

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Church Censorship of the Mails.

The natural next step in postal censorship was advised by the American Federation of Catholic Societies at New Orleans on the 13th. If consummated, their proposal would bring all religious discussion under the ban of any Postmaster General angling for the "religious vote." What this Federation is reported by the dispatches to have proposed is the exclusion from the mails of "literature that defames God or Christ." The implication, of course, is that only ribald denunciations shall be excluded. Even so, the Postmaster General's function is hardly that of a protector of pious nomenclature. But in practice, his function would be carried far beyond the suppression of ribaldry. It would get to meddling with serious discussions of religious subjects.

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The religionists that cannot hold their own in the hearts of the people without any further service from the Postmaster General than he renders to all faiths and to none, are not warranted in calling on that functionary for special help. Ribald assaults upon theistical names can hurt no one but their authors; serious discussions of theistical claims can hurt nothing but falsehood. The man who asks the state to protect his religious beliefs, beyond securing him equal freedom with all other believers, however different, including those who believe in unbelief, thereby confesses his own

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lack of faith; and that is what the Catholic federationists have done for themselves.

* *

Industrial Education.

In aid of its plans to turn the industrial education movement into a movement for converting the public schools into "strike breaker" factories, the Commercial Club of Chicago—alias Forgan, Robinson, Big Business, et al.—have introduced a German expositor of industrial education for whose services they should be thanked, whether their intentions were as good as his performance or not. Under their auspices Dr. Georg Kirschensteiner, member of the Royal Council of Education and Director of the Public Schools of Munich, Germany, spoke recently at Ziegfeld Hall. He explained the Munich system of compulsory continuation schools, as one under which the pupils were not public school pupils put into industrial classes in order to make working boys and girls of them, but were working boys and girls put into industrial classes in order to make educated men and women of them. The whole spirit of Dr. Kirschensteiner's lecture was out of harmony with Big Business ideals—if sordid policies can be dignified as ideals. "Industry is not the object of civilization," he said; "it is only a means, the object being justice and culture." Mere "skill, whether of mind or hand or both," he argued, "without morality, is social death." And he summed up the whole subject with the pointed warning that we "must not debase honest toil to drudgery." Those quotations indicate the true ideal of industrial education.

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Rumored Removal of Mrs. Young.

The rumor grows persistently, that Ella Flagg Young (p. 963), the superintendent of schools who has given Chicago the best public school system it has ever had, is to be dropped as superintendent at the beginning of the coming year.

* *

Common Sense in a Court.

The Supreme Court of Minnesota has decided (120 Northwestern Reporter, 898) that if an applicant for citizenship is otherwise eligible, the fact that he has only a chaotic knowledge of the Federal Constitution and form of government does not exclude him from citizenship.

*

The applicant was a native of Norway, 24 years in this country and 18 years in Minnesota. Ex-

amined as to his qualifications for citizenship, he said he didn't know where the laws were made, but supposed the Governors made them. But how many native-born citizens know where the laws are made? Our native-born President, for example, would probably say that the Taft-Aldrich tariff law was made in Washington by Congress; but the steel trust and the cotton mill and woolen mill and other trusts know better than that. The Norwegian was correct; the "governors" do make the laws—the "governors" of Congress and of State legislatures.

*

The applicant from Norway didn't know the purpose of the Federal Constitution, nor the location of the national capital. But is that a proof of ignorance? When the cotton and woolen schedules of the Taft-Aldrich tariff law were made, the national capital was located east of the Hudson river and not very far south of the Merrimac. As to the purpose of the Constitution—well, John Marshall twisted that nearly a hundred years ago, and no Supreme Court has been sure of its purpose since that time, except when the election returns were more than usually legible.

*

The applicant thought that Washington was still President; but what of that? William Howard Taft thinks he is President, and Roosevelt said Taft would be President if elected. If a court is to refuse citizenship to a Norwegian because he doesn't understand the Constitution, what should be done with an ex-Vice-President Fairbanks, who says that "muckraking is the cause of the growth of Socialism in this country"? Or with the editor of the Outlook, who says the declaration that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"—government by the people as well as of them and for them, as Lincoln put it,—is false.

* *

Local Option in Taxation.

When Frank Stephens of Philadelphia argued for local option in taxation before the Pennsylvania tax commission (p. 299), it no doubt seemed like a novelty to those who heard him; but he was only reviving the wisdom of no less a statesman than Thomas Jefferson. In writing to Peregrine Fitzhugh, June, 1797, Mr. Jefferson said:

I am suggesting an idea on the subject of taxation which might, perhaps, facilitate much that business, and reconcile all parties. That is . . . to lay a land tax, leviable in 1798, etc. But if by the last day of 1798 any State shall bring its whole

quota into the Federal treasury, the tax shall be suspended one year for that State. If by the end of the next year they bring another year's tax, it shall be suspended a second year as to them, and so "toties quoties" forever. If they fail, the Federal collectors will go on of course to make their collection. In this way, those who prefer excises may raise their quota by excises, and those who prefer land taxes may raise by land taxes, either on the Federal plan or on any other of their own which they like better. This would tend, I think, to make the general government popular and to render the State legislatures useful allies and associates instead of rivals, and to mollify the harsh tone of government which has been asserted. I find the idea pleasing to most of those to whom I have suggested it. It will be objected to by those who are for consolidation.

If that plan would have been good between nation and States—and how infinitely better it would have been than customs tariffs, with their fungus growth called "protection"—why would it not be good between State and counties, or State and cities? There is no good reason for having a State dictate its system of taxation to a county or a city that prefers another system for local purposes. On the contrary, there are many good reasons why every county and city should be self-governing in matters of local taxation.

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The Esoteric in Politics.

Mr. Roosevelt has broken his post-election silence. "Every dog has his day," he is reported to have told the National Press Club in Washington, "but the nights belong to the cats." "Cats" is cryptic. Mr. Roosevelt must have been having bad dreams about bad men.

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Jug-Handled Co-operation.

Jenkyn Lloyd Jones's "Unity" tells this interesting and instructive story of a great public improvement:

That was a spectacular exhibit of the power of co-operation that was recently effected in Iowa, when, by concerted action, carefully arranged for, a from-river-to-river road, reaching from Omaha to Davenport, was graded and put in as good shape as dirt roads can attain, in one hour of time. All the various county, town, and road district officials had been preparing for the event for weeks ahead. The necessary scrapers, road makers and other tools were at hand. The workmen were stripped for the fray, and when the word was given it is estimated that ten thousand workmen fell to. In an hour the job was done, and what the newspapers pronounced "the finest long-distance road in the entire West" was completed, and not a cent of wages paid.

But is this something to boast of? Not when all the facts are in. Will the workmen who made

that road without wages, get any better pay in consequence from their employers for their regular work? Hardly. But won't the land along that long-distance road fetch a bigger price from buyers in consequence, and command a higher rent from tenants? Probably. Then isn't there a little of the "con game" in that spectacular road-making without wages? The "power of cooperation" lacks something to commend it when cooperation in production is not supplemented with cooperation in distribution. This is not a criticism of "Unity." It is intended simply for general consideration.

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A Square Deal for Men.

In Cincinnati there is in operation a plan called the "Dow" plan, for the relief of dumb animals. On a hundred million pages of paper for universal distribution it is printing the following: "A Square Deal for the Horse. We believe every horse deserves three ample meals daily; water frequently; proper shoes; a blanket in cold weather; two weeks' vacation annually. Throw away the whip." Good. Very good, as far as it goes. But another hundred million copies with "horse" changed to "man," would greatly improve it.

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Education and Poverty.

In the "Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws," British "blue book" of 1909, page 72, the following interesting information appears:

In the early part of the nineteenth century the system of elementary education was in its infancy and sanitary legislation was practically unknown. Now we have free education in the elementary subjects for every child in the Kingdom, and large sums are spent annually from public funds in secondary and technical instruction. No boy or girl physically and mentally capable of learning may now go out into the world without, at any rate, a fair educational knowledge, and with the increasing facilities for obtaining all forms of instruction it might reasonably be expected that the people would more readily command employment and higher remuneration. In the year 1871, the expenditure upon elementary education was slightly in excess of two millions, of which some £550,000 was met by school fees. In 1905-6, the latest year for which the particulars are available, the expenditure had risen to about twenty millions, whilst approximately another three millions were expended upon various forms of higher education. A generation has elapsed since elementary education became universal, and the benefits to be derived from the system should now be accruing to the nation. Persons now above fifty years of age have not, it is true, participated in the advantages conferred in 1870, but of persons below that age we

have shown that there is no diminution in the number coming upon the Poor Laws.

Note the grim brevity of that conclusion. Of persons below fifty years of age "there is no diminution in the number coming upon the poor laws." Notwithstanding free education calculated to qualify for opportunities for employment and higher remuneration—*no diminution* of pauperism! But why should any diminution be expected while the benefits of labor power go not to Labor but to Monopoly?

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VOLUNTARY POVERTY.

Old Gathergold is certainly having his day of triumph. The populace is flocking to his Automobile and acclaiming him the one of the Great Stone Face.

True, we are hurling our anathemas against those who cause us to feel the pinch of poverty; but the cry is not without a taint, to say the least, of sour grapes.

There is a struggle between the Haves and the Have Nots, a struggle to leave the Have Nots and to join the Haves.

Success is most often measured on a dollar and cents basis. Even the proposed reforms of the day that get more than a passing popular notice are those which promise a more general prosperity, a more universal distribution of the "goods" of this world.

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If there is anything that stands discredited and cordially hated by the public, it is the condition known as Poverty. To it we ascribe most of the evil of the day, comfortably telling ourselves that the millennium will be ushered in just as soon as there is a more equitable distribution of the wealth of society. Yet the fact remains that there is but lukewarm public support of measures proposed by thoughtful men for the amelioration of present unfortunate conditions.

Why?

Certainly if the fact of Poverty would cause the public to support movements calculated to give all an honest return for labor, there should be no lack of hearty endorsement of many of the reforms now before us. As there is no such mass movement, it would seem there must be some powerful deterrent.

Probably there is more than one cause for the general apparent lack of interest, but I wish to suggest that the very popular Spirit of Plutocracy is playing a large part in the slow progress of Reform.

Thousands are enduring the terrible curse of enforced poverty. Nevertheless, many of them are just as plutocratic in spirit as the veriest multi-millionaire. They with other multitudes in slightly more comfortable circumstances are in no urgent hurry to see the present regime destroyed, especially if it is to be done at the expense of destroying the opportunity to "get rich." They live in the secret hope that some day they will "strike it rich" themselves.

This plutocratic spirit is instilled in the public at large from all quarters. It is most profitable for the Haves to foster this spirit. Just so long, however, as the Spirit of Plutocracy obtains, we can expect movements for juster economic conditions to fare badly at the hands of the public, no matter how patent the fact of poverty may become.

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Discredited and scorned as involuntary poverty is, I wish to present for thoughtful consideration a somewhat kindred estate—Voluntary Poverty.

Kindred in thought, perhaps, but as far removed in power for blessing or cursing as the east from the west.

It is to be feared we have carried our scorn for enforced poverty over to the condition of man common to the major portion of those the world has come to honor as its great ones. Permit me, then, a word of definition: Voluntary Poverty is that condition wherein there is the willing surrender of riches and the attitude of mind that does not esteem them the goal of human endeavor. It is the state wherein we pay our way as we go, free from the thralldom of Things.

A goodly army of us are in this class so far as the material facts go. The trouble is we have the plutocratic attitude of mind, and are too often the weakling when it comes to the question of a pronounced stand for better conditions. It is safe to say that few things will make more of a coward of the average man, be he rich or poor, than the plutocratic spirit. The terrible fear that goes with riches masters most men completely.

Does society wish a moral heroism comparable to that known in some of the more warlike periods of history, there remains the almost virgin field of Voluntary Poverty. If it does not develop the heroic to practice Voluntary Poverty in these days of Mammon's triumph, it is difficult to know just what will draw out the sterner attributes of our character.

We sorely need just this type of men these days. For of such is the Army of Progress.

More than one fair attempt to bring larger life and opportunity has died an ignoble death because its advocates depended upon the patronage of wealth. "Influence" easily snuffs out such movements, do they but become threatening to the interests of Privilege. What a strangle hold has Mammon on this fair race of ours!

Many powerful spirits are ardent devotees of the Golden Goddess. Thousands of others are held in terrible bondage because of the devious and questionable doings of these "great ones." Other thousands, beholding, have been blinded by the glitter and are rendered dissatisfied and unfit because of the festering desire to *have*. Still other multitudes are kept quiet through a haunting fear of losing their "job."

Need we wonder then if movements to change the present plutocratic regime have rough sledding?

But there is ever that saving remnant, the heroic few who will do and dare for the welfare of humanity. And just now there seems to be a large demand for them to do, in preaching more widely the benefits and power resident in Voluntary Poverty.

IVAN H. BENEDICT.

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PROSPERITY.

In "Hard Times," Mr. McChoakumchild, the school master, says:

"Now this school room is a nation. And in this nation there are fifty millions of money. Isn't this a prosperous nation? Girl number twenty, isn't this a prosperous nation and ain't you in a thriving state?"

And in telling the story Dickens makes girl number twenty, the daughter of a circus clown, say that she doesn't know whether it is a prosperous nation or not and whether she is in a thriving state or not, unless she knows who has the money and whether any of it is hers.

Is America prosperous? Is it in a thriving state?

No.

True, the coffers of some are overflowing, but they are overflowing with the portion of those plunged in the depths of adversity—the denizens of our jails, our workhouses, our houses of prostitution, our slums, and our sweat shops, unprosperous, unlovely, degraded in the midst of industrial prosperity and commercial glory.

We, the well-housed, may be content with our comfort and security, with our prosperous condition and our thriving state; we may boast of our

national industry and prosperity; we may preach and condemn and punish from behind our bulwarks of laws and constitutions and institutions; but until the unnatural sloughs of adversity are made dry by the leveled mountains of unearned prosperity, the nation will never be truly prosperous.

SCOTT NEARING.

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PAUPER WALL PAPER.

Now that the election is well over and we are all comparatively calm, it may be in order to ask a few questions of the two great authorities on wall paper.

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Governor-elect Dix.

He will be too busy to think about wall paper after the first of January, so perhaps he had better take it up now.

Does he think the present tariff on wall paper is too high, or too low, or is it just right? What is the reason for a tariff on wall paper? Is it to cover the difference in cost of production here and abroad? What is the difference? And so forth.

Never mind about that old company of which Mr. Dix knows nothing, but give us up-to-date information as to present conditions.

The Governor-elect must realize that he owes at least part of his vote to people who were chiefly trying to hurt the feelings of the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, in which attempt they apparently succeeded. If Mr. Dix makes a good Governor they will readily forgive and forget anything he did as a wall paper manufacturer. But in the meantime such a flood of light as he could throw on the wall paper question would be deeply appreciated.

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The other authority, of course, is the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt. When he recovers consciousness, will he kindly let us know what *he* thinks of the present tariff on wall paper?

Is it too high, or too low, or just right? Why is there a tariff on wall paper? Would he like to have a commission appointed to find out all about the wall paper business—among other things whether the Hon. Theodore knows anything at all about it?

It is rumored that the Colonel's silence is the result of a freak election bet. He agreed, if frazzled, to keep quiet a reasonable time. Whether this be true or not, it cannot be doubted that the Colonel will be heard from sooner or later. We

may expect that he will then pursue the wicked wall paper trust to the bitter end as it is well known that he never leaves unfinished anything he undertakes.

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In all probability, therefore, it is merely a question of time when we shall know all that is to be known about the pauper wall paper of Europe and the protected wall paper of the United States.

WM. E. M'KENNA.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MATTERS IN CLEVELAND AND NEW YORK.

Cleveland, Nov. 17.

One of the events of the Cleveland election which has been passed by with but little notice is the referendum adoption (p. 1094) of a franchise for a subway. This is one of the aftermaths of the Johnson administration. The franchise is for seventy-five years, with profit limitations, and provisions for city ownership at the end of the term.

What makes this franchise commercially possible in a city no larger than Cleveland, is the invention by A. B. Dupont of a subway traction mechanism which reduces the cost of subway construction fully two-thirds, with a further reduction for rolling stock and greater comfort for passengers.

A half mile full size model of Dupont's invention is now on exhibition in Cleveland; and among those who rode in the car over this length of track to-day were Tom L. Johnson, Senator J. W. Bucklin of Colorado, George A. Briggs of Elkhart, Dr. Wm. P. Hill of St. Louis, Daniel Kiefer and Fenton Lawson of Cincinnati, and W. S. U'Ren and W. G. Eggleston of Portland, Oregon.

The car is hardly deeper from roof to floor than the height of a tall man. The floor lies close to the track. The seats run crosswise from side to side, with an entrance door for each at each side of the car and no corridor within. Seats face each other as in an English railway carriage, though there are no compartment partitions. All the doors are opened or closed at once mechanically. There is no standing room—which makes the invention objectionable to traction magnates, since "the money is in the straps," as Mr. Yerkes used to say. The seating capacity is four in each seat, making eight in each set of seats, and 64 for the entire car. In the New York subway cars, much higher from floor to roof, much wider and longer, the seating capacity is only 48, but the standing capacity is expansive.

The construction of the Dupont car makes it possible to lay the subway only ten feet below the surface of the street and to avoid all the expense of tunneling.

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New York, Nov. 18.

One of John Z. White's lectures was given here to-night at Cooper Union, to a large audience before whom he is giving a series. The subject to-night was the French Revolution. Mr. White's friends

over the country will be glad to know that he has been accorded here by the Cooper Union management the honorary title of "Judge;" and as "Judge White" is easier than "John Z.," he may find himself judicially branded for life.

With others from far away and near by he is here in attendance at the first general conference of the Fels Fund Commission (pp. 1076, 1087, 1099) which is to meet to-morrow at the rooms of the Liberal Club. Among those already here for that purpose from outside of New York are Daniel Kiefer, the chairman, and Tom L. Johnson, the treasurer, both of Ohio, and Lincoln Steffens of Connecticut, George A. Briggs of Indiana, and Frederic C. Howe of Ohio, all of the Commission; also John Z. White of Chicago, Frank Stephens of Philadelphia, Dr. W. P. Hill of St. Louis, W. S. U'Ren and W. G. Eggleston of Portland, Oregon, and Senator Jas. W. Bucklin of Colorado.

L. F. P.

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ON THE BRINK OF AN ABYSS.

Langdon, Canada.

The evil effects of one crop failure on the renting class, on the millions of tenants, show how near a large proportion of our rural population is hovering on the brink of the abyss of poverty and absolute want. And under landlordism this dire evil will ever be present to threaten.

In many sections of the Western States and Canada this season's crop has been practically lost through drought. Because of this failure many a small farm will be absorbed into the larger holdings of the rich landlord, and the small farmer who has been taxed to death by the government and grafted by the corporations to the verge of bankruptcy, will be lost in the seething mass of drifting humanity.

But the magnificent holdings of the absentee landlord will be increased by the surrender of the little home, which, under present social and economic conditions, has proved unequal to the task of supporting a family in decency and comfort.

It is appalling to the thinking man, that such a large proportion of our substantial population should be driven so near the brink that one year's failure might topple them over. It is appalling to think that there is no more stability than this, in the agricultural classes, upon which the welfare of the nation rests.

Suppose we should have two or three or four droughts, as have occurred in Australia? What would happen in many of the Western States under such an increased stress when one year cuts so many small farmers and especially renting farmers, adrift? Many sections of country would be entirely depopulated. The farms, drained to their very utmost by the tribute levied by governments and landlords, would be unworked. The unstable populations, subject to the greed of rich landlords and oppressed by unjust taxation, would simply be forced to the large centers, to swell the army of the discontented and unemployed.

Suppose there were in force such wise taxation laws as have been urged and advocated by The Pub-

lic and other defenders of the truth—laws which would limit the greed of the landlord by land value taxation laws which would make the small home-owner secure in his holding, laws which would prevent the concentration of the resources of the country into a few hands,—not one crop failure, nor two, nor three, would have any terrors for the well established farmer. The rural population would be stable, the land would be worked continually, the volume of traffic would be increased by this well paid labor, and there would be no fear in the minds of hundreds of thousands, who today cringe from year to year, lest they fail to pay the landlord's tribute and the government's extortion.

I have asked hundreds of American farmers coming into Canada, the direct question: "Why are you coming out of the United States into a foreign country?"

Nine-tenths of the answers have been that they were tired of paying such high rents to landlords.

The substantial class of American farmers coming into western Canada, are being driven out of their native land by landlordism, by high taxes, by small returns on unremitting labor.

They regret to leave the United States. They love their home and country. But that underlying economic reason which drives men to the extremities of the earth—the love of ownership, the kingship of independence, is forcing them to seek homes in this last unconquered wilderness, under a strange flag.

If the Roosevelt country life investigating commission could or would come to the Western States, especially the semi-arid sections, where the agricultural class shifts rapidly, where land is owned by large corporations and is farmed by tenants, they would find that landlordism is the canker that is eating away the heart of the agricultural communities.

People grow weary of rentpaying, and yet it is well-nigh impossible to become owners under the present conditions. There is no limit to the holdings of the landlord. There is no graduated tax, no bar to the unbridled greed of the rich land-owners, and the poor man cannot pay the price against ruthless competition.

The consequence is that the population of the country is shifting continually—changing, migrating, wandering. One crop failure starts hundreds toward the cities, seeking a livelihood with their empty hands, sick and disheartened with the fruitless struggle on another man's soil.

And yet we go on strengthening the bonds that bind us. We refer the idle workingman to the charitable institutions, and the bankrupt farmer we direct to Canada as a country offering cheap land and just laws—and all the while the landlord smilingly reaches out for more acres and is undisturbed.

BERT HUFFMAN.

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Why Rocky Continues to Grab Rocks.

What is really desired under the name of riches is power over men.—John Ruskin (applied by Bolton Hall).

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE EXPLOSION AT LOS ANGELES.

Oshkosh, Wis., Nov. 20.

I was at Los Angeles just after the Times disaster, and made an inquiry into the matter. As near as I could learn the facts were about as follows:

A strike of the metal workers was on, but everything had been perfectly peaceable except for a wordy clash or two between strikers and the secretary of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association.

For two days before the explosion there had been, as credibly reported, a great deal of free gas in the Times building, and two plumbers had been working to find the gas leak. That some of the employes left the building on account of escaping gas, is testified to by many employes in sworn affidavits.

The Times people claim that a dynamite explosion occurred outside of the building in a blind alley running from the street between the walls of the building, and that the explosion broke a gas main which caused the fire. This was on the ground floor and the building was six stories high. But Dr. Hunter, who was standing on the walk beside the building at one o'clock that night, when the explosion occurred, said that in less than two minutes after the explosion the building was a mass of flames from top to bottom and that flames were coming out of all the windows.

Dr. Hunter's statement contradicts the theory of the Times.

It is a well known fact that dynamite is used to blow up buildings in order to stop conflagrations. It was so used in the San Francisco great fire. And it almost never starts a fire. Besides that, the walls of the building gave no indication of a dynamite explosion, and there were no windows broken in the neighborhood except by heat from the burning building.

If this was a dynamite explosion breaking the gas main, a considerable time after the explosion would have been necessary to fill the building with gas. Free gas could not possibly have traveled from the bottom to the top of a six-story building in less than fifteen or twenty minutes under the most favorable conditions. Furthermore, had the dynamite broken the gas main and then set the gas on fire immediately, there would have been no explosion. The gas would have caught on fire like a gas jet and burned. It probably would not have reached the top of the building at all. But in fact the building was a mass of flames from top to bottom almost at once. This indicates free gas in the building.

The report that the building had been dynamited by the unions was first made by the Times. In its issue of that morning, got out in another office by union printers who volunteered to help, this paper made the charge against the unions, although it came out at about seven o'clock, about six hours after the explosion, while the fire was still burning and before any investigation at all had been made or could have been made.

Not a bit of evidence has connected the explosions with the unions; and the Times has many ene-

mies in Los Angeles quite as bitter as the unions. Then why suspect the unions? But as the Times made this report, it tried to back it up with proof. And how? Twelve hours afterward detectives go to Gen. Otis' home—he is the owner of the Times—and to the home of the secretary of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and there they find unexploded dynamite. They seemed to know just where to look. One of those infernal machines went off after they found it, and they threw it into the street. A rather strange circumstance that two of the conveniently placed infernal machines did not go off and the other did. As strange as that they thought of looking for them twelve hours after the explosion, and found them. It looks rather suspicious. I heard one person say he would have thought it was gas if it had not been for those finds. Hence their importance.

Now if this was a dynamite explosion and not gas, the Times and the gas company would not be liable in damages for the loss of life. Another gas explosion in the same neighborhood about a year before had cost the gas company a good deal of money.

No one in Los Angeles has any confidence in Earl Rogers, the attorney employed by the city to investigate this matter. He is the attorney who defended the big grafters in San Francisco when Francis Heney was shot and Gallagher's home was blown up with dynamite by an employe of the street car company.

GERRIT T. THORN.

* * *

GROWTH OF MILITARISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

Wilmington, Del.

The past twenty-five years have seen a phenomenal growth of a distinct military caste in a country whose Constitution and whose history has been regarded by the whole world as a model of democratic government. Epauettes, and brilliant naval and military uniforms, are the most conspicuous feature of every reception in Washington, which is the acknowledged center of military influence as well as the seat of Executive authority. President Taft, casting aside the simplicity of Jefferson, of Jackson, and of Lincoln, has made himself as inaccessible as the German Kaiser or the English King. Every one must make an appointment and sometimes wait for weeks, who has a personal desire to meet President Taft. Washington is the home of hundreds of military and naval officers who have been retired on pensions because of advancing age, and these pensions constitute an increasing drain on the national treasury. Within the last quarter of a century, a military caste has become established, and its members are clamoring loudly for larger appropriations for the army and navy.

It is plain enough to men who see the growth of this obnoxious class that those who belong to it intend to make it a privileged order. Just as the soldiers of Sparta and Athens regarded themselves as the only class whose happiness was worthy of consideration, so do our modern military and naval officers regard the people whose labor furnishes their

vessels, their weapons and their incomes as their inferiors, whose struggles and whose sorrows enter only indirectly into their lives. New recruits must come from the people to be sure, and so reluctant are the people to enlist in the army and navy now that conscription in time of peace has been openly advocated by army officers.

Has it been the demand of the people that has brought about this sudden change of policy in a republic to which the whole world has looked as an example of the success of popular government? Far from it. The growth of army and navy has been contemporary and parallel with the growth of enormous individual fortunes, and of the most startling concentration of wealth the world has ever known. The conviction is general among working people that the army is always used against those who are striving for a bettering of the hard conditions under which wages are earned. Rightly or otherwise, working men and women regard the men who control the army as paid agents of the men who are the holders of great wealth. Can it be that there is an understanding between the few very rich men of the United States that a large army and navy must be kept to awe into submission those who might perhaps resist with force the enforcement of laws made wholly in the interest of predatory wealth?

A revolution is sure to come. But let us make it a peaceful one. Revolution means simply a change from laws and customs that have produced such concentration of wealth as we see today in the United States, to juster laws and customs which will recognize the right of the men who earn the wealth of the country to spend it.

No one can truly assert at present that any multi-millionaire has earned his wealth. The means by which it came into his possession have often been called "frenzied finance;" and it is to support the claim of the frenzied financier to the protection of his holding by the strong arm of the government that the present army and navy are needed.

The history of ancient Rome is once more being enacted by the United States of America; but by the help of God, the ending of it will be the reverse of that wave of barbarism which swept over the highest civilization the Roman world had attained, leaving smouldering ruins where proud cities once stood. For we must remember that one half of the population of Rome at the time of its greatest power were slaves. Thank God for the intelligence so long and widely disseminated by our public schools; for by its aid the plots of those who scheme to make slaves of the children of those who fought for freedom in 1776 become transparent and will end in defeat.

I repeat that the army and navy are the instruments which those who hope to enslave the people by controlling natural resources and the tools of production intend to use to rivet the chains of industrial slavery on a free people. Every defeat of appropriations for army and navy weakens the hands of those who are the only real enemies of our great Republic.

WILLIAM CANBY FERRIS.

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 Monday, November 21, 1910.



Death of Leo Tolstoy.

The aged Count Tolstoy, in his 83d year, and in very frail physical health, was reported on the 11th to be missing from his home at Yasnaya Poliana in the province of Tula. The news was vague, but it appears that he quietly left home some time in the latter part of October, accompanied by his physician, Dr. Makovetsky, and went first to the convent of Shamardino in the province of Kaluga, where his sister Maria has long been a nun. His daughter Alexandra found him there, and on the 13th proceeded with her father and his physician ostensibly toward Moscow. Later, however, the party changed cars and boarded a slow local train going in the direction of Caucasia, from which it is conjectured that Tolstoy was intending to join a colony of Tolstoyans on the shores of the Black Sea. The journey was, however, interrupted by his serious illness, and the party left the train at an obscure flag station, Astapova, where the sick old man could only be

cared for in the little station building. His fever ran into bronchial and lung inflammation, and he sank rapidly. Other physicians were summoned, and his daughter nursed him constantly. The Countess Tolstoy and several members of his family came to Astapova, but at first it was not thought advisable to excite him with their presence. As death approached, however, the Countess and others were admitted to the sick chamber. The end came early in the morning of the 21st.

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Tolstoy is to be quietly buried on the hill at his old home and birthplace, Yasnaya Poliana. The Russian Church has made efforts during these days of his passing, to have him return to the faith from which he had been excommunicated in 1901. The following telegram was addressed to him by Antonius, the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, who is the presiding officer of the Synod:

Since the very first moment of your rupture with the church I incessantly prayed, and I pray now, that God may restore you to the church. Possibly He is soon to summon you to the judgment seat. I implore you in your sickness now to reconcile yourself with the church and the orthodox Russian people. May God bless you.

Count Vladimir Tchertkeff, Tolstoy's literary executor (vol. xii, p. 301), and others nearest to the dying man, regarded it as impossible to present the telegram. As an unreconciled excommunicate, it is considered as out of the question for the Church to grant this literal follower of the Christ, religious rites of burial, although, according to the dispatches, the Czar and the Premier, Mr. Stolypin, have indicated their desire that the great Russian should be interred with the Russian religious burial services. Though the police of Moscow gave explicit orders that the regular theatrical performances should be given on Sunday, fearing the gathering of idle persons in public places, according to the dispatches the managers were forced to close their houses because the actors refused to play on the day following the death of the great teacher "of free speech, free thought, and an equality of free men."

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Meeting of the Fels Fund Commission.

The Joseph Fels Fund Commissioners (pp. 761, 1076, 1087, 1110) have been holding their first fully representative meeting. The sessions were called for the Liberal Club, 46 East 29th St., New York City, beginning November 19. Contributors to and friends of the Fund were invited to be present, and invitations were also sent to all persons who had been known at any time as critics of the Fund, or of its administration.

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At the first session the Hon. Robert Baker of

Brooklyn was elected chairman, and Joseph Dana Miller, editor of the Single Tax Review, secretary. Daniel Kiefer, chairman of the Commission, stated the purposes of the Fund, and reported on the work of the Commission, saying incidentally that he wanted no pecuniary recognition of his own services. W. S. U'Ren reported on the work of the Commission in Oregon; former Governor L. F. C. Garvin, on the work in Rhode Island; and Dr. Wm. P. Hill for Missouri. Daniel Kiefer reported on *The Public*, in extending the influence of which the Commission had had a hand. John Z. White reported on work in New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado. Letters more or less critical of the work of the Commission, and mostly favoring a policy of pure Single Tax propaganda in place of political preparation for the Single Tax, were read from Lawson Purdy, A. C. Pleydell, Edward Polak and Wm. Lustgarten. Speeches to this question were made by the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, Western Starr, George Wallace, and C. S. Prizer, winding up with one from Jackson H. Ralston, representing the Commission. Later, speeches criticising the Commission were made by E. L. Heydecker, F. C. Leubuscher, Jos. Dana Miller, Wm. Ryan, Benjamin Doblin and J. J. Murphy; responses being made by Will L. Price, Joseph Fels and John Z. White; with pacific remarks from John S. Crosby and C. H. Ingersoll. Lincoln Steffens closed for the Commission, asking that definite plans for better lines of work should be submitted to the Commission by its critics.

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On the following day, Sunday, a general explanatory discussion included remarks from W. S. U'Ren, Dr. Mary D. Hussey, Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, Miss Amy Mali Hicks, James W. Bucklin, Dr. Florence Leigh Jones, W. G. Eggleston, L. S. Dickey and Warren Worth Bailey, with Frederic C. Howe closing for the Commission. The conference ended its sessions with adopting a resolution commemorative of the death on this day, in Russia, of Leo Tolstoy. The resolution was offered by Joseph Dana Miller, and was seconded by Congressman-elect Henry George, Jr., in an eloquent address.

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Others present at the sessions were George A. Briggs of Indiana, Professor Lewis J. Johnson of Harvard University, Theodore J. Amberg of Chicago, W. A. Somers of Cleveland, Dr. M. R. Leverson and Byron W. Holt of New York, Frank Stephens of Arden, Del., James R. Carret of Boston, and Bolton Hall of New York.

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Strike of the Chicago Garment Workers.

A commissary system on a large scale has been organized by the Chicago Federation of Labor,

working in co-operation with the Women's Trade Union League, for the relief of the needy among the striking garment workers. By a card system, milk, coal, meat and groceries are being furnished from a number of commissary stations, in place of the cash payments usually attempted under such conditions. The huge proportions of this strike, involving 40,000 workers, and the unusually helpless character of the labor in the garment trades, renders this plan imperative. The essentially organic character of labor becomes apparent when the labor army has to be fed on a large scale. The gigantic tasks devolving upon this commissariat may be measured from the appeal sent out by the Women's Trade Union League on the 15th, for milk for the 7,500 babies in the strikers' families. The Chicago Federation of Labor voted on the 20th to assess each of its members 25 cents a week during the continuance of the strike, for the benefit of the strikers. A sale of a special edition of the *Daily Socialist*, donated for the purpose, on the streets on Saturday evening, by an organized corps of strikers, brought \$3,300 into the strike fund. The introduction of non-union workers into some of the shops where the regular workers are on strike produced rioting in the streets on several days of the past week.

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The Illinois Women's Clubs Endorse the Unionization of the Garment Workers.

The Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, in session last week at Peoria, elected Mrs. Minnie Starr Grainger of Belvidere for president for the ensuing year. The cause of the striking garment workers of Chicago was presented to the Federation on the 18th by Dr. Rachele S. Yarros and Miss Alice Henry. The Federation adopted the report of its committee on the strike matter, of which Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin was chairman, without a dissenting vote. The last paragraph of this report reads as follows:

The natural method of removing the causes of irritation in the shops and of making a more healthful social life possible is some form of organization among the workers which will mediate between the worker and the employer in order that minute grievances may find a natural expression instead of being piled up so as to cause widespread industrial disturbances as now prevail in Chicago, and this is especially necessary in order that the manufacturers may insure themselves against the recurrence of such disturbances and deal with their employes through committees of shop representatives.

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Unrest in Mexico.

The rioting against Americans in Mexico, recited last week (p. 1097), seems to have been preliminary to a vague insurrectionary movement, which is reported uncertainly and with many contradictions. Rioting which took on the propor-

tions of a battle was reported from Puebla on the 18th. A hundred persons—soldiers, citizens and police, including the chief of police—were reported as killed. The movement is believed to be under some direction from Francesco I. Madero, who was a candidate for the Presidency at the last elections (p. 731) against the "perpetual" President, Porfirio Diaz. During the election period Pres. Diaz kept Mr. Madero in prison on a charge of having aroused sedition (p. 613). Liberated last month, Madero fled to Texas, whence it is believed, he has been engineering an uprising. He is reported as saying that revolution is inevitable, and as having set the period between the 20th and the 30th of this month as the time for its first manifestations. Mexicans are said to be pouring across the borders from Texas into Mexico. United States troops are massing on the border to prevent the smuggling of weapons across the frontier. Little outbreaks are reported from various points in Mexico, but apparently the Diaz government is suppressing them with a heavy hand.

NEWS NOTES

—The National Civil Service Reform League is to hold its annual meeting in Baltimore, December 15 and 16.

—The United States Land and Irrigation Exposition (vol. xii, p. 997) opened at the Coliseum in Chicago on the 19th.

—Former Governor G. M. Terrell has been appointed by Governor Brown of Georgia as United States Senator in the place of Senator Clay, who died on the 13th (p. 1097).

—Robin J. Cooper, who with his father (since pardoned—see page 369) was convicted of assassinating the late Senator Carmack of Tennessee, and who was given a new trial by the State Supreme Court (p. 369), was given a verdict of "not guilty" on the 15th.

—Mrs. Charles E. Lees has just been selected as Mayor of the English town of Oldham, according to a dispatch of the 20th. The report says that "a couple of very small boroughs have vested this executive honor in women, but Oldham takes the lead among the big towns of England."

—Penny lunches, consisting of an unlimited amount of hot, thick soup and bread and butter, are to be furnished experimentally in six of the Chicago public schools. The domestic science departments of the schools will prepare the food. It is especially desired that the younger and poorer children shall get nourishment.

—Guthrie is to remain for the present the capital of the State of Oklahoma, the Supreme Court of the State (p. 733) having decided that the election on the amendment to remove the capital to Oklahoma City was void because of defects in the title of the ballot. Governor Haskell has announced that he will call a special session of the Legislature to authorize a new referendum on the question of the

State capital. Other cities will now contest with Oklahoma City for the site.

—Ralph Johnstone, holder of the world's record for altitude in a heavier than air machine (p. 1045), attempted a "spiral glide" while flying at Denver on the 17th, when through some accident, or because of the small carrying power of the rare air of the high Colorado country, the machine fell from a height of 500 feet, and Johnstone was instantly killed.

—The official date for the opening of the Panama canal (vol. xii, pp. 206, 267) has been January 1, 1915; but the engineers report that the canal will actually be finished on December 1, 1913. Lieut. Colonel Goethals, chief engineer, declares that the canal will be completed with the sums of money already authorized by Congress, without further appropriation.

—The Chinese Imperial Senate (p. 1073) is adopting the filibustering tactics of the older parliamentary bodies of the younger nations. On the 9th several of the members, resenting the refusal of the grand councilors to attend and explain in person the reason for the Throne's failure to punish the governor of Hunan for contracting a loan without consulting the Provincial Assembly, blocked the business of the house for four hours.

—Madame Catherine Breshkovsky (p. 880), well known in America, who was sentenced last March in St. Petersburg to perpetual exile in Siberia, reached Lower Ilmsk, her appointed place of exile, August 27, according to a report in a recent *The Outlook*. The *Outlook* says of the "wretched East Siberian village" of Lower Ilmsk that it "is situated nearly four thousand miles east of St. Petersburg, on the upper Tunguska River, in about the latitude of northern Labrador, and its climate is so severe that it has an average temperature of twenty-eight degrees below zero Fahrenheit for the three winter months."

—Benjamin Fay Mills, who delivered several series of lectures in Chicago the latter part of October and the early part of November, has been invited to occupy a regular platform in Chicago on Sunday mornings and afternoons, commencing January 1st, at the Whitney Opera House, and Mr. Mills has accepted for January. In the mornings his address will be of a spiritual type, and in the afternoons he will discuss sociological topics. The chairman of the committee is Francis G. Hanchett, the treasurer is J. H. Topping of the Mutual Life Insurance Co., and the secretary is Miss Frances L. Dusenberry, 40 Randolph St., from whom further information can be obtained.

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And is it possible, after all, that there may be a flaw in the title-deeds? Is, or is not, the system wrong that gives one married pair so immense a superfluity of luxurious home, and shuts out a million others from any home whatever? One day or another, safe as they deem themselves, and safe as the hereditary temper of the people really tends to make them, the gentlemen of England will be compelled to face this question.—"Our Old Home," by Nathaniel Hawthorne.

PRESS OPINIONS

"Alive for God."

Chicago Tribune, Nov. 21.—When Tolstoy instituted peasant schools, organized relief for the starving population of middle Russia, improved the character of cheap publications, renounced property in copyright, suffered excommunication from the church, wrote so that the meanest man could understand, he was "alive for God." His passionate attempt at simplicity in a complex age is finished; the wild woods and the tilled fields of Yasnaya Poliana will no more suffer the impact of his bared, pilgrim feet. His pursuit of happiness has carried over yet another Sierra and into another Valley. His greatest honor is that he spoke the word "Brotherhood" in a voice so trumpetlike that after he is dust, in earth, his accents will still reverberate.

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The "Deserving Poor."

The (Philadelphia) Public Ledger (ind.), Nov. 14.—A young lady of refinement walked a long distance to a police station in New York to ask how she might get in touch with some charitable organization. She was hungry, cold and penniless. A kind policeman gave her carfare, and her case is being investigated, probably with a view to ascertaining whether she deserves to be hungry, cold and penniless.

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Direct Legislation Wins in Colorado.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), November 16.—The initiative and referendum carried with a whoop in Colorado last Tuesday, in spite of the frantic opposition of the "Beast." It was not until the campaign was nearly at an end that the jungle woke up; and then the way it reverberated with howls and roars and bellowings and snorts of rage was a caution. Money was poured out like water by the corporations. Millions of letters, circulars, handbills and posters were emitted and the billboards all over the State were aflame with passionate denunciations of the people's rule. But in spite of all the money and all the lying and all the howls of calamity the voters stood fast and when the ballots were counted it was found that the "Beast" had been beaten two to one. It was a famous victory over bossism and Big Business and it is all the more so in view of the desperate opposition which the friends of Direct Legislation had to overcome. It should be added that the latter were almost wholly without funds and that their organization was hardly more than nebulous. But the men and women in the fight were in deadly earnest and they worked with heroic courage to the very end. About the only outside help was lent by John Z. White of Illinois, who went there fresh from the big battles for the people's rule in New Mexico and Arizona.

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On "The Mad Mullahs" of Socialism.

(Chicago) Real Estate News (realty interests), October.—It is greatly to be regretted that in Amer-

ica the proclamation of socialistic dogma has fallen so largely into the hands of irreconcilable and irresponsible people whose apocalyptic mission is seldom redeemed by the saving grace of humor. . . . Almost every intelligent person would have a good deal of sympathy with socialism if its mad mullahs would give him half a chance.

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Why the White Plague?

The (Seattle) Week-End (ind.), Oct. 15—Overcrowding is one of the main causes of tuberculosis, is it? Well, what is the cause of overcrowding? The natural depravity of man? A human preference for sleeping ten in a room only big enough for two? Then why don't persons herd together in that manner in well-to-do homes? It is only in corrupt politics that men prefer to sleep five in a bed. No, we are not throwing bricks at the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. They are calling attention to the ravages of a great physical disease, due to a great social crime, and the more light they throw on the disease, the more they call public attention to the extent of the disease, the more easily will the people see the crime and the way to abolish it.

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"Capitalistic" or "Monopolistic."

The (Omaha) Chancellor, September.—I do not think I have ever read an argument against capitalism that would not be stronger in itself, and I have never read one that would not secure more adherents, by substituting the word "monopoly" for "capital," "monopolist" for "capitalist" and "monopolistic system" for the "capitalistic system." Why then should we estrange and antagonize those who still cling to what they call individualism by the use of an indefinite and misleading word? Socialists, philosophic anarchists, single taxers, and communists, and the great mass of those who know themselves as democratic Democrats, are agreed that the abolition of monopoly is the common aim of all who look for a real and speedy change in our social system, and it would be a long step towards it if we state clearly and persistently that this is what we mean. Of course, anything that is a monopoly by all the people, as for instance, the public ownership of our public highways, including rivers, docks and railroads, destroys the monopoly, for that in which everyone shares is no longer a monopoly.

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The Progressive Impulse.

The (Lincoln, Neb.) Wage-worker (Labor), Oct. 21.—Why not admit what every thoughtful man knows to be the truth—that La Follette, Cummins, Beveridge, Bristow, Norris, Bourne and others of the so-called Insurgents are but giving louder, and perhaps better, voice to the very same ideas that the old-time Populist, of the late 80's and early 90's voiced? Men who become leaders to-day do not become so because they originate the ideas they voice. They have merely had the good fortune to be the men who have focalized the thoughts and aspirations of humble and unknown men of genera-

tions past. The old-time Populist knew something was wrong, and he had a pretty good idea what and where it was. Unskilled in politics and unaccustomed to public debate, he could not shine with the brilliance of men of a later day who benefited by research of others. And even the Populist owed much to the Greenbacker who preceded him. The Populist of 1888 saw first, but perhaps not so clearly, what La Follette and Beveridge and others are making plainer to us. The Populist may have had "vagaries," but he at least had an inkling of the fundamentals. And even if his Populist party never got very far in the way of securing political control through the party, he at least has the satisfaction of knowing that the movement he started has proved to be the greatest political educator of modern times. This country owes a debt of gratitude to the pioneer Populists of the middle West.

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Parcels Post.

Collier's (ind.), Oct. 29.—A fruit farmer at Albion, New York, lives near the shore of Lake Ontario, where the keen autumn air about this time of year puts the finest flavor in the world into those good old-fashioned apples, Kings and Northern Spys. He raises peaches, too, and one day in September he picked thirty-six baskets of them, packed them carefully, took them to the railroad station, and delivered them to the Order and Commission Department of the American Express Company. A few days later the farmer, whose name is Marc W. Cole, got a formal account of the transaction, which reads thus:

Thirty-six baskets peaches at 30 cents each.	\$10.80
Express charges	\$10.04
Money order03
	10.07
	<hr/>
	\$.73

The farmer, in other words, received two cents each for his thirty-six baskets. The labor and packing alone cost him over fifteen cents a basket. Here is an economic situation in which the farmer saves money by leaving a crop of splendid peaches to rot on the trees. Meanwhile there were a good many millions of people in the cities who weren't able to get as many peaches this fall as they would have liked. It is safe to say there is no stockholder in the American Express Company who did not have enough peaches to waste a good many, and most of them have more cooks, automobiles, and valets than are good for them. Mr. Cole says: "Just at random, my rail-fence opinion is strong for a liberal parcels post." Any one who has seen a Scotch fisherman put a fresh fish on the mail wagon to send to London will agree that the parcels post would help.

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A Municipal Gold Mine.

The (Ottawa, Can.) Citizen (ind.), Sept. 15.—The Citizen prints a summary of the report of the city of Cleveland's board of appraisal. The work of this board . . . makes an interesting and suggestive disclosure of that public gold mine—the unearned increment of the site value of every growing city. This gold mine, though its value is primarily and wholly created and increased by the presence, growth and expenditure of the community, belongs

not even in part to the latter. Not only has the community as a whole no share in this site value which it makes by its growth and expenditure on public utilities, but its very value making growth adds to the annual burden which each of its units has to carry, in the form of economic rentals for the privilege of living and working on the site, the value of which he helps to enhance. This would seem to be about the limit of injustice, but it is not. Every municipality in Ontario is forced by the provincial assessment act to perpetuate the system which prevents the community from participating in the increment of its site value. This act also prohibits municipalities from making the land values pay their just portion of the municipality's taxes. If land values paid their just portion of a municipality's taxes they would pay all of them.

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The True Gospel of One Who Also Fights.

Emporia Weekly Gazette (Wm. Allen White), Sept. 22.—Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist leader, in opening the Socialist campaign in Chicago recently, made it his business to attack with charges of either specific or implied dishonesty, Samuel Gompers, . . . Theodore Roosevelt, John Mitchell, . . . the Supreme Court of the United States, August Belmont, George B. Cortelyou, and Judge Peter Grosscup. There can be no doubt whatever that Mr. Debs sincerely believes that these men are worthy subjects of his indignation. Mr. Debs is a perfectly sincere man, who often sees red. . . . If free speech were denied to men who see things differently from the average man—even men who see things red, and who see things dead wrong—the country would suffer. For free speech in the end harms no one. . . . Free thought and free speech are the first requirement of progress. Debs and Warren have their place in the scheme of things. So have J. P. Morgan and Rockefeller; so have Mitchell and Gompers, so have Roosevelt and the Supreme Court, . . . preaching—"each in his own tongue," a gospel to the average man in the middle of the social organization that is needed before the social organization can grow and expand as it must. The poison of the militant socialists, the arrogance of the domineering capitalists, the mistakes of Gompers and Mitchell, the errors of Roosevelt and the courts, all these things are flies on the wheel. They do not make the power of the engine. They retard the power but little. Slowly but steadily, generation after generation, through errors, through suffering, through meanness and greed, through cruelty, and in pain and anguish, the world is moving forward. The surest fact in history is the growth of society. And the surest fact about that growth is that society is growing more and more, through laws and customs and traditions, into a somewhat kinder order between men than the one that existed when men were savage. With that faith—the faith that if every man does his best, and his kindest, God will take care of the rest, is the solidest thing in the world to lean upon.

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Thou givest bread to the hungry, but better were it that none hungered and thou had'st none to give to him.—St. Augustine.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TOLSTOY'S MESSAGE.

For The Public.

Thou shalt not lie.
In word or deed,
Through sloth or greed,
For king or creed—
You must not lie.

Thou shalt not hate.
Man high or low,
Man wrong, or slow,
Man mankind's foe—
Love still, nor hate.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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TOLSTOY'S ECONOMICS.*

I have been acquainted with Henry George since the appearance of his "Social Problems." I read that book, and was struck by the correctness of his main idea, and by the unique clearness and power of his argument, which is unlike anything in scientific literature, and especially by the Christian spirit which pervades the book, making it also stand alone in the literature of science. After reading it I turned to his previous work, "Progress and Poverty," and with a heightened appreciation of its author's activity. You ask my opinion of Henry George's work, and of his single tax system. My opinion is the following:

Humanity advances continually toward the enlightenment of its consciousness,† and to the institution of modes of life corresponding to this consciousness, which is in process of enlightenment. Hence in every period of life and humanity there is, on the one hand, a progressive enlightenment of consciousness, and on the other a realization in life of what is enlightened by the consciousness. At the close of the last century and the beginning of this, a progressive enlightenment of consciousness occurred in Christianized humanity with respect to the working-classes, who were previously in various phases of slavery; and a progressive realization of new forms of life—the abolition of slavery and the substitution of free hired labor.

At the present day a progressive enlighten-

*Written in answer to a German, occupied in spreading the ideas and system of Henry George in his own country, who wrote to ask Tolstoy what views he held concerning such an activity. Reprinted here from "Essays, Letters, Miscellanies," by Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

†The Russian word "soznaniye" signifies both "consciousness" and "conscience," and as in these paragraphs seems to vibrate between the two concepts.—Editor of "Essays, Letters, Miscellanies."

ment of human consciousness is taking place with reference to the use of land, and soon, it seems to me, a progressive realization in life of this consciousness must follow. And in this progressive enlightenment of consciousness with reference to the use of land, and in the realization of this consciousness, which constitutes one of the chief problems of our time, the fore-man, the leader of the movement, was and is Henry George. In this lies his immense and predominant importance. He has contributed by his excellent books both to the enlightenment of the consciousness of mankind with reference to this question, and to placing it on a practical footing.

But with the abolition of the revolting right of ownership in land, the same thing is being repeated which took place, as we can still remember, when slavery was abolished. The government and ruling classes, knowing that the advantages and authority of their position amongst men are bound up in the land question, while pretending that they are preoccupied with the welfare of the people, organizing working-men's banks, inspection of labor, income taxes, and even an eight hours' day, studiously ignore the land question, and even, with the aid of an obliging and easily corrupted science, assert that the expropriation of land is useless, harmful, impossible.

The same thing is happening now as in the days of the slave trade. Mankind, at the beginning of the present and at the end of the last century, had long felt that slavery was an awful, soul-nauseating anachronism: but sham religion and sham science proved that there was nothing wrong in it, that it was indispensable, or, at least, that its abolition would be premature. To-day something similar is taking place with reference to property in land. In the same way sham religion and sham science are proving that there is nothing wrong in landed property, and no need to abolish it. One might think it would be palpable to every educated man of our time that the exclusive control of land by people who do not work upon it, and who prevent hundreds and thousands of distressed families making use of it, is an action every whit as wicked and base as the possession of slaves; yet we see aristocrats, supposed to be educated and refined, English, Austrian, Prussian, Russian, who profit by this base and cruel right, and who are not only not ashamed, but proud of it.

Religion blesses such possession, and the science of political economy proves that it must exist for the greatest welfare of mankind. It is Henry George's merit that he not only exploded all the sophism whereby religion and science justify landed property, and pressed the question to the furthest proof, which forced all who had not stopped their ears to acknowledge the unlawfulness of ownership in land, but also that he was the first to indicate a possible solution to the question. He

was the first to give a simple, straightforward answer to the usual excuses made by the enemies of all progress, which affirm that the demands of progress are illusions, impracticable, inapplicable.

The method of Henry George destroys this excuse by so putting the question that to-morrow committees might be appointed to examine and deliberate on his scheme and its transformation into law. In Russia, for instance, the inquiry as to the means for the ransom of land, or its gratuitous confiscation for nationalization, might be begun to-morrow, and solved, with certain restrictions, as thirty-three years ago the question of liberating the peasants was solved. To humanity the indispensableness of this reform is demonstrated, and its feasibility is proved (emendations, alterations in the single tax system may be required, but the fundamental idea is a possibility); and therefore humanity cannot but do that which reason demands. For this idea to become public opinion it is only necessary that it should be spread and explained precisely as you are doing, in which work I sympathize with you with all my heart, and wish you success.

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THE GOSPEL OF BROTHERHOOD.

From a Thanksgiving Sermon, Delivered at St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Jackson, Miss.,
Nov. 25, 1909, by the Rector, the Rev.
Halsey Werlein, Jr.

The question must rise in our hearts this morning if we face the issue squarely, what right have we in our own well-being to offer God gratitude in which our brothers everywhere are unable to join? We cannot escape the question. We cannot refuse to answer. We are, in fact, answering that question day by day by our spoken or unspoken attitude towards our brother men. Dear friends, while you and I are assembled here, there are hundreds and thousands of human beings throughout this country and throughout the world, your brothers and mine, who do not know whether they will be able to dine today or whether they will be able to find shelter from the night. There are millions to whom our necessities are unheard of luxuries, millions who are bearing the burdens of the world, by whose labor we are enabled to live. Ought we, dare we, to offer thanks to God for blessings which are withheld from them? We cannot answer this question by almsgiving. The dole of alms is necessary, where there is need to shield our fellowmen from the pangs of hunger and cold; and to the honor of our twentieth century civilization be it said that never before were men readier to minister to misfortune and pauperdom than now. But the question is a more searching question than is contained in the problem of transitory wants. It cannot be honestly answered, until society has granted to these outcasts not

charity, but the right and opportunity by labor to earn a livelihood. Do we seek to trifle with this question by the oft-repeated accusations of shiftlessness and incompetency against these people? Then, who is responsible for their inefficiency? Cain trifled in the same manner when he asked God: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Cain was a murderer. We are not murderers—we are the pillars of society. But yonder, submerged, is our brother, crying for rescue, and until our sympathies, our minds, our consciences, have enlisted in the cause of humanity, wherever its victims be found and whatever their suffering or their guilt, the joy of the Lord will not be found at our Thanksgiving feasts, because the joy of brotherhood is absent.

The observance of this law of brotherhood in its feasts is the test of the holiness of Thanksgiving Day. We cannot fall back upon our nation's past achievements or upon God's leadership of the fathers of the country as a ground of enthusiasm in the day's observance or as a just cause for the hope of our land's future prosperity. We are a holy nation in proportion as we fulfill the law of holiness, which is the law of humanity to man. We deserve no praise for the past, we shall merit neither reproach nor applause for the future; but we are responsible for the measure of gratitude our fellow countrymen feel toward God upon this day. And we are either soldiers of the common good and champions of humanity's cause, to the full extent of our influence and power, or our Thanksgiving is simply a ministration to self, valueless in God's eyes.

When we have learned, in Christ, the thanksgiving that expresses brotherhood, the fullness of the day's message in relation to our fellow men, we come for the first time to the full realization of our gratitude to God upon this day of days. The individual note of pleasure over our own health and continued welfare through the mercy and protection of God is lost in the swelling chorus of a vast symphony of thankfulness. "I am no longer grateful to God for merely myself," the man's heart cries. "I rejoice in the order, the beauty, the permanence of God's world; my being throbs in the possession of all the great events of history; I am alive in the inventions that are transforming the world; my thoughts soar in all the philosophies; my soul triumphs in all the epics of man's free spirit; the mighty cosmos—it is I, for I love my fellow man! I feel the glow and the rapture of the victories, even as I share the humiliation and shame of the failures of my brothers, and in both I thank God and take courage!" Dear friends, the language is not strained or affected. When a man once comes to that consciousness of identity with his fellow men, which is conveyed in our blessed Lord's proclamation of human brotherhood in the universal fatherhood of God, he reaches that stage of being where in the joyous

strength of the Lord thanksgiving is simply the constant and normal attitude of his heart and mind toward his Maker. The evils of existence vanish, as in the sunshine of God's presence the mists of self are dissolved, and the cares and anxieties of this world are powerless to cause him woe.

Nine-tenths of all human ills come from disobedience to the law of brotherhood. It is easy to love. It is hard to hate. It is easy to serve. It is hard to live a life of selfishness. Religion, when one analyzes it, is simply being natural. If nature were a huge beast, this statement would sound heretical. Let us never forget, however, that Christ, the fulfillment of the law and the prophets and the crown of age-long, evolutionary struggle, is the vindication of nature. Being natural is imitating Christ. In the spirit of Christ and in His recognition of the Father's goodness, we thank God not so much for what He has done for us, but for what He has permitted us to do for Him. We glorify His name this morning for the strength and joy of the Gospel of brotherhood He sent us to proclaim. We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren!

* * *

A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE MANLY ART,

Spoken by Old Tom Harder.

For The Public.

"What's that you say? Goin' to have an Athletic Club over to Scrapsburg? Goin' to teach swimmin', an' golf, an' dancin', an' boxin', to say nothin' about some other games that ain't so athletic but cost more? Of course the thing will have to run on till we find some feller that can knock out Johnson in two rounds. If we don't, the white race will never hold up its head agin.

"There's Tomkins that run a race yesterday with himself two miles from the depot clear to the middle o' my cornfield, where I was pickin' seed corn, to tell me they'd found a man over in England an' one in Oshkosh that was fit to knock out Johnson. an' so the white race was beginnin' to breathe freer an' look away from its toes. He heard the news over the wires an' couldn't wait till tomorrow to tell me.

"I says to Tomkins, 'What if the Oshkosh white man does knock him out? Is it goin' to raise your salary any?' He looks as down in the mouth as if he'd lost a dollar through a crack in the sidewalk, an' says, 'Hain't you got any pride in your race? Do you want to see 'em knocked out by the Niggers?'

"I said, 'I'd like to feel a little respect for the race, secin' as I belong to 'em; an' if I live long enough to see 'em lose some o' the conceit they're carryin' around, I may git to be a little

stuck up about 'em. It looks now like they have been bankin' for so long on the superior quality of the race an' color that they have lost sight of some of the things deeper in human nature that go to make up the man.' A little humility wouldn't hurt us a bit. There's no tariff on it, an' if we can't raise it ourselves we might import a cargo or two to start it growing. We've got a whole lot o' churches where we try to teach the boys an' girls the Sermon on the Mount, an' if a feller smites us, to turn the other cheek an' let him smite till he's ashamed of himself. Then we build some athletic clubs where we teach 'em football, where they mass on the feller that has a little start toward the winnin' point, an' break his ribs in. We teach 'em to find the solar plexus, an' the weak spot on the chin, so they can turn the other cheek without gittin' hurt a bit. Of course, when the young feller gits pretty handy with his fists an' begins to think he's the champion lightweight, he won't care to try 'em on some other feller? He will remember his Sunday School lesson an' feel as humble as pie? Perhaps.

"I remember that Lincoln thought a lot of a little poem about. 'Why should the spirit o' mortal be proud?' It seemed to kind o' fit into the life o' the man exactly, an' sort o' prophesied his sorrowful end. Few of his admirers nowadays seem to care to follow him in the line o' humility. The spirit o' mortal tends to be proud without askin' the reason why—specially when it comes to knockin' out some feller with a dark complexion. Of course we can make a fair argument for the knock-out profession without hirin' a lawyer. We admit the right o' self defense. If we spend seven nights in the week at the club practicin' the manly art, an' keep it up regular like, we're always ready to lick the feller that assaults us—pervided he ain't a heavyweight an' in better condition. The thing's of no account if we don't make a business of it, an' fight good enough to git the champeen-ship an' the biggest half o' the gate money. Then we're likely to be knocked out some time by a Nigger, an' lose our standin' in the community.

"Still, the most o' folks think trainin' is all right, an' don't give us old fellers a fair shake.

"We'll say that here's Tomkins, that's taken some lessons an' knows where to find the solar plexus without a microscope, starts over to talk with Old Man Harder. On the way he meets an onery white man who is insultin' a distressed damsel. He dances up to the onery one on the point of his toes, an' hands him a couple o' taps in just the right place, an' puts him to sleep. The damsel is grateful, an' Tomkins is as happy as a coon among the roastin' ears. The onery one wakes up, an' takes some more boxin' lessons so he can knock Tomkins out the first chance. Tomkins gits a whole column in the county paper, an' a match at a hundred dollars a side an' gate money, with the champeen o' Scrapsburg. He's

the honored man in the town an' the pattern for all the boys.

"Now if Old Man Harder should be goin' over to the depot to play checkers with Tomkins, an' meet a woman bein' insulted, in his ignorance Old Tom would be apt to pick up a club or a fence rail an' rap the insulter over the head, so he would have to go to the hospital for a week. The damsel would be rescued just as good as Tomkins did it, but the woman wouldn't admire him for a minute. Any common sort of a chump could knock him out with a club. She might have done it herself if she'd thought of it. Old Tom don't git more'n five lines in the county paper, an' stands a chance to git sued for damages. So he wakes up to the march o' progress an' goes to the Athletic School an' learns all the fine points about scrappin' that's taught at Scrapsburg, so he's fully prepared to defend himself accordin' to modern rules. If he gits into a place where he has a fair chance to scrap accordin' to rule, he won't need to scrap unless he wants to show off his skill. If he does git into a tough place where he needs self defense, it's ten chances to one that he will run into a sandbag or a revolver, so his science won't help him a bit. The science won't work when you need it real bad; an' when you don't need it bad, you're like a horse luggin' 'round five legs.

"What's that? We have the right to defend ourselves? Certainly! When it comes to a criminal case where violence is charged, self defense is ten or 'leven points in favor of the defendant; but maybe the thing as a gen'ral proposition has been overworked. Maybe it don't amount to such a lot in the long run as we think it does.

"If Old Tom Harder buys a revolver to defend himself against burglars, it's seven chances to one that he shoots himself or some o' the family, before he gits a shot at a burglar. If a man (or a nation o' men, for that matter) gits fully loaded up an' armed for self defense, he's mighty apt to git a swelled head an' invite some insult or stir up some quarrel with his neighbor so he will have a chance to show off his skill in defense.

"We're pretty strong on the self defense in the army an' navy line, an' are spendin' a liberal lot o' money to keep ourselves fit to fight the foreigners. We don't advertise for any of 'em to knock the chips off our shoulders, an' pitch into us rough an' tumble; but most of us feel it in our bones that we could put any of 'em out in five rounds, an' git a lot o' glory out of it, to say nothin' of the real an' personal property we could acquire. On the outside, we're the most peaceful set o' fellers that ever lived on earth, but inside we're secretly pinin' for somebody to hit us.

"Neighbor Jinks bought a shot gun to keep the chicken thieves from stealin' his chickens. When he tried to shoot 'em the gun wouldn't go off. This made him madder at the gun than he was at the thieves, an' he threw the gun away. It hit

the barn door an' went off in a hurry an' shot him in the leg. When he got well he put a new lock on the chicken house. Maybe our big navy won't act that way when we come to use it; but all the fightin' an' scrappin' an' killin' won't settle the right or wrong of anything. Probably the Master was right when He told His people to turn the other cheek. Maybe we don't fully understand yet His declaration that 'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.'"

GEORGE V. WELLS.

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THE LAND QUESTION IN HUNGARY

Dr. Robert Braun in *Land Values* (London) for May, 1910.

The history of landholding in Hungary begins—as it does in every other country—with common property in land. When the Hungarians conquered their country, the whole nation was divided into seven tribes, each tribe getting its share of the land. With the introduction of the Christian religion (in 1000 A. D.) and the creation of a new central power, that of a king, the ownership of these tribal lands was transferred to the Crown. With the establishment of western law feudalism appeared, and in the course of centuries—as in other European countries—nearly all the land fell into the hands of large landlords, with tenants and landless peasants under them. But still there were some exceptions, and there were places where the cultivators of the soil had no individual landlord, but were tenants of the crown.

In the earliest period of its history the kings, anxious to strengthen their newly created power, looked for support in foreign countries, and to that end encouraged Germans to migrate to Hungary. As an inducement the Germans were promised the maintenance of their own law, the free election of their judges and priests, and exemption from all intermediate ecclesiastical and temporal power. The colonization of Hungary went on, and many thousands of western Europeans settled, finding relief from the oppression of the land system in their own countries. The descendants of such settlers are the Germans in Transylvania, generally called Saxons. Other citizens of Hungary had similar privileges conferred on them for special services.

The year 1878 put an end to feudalism in Hungary. The peasants became freeholders of the land they had cultivated, the landlords being paid rich compensation for their rights.

But only a small fraction of the whole land was under cultivation. The greater part consisted of woods and pastures, up to that time held in common by peasants and landlords, and this had also to be divided. In this division the landlords used their greater political influence in order to

secure for themselves the best and richest areas; nevertheless the peasants obtained, in the vicinity of the villages where they lived, their smaller or larger portion of this land. This was of very great importance to them, as many gained partly or exclusively their livelihood from cattle-raising.

The question then arose whether this common land should be the property of the village, with equal right of use to every inhabitant, or the property of the individual peasants who had been using it at the time of division. The question was solved in the latter sense and the consequence was the creation of a rural proletariat.

But this was not all. The government regarding the common property in land as an obstacle in the way of its proper use, facilitated subdivision and private property. Nearly all the common land in Hungary is either divided or in process of being divided. The basis of the allotment was the amount of arable land held. The more arable land a proprietor had, the greater was his share of the common land; with access to the commonage now denied to them, and as artificial pastures were at that time nearly unknown in Hungary, most peasants were rendered unable to feed their cattle, and they were obliged to part with them. The consequence was a decrease in the number of all domestic animals, the land was deprived, not only of the animal power necessary to work it, but also of manure, and a sudden decline in agriculture set in.

Even worse results attended the division of the woodland. Systematic forestry cannot be conducted on a small scale; many of the holders of the land after division quickly got rid of their portion, selling as a rule without knowing the extent, location, and still less the value of the property that belonged to them. Adventurers and speculators took advantage of the ignorance of peasants and robbed them of their patrimony. It might be mentioned here that a very conservative author (Dr. Sebes), who held a high position in the ministry, writes that on an average a Hungarian acre (1.72 English acre) of woodland was sold for about 1s. 8d., its real value varying from £17 to £30. The first work of the new proprietors was to cut down the woods, which had become especially valuable during the previous 8 or 10 years. The consequence was quite disastrous. The thin stratum of land being no longer protected, was soon washed away by torrents and the bare rocks exposed, which are never likely to be capable of cultivation. This caused a most unfavourable change in the climate, and in the distribution of moisture. The government felt obliged to interfere in order to check this wholesale denudation and to force the proprietors to observe less reckless methods. They forbade them to give a share for free use to any owner having less than 170 acres. These measures were, however, ineffective as the speculators bought up several shares and,

having more than 170 acres, they secured the free use of these lands.

Hungary is a country with remarkable agricultural resources. Of the whole area only 5 per cent. is incapable of cultivation—in Great Britain the proportion is 41.8 per cent—the soil is, without question, one of the most fertile in Europe. Yet there are few European countries in which the average yield of crops per acre is less than in Hungary.

One-third of Hungary is owned by 1,000 proprietors. The cultivatable area is poorly exploited, especially on the larger estates. For instance, the Greek Episcopate of Nagyvarad grows cereals on only 1 per cent of its 170,000 acres.

The emigration from Hungary is nearly 200,000 people per annum, being second only to Italy.

Strangely enough many people are inclined to say that the emigration is due to there being more people in the country than the land can support. There is said to be "over population." People who think this to be the cause are led to think that the remedy is the "protection" of home industries. Aided by a tariff, they say, a manufacturing industry could provide more people with work, that the taxes would be paid partly by the importers, and the cry is "tax the foreigner!"

But that the evil is due to other causes and must be cured by other measures, can be proved from the evidence, which even a superficial examination of social conditions will reveal. Let us take an example and a contrast.

In the eastern part of Hungary, called Transylvania, where I live, there are two nationalities who never had individual tenure of land: the Hungarians, called in Transylvania Szekelys, and the Saxons, the descendants of the ancient German colonists. The former will provide the example and the latter the contrast.

When the new land laws were passed the leaders of the Szekelys used their political influence to promote the division of common pastures and woodlands. The greatest and most valuable part went over to speculators, and the people themselves are now living in misery, often exposed to starvation in winter. The full effect of this expropriation is not yet felt as there is still plenty of work in the woods, and the building of an important railway in that part of the country provides employment for the time being. The railway will be opened next spring, and gangs of men discharged, and as work in the woods is gradually growing scarcer, the outlook for the people in that region is indeed bad; for there is little opportunity for them to make a living. These 600,000 people near the frontier belonging to the properly Hungarian (Magyar) race, have a special political importance, and the government, heedless of the expenditure incurred, are giving them all possible support. A special Szekely relief department has been created in the Ministry of Agriculture, which disposes of

considerable sums, providing seed, well bred cattle, horses, poultry, etc., at cheap or nominal prices, teaching home industries and new methods of agriculture. The Department is working honestly, I myself see its work and know its officials, but in spite of all their efforts there is no essential change for the better. There is not one of the officials who would say there has been improvement. Indeed, it would be a marvel to me if there was any change. For what can such petty means do to make amends for the greatest economic misfortune a people can suffer, namely, the loss of its land? They can be sustained as beggars are sustained and demoralized by gratuitous gifts, but they can never become a free, self-supporting people until their rights to the land are restored to them.

Now look on another picture. There are about 200,000 Saxons in Hungary who own about two million acres and of this not quite 70 per cent is common land. The legal proprietor is the village community. Consider how different has been the development of the Saxon territory from that of the Szekelys I have described. The Saxon deputies pleaded in the Hungarian parliament for their special customs, and a territorial law was passed in 1880, exempting all ancient Saxon territory from the operation of the new land laws. This prevents any individual proprietor from claiming any portion of the common land, large or small. This common land is used partly as common pasture, and partly as arable land, rented to individuals. The woods are managed by the State, and the timber is either divided among the villages or it is sold to the highest bidder. All returns are used for local purposes. Now, everybody knows in Transylvania that these Saxon villages are the most prosperous in the country. Most of them pay no local taxes. Many villages are giving timber and some electric light as a gift to the inhabitants. There are 13 villages in the county Brasso, which are especially prosperous. Even county taxes are paid out of the income from the common land, and to avoid the trouble they had of soldiers being quartered upon them in the villages, they built comfortable barracks to provide for the visits of regiments. Their special endowments for the poor they cannot spend as they have no poverty except perhaps temporarily. Last year one village spent 15 shillings on paupers. The Saxon communities are raising more wheat per acre than is raised in any other part of Hungary, though their soil is by no means the most fertile. As the State does not support their schools (the language in them being German), they maintain their own schools, and not only do they have the best public schools, but they have 10 colleges or "gymnasias." They have the best schools, the best instructed clergy, and the most favourable economic conditions in the country. Is it necessary to add that they have the least amount of crime?

Their banks are the richest in Transylvania and one of them spent last year for schools and humanitarian purposes as much as £5,000.

Many argue that this thrift and public spirit is a special characteristic of the Teutonic race. I do not think so. There are many hundred German villages in Hungary in deep poverty; nay, there are even such Saxon villages: but they all parted with their common lands. The good public spirit is the natural outcome of common moral and material interests, the emblem of which is common land. This land once lost, all moral and material ties, which keep a community together, are lost too.

BOOKS

A STATEMENT OF BELIEFS.

Lessons in Living. By Elizabeth Towne. Published by Elizabeth Towne, Holyoke, Mass. Price, \$1.00.

The title of this book implies a receptive attitude on the part of the reader which might debar criticism. But the scheme of the Universe is a rather large theme to handle in so slight a volume, though exceedingly well put up. And some of us are inclined to object when preachers and philosophers tell us what God *thinks* and begin to move Him about like a threatened king on the chess-board to suit the rules of their game.

But descending to the human plane of helpfulness, Mrs. Towne, in her usual free, happy fashion, gives the sound, sensible, practical advice that is needed in the daily affairs of living. Her strong, courageous faith in the power of good often works like a sweet contagion on sorrowful, sick, depressed and fearful minds. To awaken the weakened human will to its own responsibilities in the matter of health and happiness is an important use to serve. "Your choice is the one mighty little bit of your being over which you have absolute control."

To choose the right thought, and to cast out the intruding weak, vicious thought that leads to wrong words and actions, is shown to be the simplest beginning of correct living. There are many helpful suggestions along practical lines that are well worth the test.

A. L. M.

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THE UNIVERSAL FAITH.

Ancient Mysteries and Modern Revelations. By W. J. Colville. R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 East 17th St., New York. Price, \$1.00.

"To increase interest in the universal aspects of religion and philosophy," is the purpose of this series of essays which attempts to trace through the sacred literatures of all ages and nations the same divine principle of faith and worship. Seek-

ing to penetrate to the spirit of the various religions which he analyzes and compares, he finds a uniform faith in and acknowledgment of the Supreme Power of the Universe, however diverse the method of expression. Special emphasis is laid on the esoteric meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures with reference to human life in its stages of evolution, and application of ancient truths may be traced through all the periods and events of time. A fairly open and unprejudiced study of "Ancient Mysteries and Modern Revelations."

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A. L. M.

Enthusiastic Lady (carried away by the old-world beauty of "As You Like It"): "Did you ever see such lovely costumes? Ah, you can't get material like that nowadays!"—Punch (London).

Leo Tolstoy's

Letter on the Land Question entitled

A Great Iniquity

which appeared in the London Times of August 1, 1905, and was reprinted in The Public of August 19, 1905, can be had in book form, red paper covers, with three portraits, for **10 cents**, postage included in price.

ALSO, copies of The Public containing the reprint are for sale at **five cents** a copy, including postage.

THE late William Lloyd Garrison said of "A Great Iniquity":

"Its substance touches the marrow of the conflict between democracy and privilege, at present nowhere raging more fiercely than in Great Britain."

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which is said to be beloved by the common people of Russia, as it depicts their friend as a peasant.

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THE PUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, CHICAGO

"AN AGE-LONG CONFLICT."

Modern Woman, and How to Manage Her. By Walter M. Gallichan, New York. John Lane Co. Price, \$1.50.

This title seems a misnomer, but the book, written from a man's point of view, is remarkably fair and open in its dealing with a question which is gradually settling itself—as all vital questions do. While Mr. Gallichan, in his study of the modern English woman, does not veil her faults with subtle flattery, he holds out his hand in right manly fashion and welcomes her to standing and working room on his own ground, affirming that with the removal of unnatural conditions, the inequality which custom has urged against the free use of her powers would vanish like other illusions of

"One of my friends said to me that after reading The Public for six months he began to see what you were driving at. Don't think this is a back-handed compliment. It only exemplifies the fact that men otherwise well informed have never given thought to popular government versus autocratic or monarchical, and its relative effects on society and social development."

This is an extract from a letter and is an excellent explanation of a condition of mind that is wide-spread. I have had people tell me that reading The Public made their heads ache. It wasn't that they had weak heads, but their thinking apparatus was not trained along economic or sociological lines. Just as an athlete, trained to run, might ache all over rowing a boat.

In getting new subscribers for The Public it is always advisable to caution them that they are likely to be led into new paths. The average man not only shies at a new thought, as a horse does at a piece of fluttering paper, but his mind needs to be held to the idea until it becomes familiar.

A word of caution at the beginning may give him courage to proceed.

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distempered minds. Some rational advice is given on the subject of marriage, both to those who have made it a failure, and to those who, in mistaken ways, are dreaming of finding a happiness for which they are laying no foundation.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vol. III, 1833-1835. Vol. IV, 1836-38. Edited by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes. Published by

Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1910. Price, each, \$1.75 net.

—Lords of Industry. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1910.

—Mazzini And Other Essays. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1910.

—The Spirit of Democracy. By Lyman Abbott. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1910. Price, \$1.25 net.

—The Essence of Religion. By Borden Parker

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—The American Commonwealth. By James Bryce. New and Revised Edition. Two Volumes. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1910. Price. \$4.00 net.

* * *

"Here!" shouted the railway official; "what do you mean by throwing those trunks about like that?"

The porter gasped in astonishment and several travelers pinched themselves to make sure that it was real. Then the official spoke again:

"Don't you see that you're making big dents in this concrete platform?"—Independent.

* * *

They were sitting on the hotel piazza comparing notes.

"Well, my son-in-law hasn't spoken an unkind word to me for ten years," said one old lady.

"How perfectly lovely!" said the other. "Is he dumb?"

"No," replied the first, smiling at her friend's

pleasantry—"no, we haven't been on speaking terms since 1899."—Harper's Weekly.

* * *

Augustus de Cash von Bullion is much, much better than his Valet—even his Valet will admit that:

And that his Valet is immensely better than the mere Second Chauffeur person:

Who (it is a pleasure to note) is far better than an ordinary Public Chauffeur:

Nevertheless a Public Chauffeur is quite some better than a Calloused Carpenter:

Who in turn is enormously better than a Common Laborer:

And everyone will agree that a Common Laborer is infinitely better than a Low Person who doesn't work at all.

BUT—many people consider Augustus a Low Person, and everybody knows he never did a day's work in his life.

True—but Augustus is different. You see, somebody has given Augustus enough so that he doesn't have to work.

True—but it's a melancholy fact that somebody somewhere manages to give every Low Unemployed Person enough so that he doesn't have to work.

Still, there must be some difference in Augustus'

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favor, but rather than quarrel about it let us turn to a consideration of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True, leaving Sociology to Socialists and Economics to people who have to economize.—Puck.

+ + +

Vicar's Wife: "I'm sorry to see you coming away from the public house so often, Priggs."

Blacksmith: "Yes'm. They won't let me stay there two minutes. As soon as I get set down com-

fortable like, somebody's sure to want a job done, and out I has to come again."—Punch (London).

+ + +

"Senator," said the reporter, "may I ask how you made your first thousand?"

"Yes, sir," responded Senator Graphter; "I made it in the same way that I made all my subsequent thousands."

Awed by the arrogance of his manner, the reporter

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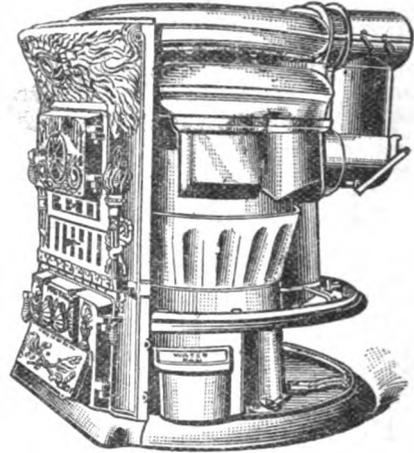
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PROF. A. J. DOWNING, in "Rural Essays."

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