

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

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### Getting Ready to Move.

Gradually but manifestly the Interests are packing up their allegiance to the Republican party for shipment over to the Democratic party. Watch Harper's Weekly if the process interests you.

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### "Insurgent" or "Progressive"?

"An Insurgent is a Progressive who exceeds the speed limit," was Gov. Hadley's definition. It pleased Mr. Roosevelt so much that he borrowed it to wash the taste of his Ossawatomic speech out of his mouth. But a comparison of the Roosevelt convention in New York with the La Follette convention in Wisconsin, has suggested another and better even if not a witty definition: "An Insurgent is a Progressive who means it." By either definition, however, Mr. Roosevelt's protest that he is not an Insurgent would be confirmed. As a Progressive his speed is like that of a rocking horse in violent action; and as to his meaning it, compare the output of his convention at Saratoga with La Follette's at Madison.

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### The Democratic Party in New York.

Between the tottering "forwardness" of those "progressives" who controlled the Republican convention in New York, and the vigorous backwardness of the reactionaries who controlled the Democratic convention in that State, what is a really progressive New York voter to do? If

either side wins, the one may be trusted to go back upon its forwardness, and the other to go ahead with its backwardness. Neither is all backward, to be sure; for each pledged itself to direct nominations. But both did it grudgingly, the Republicans under Roosevelt's whip, and the Democrats under pressure from the Progressive Democracy (p. 658). So there is no choice on that score except as to which will keep its pledge.

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When platforms fail, candidates may sometimes serve instead; but not so this year in New York. It must be remembered of course that the Democrats were at a tactical disadvantage when Gaynor headed off their nomination. Thomas M. Osborne is a good and strong man, capable of making a courageously progressive record in the State capitol as he did in the Auburn city hall and on the up-State public utilities commission; but the people of the State as a mass don't know it yet and probably could not have been shown in a six weeks' campaign. Congressman Sulzer has progressive tendencies and has been courageous in Congress even to defiance of Tammany Hall; he is impregnable in his district, but in the State at large, astute politicians on both sides might as easily have put him out of the running at the polls as those on his own side did at the convention. The only other candidate the Democrats had (except driftwood and the one they nominated) was Edward M. Shepard. Mr. Shepard is a genuine Democrat of great ability, and not only of gubernatorial but of Presidential size. Save for one point of political weakness he would probably have been nominated and elected Governor this year, leading the truly progressive elements of both parties; and as the progressive statesman he doubtless would then have proved himself to be, he might well have been the successful progressive leader in the next Presidential campaign. But that one point of political weakness was raised against him and it was fatal at the convention as we are obliged to confess we think it would have been at the election. The time has gone by when any man, however genuinely public spirited he may be, and as we believe Edward M. Shepard really is—the time has gone by when even such a man can command at the same time the steady employment of a client like the Pennsylvania Railroad and the political confidence of the people. In view of Mr. Shepard's political and personal character as well as his ability, this is to be regretted; but it is a fact which in present day politics must be reckoned with. So Dix was nominated; and a very respectable plutocratic Democrat is Mr. Dix.

When Dix, the Democratic nominee, is compared with Stimson, the Republican, what choice is there on the score of candidates? Stimson is a graduate from Elihu Root's law office. His sole claim upon public confidence is his prosecution for a large fee of certain sugar trust crimes which resulted in the conviction of "men higher up" who were in fact "low down," and the recovery of "swag" obtained criminally and a trifle in comparison with the "swag" that is obtained by trusts through the operation of laws to the perpetuation of which Mr. Stimson is pledged by his platform. A Tweed regime prosecutor could have done as much, and would if the criminal had been persona non grata at Tammany Hall.

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The progressives of both parties in Wisconsin, Kansas, California, Oregon, Washington, Maine, and all the other States in which progress means something worth while, may well bless their stars this year that they are not living in New York. Nor in New Jersey. Nor yet in Ohio.

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#### The Meaker Candidacy in Massachusetts.

An opportunity to vote for a progressive candidate for Congress about whose fidelity and ability there seems to be no doubt and whose campaign speeches ring clear and true, is afforded in the Seventh Massachusetts district, which includes Chelsea, Everett, Lynn, Malden, Melrose, Nahant (the home of Senator Lodge), Revere, Saugus, Stoneham and Wakefield. We allude to the Independent candidate, W. Lathrop Meaker. The chairman of his campaign committee is Edwin Thatcher Clark, of Melrose; its treasurer is Ernest E. Brazier, of 14 Roberts street, Malden. Both are worthy citizens, bearing the burden of a hopeful progressive campaign under financial difficulties. As to their candidate, in every direction from which we hear of him we find him thoroughly well vouched for, and from his speeches he is evidently genuine in both heart and head. "It so happens," he said in a campaign speech at Lynn, wherein he advocated the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, direct nominations, and a reduction of the tariff, and argued that the earth and all of its riches should be made the common property of all—"it so happens that just at the present this great issue of the equal right of all to the earth on which we live is presenting itself to the people with remarkable force under two different heads, one called Conservation, the other Taxation. The only logical and effective conclusion of all this

conservation agitation is to have the government own, and either operate or lease, not merely these resources which are unclaimed, but all of them;" and "all attempts to equalize taxation must ultimately result in the taxation of land values only, which will not only place the burden of all government expenses where it should be, but will, at the same time, make it unprofitable to hold land out of use for speculation." As the Boston Common pointedly said in its issue of August 20th, "voters who think as Mr. Meaker thinks, ought to work for his election; voters who may not accept all his ideas, but who are sick unto disgust of rubber-stamp representation in the interest of monopoly and high prices, could do worse than to elect him." We should add that they could do a great deal worse by re-electing Congressman Roberts, who is on record for pretty much every Congressional iniquity of Cannonism.

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### Newspaper War in Chicago.

A cut-rate war between the morning newspapers of Chicago is now "on for certain." The Tribune started it with a reduction from two cents to one; but the Record-Herald got wind of this in time to "follow suit" in the same day's issue; and then the Inter Ocean reluctantly but gamely "saw the drop" and "covered" it. Hearst's Examiner, having always been a penny paper, couldn't go a point better. So there the four are, selling their papers for much less than the cost of paper stock. They hope to "even up" with increased advertising patronage from increased circulation; but the news dealers must laboriously handle the papers at a lower profit for each delivery, and without any possibility of "evening up" except at the cost of greater work.

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The mystery shrouding the Tribune (p. 914) continues. At any moment it may jump back into its old time plutocratic rut, and there is a holding of breath. To this mystery has now been added another. Has Victor Lawson's Evening News dropped its preparations for a penny morning paper and undertaken to back Kohlsaas's Record-Herald in the "penny-or-your-life" contest with the Tribune? or is Kohlsaas fighting in his own armor against all comers, and riding for another fall?

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### The "Hall-Mark" Not Enough.

Gifford Pinchot wisely warned his audience of the St. Andrew's Brotherhood at Nashville last

week, to beware of mere "hall-mark" Insurgency. His warning cannot be too often quoted:

In one way the Insurgent cause is threatened by its own success. Now that most open-minded men see the speedy triumph of the progressive policies, and because direct attacks upon them usually fail, the hope of the reactionaries is to join the movement and try from within to emasculate it or steer it to disaster. The soft pedal is still the most dangerous enemy of progress. Already there are signs in plenty that reactionaries are trying to dominate the progressive movement. Already the conversions without conviction have begun. Political deathbed conversions, performed in public by politicians whose leadership is dwindling, may fairly be regarded with suspicion. Like certain flowers, these gentlemen turn their faces to the rising sun, but their roots are held fast by the same soil as before. I would make it perfectly easy for all men to join the Progressive ranks. But I would keep the newly converted old-style leaders in the ranks and under observation till they had won a right to Progressive leadership by something more substantial than declamation alone.

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### Suspicious Insurgency.

By no means is it probable that Mr. Pinchot has President Taft personally in his thought when he speaks of "political deathbed conversions performed in public by politicians whose leadership is dwindling" as "fairly to be regarded with suspicion." But if Mr. Taft doesn't try on the cap to see if it fits, he is more obtuse than even his amiable whitewashing of Ballinger in his notorious condemnation of Glavis (pp. 460, 466, 817) would imply. For Mr. Taft, after fighting the Progressives of his own party with executive spoils until they had beaten him, whereupon he offered a fair divide in the future, has announced himself as a Progressive—and with the same wearisome cameratic smile.

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### Death of Dr. Beeler.

Among the earliest Ohio disciples of Henry George was Samuel L. Beeler, of Hamilton, whose death occurred on the 24th at the age of 68. Dr. Beeler was a volunteer soldier on the Union side in the Civil War. He enlisted while hardly more than a boy, at the very beginning of the war, and remained in the service until disabled with a shattered knee at the first battle of Winchester. Subsequently he became a physician, but passed most of the remainder of his life in business as a druggist. He got to be a convert to the doctrines of "Progress and Poverty" in the early '80's, and through the remaining quarter century or more of his life, with tireless persistence but quietly and with wise judgment he

spread among his neighbors the news of the light he had seen. Dr. Beeler's friends of Hamilton say of that city that it "probably has more Single Taxers than any other in Ohio, due largely to Dr. Beeler." The Democratic "Journal" says that "he observed the trend of events and human progress with a keenness and an accuracy of thought that was a delight to listen to," and "he always had a reason for his views;" while the Republican "News" describes him as a man "essentially modest," but "strong and positive," to whom "humanity was his first interest," who was "actively, sympathetically and intelligently interested" in social questions, and that in the discussions at his store during "all the years it was a favorite resort of his coterie of friends," there "was nothing superficial." If that could only be said of all such discussions!

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### Civic Engineering.

Professor Lewis J. Johnson, of the technical department of Harvard University, and a distinguished expert and leader in reinforced concrete construction since his designing of the stadium at Cambridge, has invented the new and good name of "civic engineering" for a new and good thing which he proposes—"constructive political science." The suggestion was made by Prof. Johnson in a letter to the Engineering News of August 25 last. Here is his interpretation of the first law of the constructive science of "civic engineering" as he sees it:

The people must rule—by indirect control so long as that suffices, and, that failing, by regular and orderly direct control to such extent and to such degree of detail as may be required for complete success.

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Prof. Johnson's indefinite allusion to the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, and allied machinery for popular government, as an elementary law of Civic Engineering, is doubtless due in part to the habitual caution of a conscientious expert whose errors, if he makes any, may cause the collapse of a gigantic bridge or the crumbling of massive walls; but it is in greater part, probably, an indication of the good natured deference of an Eastern professor who knows the whole country, to the provincial prejudices that envelope the Atlantic intellect. In that part of his letter in which he gives testimony, Prof. Johnson unreservedly cites the experience of the commission-governed cities of the West and interior South, all the characteristics which, "from the Initiative, Referendum and Recall to systematic publicity and the small council, operate directly toward

popular supremacy in fact," discouraging "assaults upon the public welfare," and encouraging "loyal public service," and thereby tending "constantly to keep the public interest not only supreme but unassailed." He advises "any one wishing to study what is probably the most perfect piece of machinery to this end" to "turn to the charter under which Grand Junction, Col., is now living," one of the "distinctive features" of which "preferential voting—a workable scheme for dispensing with primaries and securing elections in the interest of the majority—has with little modification been embodied in the proposed new charter for Buffalo, already approved by popular vote in that city" (vol. xii, p. 1091). Proceeding with his primer lesson in Civic Engineering, Prof. Johnson says:

The Denver elections of last May show still further the value of means of popular control suited to the magnitude of the task. Denver, in that election, had the chance by direct popular vote to settle each of a series of twenty-one questions. The voters had the incentive of knowing that as they voted so it would be. Measures were for once disentangled from candidates, from parties, and from one another. Here was a chance for intelligent action. It was fully improved. Despite the lavish use of money and all else that great wealth and the united political machines could do to mislead—and they did much—the people adopted each of the six measures designed for their welfare, and rejected all of the fifteen which were not so designed. Much more to the same purport might be cited from American experience and on a State-wide scale, as in Oregon, not to mention the even better established Swiss results of direct popular control.

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### "Made in Germany."

The daily papers told of an incident last week of the deepest import to minds that are watching the evolution of democracy: "Scores injured by the Berlin police—'Bloodhounds!' shriek crowds as Von Jagow's men ride them down. In spite of the strictness with which the cordons were maintained, the strikers and their sympathizers held meetings at the street corners, which in several instances caused bloody fights." It is not much, the whole item; but let your mind wander over to England and look at that clock made in Germany. The words "Made in Germany" have a peculiar significance over there. To the less fortunate men, the words mean hatred, impotent rage; to the more fortunate—those who do not depend upon daily wages, and are trying to think out what it is that is wrong but do not think that the root of a thing is the place to hunt—those words have meant much: that Germany has discipline which England should copy; that

because an enlightened despotism is ruling in Germany, behold Germany beats all the other nations in industry; that this same enlightened despotism has by *Protection*, flooded the free market of England with "things made in Germany." And if one ask about the German wage earners, one is told that they are *all right*, far more prosperous on the whole, than are the English of that class. And the navy of that country is growing, and its enlightened despotism is needing more land. Therefore, that England may not be ruined, she must increase her tariff, strengthen her navy, and let Baden Powell drill the babies so they will grow up able to kill scientifically and with subtlety. Let us cast no slur upon those who hold these ideas. They may be better individuals than we are and quite as sincere, though they have got gummed up in details before examining the roots of the situation. But the dreadful Berlin incident, taken into consideration with like incidents of the year, indicates that there are people in Germany opposed to this benevolent despotism. If these Berlin crowds, understanding discipline as we of the West do not begin to, hazard destruction by the police, the Goddess of Discontent must be urging them on toward greater freedom. Not even under the military discipline of Germany, can the doctrine that government should be by the consent of the governed, be changed to government for the benefit of the governed, without disappointment and protest. Here seems to be the beginning of the end of one of the strongest arguments in behalf of protection, with which so many British people have been dazed.

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### THE DES MOINES PLAN IN OPERATION.\*

The Commission form of municipal government obliterates ward lines, ignores party politics, and abolishes legislative, executive and judicial distinctions.

It substitutes a board consisting of the Mayor and four Commissioners, who manage the affairs of the city as a board of directors would manage the business of a bank or of any other large corporation. They are invested with all the powers of city government, and are elected by the people of the whole city.

These five men divide the duties of the city government among themselves into five departments: Public Affairs, Accounts and Finances, Public

\*This editorial is by the Mayor of Des Moines, Iowa, whose functions under the Des Moines plan of Commission Government are those of Superintendent of the Department of Public Affairs.

Safety, Streets and Public Improvements, and Parks and Public Property. They then elect all the subordinate officers necessary for the city business, such as Chief of Police, Police Judge, City Clerk, City Engineer, City Treasurer, City Auditor, etc. These subordinate officers may be discharged at any time. All other subordinates, except common laborers, are selected under civil service rules administered by a Civil Service Commission, and are removable only for misconduct, or lack of attention to duties, or activity in political matters.

The four Commissioners and the Mayor act as the administrative heads of their respective departments. They also constitute the Council and as such legislate for the city.

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These five Councilmen under the Des Moines Plan are elected for a period of two years, and in the following manner: Any citizen who secures the signatures of twenty-five voters vouching for his character may become a candidate for Mayor or Commissioner. The two candidates receiving the highest number of votes for Mayor at the primary are the candidates for Mayor at the election; the eight receiving the highest number of votes for Commissioner are the final candidates for Commissioners. At the election, which occurs two weeks later, the candidate for Mayor who receives the highest number of votes becomes Mayor, and the four candidates for Commissioner who receive the highest number of votes become Commissioners.

At their first meeting, those five elect the subordinate city officers, and the new Council is then ready to conduct the business of the city.

■

It will be seen that directness and simplicity are the main characteristics of the Des Moines plan of Commission government.

The great purposes are to make the city officials feel responsive to public opinion, and to enable them to make themselves efficient in administration.

To carry out those two fundamental ideas, two other great principles have dictated nearly all the details of the charter—namely: to confer upon the governing body great power, and to hold it strictly responsible for right uses of its power. *Publicity* and *efficiency* are the watchwords of the Des Moines plan.

Candidates must make a public statement of their campaign expenses; there can be no secret meetings of the City Council; every ordinance

appropriating money must be on public file for seven days before it becomes effective; all franchises must be submitted to a vote of the people for approval before they become operative; and officers must be under no secret obligations to public service companies in the way of passes, special rates, or free services.

These specific provisions for publicity have created a general spirit that demands the bringing of everything in connection with the city government out into the open. Campaigns are conducted practically altogether in open meetings, hundreds of which occur in every city election; and every meeting of the City Council is minutely reported in the daily newspapers. The result is that public opinion, well informed and intelligent, moulds the action of the City Council.

The power of this public opinion is rendered still more effective by provisions for an essential part of the Des Moines plan—the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall.

Having thus provided for intelligent, active and effective public opinion, making the city government responsible to the people for its every act, the next thing of importance, indeed the great object, is to give it the means of efficient administration. It is therefore invested with every power incident to city government—legislative, executive and judicial—so that there can be no excuse for inefficiency.

Prompt, efficient, business-like administration of municipal affairs is the natural result. When you have intelligent public opinion stimulating a business-like administration of common affairs, isn't that something like the fulfillment of the prophecy of democracy?

✦

Now, how does this novelty in municipal government work out in practice?

It has been tried in Des Moines only a little more than two years, and circumstances during that time have hampered the new form of government more or less. Yet it has undoubtedly been a great improvement—indeed, an almost incalculable improvement—upon the old form.

The administration has been prompter, and the city has been cleaned up physically and morally far beyond the old order. Permanent improvements have been secured to an extent not even approached in the past. And all has been done upon a tax levy ranging from .8 mill to 4.2 mills less than during the eight preceding years. To be exact, the levy during the two years of the Des Moines plan has averaged 2.7 mills less than it

averaged under the old plan during the eight years preceding.

To be sure, there has been a great civic awakening in Des Moines, and to this some observers may ascribe the improvements, upon the theory that "a new broom sweeps clean." But the fact is that one of the chief merits of the Des Moines plan is its effect in fixing popular attention upon public affairs, and thereby tending to arouse and sustain popular civic interest.

Under the new plan, the average citizen of Des Moines takes personal pride in his city government. Under the old plan, it was customary to criticise, or to speak apologetically, or to avoid the subject. This could not promote alertness. Ninety-five per cent of the citizens of Des Moines are thoroughly satisfied that the change of two years ago was a good change. They would not go back to the old form under any consideration.

JAMES R. HANNA.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### ROOSEVELT'S CONVENTION.

Saratoga, N. Y., Sept. 28.

Twenty-four years ago the man who is absolutely dominating the Republican convention here today was leading a forlorn hope in the three-cornered Mayoralty fight in New York City, with A. S. Hewitt and Henry George as opponents. Things have happened since then. The then exponent of the machine, the representative of the "interests," is today the champion of direct nominations. This is the issue the State machine has selected for its last and decisive stand against the radical and progressive forces in its party.

Before the convention which nominated Blaine for the Presidency, the insurgents of that day entered into a solemn agreement that in the event of Blaine being nominated they would withdraw from the convention and refuse to support the nominee. Roosevelt was a party to that agreement. It was one of the great disappointments of George William Curtis's life when Roosevelt deserted, went back on his promise and supported Blaine. As editor of Harper's Weekly he quoted those lines from Browning:

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,  
Just for a riband to stick in his coat."

At a later date, when Roosevelt was beginning to loom on the horizon as a political star of the first magnitude, the editor of *The Public* dubbed him a "swashbuckler," and in the light of subsequent events I imagine he has never had occasion to change his estimate of the man. For swashbuckler Roosevelt was, and swashbuckler he is today.

✦

What manner of man is this that could violate, with impunity apparently, the confidence of men like Curtis, who can sound the depths of real democracy

in some of his speeches and yet qualify his remarks with "weasel" words that cause genuine Democrats of all parties to doubt his sincerity and to put aside his radicalism as superficial and untrustworthy? Seeing him handle the convention here today gave one at first hand the opportunity of judging of his strength as a leader; made understandable his wonderful hold on the masses of the people.

The fate of direct nomination looked blue indeed at one stage of the proceedings. All "the old guard"—Barnes, Fassett, Wadsworth and their henchmen—had taken the platform to urge the minority report from the Committee on resolutions, which was a miserable straddle leaving the question of direct nominations optional and indefinite. They had successfully scared the delegates by dangling before them the inevitable outcome of the majority report as leading to the Initiative and Referendum. They appealed to the convention to preserve the party system; to realize that the adoption of the majority report meant the abolishment of State conventions which had existed for a hundred years.

But five minutes of the time set for the debate remained when Roosevelt took the platform. His first sentence electrified the assembly! He then went on to make an appeal to trust the people—even to the extent of accepting the Initiative and Referendum. He pointed out that the difference between the two factions was that the reactionaries were afraid to trust the people while he and his followers were not. He made an argument for direct nominations that would almost do credit to a La Follette. It was the appeal of democratic Republicanism—unequivocal and entirely free from "weasel" words. He seemed to realize the strength of a principle plainly and squarely put, and it was not strange to find when the votes were counted that he had routed the machine—horse, foot and dragoons.

In a convention of democratic Democrats this speech would have been commonplace perhaps, but uttered in a Republican convention in contrast with the other efforts, it stood out clear and bold.

Roosevelt is not democratic in any profound sense, but he is democratic relatively to his party and his times. Therein lies his strength, as I view it. He is ahead of his party just enough to be a leader, but not so far that they lose confidence in his "sanity" or conservatism. In his management he is astute; and although his methods are of the steam roller kind, its driving power is furnished by an appeal to fundamental principles.

LOUIS B. PARSONS.

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**DO YOUR OWN THINKING.**

Philadelphia, Pa.

I have lived in this world nearly 50 years; and, after a ripe experience from hard conditions to slightly better during that time, I think the greatest thing in the world for men and women is to do their own thinking.

For thousands of years the priests did our thinking; for hundreds of years the newspapers have done it.

I can't see that we are now doing our own thinking in the main any more than at any earlier period of recorded history. Of course there are glorious

flashes, here and there. There is the Alexandrian period; the Athenian; the Roman; the Renaissance. But after all our schools and our boasted progress, it still remains true that eighty per cent of the human race are unable to do their own thinking. The average man or woman says, after hearing a sermon or reading a newspaper editorial, "sure that's what I think"—when they haven't thought at all.

Teach people to do their own thinking, as the Quakers and the Scots do—always examining and discussing every proposition before accepting it—and you will revolutionize the world in fifty years.

Excuse the homily—I suppose most people are like Barrie's hero, Corporal Shlach, who hated to think "because it made him sweat."

GEORGE C. WATSON.

**NEWS NARRATIVE**

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, October 4, 1910.

**The Republican Party in Wisconsin.**

At the post-primaries (p. 879) convention of the Republican party in Wisconsin, held at Madison on the 27th, there was a unanimous vote, on motion of F. E. McGovern, the primaries candidate for governor, in favor of the re-election of La Follette to the senate, he having been nominated at the primaries (p. 865). By this vote every Republican candidate for the legislature who was present and voting at the convention is pledged, and every such candidate not present was invited to record his obligation by making the pledge by letter. It is reported that legislative candidates who "dodge" this pledge will be opposed by the party at the election.

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Following are the principal demands of the platform adopted by this convention:

Real downward revision of the tariff. The Taft-Payne-Aldrich law condemned as a violation of the party pledges.

Physical valuation of railroads and more stringent regulation of them.

Second choice primaries.

Initiative and referendum.

Recall of unsatisfactory elective officials.

Protection from interference under all anti-trust laws with labor unions and farmers' co-operative associations.

Publicity of campaign contributions and expenditures.

Limitation of expenditures of candidates for office.

Anti-lobby law.

Graduated income tax and ad valorem tax of corporations.

Home rule in the liquor traffic.

National control of natural resources and protection of Alaskan wealth.

Employers' liability law.

Condemnation of the "suppression by special interests in Congress of the investigations of the Country Life Commission."

Regulation of working hours of women and children.

The Federal government to determine the style of craft best adapted for river use in the light of future improvement of streams.

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In addressing the convention, Senator La Follette referred in these terms to the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall planks in the platform:

You will write into the laws of Wisconsin—you have written into the platform of the Republican party of this pioneer progressive State—that which shall be of great value to the great movement now sweeping over the country from coast to coast to restore representative government—not to destroy representative government, but to make those safeguards which shall insure to the people true representative government.

He added:

You are going into a campaign now which means not only everything for Wisconsin, but means everything for this great movement. Other States have come to look to this State up here in the old Northwest as a pioneer and a pilot now, for we have gone far enough and demonstrated enough so they no longer call it the "radical" State, but the "pioneer" State—the State that proves every step it takes, that does not write a platform pledge or a statute that does not represent sound economic principle and the ideas of our forefathers which they have embodied in the Declaration of Independence. A great campaign is on, not for our State alone but for all the States of this country of ours, and for our great country itself.

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The platform had made the following declaration regarding President Taft's use of official patronage (pp. 889, 895) to defeat Insurgent Republicans at the primaries:

Wisconsin is to be congratulated upon having representatives in the Senate and House who remained true to the people and to the national platform of the party, notwithstanding the efforts to punish them for so doing by withdrawal of Federal patronage.

Another clause in the platform points with peculiar significance to the question of progressive Republicanism:

It is now recognized throughout the country that Robert M. La Follette was the pioneer in this progressive movement; and although he had behind him years of sound, progressive work, tried and approved

in this State, when he entered the United States Senate he had there neither sympathizers nor following. With the courage, ability and determination that has characterized all his public services, he adhered to his course, grew into leadership, and now holds a position of undisputed power and influence in the nation.

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### The Republican Party in New York.

After the keynote speech by Theodore Roosevelt as temporary chairman of the Republican convention of New York at Saratoga (pp. 922-923), Elihu Root was made permanent chairman; and on the 28th H. L. Stimson, a former professional associate of Mr. Root's in the latter's law office, and recently the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York who prosecuted the sugar trust tariff frauds, was nominated for Governor.

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The platform declares—relentless warfare upon official and legislative wrongdoing. . . to the end that the guilty shall be punished and the innocent relieved of unjust suspicion. . . The crook and grafter and unfaithful man in public service shall be put out and kept out.

"The progressive and statesmanlike leadership of William Howard Taft" is "enthusiastically" endorsed, the platform declaring the pride of the Republican party in New York—

in the achievements of his first eighteen months as President of the United States. Each succeeding month since his inauguration has confirmed the nation in its high esteem of his greatness of character, intellectual ability, sturdy common sense, extraordinary patience and perseverance, broad and statesmanlike comprehension of public questions, and unflinching and unswerving adherence to duty. . . . Under his administration the prosecutions of those implicated in the sugar and other customs frauds have been continued and convictions obtained; there have been impartial and energetic enforcement of the Sherman anti-trust act; . . . remarkable progress in the construction of the Panama Canal, and the withdrawal from private entry of over 71,000,000 acres of the public domain to preserve for public benefit valuable coal and other mineral deposits, timber land, and water power sites. . . . The Payne-Tariff law reduced the average rate of all duties 11 per cent. By increasing the duties on some luxuries and articles not of ordinary use, making, however, no increase on any common food product, it turned a national deficit into a surplus. Under its first year of operation the value of imports free of duty was the greatest in our history by \$109,000,000, and the average rate of duty was less than under the Wilson law. Unlike the Democratic law, its great reductions of duty have not stopped industry nor deprived labor of any part of its hire. It gives free trade with the Philippine Islands and it establishes a Customs Court. Its maximum and minimum rates give us for the first time equality of oppor-

tunity with other nations in our foreign trade. In providing, upon the suggestion of President Taft, for a tariff board, it affords the means of still more accurately determining the difference in cost of production at home and abroad. A Republican Congress is necessary to provide needed appropriations for this board and to assure business and labor that changes in rates will be made only to equalize the difference in cost of production and not to reduce rates to the free trade or purely revenue basis favored by the Democratic party. To avoid disturbance of business we urge the adoption by the Congress of the joint rule of the two Houses recommended by the President and leaders in Congress, by which the two Houses could consider a single schedule or a single paragraph of the tariff without the necessity for amendment which would lead to a general revision. Advances in the cost of living are only the local reflection of a tendency that is world-wide and cannot be truthfully said to be due to the present tariff. . . . The right of the President to withdraw public lands for conservation purposes has been set at rest by legislation, and the completion of irrigation projects is assured by the authorization of \$20,000,000 of bonds.

Other features of the platform demand that—"capital honestly employed, should be permitted to feel that sense of security essential to stimulate its legitimate investment, and thus safeguard the prosperity which has been so well established under Republican administration; that great areas of productive lands now idle should be brought under cultivation;" "favor all practical methods for increasing the number of farm owners and furthering their own interests;" "favor the conservation, development and utilization of all our natural resources under conditions, however, which will protect and safeguard the rights of the State;" "favor such regulation of our rivers by storage reservoirs, or otherwise, as will multiply and equalize the hydraulic power, give relief to thousands of wage earners who are now regularly deprived of work during the Summer months, prevent needless loss of profits to manufacturing and mercantile communities, stimulate the upbuilding of our industries, eliminate the annual destruction of property by floods and improve unsanitary conditions;" pledges "the prompt adoption of such constitutional and statutory enactments as will accomplish these ends;" and, crediting Gov. Hughes with "arousing the interest of the people and convincing them of the need of directly electing their party officers and directly nominating their party candidates," promises "legislation which will enact these principles into law."

Mr. Roosevelt is reported to have been in complete control of the convention throughout, and the same reports are to the effect that the Republican party in his State is now reunited. President Taft has publicly approved the work of the convention.

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#### The Democratic Party in New York.

Mayor Gaynor appears to have been looked to by party leaders as the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York; but before the convention

he published an announcement that he was not a candidate, and on the eve of the convention James Creelman gave out a further letter from Mr. Gaynor, in which the latter authorized the former to announce authoritatively, if necessary to prevent his nomination, that he would not accept if nominated. The principal candidates then were Edward M. Shepard (vol. iv, pp. 433, 448, 450, 451, 469, 487, 578; vol. v, pp. 594, 746; vol. vi, pp. 571, 803; vol. vii, p. 362; vol. viii, p. 227; vol. x, pp. 56, 866, 1043; vol. xi, pp. 627, 628). Thomas M. Osborne (vol. viii, pp. 451, 490; vol. x, pp. 313, 1085; vol. xi, pp. 221, 442; vol. xiii, pp. 649, 733), and Congressman William Sulzer (vol. iv, p. 817; vol. v, p. 675; vol. vii, p. 753; vol. xii, pp. 1290, 1204; vol. xiii, pp. 444, 709, 733). Mr. Osborne was willing to stand aside for Mr. Shepard; but the latter did not get the nomination notwithstanding the widely recognized progressiveness of his democratic Democracy, and apparently for the reason that he is the regular attorney of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in New York City in connection with its engineering undertakings. In the end none of the contesting candidates was nominated.

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The convention met at Rochester on the 29th and Alton B. Parker was temporary chairman. The keynote of Judge Parker's speech was a denunciation of centralization of power politically and the creation of privileges economically. The platform denounces the Taft-Payne-Aldrich tariff law as having—

placed great additional burdens upon the shoulders of the average man, thereby largely contributing to the present high cost of living, a cost out of all proportion to the earning capacity of the great mass of the people.

It charges the Republican party with responsibility for compelling—

the citizen of the United States to pay a much larger price for American made goods than is paid by the people of other countries.

And it declares—

inflexible opposition to the so called "new nationalism." Its inventor put this forward as if it were progress, while in reality it is sheer reaction to tyrannical methods long ago shaken off by the free peoples of the world, oftentimes at cruel cost in treasure and blood. The settlers of our country fled from Europe to escape it. Whatever advance its adoption would bring is advance toward Socialism. They would have us abandon freedom. They would reduce the States to prefectures governed from Washington. They would clothe the President with power to declare what is lawful—a power usurped by one President in the case of a giant corporation absorbing a competitor. Such a "new nationalism" would lay the meddling hand of a bureaucracy upon every industry, increasing the burdens of taxation, making the struggle for life still harder, and compelling

every American workman to carry on his back a Federal inspector. Against all this exaltation of Federal centralized power to the destruction of home rule, against this despair of representative government, against this contemptuous impatience of the restraint of the law and of the decisions of the courts—we contend, in supreme confidence that the people of this State and of this nation will not forget the noble heritage of their past, but upon that foundation will build the still nobler progress of their future.

The affirmative declarations pledge the Democratic party of New York to—

sovereign State rights, and “for the largest possible measure of home rule for all cities of the State,” three-platoon system for the New York police force, downward revision of the tariff, a thorough investigation of all official wrongdoing, “that the guilty may be punished and business relieved of blackmail,” and Statewide direct primaries.

John A. Dix, a millionaire and a nephew of Gen. John A. Dix (of Civil War fame, principally from his military order: “If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!” and a senator from New York more than 60 years ago), was nominated for Governor over Congressman Sulzer. Mr. Sulzer’s name had been presented by Col. Alexander S. Bacon and seconded by the Rev. Madison C. Peters. Upon roll call the vote stood 16 for Sulzer to 434 for Dix.

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#### The Independence Party in New York.

Under the general direction of John J. Hopper, chairman of the New York State committee of the Independence party (vol. xi, p. 637), preparations are making for the nomination of a full State ticket.

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#### The Socialist Party in New York.

At the head of the Socialist ticket in New York, as candidate for Governor, is Charles E. Russell, better known throughout the United States as a magazine writer than as the Socialist he is. He is reported as standing for the Initiative and Referendum, home rule for cities, an eight-hour work-day, no child labor, no overtime work for women, workmen’s insurance, old age pensions, food for school children, municipal ownership of lighting, telephone, transportation and other public service utilities, equal pay for men and women doing the same work, a minimum wage level in every trade, and conservation of the State’s natural resources.

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#### Conservation at the Miners’ Congress.

At the American mining congress (vol. xii, p. 973) at Los Angeles on the 26th, Gifford Pinchot’s speech on the conservation of natural resources was received with great cheering; but before the congress adjourned it adopted resolutions (due, it was reported, to the influence of large

mining interests), placing itself on record as opposed to the Roosevelt-Pinchot conservation policies and declaring itself in favor of State control of water power and all other natural resources as against Federal control. It also adopted a report from the committee on Alaska mining laws in which L. R. Glavis, the land office special agent dismissed by Secretary Ballinger (pp. 899, 915), was attacked. The report of the Alaska mining laws committee advocated immediate opening of the vast coal fields beyond the arctic circle, denounced the proposed leasing system as confiscatory and unjust to legitimate claimants and declared for more “home rule and less interference from Washington in the affairs of the northern territory.” The report of the resolutions committee was in part as follows:

We condemn as opposed to the best interests of the American people, and as wholly unnecessary to the success of any plan of true conservation, legislation that tends to make the miners and other citizens of the public land States, lessees of, or tribute payers to the national government. We believe that every legitimate means should be adopted in the control of public lands to eradicate the evils of monopoly, but fail to find in any of the remedies by advocates of the leasing system how this can be accomplished by changing the present laws so as to take from the citizens a clear title and substitute therefor a lease.

A feature of the Congress was the introduction of a resolution by Thomas E. Gibbon of Los Angeles appealing to President Taft to take immediate action looking to the recovery by the Government of the oil lands in California now held by the Southern Pacific Railroad company. Gifford Pinchot in his address had won applause by suggesting such action.

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#### Conservation at the Irrigation Congress.

The fight of Colorado special interests for State instead of national control of water power streams was crippled at the National Irrigation Congress at Pueblo (pp. 782, 925), by a split in the Colorado delegation. When Gifford Pinchot spoke on the 29th, he pleaded for harmony between the advocates of national and of State conservation, urging that only by working together could the opponents of all conservation be fought successfully and natural resources be kept in possession of the people. “There is one enemy we all have to fight,” he declared. “It is the man in politics to feather his own nest. Any scattering of our power, therefore, is harmful. So I make this plea: ‘Do what you can to get the State and nation together to fight the common enemy, and stop any attempt to excite antagonism between the two, thereby creating a gap in which the enemies of both will best flourish.’” He asserted that the loudest cries against the new policy and the most bitter fight

against, it have come from those individuals and organizations who see that their individual profits are in danger. Continuing he said:

Any fight of this kind must have a focal point. Any great contest always centers around a few men and organizations. The basic principle of this fight of yours and mine is that it is better to help the small man make a living than to help the big man make a profit; to indorse the idea that the natural resources do not belong to a few rich men, mainly in Wall Street, but that they belong to the people. I believe the contest between States rights, and Federal, so prominently before this Congress, never would have arisen if the national government had not undertaken to control some of the special interests, which believed they could control everything by taking refuge behind the States. My view is this: There are certain things in which the States are obviously incapable of asserting as useful power, as useful control, as is the national government. In those the national government should control. There are many places in which the protection of the rights of the people belongs to the States and in these the State should have full sway. In both cases I deprecate all efforts to raise this quarrel, because in the muddy water there is a refuge for the man who wants to escape all control.

Francis J. Heney, who followed, endorsed all that Mr. Pinchot had said relative to State control and in addition proposed that all land laws, both State and national, be abolished and new ones be substituted.

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#### The Anti-Imperialist League Honors George L. Paddock.

At a stated meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League (p. 900) held on the 22nd, the following vote was passed, to be entered on the records of the Committee, to be communicated to the family of Colonel George L. Paddock of Chicago (p. 869), and to be published in the usual manner:

Mr. George Leban Paddock, a good, faithful and great-hearted man, was one of that noble Chicago group including Jane Addams, Edwin Burritt Smith, William Gardner Hale, Henry B. Fuller, Hermann Von Holst, Albert H. Tolman, Lockwood Honore, Henry Wade Rogers and their associates who caused at first a protest from the heart of America to be heard against Imperialism and the policy of the national administration in the Philippines,—claiming that the Filipinos of right ought to be free and independent. Mr. Paddock had long been a vice president of the Anti-Imperialist League. His loss will be keenly felt by his associates, and the cause which the League represents will greatly miss his loyal and zealous support.

MOORFIELD STOREY,                      ERVING WINSLOW,  
President.    Secretary.

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#### British Conference on Land Values Taxation.

A general conference of British advocates of the taxation of land values was held at Manchester,

England, on the 30th of September and the 1st and 2d of October (p. 879), under a call from the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, which is signed by the secretaries, Crompton L. Davies and John Paul. No cable reports of the conference have reached us, but the official program was as follows:

Friday, 30th September.

7:30 p. m., Town Hall, Albert Square, Manchester: Discussion—"Land Valuation and the Finance Act in relation to Local and Imperial Taxation" with special reference to the memorial on land and taxation reform recently presented to the Government by 143 members of Parliament. To be introduced by the Lord Advocate (the Right Hon. Mr. Alexander Ure, K.C., M.P.), and a resolution bearing on the question to be submitted. Chairman: Mr. L. W. Zimmerman, President of the Manchester League for the Taxation of Land Values.

Saturday, 1st October.

10 a. m., Grand Hotel, Aytoun Street: Private meeting of members of the Conference. Business Discussion. Chairman, Councillor Chas. H. Smithson, of Halifax.

2:30 p. m., Memorial Hall, Albert Square: Discussion—"The Relationship of Land Values Taxation to Free Trade, Housing, and Unemployment," to be introduced by Mr. Fredk. Verinder, a resolution bearing on the question to be submitted. Chairman: Mr. L. W. Zimmerman.

6:30 p. m., Grand Hotel, Aytoun Street: Henry George commemoration dinner, with Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fels as the guests of the evening. Chairman, Dr. Percy McDougall, Hon. Treasurer Manchester League for the Taxation of Land Values.

Sunday, 2nd October.

11 a. m., Grand Hotel, Aytoun Street: Discussion—"The Moral Aspect of the Movement for the Taxation of Land Values," to be introduced by Mr. John Paul. Chairman: Lewis H. Berens.

3 p. m., Alexandra Park. Open-air demonstration under the auspices of the Manchester League for the Taxation of Land Values, to be addressed by Mr. Francis Neilson, M.P., and others. Chairman: Mr. John Bagot.

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#### Police Brutality in Berlin.

Associated Press dispatches of the 28th from Berlin describe a police crusade against strikers, which appears to have been ordered by authority and conducted with a degree of brutality in the full spirit of the order. According to the dispatches the Police Commissioner ordered the police to "suppress disturbances without mercy," and—

the police followed out their instructions to the letter. They rode down and sabred mercilessly wherever a small group of people gathered in the district of Moabit. For two days this district has been the scene of riots, the like of which have not been witnessed in Berlin for many a day. Hundreds

of persons have been injured and veritable pitched battles between strikers, their sympathizers and the police have occurred at every street corner and open place in the Moabit precinct. The result of the severe repressive measures taken by the police was that scores of persons, whether participants, onlookers or mere passers-by, were bruised or wounded during the course of the evening. The correspondents of Reuter's Telegram Company, the New York Times, the New York World and the New York Sun were among the victims while watching the progress of the events from a motor car. The police swept down upon them with drawn sabers, apparently without provocation. The Reuter representative was wounded severely in both hands, while the other correspondents were badly bruised. They were saved from further injury by dashing at full speed to the nearest "first aid" station, where their wounds were bandaged. From 5 o'clock in the evening every saloon in the locality was closed by orders of the authorities. Orders also were given that windows of houses must remain closed, otherwise the police would fire, with or without provocation. Owing to the demolition of the street lamps the police carried magnesium torches, the glaring light from which heightened the effect of the riotous scenes. In spite of the strictness with which the cordons were maintained, the strikers and their sympathizers held meetings at the street corners, which in several instances caused bloody fights. The police charged furiously and beat down the workmen on every side. In this way they rode through Emdenerstrasse and Turmstrasse, which were blocked with excited crowds. Traces of the police charges were left in the dozens of persons lying severely wounded on both sidewalks. A coal wagon driven by strike-breakers under police protection was attacked, and the police replied with volleys from their revolvers. Several thousand marched in procession through the little Tiergarten, carrying a red flag. The police dashed at full gallop among the paraders, cutting down and galloping over them.

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#### China's First Parliamentary Chamber.

China's (pp. 685, 902) methodical advance toward constitutional government continues to develop according to program. The "assembly" announced last July (p. 614) as to meet October 3, convened on the 3rd as an Imperial Senate, and was formally opened by the Regent, Prince Chun. Of the 200 members, 100 were appointed by the throne, while the others, though chosen by the Provincial Assemblies, were not admitted until their selection had been approved by the viceroys of their respective provinces. A large parliament house is to be constructed, but in the meantime the sessions of the Senate will be conducted in the law college. Lack of room was given as the reason for the exclusion of representatives of the press from the first day's proceedings, and the same rule was applied to outsiders, not even the members of the foreign diplomatic corps being invited to be present. A general parliament is promised for 1915.

## NEWS NOTES

—The Constitutional Convention for New Mexico (p. 897) met and organized on the 3d.

—The only serious cholera reports from Europe continue to come from Naples (p. 925).

—The National Municipal League will hold its next annual meeting at Buffalo, November 14 to 18.

—The triennial convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America (vol. x, pp. 660, 709) opens in Cincinnati on the 5th.

—Mrs. Martha Davis, 78 years old, the only surviving sister of John Brown, the Abolitionist, died at Bendon, Michigan, on the 28th.

—Winslow Homer, painter of American seas and American types, died at his home at Scarborough, Maine, on the 29th, in his 75th year.

—Mayor Gaynor of New York, recovered from the injuries due to his attempted assassination (p. 829), returned to his official duties on the 3rd.

—The fifth annual convention of the United Irish League at Buffalo on the 27th, was attended by John E. Redmond, T. P. O'Connor and Joseph Devlin, members of the British House of Commons (p. 926).

—According to a certificate of the State election board of Oklahoma the Constitutional amendment disfranchising Negro citizens in that State was carried by a majority of 28,221, in a total vote of 240,665.

—Rebecca Harding Davis, author of short stories and novels, and for several years an editorial writer for the New York Tribune, died on the 29th at the home of her son, Richard Harding Davis, at Mt. Kisco, N. Y., in the 80th year of her age.

—The Cuban (p. 111) elections are to be held November 1. In Havana there are five parties in the field: Liberal (Zayaists), Historic Liberal (Miguelists), Independent Liberal, (headed by General Nunez), Workingmen's, and the party of Young Cuba.

—From 150 to 300 miners are entombed and probably dead in a mine at Palau, Mexico, as a result of two explosions on the night of the 30th and the morning of the 1st. The men entombed are mostly native and Japanese miners, although the number includes several Americans.

—At the Vanderbilt cup automobile race, held at the Long Island Motor Parkway on the 1st, four persons were killed and twenty seriously injured. The killed and injured included many spectators who were run down when the racing autos crashed into the crowds lining the speedway.

—Senator La Follette is at the Rochester (Minn.) hospital for a surgical operation, which he underwent on the 4th. Reports are to the effect that eight small gallstones were removed; and that while danger will not be over for several days, the prospects for recovery are entirely satisfactory.

—Leo Tolstoy (p. 14) has published a protest against the continuance of the "Jewish Pale" (p. 564). He asserts that the regulations which confine the Jews of Russia to a restricted district, are not only absurd and ineffectual, but that they vio-

late the natural rights of all human beings to live and move about on the earth.

—John J. Lentz, a democratic Democrat in Congress from Ohio in the 90's, (vol iii, p. 148, 595, 676), has announced his candidacy as a Democrat for United States Senator from that State in opposition to Senator Dick, whom he has challenged to a series of public debates on the issues involved.

—A commission form of government for Nashville, Tennessee, has been recommended by the directors of the local Board of Trade. It contains provisions for Recall, but none for direct legislation, except a mandatory referendum, in accordance with the present charter, on bond issues and franchises.

—At least 29 sailors, members of the crew of the battleship New Hampshire, were drowned in the Hudson River off New York city on the 1st, through the swamping of the launch in which they were returning to their ship after "shore leave." The launch was overloaded and the weather rough.

—The trial of Gov. C. N. Haskell of Oklahoma (vol. xii, p. 375) in the Muskogee town lot cases came to a sudden end on the 29th, when the District Attorney announced that under the restrictions laid down by the court he would be unable to make out a case against Governor Haskell or any of his co-defendants.

—Walter R. Brookins sailed around over the tall buildings of the Chicago "loop district" in a biplane on the 27th and 28th, and on the 29th flew from Chicago to Springfield, 187 miles, in 4 hours and 25 minutes, beating a special train on the Illinois Central lines. The flyings were made under the financial care of the Chicago Record-Herald.

—"The Dominion Trades and Labor Congress at the recent annual convention at Fort William," says the Ottawa Citizen, "came out strongly for the proposed amendment to the Assessment act of Ontario regarding the taxation of improvement values at a lower rate than land value. In addition to the resolution in favor of the amendment the Congress urged all other labor bodies to take up the same matter."

—The Henry George Club of Youngstown, Ohio, on the evening of September 30th, celebrated the 71st anniversary of the birth of Henry George, at a banquet at which Peter Witt of Cleveland spoke on Tom L. Johnson as the foremost disciple of Henry George. Among the guests were ex-Mayor Kilpatrick of Warren and Zell Hart Demming of the Warren Tribune. George Edwards, president of the club, presided.

—Captain Roald Amundsen, the Arctic explorer, was to undertake shortly a drifting expedition in the North Polar basin in Nansen's ship the Fram, to last six or seven years, according to plans announced last year (vol. xii, p. 157). A dispatch from Norway under date of the 2d, announced that Captain Amundsen had written from Madelra, where he was with the Fram, that he had decided to proceed on an Antarctic expedition (p. 543).

—State Senator Cotterill, of Seattle, a tried and proved democratic Democrat, was nominated at the recent primaries in the State of Washington (p. 897) for United States Senator, when Congressman Poindexter, the insurgent, was nominated by the

Republicans. The fact has now worked its way East in connection with reports to the effect that if a deadlock occurs between Poindexter and Cotterill an effort will be made to elect ex-Senator George Turner.

—William H. Berry, gubernatorial candidate of the Keystone party of Pennsylvania (p. 732), has written a letter to the executive and campaign committees of that organization in which he offers to withdraw if in their judgment the cause of reform will be furthered by such a step. This decision of Mr. Berry's being the result of an open letter sent to both him and the Democratic candidate, asking them to withdraw in order that a single candidate may be placed in the field upon whom both factions could concentrate.

—Steps toward "excess condemnation. (p. 388) are reported by the Toronto Globe of the 29th as having been taken in Ontario. "The city," says the Globe, "is to seek legislation empowering it to expropriate more land than it requires for its immediate purpose in widening or opening up thoroughfares, and to sell off subsequently the surplus land in lots. This move was made by the legislative committee of the City Council on the 28th, when it decided to ask for an enactment authorizing any municipal corporation to do this."

—At the State and Congressional conventions of the Democratic party in Rhode Island on the 29th, a platform assailing the tariff, Cannonism and the retention of Secretary Ballinger in the cabinet was adopted. A. Waterman was nominated for Governor, and for Congress from the first district, George F. O'Shaughnessy, and from the second Thomas F. Cooney. The convention also pledged the Democratic candidates for the general assembly to support Judge Arthur L. Brown of the District court as a successor to United States Senator Aldrich.

—Reports of the 1st, of dynamiting crimes at Los Angeles were to the effect that following an explosion and fire on the 1st which completely wrecked the building occupied by the Times-Mirror Publishing Company, and resulted in the probable death of more than a score of employes of the newspaper, two dynamite bombs or infernal machines were discovered by the police, one at the home of the publisher of the newspaper, General Harrison Gray Otis, and the other on the premises occupied by F. J. Zeehandelaar, secretary of the Los Angeles Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. The Los Angeles City Council has offered \$25,000 as a fund to be used in investigating the blowing up of the Times Building, \$1,500 of which amount is offered as a reward for information leading to the conviction of the guilty person or persons.

—It was reported by cable on the 29th from London, relative to the judicial decision that assessments cannot be levied upon trade unions for the Parliamentary expenses of representatives pledged to vote in Parliament under caucus dictation, that the executive committee of the Labor party in the House of Commons in abolishing the pledge that gave rise to the Osborne judgment and the consequent threatened disappearance of Labor members from Parliament, removes the chief obstacle in the way of a reversal of the Osborne judgment. The

situation as it stands is that Labor members of the House of Commons, like all the others, are free to vote on each occasion in the way their consciences tell them is best for the public interest; thus the Labor party ceases to be pledge-bound and becomes a body of politicians, held together only by common sympathies and purposes.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### The Real Objection.

The (Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post (Ind.), Oct. 1.—Opponents of direct primaries, and of Initiative and Referendum, twaddle fatuously about maintaining "our historic and Constitutional system, of representative government." The twaddle, we think deceives nobody. What they really want to maintain is a system of government that is not representative. If they were anxious to represent the will of the people, why should they be afraid to let the people say what their will is?

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### "Good-Bye, Colonel; Take Care of Yourself."

The Des Moines (Iowa) News (Insurgent Rep.), Sept. 29.—Roosevelt, bringing with him Taft, Ballinger, Wickersham, Root, Morgan, Lurton and Hitchcock, and all the motley crew of plutocrats and Hessians of privilege, cannot enlist in the army of Insurgency. Insurgency got along pretty well when Roosevelt was in Africa; it would have been as sensible if James Buchanan, with Jeff Davis and his outfit, had tried to get into the councils of Abraham Lincoln. Roosevelt has commended Taft, the political assassin of Pinchot. And now it is good-bye, Colonel.

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### Direct Legislation in New Mexico.

The (Albuquerque) Tribune Citizen (Ind. Dem).—Since the people have spoken for direct legislation in New Mexico by electing a majority of delegates pledged to this feature of the Constitution, there can be no mistaking what their action will be if the Constitutional Convention betrays its trust and listens to the voice of Catron, Spiess, Bursum, Luna and the remainder of the bosses whose business is politics and the fleecing of the people. If the Constitutional Convention betrays its trust the people of New Mexico will vote down the Constitution.

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### Meaning of Conservation.

Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), Sept. 22.—In his City Club address upon the nature of that movement in the United States which of late has been called "insurgency" or progressivism, Mr. Francis Heney, the redoubtable graft prosecutor of San Francisco, uttered one of the most significant generalizations developed by recent political and economic discussion. Mr. Heney called attention to the need of gaining or regaining control on behalf of the whole people of the "energy producing resources"—namely: water power, coal, oil, natural gas. This is of course, the real aim of the conservation movement.

But conservation has not so defined itself, and it may be that no conservationist save Mr. Heney has yet analyzed and generalized back to this central idea.

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### Smugglers as Campaign Documents.

Puck (humorous), September 28.—Some of the would-be smugglers are in lines of business in this country which enjoy the protection of choice tariff schedules; one might almost say with safety that it is the tariff bounty which they receive which makes them prosperous enough to tour Europe and purchase all kinds of costly raiment there. This they have no conscientious scruples about bringing through the Custom House undeclared, but as staunch advocates of Republican "prosperity" they would frown no doubt upon the humble citizen who cannot afford to travel in Europe, but who, like themselves, would relish the privilege of buying in an open market, instead of in a market controlled by Monopoly. A low tariff, or Free Trade, it seems, is right for the rich who go abroad, but wrong for poorer folk who stay at home.

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### Judicial Usurpation.

Sacramento (Cal.) Bee (Ind.), Sept. 16.—Harper's Weekly is criticising ex-President Roosevelt very severely for his "assault" upon the Supreme Court of the United States. Bosh! The Supreme Court of the United States is not infallible; it is not above criticism. The Supreme Court of the United States frequently has done things for which it merits not only denunciation, but even damnation. It is those only that would keep such court as the mouthpiece of the vested wrongs of the country, who abuse men who dare to criticise and to protest against some of its outrageous decisions—only those and their journalistic rolling stock. No one could have a higher respect for the courts which honestly do their duty than has The Bee. At the same time, none could have a supreamer contempt than has this paper for any court that would steal the livery of Justice to serve the interests in.

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(Jesse F. Orton) in La Follette's (Ind. Rep.), Sept. 10.—Hitherto judges have considered it their right—their duty, even—to hold themselves above the "clamor" of the people whom they are chosen to serve. But government by "divine right" must soon retire from this last stronghold. Power coming from above, whether it be the "prerogative" of the Stuarts to make laws, or the modern judicial prerogative to interpret and apply the law, is coming to look very much the same to the people.

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The Cincinnati Post (Ind.).—Judicial usurpation will not be tolerated by a free people any more than will kingly or executive usurpation. Roosevelt, and others like him, who are calling public attention to judicial usurpation, are really upholding the courts, by seeking to confine them to their proper functions. Judge Parker, and others like him, are the ones who are assailing and undermining the courts by encour-

aging their usurpation of power. Flagrant usurpation of power must end, or the power of courts to set aside statutes will be taken away. That power exists in no other country in the world except the United States.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### WHEN I AM GONE.

When I am gone, oh, lay me not to rest  
Beneath some chilling shaft whose polished gloom  
Shall tell how little virtue I possessed,  
And make a hallowed precinct of my tomb.

Nor would I moulder in that holy ground  
Blest by the priesthood of a distant God;  
Let Nature shroud me in a lowly mound,  
All with her mantle of the living sod.

Beneath some rugged oak let me repose.  
Lulled by the waters of a thousand springs,  
Where the blue violet into beauty grows,  
And life runs gaily as the robin sings.

"Dust unto dust!" Not with your grand parade;  
All things must die, all but the over-soul;  
Then give this clay to lie beneath yon shade,  
And render up to Nature nature's toll.

Let grief go by, and let my burial psalm  
Be sung by mating birds; let flowers fair  
Bloom loving o'er me, and the twilight calm  
Breathe to my soul its threnody of prayer.

KEYES BECKER.

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#### THE HUNTER OF EUBOEA.

Translated for the First Time in English by Prof. Samuel Ross Winans, Ph.D., of Princeton University, from the Greek of Dio Chrysostom. Reprinted from "The Classics—Greek and Latin," with the Permission of the Publishers, Vincent Parke and Company, New York.\*

(Concluded from last week.)

"The officials proceeded to the theatre, where the assembly sat; and I with them. The theatre is a great hollow, like a cleft in a hillside, the two sides not very deep, but rounding in to make a semi-circle; not a natural hollow, but one built up out of stone.—Perhaps you smile at my description of what is quite familiar to you.

"For a considerable time this crowd of people was occupied with other matters. They would cry out now and then, sometimes in a kind tone approvingly, all of them; and again in tones of intense displeasure. The fierceness of their anger at such times was awful. The men they shouted

at became at once terror-stricken, and ran about begging for mercy; some even flung off their garments crazed with fear. Once I myself almost fell over at an outburst of this yelling—it was like the breaking of a great wave or a sudden clap of thunder. Then other men coming forward, or simply rising in the midst, would harangue the assembly, in a few words or with long speeches. Some speakers they listened to for a long time; while to others they showed anger at their first attempt to speak, and would not let them so much as utter a sound.

"When finally the matters were settled and quiet was had, I was brought forward. Then a man rose and said: 'This, gentlemen, is one of those fellows who have been squatting on the public domain these many years, not only himself, but likewise his father before him. They pasture our mountain slopes, plow our lands, and hunt our game; they have built houses, and planted vineyards, and possess much wealth of other sorts; while they have paid no one the price of the land, nor did they receive it as a bounty from the state. For how, in sooth, could they have so received it? Occupying our lands and growing rich thereby, they have never performed public assessment service in any shape, nor do they pay any tithes of their income; but they live quite exempt from all tax and public service, as though they were the honored benefactors of the state. I fancy,' he went on, 'that they have not so much as ever come to this place before.' Here I shook my head. And the people laughed, as he noticed. The laughter made him angry, and he cursed me. Then facing about, he said: 'If you can approve of such things, we might as well everybody turn to despoiling the state, some robbing the treasury—as no doubt some are already doing—others dividing up the public lands without your sanction, and so on, if you are to suffer creatures like these to hold without paying for it more than a thousand acres<sup>1</sup> of your best land, land from which you might get enough grain to distribute three pecks<sup>1</sup> Attic *per caput* to all citizens.'

"Hearing that, I burst into a loud laugh. But the people were in no laughing mood, as before, and made a tumult. Then this orator fellow grew very angry, and, looking fiercely at me, 'Observe,' said he, 'the insolence and dissembling of this scoundrel, with what brazenness he dares to laugh. I am all but minded to have him led to execution, him and his confederate. For I am informed there are two of these chief offenders, who have taken possession of nearly the whole of the hill country. Moreover, I have a notion that they do not abstain from wrecking, when from time to time ships are cast ashore; for they live just above the rocks of Cape Caphareus. Else how got they means to acquire for themselves such rich fields,

<sup>1</sup>These terms are literary, not metric equivalents of the original.

\*See review in Public of September 23, page 907.

may, whole villages, and herds of cattle, teams of horses, and slaves? You, perhaps, note only that shabby tunic and that skin which he has put on merely to come here and deceive you, pretending that he is a pauper and has nothing. Why, I almost shudder as I look at the fellow and think I see the old-time wrecker, Nauplius<sup>1</sup> himself, come from Caphareus. This man, I can well believe, lights false fires on the cliffs for sailors, to lure them on the rocks.'

"As the orator said these things and more besides, the crowd grew wildly excited; and I was in dismay, fearing they would do me violence.

"Another man came forward to speak; a kind, sensible man he seemed, both from his words and his whole attitude. He asked for silence; and they became still. He then proceeded in a quiet tone to say that men do no harm in clearing and tilling the unutilized lands; that on the contrary they should have commendation; that the people ought not to feel anger toward those who build houses and plant orchards on the public lands, but rather toward those who let them go to waste. 'At this present time, gentlemen,' said he, 'fully two-thirds of our public lands lie wild and barren from public indifference and lack of settlers. I myself own many acres of land—as probably do some of you—both in the hills and on the plain, and if I could find a man willing to cultivate it, I would not only charge him no rent, but I would also pay him to do it. For observe, the land at once becomes more valuable for me; and besides a stretch of country looks so much more beautiful when it shows houses and cultivated fields, while land that lies waste brings in no profit; and it is also a distressing, pitiful sight to look at, seeming to proclaim the run-down fortunes of the owner.

"Hence I believe we should urge others, as many as we can of our city people to take up a portion of public land and till it, men with some means a larger amount, and the poorer as much as each can afford; so that our lands be brought under cultivation, and our people, all who will, may be freed from two of the greatest of human miseries—idleness and poverty.

"For ten years let them have their farms rent free; after that time by a definite arrangement let them pay over a small tithe of their crops, but nothing from their cattle. And if some foreigner would take a farm, let him for *five* years pay no rent, and after that double the tithe paid by our citizens. And if any foreigner will put under cultivation two hundred plethra<sup>2</sup> let him be made a citizen; that thus we may interest strongly as many as possible in our scheme.

"For at present,' he continued, 'land just out-

<sup>1</sup>King Nauplius, in resentment of the treacherous slaying of his son Palamedes at Troy, lighted false beacons on Caphareus and so wrecked numbers of the returning Greek ships.

<sup>2</sup>About fifty acres.

side the gates lies waste, and it is a great disgrace to us, resembling more the heart of a desert than the suburbs of a city. Whereas the empty areas within the walls are mostly sown and reaped.

"Surely then we may wonder at our orators who indict hard-toiling men who live by Cape Caphareus in a far corner of Euboea, and fail to see anything wrong in those who plow the athletic field and pasture the market square. See with your own eyes, I pray you, how they have turned the training place into a wheat field, so that Heracles and the other statues of Gods and of heroes are quite hidden by the high grain. And you may see how every morning early this same orator who spoke last lets his sheep be driven into the market square, where they crop the grass before the Senate house and the public offices. In consequence strangers on their first visit either laugh at us and our city or else they pity us.'

"When they heard this, the people were now indignant with my accuser, and made loud outcries. 'And while he himself does these things,' the speaker continued, 'he thinks he is called upon to send to prison poor, hard-working common folk; to the end evidently that no one hereafter should live by honest toil, but that the poor man of the country shall rob for a living, and he of the city turn cut-purse.'

"In my judgment,' he concluded, 'we should let these men stay in possession of what their own hands have created, on their undertaking to pay a small rent hereafter; and we should remit all previous dues; inasmuch as they have cultivated and reclaimed land which was waste and worthless. And if they desire to purchase this land, I move that we sell it to them cheaper than to any other.'

"After he had spoke on this wise, the first orator made reply, and then followed a long altercation.

"Finally they bade me to speak, if I had anything to say. 'What shall I speak about?' said I. 'About what has been charged against you,' spoke out some one in the assembly. 'Well,' said I, 'I must state that there was not a scrap of truth in what the man charged. Why, gentlemen,' said I, 'I felt I must be in a dream as I heard him ranting about plantations and villages and such stuff. We have no village, nor horses and mules and cattle. I wish we had all the good things he described; then we could pay you taxes, and could count ourselves among rich folk. But what we now possess is enough for our needs, and you may take what you will of it. If you require it all, we can replace it.'

"At this speech they applauded. Then the magistrate asked me: 'What would you be able to give the people?' 'Four deerskins,' I replied, 'very fine ones.' Then most of them laughed, and the magistrate was very angry at me. 'The bearskins,'

I tried to explain, 'are hard; while goatskins are not of the same value, and what are not old and worn, are quite small: but take these, too, if you want them.'

"Again he was angry, and declared I was just a 'country farmer.'<sup>1</sup> 'Here again are you, too,' said I, 'talking of farms? Don't you understand we haven't any farms?'

"Then he asked if we could give, each of us, a hundred pounds<sup>2</sup> Attic. I replied: 'We don't weigh our meat; you may have it as it stands. We have a little in the brine; most of it is smoked and dry, but not much inferior to the salted. There are pigs' hams, haunches of deer, and other first-rate meat.'

"Then there was a great uproar, and they said I was a liar and deceiving them. Next he asked me if we had grain, and about how much. And I told him exactly: 'we have three bushels of wheat, six of barley, the same of millet, but of beans only half a peck. It was not a good season for beans. Take the wheat and barley,' said I, 'but leave us the millet. But if you need millet, take it, too.'

"'Don't you make wine?' another man asked. 'We do,' said I; 'and if any of you comes our way, we will give you some; only let him remember to fetch along a jug, for we haven't one.' 'And how many vines have you?' was asked. 'Beside the house doors,' I answered, 'there are two, and within the yard twenty; also on the other side of the brook—these we set out recently—as many more. They are all of good sorts, and bear big clusters, if passers-by will only let them alone. To spare you the trouble of asking separate questions, I will tell over the rest of our possessions; eight she-goats, a muley cow, a calf from her—it's a beauty—four reaping-hooks, four hoes, three spears, and each of us has a hunting knife. Crocks and pots I need not specify. We have wives, and children by them. We live in two very good cabins, and we have a third shack in which we keep our stock of food and the skins.' 'Yes,' said my accuser, 'and doubtless where you put your silver in the ground.' 'Then you go dig it up, you fool,' I retorted; 'who puts silver in the ground! Silver won't grow.' Here everybody laughed—at the fellow, I thought. 'That is what we have,' I said, 'and if you desire it all, we present it to you freely. You have no need to use force in taking anything of ours, as though we were foreigners or rogues. For we are born citizens of the state, as I have often heard my father say. And at one time he came here to the city, when a distribution of money was made, and received his share among the other citizens. Hence we are bringing up our sons as your citizens; and, if you ever need them, they

<sup>1</sup>The contemptuous expression, even then in common use, passes innocently by the rustic.

<sup>2</sup>One is thinking in sterling; the other knows only avoirdupois.

will be ready to fight for you, whether against bandits or against foreign foes. There is peace just now; but if war should arise, you may well pray for many like us to offer themselves. I fancy you won't expect this orator then to do any fighting for you; he fights only with his tongue, the same as women.

"Now, as for venison and skins, whenever we take any game, we will give you a portion; you have only to send some one to receive it. If our cabins do any harm, and you order us to remove them, we will do so. Only furnish us a place to live in here; or how could we get through the winter? You have many empty houses inside the walls; any one of these will do for us. But if we do not come to live here, and so do not add others to the great mass of people dwelling in narrow quarters in one place, surely this is a consideration why it is not best for us to remove.

"As to what he had the brazenness to say about wrecking—a thing so wicked and inhuman—I had almost forgotten to speak of this, though I should have spoken of it first of all. Can any of you believe this thing? Not to speak of the wickedness, it is quite impossible on that coast to secure anything of value, where you can find only fragments of a ship's timbers, so fine is everything broken up. And the shore at that point of the coast is of all parts least accessible. Once when I found some oar-blades washed up there. I took and fastened them to the sacred oak-tree which stands near the shore.<sup>1</sup> Heaven forbid that I should ever get me gain so unholy from the misfortunes of my fellow-men. Never have I made a profit in that way; on the contrary, I have taken pity on many shipwrecked men who have come to me, have offered them shelter in my cabin, given them food and drink, and any assistance in my power, and then have accompanied them to the settlements. Probably there is no one to testify of all this for me. Indeed, I did not do it for praise or for any return; often I did not know from whence they came. I hope that none of you will ever meet with such dire mishap.

"While I was saying these last words, a man rose up in the midst; and I thought to myself, here, probably, is another to lie about me. He began: 'Gentlemen, for some time I have recognized this man, but was not quite sure. Now that I am certain, I should regard it as nothing less than wicked not to relate what I know of him, and to repay by my words something of the great debt I owe him for his kind deeds.'

"'I am a citizen, as you know, and so is this man'—pointing to one sitting beside him, who stood up. 'We happened to be making a voyage on Socles' ship, now some two years ago. The vessel was wrecked near Caphareus, and of the large number on board, most were lost. Of the few

<sup>1</sup>Dedicating the abandoned tools of trade; a pious act for unknown dead.

saved, the purple-shell fishers took off some; for a few had silver in their belts to pay them. We two were cast ashore utterly bare, and we wandered along a little path, hoping to find some shelter of shepherd or herdsman, being like to perish of hunger and thirst. With great effort we managed at length to reach some cabins, and stood and called.

"Then this man came out and took us in, and kindled up a fire—being careful to warm us gradually; while he chafed the limbs of one of us and his wife the other; and they rubbed our bodies with tallow—having no olive oil; and finally they poured warm water freely upon us; until at length they put life into us again, who were well-nigh gone. Then they made us lie down and covered us with the best they had; and they set before us to eat wheaten loaves, while they themselves ate millet porridge; they gave us wine to drink, while they drank water; and they made us broth and broiled for us venison. And when on the morrow we wished to depart, they kept us for three days, and then escorted us across the plain, giving us as we went meat and to each a fine skin. And as this man saw that I was still quite weak from my suffering, he put a warm tunic upon me which was his daughter's, leaving her with an old ragged one. This tunic I gave back when we reached a village. So we owe our lives—next to the Gods—to this man."

"The people when they heard this, were pleased, and they praised me. Then, remembering the man, I went over and said, 'How are you, Sotades?' and I greeted him and the other man with a kiss. Then the people laughed loud, because I kissed them. Then I saw that it was not in fashion in the cities for men to kiss one another.

"Here that kindly man who had first spoken for me, came forward and said: 'Fellow citizens, I think we should invite this man to a dinner in the town hall. For if on the field of battle he had saved one of our citizens by putting his shield before him, he would have received large rewards. But now he has saved the lives of two of our citizens, and mayhap of more who are not here to tell of it; can it be that he is worthy of no honor? For that tunic which he gave our fellow citizen in his plight, robbing his own daughter, I move that the city present him with a tunic and a cloak—that it may stimulate others to lead honest lives and to assist their fellows in distress; likewise that by edict we grant them liberty to enjoy the lands they occupy, themselves and their children after them, without let or hindrance; and further, that we present this man with one hundred drachmas for proper equipment. And I offer to furnish this money in behalf of the state from my own resources.' They applauded his offer, and everything was voted as he proposed.

"Immediately the garments and the money were brought into the theatre. I was unwilling at

first to accept them; but they declared I could not go to the dinner in my skin cloak. Then said I, 'I will just go without dinner today.' However, they put me into the tunic, and wrapped the new mantle about me. I was about to put the skin on over all; but they wouldn't let me. The silver I simply would not take, and swore firmly I would not. 'If you are looking for some one to take it,' said I, 'hand it over to the orator and let him plant it. He evidently knows how to handle silver.'

"From that day to this no one has molested us."

He had no more than finished his tale when we arrived at the cabins. "Well," said I with a smile, "you managed to hide one thing from those city fellows, and the fairest of your treasures." "What is that?" said he. "This garden of yours," I replied, "so beautiful with all its green things and its fruit trees." "Ah, we didn't have it then," he rejoined; "we made that later."

Entering his house, for the rest of the day we ate and refreshed ourselves. We reclined at ease upon a high couch cushioned with dry leaves and skins; the man's wife sat beside her husband; while a daughter, just in the bloom of the marriageable age, waited upon us, and poured into our cups a dark sweet wine. The boys broiled meat and set it before us, at the same time partaking with us.

I found myself admiring these men, and thinking what a happy life they lived—far beyond any I knew. And I am acquainted with the houses and tables of the rich, not only of private citizens, but also of princes and rulers. And the latter I felt—as I had felt before, but now more strongly—are really the unfortunates, as I looked upon poverty joined to independence, and noted that not even in the pleasures of eating and drinking do these plain people fall short of the rich, but may even surpass them.

When we were well along in our meal, the second man, his neighbor, came in, and with him was a good-looking youth, his son, carrying a hare. He blushed when he entered; and while his father was greeting us, he kissed the girl and presented her with the hare. The girl then gave over waiting upon us, and seated herself by her mother's side; while the young man served us in her place.

Then I asked the host, "Is this the same daughter whose tunic you took to give to the shipwrecked stranger?" He smiled and said: "No, that daughter is long married and now has big children of her own; her husband is a rich man living in the village." "Then, doubtless," said I, "they supply you with anything you need." "We haven't any needs," spoke up the wife; "it is they who are always getting from us—game or fruit and vegetables, for they have no garden. Last year we did get some seed wheat from them—just for sowing; but we returned it at harvest time." "Well," said I, "and do you intend to marry this daughter

to a rich man, that she, too, may lend you wheat on occasion?" At this the girl and the boy both got very red. Then her father answered: "She will marry a poor man, a hunter like ourselves," and he gave a kindly glance toward the young man. Then I again: "And why don't you marry her forthwith? Is the man to come from the village?" "I think," said the father, "the man is not very far away; in fact he is here with us. And we will have the wedding as soon as we pick out a lucky day." "And how," said I, "do you decide upon a good day?" He answered, "When the moon's face shows large, and the air is clear and the sky bright." "And is he really a good hunter?" I asked. The boy spoke up: "I can tire out a deer, and I can meet the charge of a wild boar. I'll show you, to-morrow, stranger, if you like." "And did you catch this hare?" I asked. "Yes," he smiled, "in a snare last night. It was a fine clear air, and the moon was bigger than I ever saw it." Here they both laughed, the girl's father and the boy's. The young man was covered with confusion, and fell silent.

Then the girl's father said: "I won't put it off any longer, but your father is waiting to go and buy a suitable beast for sacrifice; for we must sacrifice to the gods." Here the small brother of the girl cried out: "He's got a pig for sacrifice—all ready this long while. He keeps it in a pen out back; it's a beauty." "Is that so?" they asked the young man. He said, "Yes." "And how did you get it?" was next. He replied: "When we caught the sow with the litter, most of the little pigs got away; they ran faster than hares. One of them I hit with a stone and I caught him, and hid him in my cloak. This I traded in the village for a little sow pig,<sup>1</sup> which I have fed up, making a pen back in the bushes."

"That explains it," said his father, "why your mother laughed when I wondered at hearing a pig squeal, and how the barley disappeared so." "You see," the young man explained, "we hadn't chestnuts enough to fatten her, and she wouldn't eat ordinary mast.<sup>2</sup> If you want to see her, I'll go and fetch her." "Go," they said. Then the young man and the boys ran out in great glee.

While they were gone, the girl rose and fetched from the store-cabin sorb apples—cut and spiced, and medlars and winter apples, and great clusters of cultivated grapes. These she placed on the table, first brushing off with leaves any fragments of meat, and putting fresh fern leaves beneath the fruit.

Soon the boys came back leading the pig—with much sport and laughter. The mother of the young man followed with them, and his two little brothers. These brought wheaten loaves and boiled

eggs in wooden saucers, and roasted vetches. After saluting her brother and her niece, she took a seat beside her husband, and said: "See the pig which the lad has been fattening this long time for the wedding; and we have everything else ready, both barley meal and wheat flour. We only need a little wine; and that will be easy to get in the village."

The young man was standing near his mother and cast anxious glances at his father-in-law to be. The latter said, mischievously: "It is this boy that now delays things; probably he wants to put more fat on his pig." The boy retorted: "She is now fat enough to burst." Then I, wishing to help the lad, said: "Be careful lest while the pig fattens, your boy becomes thin." "The stranger is right," said the boy's mother; "he is already much thinner than he used to be, and one night recently I noticed that he couldn't sleep, but got up and wandered about outside." "The dogs were barking," he explained, "and I went out to see what it was about." "Not you, son," she said; "you went around distracted-like. Do not let us make him suffer any longer." And she put her arms about the girl's mother and kissed her. Then the mother said to her husband: "Let us do as they desire." So it was agreed; and they fixed the wedding for the next day but one. And they insisted that I should stay for the festivity, which I was very glad to do.

I could not help reflecting how such things are managed among the rich:—their match-makers, the careful weighing of wealth and rank, the dowries and marriage-gifts, the promises and the falsifyings, the formal agreements and written contracts, and with all often at the very wedding hard words and disaffections.

This detailed story I have related not, as some might fancy, merely for the pleasure of the telling, but, as said at the start, to present a picture of life among the lowly and as I myself have seen it; thereby that any one interested may see whether the poor in their converse and their acts and in all their intercourse with one another are indeed by reason of their poverty worse off than the rich in all that pertains to a well-ordered life in nature's way, or whether the poor do not at every point have the advantage.

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## BOOKS

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### MARRIAGE OR POLITICS.

The Politician. By Edith Huntington Mason. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1910.

An American love-and-politics novel this is, with to-day's usual ingredients—the amazingly successful young politician, poor and charming, the appreciative and fascinating young heiress, the com-

<sup>1</sup>By the exchange he got a tame pig, easier fattened, and one of the sex essential.

<sup>2</sup>This seems to be the boy's meaning. The original is obscure.

fortable, long-loving, and at last victorious lover—altogether one of those slender stories where the politics is matter of fiction and the love is matter-of-fact. "The Real Agatha" promised more amusement.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—The Taxation of Land Values. A proposal for economic and social reform. The Joseph Fels Fund of America, Daniel Kiefer, chairman, Cincinnati, Ohio. Free.

—The Third Degree Inquisition. An address by Harry Eugene Kelly of the Denver Bar, before the Colorado Bar Association, at Colorado Springs, September 3, 1909. No price given.

—The influence of the Tariff and Monopoly upon the Increasing Cost of Living. By Frank Tracy Carlton. Reprinted from the twelfth report of the Michigan Academy of Science. No price given.

—Land Valuation. A reply to the "Land Union Guide." The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 20 Tothill St., London, S. W., and Land Values Publication Department 376-377 Strand, London, W. C. Price, three pence.

—The New Land Taxes. "Land Union Guide" to property owners called upon to fill up the government valuation forms under the British budget. The Land Union, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, and H. E. Morgan, 55 Fetter Lane, London, E. C. Price six pence, net.

—Thomas Paine, the Patriot. By A. Outram Sherman. An address delivered before the Huguenot Society of New Rochelle, N. Y., at the opening of the Paine House, July 14, 1910. The Thomas Paine National Historical Society, 120 Lexington Ave., New York City. Price 10 cents.

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## PERIODICALS

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### Henry George in Spain.

The "Heraldo de Madrid" of September 2nd has a two-column article by Antonio Albendin on the birthday of Henry George. Mr. Albendin, after describing the growth of the George movement throughout the world, tells the readers of the Heraldo that "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," "Protection or Free Trade," and "The Condition of Labor," have been translated into Spanish, but their circulation is rather limited despite the fact that three of them have been published in cheap form by the "Casa

Siempre" of Valencia. He says of his own countrymen that he has no knowledge of a more genuine physiocrat than the distinguished deputy of the Cortes and notable writer—Senor D. Baldomero Argente; and he ventures to hope that in another year they, too, in Spain will get together to celebrate the George anniversary, even though their number be limited to a half dozen modern physiocrats.

C. L. LOGAN.

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### The American for October.

"Barbarous Mexico" occupies the leading place and proceeds with disclosures of the Diazian despotism. They are so pronounced as, whatever other criticism may apply, to remove the accusation that pressure caused the temporary suspension (See The Public, p. 741) of the "Barbarous Mexico" series. Lincoln Steffens's welcome name appears in this issue and as the writer of a welcome article on Joseph Fels, who "may prove to be the most successful of the givers of 'tainted money.'" There is another of those "adventures in contentment" by the mythical David Grayson. "Charming" is the right adjective, yet candor compels the confession that one would like to see in them a sign or two of wholesome discontentment; not for the sake of contrast alone, but because, he who is so charmingly contented in a world full of misery caused by human law, is sure to become a bore. Nobody can long enjoy the gentle cooing, though never so charming, of any man who when his own belly is full seems to forget that the whole world has not dined.

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### McClure's for October.

Again announcing for the November issue the beginning of the work of John Moody and George Kibbe Turner on "The Masters of Capital in America," McClure's begins a series of articles on the work and wages and expenses of working girls, by Sue Ainslie Clark and Edith Wyatt. The reminiscences of the late Goldwin Smith also begin in this issue. One of the papers, that on the late King Edward by Xavier Paoli, has a unique interest; for while very interesting in what it tells of Edward, it is most interesting for the toadyism so naively disclosed by Paoli who had the opportunity also of making the acquaintance of the royal dogs. In an American Catholic's view of the Ferrer case, (to be followed by a report of the case by William Archer) the writer makes an unintended but scorching criticism of the judicial murder of the Chicago anarchists by reminding Americans who regard Ferrer as a martyr that "he had a trial," "there was evidence produced against him" and "moreover, the evidence

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Cincinnati.

Daniel Kiefer.

was of substantially the same nature as that for which we ourselves sent seven men to death for a like crime."

+ + +

Tramp (to lonely spinster): "Come, Missus, arst yer 'usband if 'e ain't got a old pair o' trousers to give away."

Spinster (anxious not to expose her solitude): "Sorry, my good man, he—er—er—never wears such things."—Punch (London).

+ + +

"Lend me your pencil, Johnny." The small boy handed it over and Teacher continued to correct the exercises of the class. When she finished, she suffered a sudden lapse of memory and laid the pencil away in her desk. As she stood up to excuse the class she encountered the scornful gaze of Johnny's

eyes. Rising in his seat he fixed her with an accusing forefinger and uttered the single word "Graft!"

Johnny's father writes for a current magazine.—New York Evening Sun.

+ + +

"I understand that some of the Socialists have begun to distrust Mr. Bernard Shaw?"

"Yes. They think he is confusing the issue, when he is only confusing them."—Chicago Record-Herald.

+ + +

Lo, the poor Indian, is never safe! They used to get his land away from him by means of colored glass and beads. Now they try to separate him and it by means of innocent-appearing "jokers" in seemingly benevolent bills. The only safe Indian is a

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dead Indian, and even at that they may get his grave.—Puck.

\* \* \*

"So you are the applicant for the position of typewriter?"

"Yes, sir."

"But your hands do not look as if they'd ever touched a typewriter."

"They haven't, sir; I learned at a correspondence school."—Yonkers Statesman.

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