henry Cabot Lodge, one of the most hardened Tories in public life, to be a true friend of progress. It is this sort of thing that will absolutely destroy the progressive movement, if Mr. Roosevelt is to remain its acknowledged chieftain.

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Of Mr. Cummins better things were expected. His course in the Senate has been one of manly defiance of his party organization and administration bossism. He braved party ostracism and endured the loss of patronage in order to maintain his self-respect, and his speech at the Des Moines convention, after Congress had adjourned, was a splendid defiance to the Standpatters and an invitation for war to the bitter end.

For some reason best known to himself, Mr. Cummins has seen fit to change his tactics, to eat out of the hand of the men whom he has hitherto denounced as enemies of the people, and to get back on the old reservation. If his Des Moines speech was that of a patriot, his Chicago speech, delivered less than three months later, was the utterance of a demagogue. That Cummins, of all men, speaking in a State where Joseph G. Cannon is a candidate for office, should advise the election of the straight Republican ticket sent the cold chills down the backs of thousands of his admirers. That he should insultingly notify the rank and file of the Democratic party that their services are not wanted in the progressive struggle, unless they are willing to accept the protective theory and join the Republican party as orthodox members thereof, jarred the confidence and dashed the hopes of thousands of men who have looked to him for better things.

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Neither Roosevelt nor Cummins is essential to the ultimate triumph of real democracy. Either, however, may retard that triumph temporarily. The effect of their present attitude is to strengthen party ties at a time when, in the interests of better politics, they were being weakened. That attitude, if persisted in, will alienate from the cause to which

they profess devotion the entire independent vote.

Both Roosevelt and Cummins mistake the temper and sentiment of the average intelligent voter. The appeal for "party solidarity"—the time dishonored "yellow dog" political exhortation—has lost its force and power. The man who thinks at all nowadays knows that by listening to such appeals in the past he has helped fasten the grip of special privilege upon the government in its every branch. He is in no mood, therefore, to respond to such an appeal, whether it be made by the shameless Joe Cannon or by the immaculate Albert B. Cummins. The man who makes such an appeal merely discredits himself.

It must be said in fairness, though, that other progressive leaders have not fallen into the errors of Roosevelt and Cummins. La Follette, Bristow, Poin-dexter and their fellows have sounded no "yellow dog" appeals. It is well for the permanency of the movement with which they have identified themselves that they have refrained from such utterances.

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The case of Mr. Roosevelt, of course, is hopeless. He is utterly and incorrigibly selfish, and never in his life has he cherished a political principle which he was not willing to sacrifice for personal advantage. There are many hopeful indications, however, that he has struck the political toboggan, and the sooner he reaches its bottom the better for real reform in this country.

There is still hope for Mr. Cummins, however, because he instinctively thinks right. If the progressive movement has reached a stage where it is able to discipline its members, the distinguished Iowan ought to be called on the carpet by his colleagues, and warned that pleas for "party solidarity" at the cost of political principle are as reprehensible and as unpatriotic, coming from him, as they were when President Taft fulminated them at Winona.

D. K. L.

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POLITICS IN THE ALDRICH PRIVATE-WEALTH.

Lonsdale, Rhode Island, Oct. 26.

It may be of interest to the widely scattered readers of *The Public* to hear something from Rhode Island on the eve of this unusually interesting and important national election.

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In the Republican party of this State not a breath of insurgency is visible or audible. True, the claim of Progressiveness is heard, but it is merely lip-service. Standpatism is the order of the day.

Not but that there are many Republicans here who sympathize with the Insurgents of the West; they are, however, with scarcely an exception, keeping their own counsel.

At one time it looked as though an Independent Republican, a Progressive in the best sense of that word, would be put into the field for United States Senator. This spirit of revolt was strongest when it was supposed that Senator Aldrich would be a candidate to succeed himself. But when that famous Standpatter withdrew from the race, the spur to In-

dependence lost its force and the attempt to name a Republican opponent to the regulation candidate failed.

The Lincoln men, so-called, who were very active three and four years ago, but have been quiescent for the past two years, appear to have entertained the hope that the death of Boss Brayton might lead to a high class Republican nomination for the United States Senate. Of this happy event there is no present evidence.

Notwithstanding the inactivity of the Independent Republicans, the Democratic convention might have seized the opportunity and put an Insurgent Republican into the field. By so doing, the Opposition would have strengthened itself all along the line.

The convention did, however, select an able and well qualified judge as its candidate for Senator; but, being actively engaged in his duties in the United States court, he can make no canvass, and therefore will not draw votes to the Democratic legislative candidates as an Insurgent Republican would have done.



As in Maine, Connecticut and New Jersey, the Democrats of Rhode Island have nominated for Governor of the State an able and well qualified gentleman, who is likely to get the votes of many Independent Republicans.



The feature of the campaign thus far, and the one which is most likely to influence the result, in so far as individual candidates for the legislature are concerned, is the "heckling" of candidates.

The movement to question by mail the candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, senators and representatives, originated with the Tax Reform Association. Its wish was to have two questions asked, the second one relating to home rule for the cities and towns on the matter of local taxation. After conference with other organizations, however, the final decision was to quiz the candidates upon but a single point, as set forth in the following letter:

RHODE ISLAND INTERROGATION ASSOCIATION.
Campaign Committee.

Hiram Vrooman, Secretary, 16 Bridgham Street.

ITS OBJECT.—The object of this Association is to heckle or question candidates for public office and pledge them to the support of the issues involved in the questions presented.

Providence, R. I., October 10, 1910.

To Candidate for the Rhode Island General Assembly:

Dear Sir—The undersigned committee, representing by appointment, the State Federation of Labor, the Prohibition State Committee, the Tax Reform Association, the Interrogation Association, also representative of the Independent vote of the State, beg to request of you a statement of your attitude upon the following public question, and the position you will take towards legislation thereon, if elected:

Question: Will you, if elected, vote for, and do all in your power to secure the passage of a Constitutional Amendment which shall enable a majority of the voters of the State to make changes in the State Constitution by means of the Initiative and Referendum?

Please answer immediately, inasmuch as early publicity is intended.

Neglect to reply will be considered as a refusal to support the legislation asked for.

A. E. Hohler,
President of State Branch of American Federation of Labor.

Hiram Vrooman,
Louis E. Remington,
Lucius F. C. Garvin,
Charles H. Lee.

Answer.....

Signature.....

The question had been sent to 321 candidates up to date, October 26th, and 130 answers had been received, all favorable except four.

Most of the affirmative answers are from Democrats, a considerable number from the comparatively few Prohibitionists, and a few only thus far from Republicans.

Several influential labor organizations have sent out the same questions to local candidates for the legislature.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

FINANCIAL DEBILITY.*

Indianapolis, Ind.

Out from Washington city September 25th, there was sent a news dispatch that began: "It is unlikely that there will be any shortage of money this fall anywhere in the United States. This is not to be construed as the promise of any particular individual but is the large impersonal view of the Treasury Department, whose hand is on the pulse of the nation's financial and business life, and represents the opinions of the officials who constantly watch for symptoms of any stringency."

Then followed half a column of so-called reasons which the Treasury officials are said to have given for "their predictions." Among these reasons are assumptions that have no foundation in fact, or if true, no more to do with the quantity of money available for business than the spots on the sun.

It is assumed that Europe "will owe America money," that it "will be paid in gold that will come across in bars," that "the banks will take these bars to the mints or sub-treasuries to be stored" that "gold certificates will be issued to represent it," etc., etc.

This is the character of pretenses by which it is attempted, on the alleged authority of the Treasury Department, to deceive the people concerning financial conditions.



The opinions of Treasury officials are of no more value than the opinions of intelligent students of the subject outside the Department.

But I do not believe the statements contained in this dispatch had a Treasury Department origin. I have had some experience in getting information from the Department. There has usually been no difficulty in getting facts as they are shown by the Department records, but when questions have been asked that required an expression of an opinion or

*See preceding articles by Mr. Van Vorhis in The Public, vol. xiii, pp. 798, 920.

the drawing of an inference the answers have been a courteous refusal to do either, with a possible reference to where the most accurate information could be found.

But on the assumption that the statements in that dispatch were obtained from Treasury officials and that there was some measure of truth in them, editorial comments have been made all over the country. In this way, by the assistance of the Associated Press, newspapers everywhere have been induced to aid in deceiving the public and thus to enable a few unscrupulous manipulators in New York to float schemes for public plunder.

For several years almost every official abstract, particularly if there was about the time of issue any disturbance of the stock markets, has been preceded by an Associated Press interpretation, usually about as far from the truth as this one.

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The information concerning the condition of national banks on March 29 and June 30 last, furnished by abstracts 68 and 69, was not calculated to encourage an optimistic view of the financial situation in New York; and abstract 70, showing the conditions on September 1st, was looked for with some apprehension. Remembering the conditions on March 29 and June 30, there was nothing disclosed by abstract 70 that would be calculated to relieve the apprehension that undoubtedly exists in financial circles.

During the time covered by this abstract the aggregate increase of loans and discounts of national banks was very little more than \$37,000,000. This is less than half the average daily increase for the last twelve years, and about one seventh of the daily increase during February and March. Nearly \$31,000,000 of this increase was made by the 39 New York banks. The loans of the 322 Reserve banks were decreased nearly \$11,000,000, and of the 6,791 Country banks increased about \$47,000,000, so that between them there was a net increase of only about \$6,000,000 in all national banks outside of the Central Reserve cities.

During July and August the holding of bank reserves by the 39 New York national banks was increased over \$14,000,000, and the holding of other funds was increased over \$17,000,000. The total increase was therefore about \$31,000,000, every dollar of which appears to have been converted into loans for the benefit of the stock markets.

On September 1st the New York national banks held over \$251,000,000 of the reserves of national banks outside of New York, and in addition to this they owed outside banks and trust companies about \$950,000,000 not reserves, or an aggregate of reserves and other funds of about \$1,200,000,000.

At the same time the 39 New York banks had in the aggregate less than \$25,000,000 surplus cash exclusive of the redemption fund. Chicago and St. Louis were short.

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Under this state of facts such dispatches as that referred to are almost criminal in falsity and in deceptive possibilities and results.

At the time when this dispatch was sent out there was a pinching money stringency in New York and

all over the country, as is shown by the decrease in loans and discounts. New York is preparing to relieve that stringency by a resort to the act of June 30th, 1908.

This is rather a conclusive demonstration of the error of the Comptroller of the currency when he assured Congress and the country that the large cities would not resort to the issue of an emergency currency.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.

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THE PASSION PLAY IN AMERICA?

Rochelle, Ill.

In a Sunday edition of a Chicago daily for August 21, 1910, a lengthy article was printed with the following headlines: "Oberammergau's Sainly Actors Coming to America to Give Their Passion Play."

Let me quote from this article. The second paragraph reads:

Now Oberammergau is to be shifted to East Aurora, New York. Elbert Hubbard, social philosopher and Roycroft creator, backed by a syndicate of wealthy and eager philanthropists, found the means to persuade the players to make the journey. For a month next year the Passion Play will be given in the Hubbard village just as it is given on the banks of the Ammer in Bavaria, and by the same cast. Thither will go Anton Lang, the simple carpenter who has enacted the part of the Savior at three festivals.

This last sentence is not true. Anton Lang is a potter and not a carpenter. This is the second season he played the part of Christ. Joseph Mayr played that part in 1890 and Mr. Lang was chosen for the first time in 1900.

Let me continue the quotation:

Johann Zwink, the Oberammergau blacksmith, and the greatest Judas in the history of the play, will be there, so will his daughter Ottalie, the Virgin of the Passion Play. . . . It will mean the rooting up of a whole little city.

It is unnecessary to quote further. There is something wrong somewhere.

I saw the Passion Play last June and became acquainted with Anton Lang. I was repeatedly informed by the people of that delightful village that they never would play elsewhere and only in Oberammergau every ten years. This they have always adhered to excepting when interrupted by the Franco-Prussian war in 1870. They played six weeks that year, but the next season completed their program of dates. They usually play from May until October. The opening date this year was May 11, the closing date September 25.

However, when I read this lengthy article in the newspaper I was not satisfied until I had had a written statement from Mr. Lang. I wrote him, and in due time received the following letter, which is self-explanatory:

Oberammergau, Sept. 6, 1910.

Dear Sir—Herr Anton Lang has received your letter and wishes me to say that there is no truth whatever in the report that they are going to give the Passion Play in America, neither will they give it here next year or any other year except every ten years, as it is entirely a Religious Service in accordance with a vow made several hundred years ago. Hoping that you will contradict any further announcement of the same kind, I am yours truly.

M. W. for Herr Anton Lang.

Nothing further need be said.

ALBERTUS PERRY.

THE RUSH TO VANCOUVER.

San Francisco, Oct. 22, 1910.

The terrible stagnation in all industry and business on the Pacific Coast during the last year or two, seemingly growing worse, has somewhat staggered the optimism for which we in the West are famous. And the exodus from San Francisco to Vancouver, B. C., has been conspicuous.

But why to Vancouver?

If it is quiet in California why should Vancouver be any different? It's "rotten" everywhere, isn't it?

The men going there do not seem to know why; they only know that "things are doing;" their friends send them word to that effect; and the football ranks in California are being depleted by the exodus. I particularly mention the football players because my close association with them makes the fact concrete to me.

I found a hint in "Land Values," Glasgow, and "The Public," Chicago, and, as my brother, Mr. Campbell Pomeroy, a merchant of Santa Rosa, Cal., was going east via C. P. R. R. I asked him to observe and let me know the cause for good times in Vancouver when the whole coast is stagnant. Here's a copy of his letter dated Vancouver, October 10th, 1910:

"We spent yesterday in Vancouver and it is the most progressive town on the Coast. It has a boom and doesn't know it. *There are no idle men.* The hotels are so crowded, it is almost impossible to get a room; and if you don't engage a berth in the train a week ahead you 'get left,' the traffic is so heavy. The city is so alive and enthusiastic it will vote money for anything needed. It is a wonderful town. *They have the Single Tax in operation.*"

The B. C. Electric Co. owns all the power and light supplied Vancouver. All they earn over 6 per cent per annum they return to their employes.

The city offers no bonus or inducements to corporations to come to Vancouver, but they are coming just the same. The people run the country and you can feel it in the air.

EDGAR POMEROY.

* * *

SINGLE TAX TOWNS IN NEW ZEALAND.

Christchurch, N. Z.

So well has the tax on land values operated that almost everyone you meet is in favor of increasing the tax; and amongst the well-informed, opinion is all in favor of a single tax on land values as against land and property taxes.

One effect of the tax has been to crowd acres and acres of land into the building market. Wherever you go in the vicinity of a town you see notices every ten or twenty yards along the roadside advertising quarter acre building sections for sale, and the competition seems to be extremely keen. Every newspaper has column after column of land (building sections) advertisements. In some places you will see as many as seven or eight notices in one section, each notice representing a separate agent for the sale of land. There is a tremendous competition amongst the agents to sell each section.

What effect all this competition has had on prices of land, I have not been long enough in the Colony to say, but the natural tendency must be to reduce prices.

I think that the day will soon come when New Zealand will show the world what can really be done by even the partial adoption of the land values tax principle. I imagine that when the tax becomes more progressive, the landlords will find their possessions taking more the form of perishable goods which it will pay them to put to immediate use.

EDWARD ELLIS.

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, November 1, 1910.

Garment Workers' Strike in Chicago.

For a fortnight an increasing number of garment workers in Chicago, beginning with workers in the shops of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, have been going out on strike, until by the 30th from 25,000 to 35,000 men, women and girls had gone out. On the 28th Thomas A. Rickert, international president of the United Garment Workers of America, wired to all members of the executive board of the national organization to come immediately to Chicago and aid in the strike organization work. He also wired for labor speakers and organizers of prominence in the United States and Canada to hurry to the front. On the same day an offer of the Women's Trade Union League (p. 738) to give aid, was accepted by the United Garment Workers, and the League appointed Mrs. Raymond Robins, Miss Agnes Nestor and Miss Emma Steghagen to represent the League on the strike committee of the Garment Workers. Under the auspices of the Women's Trade Union League "women citizens" were gathered at Hull House on the 29th, with Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League (p. 803), as chairman, and a Citizens' Committee was formed under the leadership of Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, chairman; Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Miss Jane Addams, Miss Anna Nicholes of Neighborhood house, Miss Harriet Vittum of Northwestern University settlement, Miss Gertrude Barnum, and Dr. Rachele Yarros. A meeting of this committee was held on the 30th at the home of Mrs. Bowen. Among the added members were Professor George H. Mead, Professor Ernest Freund, Professor Charles R. Henderson, Judge Julian W. Mack, Sherman C. Kingsley,

Rabbi Joseph Stolz, Luke Grant and Father Spetz. Rabbi Emil Hirsch, although absent, was elected chairman of the committee. The committee especially purposes to inquire into the grievances which have produced the strike. In the meantime the Women's Trade Union League has organized its own special committees, with the following chairmen: Organization—Miss Agnes Nestor; Picketing—Miss Emma Steghagen; Speakers—Miss Lillian Carr; Co-operation—Mrs. Frances Squire Potter; Grievances—Miss Katherine Coman. Especial aid will be given in the matter of picketing. and invitations have been telephoned to a large number of prominent Cook county club women to aid in this. The following rules for picketing, having been endorsed by former Judge Wm. H. Barnum, and printed in different languages, are being placed in the hands of all pickets, both strikers and associates:

Don't walk in groups of more than two or three.
Don't stand in front of the shop; walk up and down the block.

Don't stop the person you wish to talk to; walk alongside of him.

Don't get excited and shout.

Don't put your hand on the person you are speaking to. Don't touch his sleeve or button. This may be construed as a "technical assault."

Don't call any one "scab" or use abusive language of any kind.

Plead, persuade, appeal, but do not threaten.

If a policeman arrests you and you are sure that you have committed no offense take down his number and give it to your union officers.



Teachers' Organizations.

Since the Chicago Teachers' Federation joined the Chicago Federation of Labor (vol. v, pp. 499, 503), a constituent of the American Federation of Labor, other bodies of public school teachers have followed their example. The latest to do so, according to dispatches from Wilkesbarre, Pa., are the public school teachers of that region, 1,200 in number. The news report, dated the 29th, is as follows:

Twelve hundred school teachers from all parts of Luzerne County have voted to unionize and join the American Federation of Labor in an effort to obtain higher wages and better conditions. They seek a uniform minimum salary rate and also demand an assurance from the school boards that after five years' service their positions shall be permanent. Their resolutions deprecate any alliance of the schools with politics.



A move for the formation of a labor union among teachers in the public schools of New York City was reported from there, on the 29th, as being agitated in New York. "Miss Grace Strachan," says the dispatch, "chairman of the woman teachers' committee, which is making an effort to obtain

equal pay for men and women teachers, says: 'We insist that the salary be regulated by the position and not by the sex.' The union movement is discountenanced by the authorities. 'It is not a good plan,' says Dr. William H. Maxwell, Superintendent of Schools; 'I do not see that any good can come of teachers forming a labor union.'"



The Direct Legislation Fight in Colorado.

Reports from various points in Colorado describe as splendid the work that John Z. White is doing there for the Constitutional amendment providing for the Oregon People's Power plan. But the opposition also are now making a vigorous campaign and with money. The brewery and wholesale liquor dealers' interests have entered the fight against the amendment, fearing that if adopted the temperance people and others would use it to suppress saloons. The financial interests are opposing it lest it be used to secure the adoption in Colorado of Henry George's single tax ideas. A local newspaper, the Denver Express, reports the situation as follows:

The liquor interests have joined hands with the bureau established by the corporations to fight the Initiative and Referendum. Under the letter-head of the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, letters were sent out this week to every saloon man in the State urging them to vote against the passage of the Amendment. The liquor dealers figure on apathy among working men who have long fought for this weapon of defense against official treachery to enable them to defeat the measure. "Not more than 50 per cent of the people will vote on the measure. If we line up our forces we can defeat this monstrous proposition," is what the political managers of the liquor dealers are telling the retailers. The fight on the Initiative is prompted primarily by the big corporations of Denver. Their bureau is furnishing the money and the "respectability" in the form of high-priced lawyers and professional servants of the plunderbund. The liquor men, as usual, are being whipped into line against the movement for government by the people.



The Hague Court Settles the Orinoco Claims.

The international Court of Arbitration rendered its decision in the Orinoco claims case on the 25th (vol. xii, p. 175; vol. xiii, p. 902). The Chicago Inter Ocean's dispatch thus sums up the dispute in adjudication: "The Orinoco Steamship Company, a New Jersey corporation, was granted certain exclusive privileges by the government of Venezuela, but the agreement was subsequently repudiated by President Castro. The steamship company instituted an action for \$1,400,000 damages. The case was eventually submitted to Dr. Charles Barge, who as umpire on February 2, 1904, awarded the company \$28,700. The company appealed to the American government, which refused to accept the

decision on the ground it was contrary to the principles of international law. After prolonged negotiations between Washington and Caracas it was agreed to submit the whole matter to The Hague." The Hague court has now declared the Barge award null on four points, and the American company is awarded \$46,867 with 3 per cent interest since June 16, 1903, and \$7,000 costs. The judgment is to be paid by Venezuela within two months. The tribunal rejected the American contentions on the other points in dispute.

* *

The New Republic of Portugal.

José Relvas, Minister of Finance for the Republic of Portugal, has announced war to the knife against corruption and special privilege abuses. Taxes on necessities are to be reduced, and those on luxuries increased. The richer classes, who have been evading taxes, are to be closely watched. The provisional government has promulgated decrees establishing the separation of church and state, and the freedom of the press; it has also approved a decree granting the right to strike, and has named a commission of arbitration for labor disputes. J. F. C. Franco, Premier of Portugal during the latter part of the reign of the late King Carlos, and who fled from Portugal (vol. x, p. 1091) a few days after the assassination of Carlos and his eldest son (vol. x, p. 1068), had evidently returned to Portugal at some time during King Manuel's reign, for his arrest was reported from Lisbon on the 30th, on the charge of abuse of power during his incumbency as Premier. The government declares that this arrest was not inspired by politics, but was the natural result of a judicial investigation. Mr. Franco was released on bail of \$200,000. The charges against him include the issuance of seventy illegal decrees and the liquidation of King Carlos' debts, amounting to \$500,000, with crown funds, on the pretext of augmenting the civil list.

* *

Aftermath of the French Railway Strike.

As a result of the part played by the French government in putting down the recent railway strike (pp. 985, 998), the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies have bitterly assailed the government, and especially the Premier, Mr. Briand, who has a Socialist record of his own. In the most violent session in the history of the French parliament, Mr. Briand, on the 29th, defended the government's suppression of the strike as a revolutionary outbreak, and exclaimed: "If the actual laws had been insufficient we would not have hesitated to resort even to illegality for the purpose of preserving the fatherland." An uproar followed and the session closed in tumult. On the following day Mr. Briand, in a fuller address of defence, declared that his statement of the day before had

been misunderstood, explaining that what he had tried to say was that in grave hours of national peril exceptional measures were justified. Nevertheless, the government was proud that it had kept within the limits of legality. The Chamber closed the crisis with a vote of confidence in the government—329 to 183. Mr. Briand's attitude toward the strike from the beginning has been that it was not a true strike, and should not be handled as a strike. The Chicago Tribune's correspondent "Holland" says in the Tribune of the 1st: "The instant the railway employes went upon strike Briand realized that the issue at stake was far different from a mere disagreement between railway employes and employers. Briand said: 'This is not a strike, but an insurrection. It is the first step in what is intended to be a revolution.'" Briand's "intuition," as the Tribune's correspondent calls it, was probably due to the fact that, having been a political Socialist himself, he recognized in the strike the tactics of "industrial" as opposed to "political" socialism.*

NEWS NOTES

—The fourth session of the present Russian Douma (p. 564) opened on the 28th.

—A new corporation organized in Illinois on the 28th with a capital of \$36,000,000 is reported as designed to be a rival of the Standard Oil trust.

—Chicago's right to charge rental for the use of space under the public sidewalks was upheld on the 28th by the Supreme Court of Illinois.

—Senator and Mrs. Robert La Follette left Rochester on the 26th for their home. The Senator had completely recovered from the effects of the surgical operation (p. 973) he underwent.

—Planters established in island of Mindanao in the Philippines are suffering from raids of the Manobos tribesmen (p. 685). Several planters have been killed, buildings have been burned and stock killed.

—In a little Wright machine of only 35 horsepower, Ralph Johnstone flew up 9,714 feet above the earth, at New York on the 31st, thereby making a new record for altitude in a heavier than air machine (p. 855).

—Police Inspector McCann of Chicago was not given a new trial by the Supreme Court of the State as reported recently (p. 973). On the contrary the court decided on the 28th, with one judge dissenting, to affirm his conviction and sentence.

—The balloon America II, last to come down in the international balloon race which started from St. Louis on the 17th (p. 1022), landed far up in the Saguenay district in Canada, and it took the two navigators, A. R. Hawley and Augustus Post, a week to get into touch with civilization. The distance covered by the balloon was approximately 1,350

*For further explanation see the editorial on "Socialism and 'Industrialism'" in The Public of October 21, page 985.

miles, the greatest ever made in balloon travel, and Messrs. Hawley and Post have been awarded the prize competed for.

—The Supreme Court of Illinois decided on the 28th that the State is entitled to an accounting on the receipts of the Illinois Central Road since 1905 for the purpose of obtaining whatever may be due under an agreement that the road shall pay 7 per cent of its gross receipts to the State Treasurer.

—The revolutionary movement in Uruguay, reported early this year (p. 86), is said to have become serious. A dispatch from Montevideo of the 28th says that there are now 10,000 armed revolutionists who are gradually being concentrated. The sympathies of the people outside of the capital are said to be with the revolutionists.

—The first of the "jack pot" trials at Springfield (pp. 614, 698, 867) resulted on the 29th in a disagreement of the jury—8 for conviction, 4 for acquittal. The persons on trial were Senator Pemberton and Representative Clark. Coincident with this outcome in Springfield there were reports in Chicago of the indictment of one of the lawyers of Lee O'Neill Browne (p. 867) for bribery at Browne's trial.

—A general invitation has been issued for a week of study at Chicago of the progress made on lines indicated by Theodore Parker, who lived from August 24, 1810, to May 10, 1860. The gathering is designed as a celebration of the centennial of his birth and a semi-centennial of his death, and is to extend from November 13 to 20. The invitation disregards sectarian lines. Information may be had of Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Lincoln Center, Chicago.

—The Winnetka (Ill.) free public library, one of the finest institutions in the country, was presented formally on the 29th by the sons of the late Henry Demarest Lloyd (author of "Wealth vs. Commonwealth") and Mrs. Jessie Bross Lloyd. The inscription on a copper plate inside the main entrance reads: "This library was begun by Jessie Bross Lloyd as a memorial to her husband, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and was completed and given to the village of Winnetka as a memorial of both."

—Associated press dispatches from Columbia, S. C., of the 27th report that the "lily white" Republican convention, Negroes not admitted, which had been called by John G. Capers, Republican national committeeman, met that day with delegates from all but nine counties and formed a party organization. The convention decided not to put out a ticket this year, but to nominate candidates for Congress in all seven South Carolina districts in 1912. Captain Capers announced that, while the meeting was not called at the suggestion of the President, yet it was not hostile to the administration. No Federal office holders were present.

—Reports from London on the 29th through the New York Herald told of the discovery of "the well preserved remains of an old Roman boat, which must have sailed the Thames about 1,600 years ago." It was discovered in the digging of the foundations of the new palace of the London County Council on the south bank of the river at Westminster bridge. The workmen came upon some timbers about twenty feet below the modern surface, and at the bottom of seven feet of solid mud, beneath which was a bed

of clean sand. Experts declare the discovery "to be a genuine Roman boat, the one caravel built Roman boat that has ever been found in England. The vessel lies at an angle of the river close to the old water line, looking as if it had been run ashore on a dropping tide when it made its last journey. In it was found a coin of the year 292 of the Emperor Carausius—the great commander who rebelled against Rome, and held his own in Britain for several years."

PRESS OPINIONS

The Good Guggenheims.

Collier's (ind.), Oct. 29.—Indictments have been found by the present administration against some fraudulent land claimants. These claimants are in a group in which the Guggenheims have no interest.

+ +

The Weakest Link.

Collier's (ind.), Oct. 15.—A newspaper in the long run can be no better, no braver, no more disinterested than its owner. If it remains a good newspaper, the owner is an essentially good man. If the owner lacks courage or public spirit or freedom from pull, the newspaper, whether flagrantly or slyly, must inevitably cease to serve the truth.

+ +

The Direction of the Breeze.

The (Chicago) Record Herald (ind. Rep.), Oct. 30.—The people are demanding true representative government, equal opportunity, regulation and control of monopoly, the peopleization of corporate industry, conservation, subordination of party to national need and national progress. They are, in other words, demanding the perpetuation under changed conditions of a government of, for and by the whole people. And they will have their way.

+ +

The Other View.

Collier's (ind.), Oct. 15.—From various directions come inquiries for our opinion of Mr. Roosevelt's conduct in shaking hands with Boss Cox after refusing to dine with Senator Lorimer. If Mr. Roosevelt had refused to have anything to do with bosses, he could not have accomplished anything like as much. In twenty years, let us hope, this will not be true, but it is true today. Mr. Roosevelt has to trust his judgment about when to strike an evil, as in the case of the Lorimer bribery. He can not be striking everything. If he did, he would hit nothing. He is to be judged by his efforts to raise standards and by the quality of his judgment about methods, including the question of times, places, and occasions.

+ +

The Political Drift.

(Minneapolis) Farm, Stock and Home (agricultural), Oct. 1.—If there is yet hope in a renovated party, Democratic or Republican, that hope lies in a split that shall leave the guardians of Privilege alone

in their glory. And by the way, Pierpont has gone Democratic! Pierpont is the weather vane of the Interests. This is not saying that Morgan is vacillating or shifty—he simply is shifting. It takes something of a political wind to turn J. Pierpont, because he has bevel gear connections with all the machinery of the Interests. He is grooming two men for the Presidency—Wilson in New Jersey, Harmon in Ohio. Elected to the Governorships of their States, they will loom large in the Democratic convention of 1912. Which wins matters little. Both are tarred with the Wall street stick. Either is "safe and sane," as "safety" and "sanity" are defined by Big Business.

+ +

Is It Him For The Toboggan?

The (Johnstown) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), Oct. 26.—It is now evident that a marked change of sentiment is taking place. The idol is becoming common clay. The psychology of this transmutation is obvious. Popular idols based on misconceptions cannot long endure. The moment their worshippers realize that they have been worshipping false gods, their admiration turns to wrath. Roosevelt, idolized as the political Moses destined to purify politics, curb predatory corporations and lead the workers forth from industrial bondage, has suddenly become a very ordinary, commonplace politician, ready to sacrifice principle and traffic with the political bosses he has constantly denounced, for the sake of a temporary advantage in a State convention. Then, too, his worshippers are beginning to doubt his sincerity as a reformer and his ability as a leader. It has bewildered them to behold him indorsing low tariff in the West and high tariff in the East. They are at a loss to understand how their idol can honestly and consistently advocate the election of Beveridge in Indiana, who denounces the Taft-Aldrich law as a counterfeit, and Lodge in Massachusetts, who declares it to be the best ever happened.

+ +

Where The People Really Rule.

The (Toronto) Weekly Sun (family), Oct. 26.—In Oregon they have what has come to be known as direct legislation; that is, the power of initiating and rejecting legislation rests directly with the people. By means of a petition, signed by eight per cent of the electorate, consideration of any measure can be forced on the State legislature; by a petition signed by 5 per cent of the electorate, the legislature can, within ninety days of the close of a session be compelled to refer to the people, for approval or rejection, any measure passed by it during the session. The legislature may also, of its own motion refer any of its measures to the people for their judgment thereon. Since the change in the constitution providing for all this, a change effected in 1902, twenty-three measures have been submitted to the people under the Initiative, five under the Referendum and four by direct act of the legislature. The number of measures submitted is of less importance than the manner in which these have been dealt with. The people have shown their power to discriminate . . . If we had a like system in Ontario we would soon have a fair measure in

force for the taxation of railways; if we had direct legislation in the Dominion the naval folly would be ended in quick order.

+ +

The Cummins' Speech.

The Milwaukee (daily) Journal (ind. Rep.), Oct. 26.—From reading his Chicago speech, many of his admirers will get the impression that Senator Cummins of Iowa, one of the Progressive Republican leaders of the country, has taken a distinct step backward . . . To advocate the re-election now of Cannon or any other Tory is to drive a knife straight into the heart of Republican insurgency. . . . Will it turn out that among all the Progressive Republican leaders Senator La Follette is the one man who is going to stand up and be counted? He has not hesitated to support a Progressive Democrat in preference to a Tory Republican, and it is not likely that he will ever hesitate to do so. He is certainly too consistent to help by word or act the re-election of a man like Cannon. He will never say that a bad Republican is to be preferred to the best kind of Democrat. The sentiments expressed by Senator Cummins are to be regretted. After the campaign is over, he is likely to talk differently, but meanwhile he has not raised himself at all in the estimation of the people. It would be better for him if he were broad and consistent all the time. So far as the Progressive movement is concerned, the attitude of none of its leaders is of vital moment. The cause rests upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people. They are the movement. They will insist upon leaders who will wage a straight and uncompromising fight. They will have leaders of this kind. They have many now.

+ +

Chicago Record Herald (ind. Rep.), Oct. 26.—Having made up his mind to encourage the "regulars" and emphasize his own loyalty to party, Senator Cummins was regular with a vengeance. He knew he was expected to stand straight; he leaned backward—so far backward that the effect must have been bewildering to many independents and more Democrats.

+ + +

The Class Question in Politics.

The (Philadelphia) Evening Post (ind.), Sept. 10.—We imagine that some railroad employes are in a confused state of mind nowadays. No doubt they have heard more or less about Socialism, which would persuade them that as wage-earners they constitute a particular class, having a special class interest; that as voters they should recognize this class interest, voting for whoever or whatever will promote it. On the other hand they have heard from Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft and many other eminent publicists that this appeal to a class interest is a wicked and noxious thing; that it is their duty to vote simply as American citizens, and that whosoever seeks to project class division into politics strikes at the base of our free institutions. Having got the latter point firmly in mind, what must be their surprise at hearing eloquent appeals to class interest from their own employers! The president

of a large system recently urged its wage-earners to "cast their votes solidly against those who stand for anti-railroad legislation." The obvious meaning is that as their wages depend upon railroad earnings, and those earnings depend upon an absence of anti-railroad legislation, they ought to forget the nonsense about voting simply as American citizens and come out solidly for whoever promises most to their own particular class. Up to which point, of course, the railroad president and the Socialists are in hearty accord—although they differ as to how the employe should vote in order to promote his class interest. Meanwhile the employe may be trying to figure out why it is wicked for a Socialist to appeal to class interest, but not wicked for a railroad president.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

JIM CROW.

For The Public.

By what dread logic, by what grand neglect,
 Wide as our nation, doth this relic last—
 This relic of old sterile customs past
 Long since into deep shame without respect?
 Even I whom this contrivance fain would teach
 A low submission, pray within my soul
 That these my masters may not reap the dole
 Of finding remedy beyond their reach.
 In lofty mood I mount the reeking box,
 And travel through the land. So Terence once
 Moved in old Rome. So—wondrous paradox—
 Moved Esop in old Greece, the dwarf and dunce.
 Then I reflect how their immortal wit
 Makes the world laugh with mockery of it.

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL.

* * *

A POET OF DEMOCRACY.

An Editorial Written by R. B. Peattie, and Published in the Chicago Tribune of October 24.
 Reprinted Here by Courteous Permission of the Tribune.

There once appeared among all the bedizened and perfumed poets a man in his shirt sleeves who smelled of nothing but the soil. He announced himself a poet of democracy, carrying his postulate so far that nothing, so he said, was foreign to him. He denied all manner of aristocracies—those of birth and culture, wealth and rectitude. He believed that there was the same human essence in all men and women and that the sort of class feeling which divided the good from the bad and the learned from the ignorant was as detrimental to human progress as those who had made the rich disregard the poor, or the gently bred scorn the peasant. It was inevitable that he should

be punished by bitter criticism, that he should be misinterpreted and injudiciously expounded.

But little by little the genuineness of his feeling and the depth of his spiritual insight are becoming apparent. Not only those who are interested in benevolence but those who make justice their business are beginning to understand that what Whitman said was true—that the "neither do I condemn thee," is the core of brotherhood and of amelioration of all social injustices.

An Englishman once said that the gift of Whitman to us is the gift of life rather than literature, and although it is true that he gave us the most arresting literature, of which we may, as Americans, boast, yet it was his manhood, his elemental sincerity, his heroic nudity of ideas—such nudity and truth as Michael Angelo offered—that show him to have been representative of us. He spoke for "the divine average," and while it may yet be many years before the average know him for what he was or appreciate how he appealed for them to the higher courts of judgment, yet sooner or later he will be identified with the fundamental and necessary things—the things with which men in a democracy associate themselves. Although he had many and various things to say, they all were phases of one propaganda, they all were parcels of his instinctive and intrinsic religion of democracy. He was not the servant of beauty, or form, or elegance. He was for men, and the eloquence with which he pleaded the rights and outreachings of men has become immortal.

* * *

SEE THE ROOSEVELT!

For The Public.

"See the Roosevelt!"

"Yes, what a stunning and stirring and striking Roosevelt it is. What is the Roosevelt doing?"

"The Roosevelt is trying to carve out for itself an ineradicable niche in the archives of destiny."

"What a noble and lofty purpose! And how does the Roosevelt intend to accomplish his design?"

"By opposing some things and standing for other things."

"What then does the Roosevelt oppose?"

"Everything that the Roosevelt does not stand for."

"And what does the Roosevelt stand for?"

"The Roosevelt stands for justice if it is not carried too far, for uprightness if it is not overdone, for peace if it is practiced in moderation, for equity if it is kept within bounds, for righteousness if it is not allowed to become subversive of anything, for democracy if it does not encroach upon the rights, emoluments, franchises and ambitions of the Roosevelt."

ELLIS O. JONES.

OUR REPUBLICAN SPIRIT THEN AND NOW.

Edwin D. Mead in the Springfield Republican.

Switzerland and Brazil have already recognized the new republic of Portugal; Great Britain has conditionally promised recognition, and the welcomes from other powers will rapidly follow. Meantime we are informed that our own state department will act with "judicial caution." There was a time when we were not so cautious in extending the right hand of fellowship and welcome to an aspiring new republic or republican effort. It was not so long ago, as history goes; but it was before we were spending 70 per cent of our total national income on military expenses; before we had a "dependency" whose millions of people are almost unanimous in desiring independence of our rule, only kept in subjection by a strong army; before the head of our army was in the habit of making speeches urging that the republic "out-German Germany" in public military education and preparation, and before this redoubtable rough rider's old chief lieutenant, now an ex-president of the United States, went stumping the country in behalf of a bigger navy for—God knows what. Militarism and enthusiasm for democracy never go together. They never did, and they never will. When our present wretched fever has run its course and we have returned to sanity and health, we shall return to ringing utterance of our old republicanism, and run no risk of being at the tail end of the procession which celebrates the birth into the world of an aspiring and heroic new republic.

It is profitable, by way of comparison with our present "judicial caution," to turn back the pages of our history a little and see what the spirit of our government and people was touching such matters 60 years ago. That was when the Hungarians under Kossuth were in revolution, aspiring for independence. President Taylor, without waiting for their setting up a firm and stable government, sent a special agent to Europe to watch the progress of the revolution, with the intention, as he afterward informed the Senate, of acknowledging the independence of Hungary if she succeeded in setting up a government *de facto*. When this proceeding became known, it was considered by the Austrian government as offensive, and its representative at Washington, Mr. Hulsemann, complained of it in an official letter not couched in too courteous terms. The answer of our secretary of state touching the relations of the United States toward the people of other countries seeking through revolution to establish free institutions is a letter which should never be forgotten when this republic confronts such situations. This was in 1850, and Mr. Fillmore had succeeded Gen. Taylor in the presidency. The name of our secre-

tary of state at that time was Daniel Webster. His letter to Mr. Hulsemann fills a dozen pages in the large volumes, and every page is edifying and calculated to stir the noblest pride of the true American; but I shall quote simply from the brief passage in which Mr. Webster asserts the same right on our part to welcome the rise of republican movements in Europe which European monarchists were so freely exercising to criticize the "foolish" strivings of democracies and the "disorder, commotions and evils" to which all deviations from monarchy "necessarily lead." The sovereigns who then formed the European alliance, he reminded the Austrian diplomat, "have in their manifestoes and declarations denounced the popular ideas of the age in terms so comprehensive as of necessity to include the United States and their forms of government." It was known and admitted by intelligent powers all over the world "that the prevalence on the other continent of sentiments favorable to republican liberty was the result of the reaction of America upon Europe." The government of the United States had heard the European denunciations of its fundamental principles "without remonstrance or the disturbance of its equanimity;" but "the United States may be pardoned," said Mr. Webster firmly, "even by those who profess adherence to the principles of absolute government, if they entertain an ardent affection for those popular forms of political organization which have so rapidly advanced their own prosperity and happiness. They cannot fail to cherish always a lively interest in the fortunes of nations struggling for institutions like their own. They have abstained at all times from acts of interference with the political changes of Europe; but when they behold the people of foreign countries, without any such interference, spontaneously moving toward the adoption of institutions like their own, it surely cannot be expected of them to remain wholly indifferent spectators."

I believe that our people to-day are not indifferent spectators of the brave republican uprising in Portugal, and that a prompt official expression of sympathy would warm the popular heart, as the strong republican action of Zachary Taylor and Daniel Webster warmed the popular heart 60 years ago. Our business is to keep the United States the "source and center" of democratic influence for the world to-day, as they so proudly knew it to be then. There is no other so effective way to do it as in being quick to welcome and to help strong and noble struggles for freedom in the hour when help is worth something. Then it is that the brave nation acts, without waiting until the critical hour and the chance for virtue are past and it has become clear even to judicial caution that it is "prosperous to be just." Why were we so quick to recognize the republic of Panama, and by our recognition assure it standing and permanence? Was it because we felt republicanism there so much

more stable and worthy than in Portugal to-day? It will be a sad day for the great republic of Washington and Lincoln when its motives come under the suspicion of the unregenerate, and sadder when they fail to be the brave and heroic motives of the lovers of liberty.

* * *

THE BALLOONS AND THE TARIFF.

J. W. Bengough in the Toronto Globe.

Old Peterkin, with Globe in hand, was reading out the news,

While his clever little grandson ran an auto on the floor;

He had read about bilingual schools and Chance's baseball views,

And various other matters, while the youngster asked for "more";

He was a thoughtful little boy,

Though he sat playing with a toy.

Then grandpap read how three balloons from Yankee Doodle's land

Had alighted in Ontario, somewhere up Cobalt way, Whereon the juvenile remarked: "I scarcely understand;"

And in a thoughtful attitude he ceased his childish play.

Says he: "If that can really be,
It must be a calamity!"

"Why, no, my boy," his grandpap said; "no one was hurt at all,

Th' balloonatics are all quite safe so far as we are told."

"But what about our industries? and where's our tariff wall?

Suppose they've brought in Yankee goods, won't we be undersold?

Grandpap, I really fail to see
What good a tariff is," said he.

"Balloons can carry lots of stuff as well as ships and cars,

And how can customs officers get at 'em with a tax?

The thing's impossible, which proves that tariff bolts and bars

Are just expensive nuisances—red tape and sealing-wax;

Grandpap," said he, "the thing's too thin,
They've got to roof the country in!"

"My child," Old Peterkin replied, "your reasoning is sound;

A system that won't always work's a system that's untrue;

Protection that cannot 'protect' unless it's on the ground

Is a hollow fraud and mockery—that is my settled view."

"Grandpap," replied the kiddie, "Gee!
You're a philosopher, I see!"

* * *

Eat, drink and be merry to-day, for to-morrow you may diet.—Chapparral.

BOOKS

THE STRUGGLE FOR MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE.

The Life and Times of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.
By Arthur Howard Noll and A. Philip McMahon.
Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1910.
Price, \$1.00 net.

When Mexico celebrated last month the one-hundredth anniversary of her independence, the hero of the nation was Hidalgo, a radical priest and militant patriot, whose call to arms in 1810 was the beginning of the struggle for freedom from Spain.

"At 5 o'clock on Sunday, the 16th of September," writes his biographer, "Hidalgo gathered his host in the patio of the parish church of Dolores and rang again his liberty bell. The priest said mass, the worshipers being a motley crowd of men armed with lances, machetes, pikes and the few weapons secured from the soldiers of the queen's regiment. He then addressed his congregation in words well calculated to incite them to insurrection. He drew a picture of the evils which rested over them; the iniquities of the Government to which they were subject and the advantages of independence. His venerable appearance, his voice and manner, and his attractive words aroused in them the greatest enthusiasm, and they gave a great shout, 'Viva Independencia! Viva America! Muera el mal gobierno!' (Long live Independence! Long live America! Death to bad government!)

"It was in accordance with the time-honored custom of Latin peoples (originating in times long antecedent to the printing press, and when few of the people could read) that every revolution should begin with a *viva voce* proclamation. Therefore this shout, this battle cry was accepted as a proclamation of the popular demands for a new order of things. It has ever since been known as the *Grito de Dolores*."

Less than a year later Hidalgo met defeat and death. But others continued the struggle and in 1822 Mexico was recognized as an independent monarchy by the United States, and became a republic three years later. After fifty years more of turmoil, "a grateful country made Porfirio Diaz chief magistrate," who "added to his patriotic zeal a wisdom which has enabled him to adapt the Constitution to the highest needs of the country; to establish good government, which shall serve the best interests of the people; and to elevate Mexico to condition of prosperity and happiness at home, and to a position among the nations of the earth which commands the respect of all."

Such praise of Diaz the reader may find hard to

reconcile with the author's apparently sympathetic history of the liberty-loving rebel Hidalgo.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

* * *

NEW EDITION OF "PROGRESS AND POVERTY."

Announcement is made by John Bagot, editor of the Middleton Guardian (near Manchester, England), that a new English edition of Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" is about to be published by him to be sold at 4d—8 cents a copy. In the announcement assurances are given that the edition is unabridged, and that errors have been guarded against by comparison with the author's edition. The number of pages is 416.

PERIODICALS

Everybody's.

Steffens' "It" continues in Everybody's (New York) with much information and valuable moralizing. "The inability of a 'practical' people to grasp an abstract principle, no matter how practical that principle may be," is about the best summing up of American inefficiency to be found anywhere. It fits the business man and the school man quite as snugly as the workingman; perhaps better, for now and then you do find workingmen to whom abstract principles are not unknown territory. The "might of organized business," the "poor rich," and the "railroad monopoly," are among the points especially elucidated in the November Everybody's by the Big Business men Mr. Steffens has interviewed and now brings forward as witnesses.—Frederic C. Howe's appeal to American voters to choose their own Congressmen, tells this of a visitor to President Roosevelt: "Mr. President, the difference between you and us radicals out West is this: you are after the law-breakers, we are after the law-makers."—When you have read thus far in Everybody's, don't close it until you read James Oppenheim's story, "Mother and Father."

* * *

McClure's.

In the promised series by John Moody and George Kibbe Turner (p. 956), the first installment of which appears in McClure's (New York) for November, under the title of "The Masters of Capital in America," with subtitle, "Morgan: the Great Trustee," the history of the development of the "It" which Lincoln Steffens is describing and dissecting in Everybody's, is given. Interesting indeed is the fact that modern monopoly originated, in its historical development, with the dry goods and clothing trade of the first half of the last century; and that George Peabody, the famous philanthropist, was its foster father. Another fact in this history of a financial revolution, that "in 1837 more than half of our State debts were bonds issued to build canals or railways," suggests the query, Why should the people have paid for the public utilities they have ever since allowed private

interests to own?—The first of Archer's two articles on the Ferrer case, appearing in this issue of McClure's, is a judicial presentation and weighing of the facts.—Sue Ainslie Clark and Edith Wyatt make a sad showing of "Working-Girls' Budgets" in which they tell the story of the shirt-waist makers' strike in New York.

* * *

Twentieth Century.

In its news of advance along the lines of fundamental democracy, the Twentieth Century (Boston) for November gives testimony on public ownership in Seattle from the pen of L. B. Youngs, Superintendent of the Seattle Water Works. According to this instructive report the Seattle water works was acquired by the city in 1890 through purchase of a plant previously conducted by private parties, the purchase price being \$352,289. Since then additions and improvements have been installed, until at the end of 1909 the total investment amounted to \$8,511,000. With the growth of the city the income increased until it reached \$746,595 for 1909. The operation and fixed charge account for the same year amounted to \$454,259, and the balance of the revenue was applied to the redemption of outstanding warrants and new construction. The bonded debt of the department is now \$4,079,000, upon which there is an annual interest of \$204,000. There are in use 492.3 miles of watermain, 3,710

THE GRADUATED LAND TAX.

Cartoon in The Worker of Sydney, N. S. W., Australia, for September 15, 1910.

A. A. Dangar, in a letter of protest to the press, claims that he should be exempt from the Federal Land Tax on account of being a freeholder against his will, and the prevalence of prickly pear in the neighborhood.



Land Monopolist: "Keep your tax off my land, young 'un. Don't you see I'm holding it against my will!"

water gates, 3,860 fire hydrants, 31,839 water taps and three standpipes and four reservoirs with a total storage capacity of 53,500,000 gallons. These figures are all for the thirty-first of December, 1909, since which time considerable additions have been made to the plant, the meters now aggregating over 20,000. The large reservoirs, now building, will increase the storage capacity to 273,000,000 gallons. Every proposition to

improve and extend the plant has carried at elections by large majorities. Any proposition to revert to private management would not be listened to by the people. Mr. Youngs makes a report also on the lighting plant, the earnings of which have grown in less than six years to \$468,000, with expenses and interest amounting to only \$224,600. At the time the plant was installed the rates dropped from 20 to 50 per cent from those previously charged.—A further

By Way of Repetition.

During the past year 4,000 new readers were added to the subscription list of *The Public*. 4,000 new people became acquainted with it and are now reading it. Many of these became enthusiastic over it after reading it a short time—they wrote to express their appreciation—and many of them at once set to work getting new subscribers from among their friends.

The army of helpers is growing.

There are easily 100,000 people in the United States who would welcome *The Public* as gladly as it was welcomed by these 4,000. It is merely a question of finding them. No one man, nor any half dozen men, can do it. But 1,000 or so, each doing a little, can do it.

I believe we can add 10,000 new readers to *The Public* list this coming year. Never before was the demand so great for a real newspaper—an ideal newspaper—such as you know *The Public* to be—one that follows the even tenor of its way, publishing and commenting upon the vital news of the world, comprehensive, compact and reliable—swerved neither by considerations of business advantage nor sensational applause—cleaving to its ideal of democracy.

There is not a more *carefully* edited paper published anywhere in the world. Most of you will agree that there are few, if any, more *ably* edited.

With a consistent record of 12 eventful years to its credit, need anyone hesitate to recommend *The Public* to others?

From now on—the next six months—is the most fruitful time to enlist new readers. If *The Public* has been of service to you, will you help? You can have sample copies and advertising matter for the asking.

How many hands are up?

EMIL SCHMIED, Manager.

collection of articles of exceptional interest appears from B. O. Flower (on Edwin Markham), Senator Bourne and Theodore Schroeder.

* * *

"Mamma, is there a stye coming on this eye, too?"
 "No, dear; this one is perfectly well. It sympathizes with the sore eye—that's all."
 "Well," grumbled the little boy, applying his hand-

kerchief, "I don't mind its sympathizin', but it doesn't need to weep over it."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

On a busy day a woman walked into the office of the court rooms at Atlanta, Ga., and, addressing Judge Blank, said:

"Are you the reprobate judge?"

"I am the probate judge."

"That is what I was saying," she said, "and I have

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