

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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Race Questions.

With an Indian invincible at the white man's chosen game, baseball, and a Negro the victor at his chosen test of superiority, force—exemplified in this instance in a prize fight—both sports requiring keenness of mind as well as skill of body, and the French proposing to organize a vast military army of native Africans, what can the white man say for himself? Will he reverse his reasons for keeping inferior races down, by arguing that their superiority makes it necessary?

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Socialism and "Industrialism."

Out of the railroad strike in France comes a gigantic historical fact. We allude to the fact that this strike was quite distinctly a battle of "industrialism"—we understand the foreign name to be "syndicalism"—a recent manifestation of "class conscious" socialism. The difference is in its method, not in its purpose. The method of "class conscious" socialism has everywhere until recently been political, under the banner of a rigidly segregated party organization operating regularly within the general political scheme of parliamentary or popular government. But "industrialism" rejects "capitalistic politics" as defiantly as, in common with the other faction of "class conscious" socialism, it rejects "capitalistic" reforms.

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Adherents of "industrialism" may, indeed, vote

the Socialist ticket at "capitalistic" elections, and this may somewhat conceal the magnitude of the "industrial" defection from political socialism, but as a movement "industrialism" neither sympathizes with nor participates in political campaigns—unless in so far as it may thereby influence Socialist parties to hold aloof not only from "capitalistic" parties but also from "capitalistic" governments. Its form of organization is industrial unionism, its principal weapon the general industrial strike.

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By industrial unionism is meant labor organization coinciding with the larger divisions of industrial interest, rather than the narrower ones of mere specialty interests—all railroad employes, for example, instead of engineers, firemen, conductors, and so on. And not by loose federation, as with the American Federation of Labor, but integrally. Even the distinct industrial interests would be syndicated in a central committee with functions and powers not unlike the "holding" companies of capitalism. Nor would this organization be for industrial objects alone, not in the narrow sense of old trade unionism; but for industrial objects in that broader socialistic sense which identifies the political with the industrial as one. By the general strike is meant such a tie-up of industry, partly or completely in any of its spheres, or partly or completely in all its spheres, and at any time, as may be deemed best for the purpose in hand, whether that purpose be, in the old-fashioned distinctive sense, industrial or governmental.

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In method, then, "political" socialism strikes at capitalism through the ballot of the "capitalistic" regime, whereas "industrial" socialism ignores that ballot, and through the ballot of socialists alone attacks "capitalism" as an alien enemy, and with the "general strike" for its weapon. But in purpose both factions of "class conscious" socialism aim at organizing the "working class" into a state within the state, a government within the government, an "imperio in imperium." The political faction would draw class lines (the socialistic substitute for sectional boundaries) by means of a party organization which regards all but members as nations regard unnaturalized foreigners. In this peaceful and evolutionary way the "political" socialist would patiently foster the socialistic state within the "capitalistic" state until in due course it had cast the latter off as the chicken casts off the shell of its mother's egg. But the "industrial" socialist has no such patience.

We should add, if we believed in the class conscious theory of human progress, that it has no such good sense either. Rejecting the ballot—which is not more truly "capitalistic" at the worst than any other weapon at the best, and is infinitely more human—"industrialism" proposes systematic class warfare by means which are defensible only as one of the impulsive crudities of a subject class resisting special cruelties, refined and subtle, of powerful persons or interests. Their means, weak at best, are almost geometrically progressive in weakness as their field of operations expands. In effect they would revive the old tactics which Karl Marx, not from cowardice, deliberately rejected. And in progressive countries no less than in reactionary ones, the inevitable climax would be street slaughters and capital executions needlessly provoked and uselessly suffered.

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Let us explain that in criticizing "industrialism" we do not speak as one differing from that faction alone. The class conscious theory itself is in our view only the explanation—call it "scientific" or what you will—of a method, and a weak method, too, whether applied through the "general strike" or the "capitalistic" ballot. It is weak because effectively progressive impulses do not spring from selfishness, whether of person or of class. It is weak because the interests of labor do not coincide closely enough with present labor-class lines to make it possible to organize within any "capitalistic" state a "labor class" state of sufficient power to overthrow by violence or slough off by growth the political institutions that bind it. It is weak because it segregates the citizenship that adopts it from the larger and increasingly more influential citizenship that does not adopt it but which is in sympathy with its deeper purpose of economic as well as political equality. This "class conscious" program throws its adherents into practical opposition to every friendly no less than every hostile tendency. It makes them lukewarm, when not hostile, to effective movements for public ownership of public utilities, an approach to their own ideal, because those utilities would be owned by a "capitalistic" government. It makes them lukewarm or hostile in this country to the movement for the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, which "class conscious" socialists use in their own embryonic state within the state, but are often strongly inclined to object to the use of in the enveloping state. It similarly makes them lukewarm or hostile in Great Britain to the great movement for one of their own fundamental de-

mands, "the land for the people"—in this case partly because, from their intense looking at their own program of infinite detail, they are blinded to the possibilities of a program of comprehensive economic principle, but chiefly nevertheless to the influence of their "class conscious" theory of progress. Not all socialists are personally so affected. Vast numbers are not, and among these are some clear sighted, able and courageous leaders. But the influence of the "class conscious" theory is politically paralyzing to socialist organizations whenever the road to their ideal opens anywhere on the other side of their party wall. If some enemy of socialism, instead of its devotees, had devised its rigid "class conscious" theory, it could be no more obstructive than it is and is humanly certain to continue, to the influence of socialistic organization in promoting progress toward the socialistic ideal.

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Equality of economic opportunities, and consequent eradication of all classes but the labor class, is an ideal that appeals to millions who do not subscribe to the arbitrary and in many respects crude and superficial creeds of socialistic organizations, quite as strongly as to the most fastidious socialist. But these millions are in and of the life about them. They realize that although there is a capitalistic class-consciousness, effective opposition in labor class-consciousness is as illogical and impossible in government as it would be in art or physical science. They know that the clash in human society is only superficially between hostile classes; that it is really between financial interests, which cut through class lines, and always will so far as we of this generation, with the experience of all the past to guide our reason, can foresee. And they either know or in some way sense the truth, that the exploiting class is to be wiped out, only by eradicating the special privileges which create and maintain exploiting power; and that these privileges the poorest class of the labor class, as a class, always has been and always will be as eager to get as the greediest class of the exploiting class, as a class, is keen to retain.

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Be its weapon, then, the "capitalistic" ballot or the "general strike," the rigid class conscious type of socialism, this method of a hermit state within the people's state, is at its best the least hopeful proposal for realizing that social condition of political and economic democracy which we suppose most socialists to aspire to. Unless the "political" faction modifies the rigidity of its creed, it can reach

only minor levels of political success; but after the first advances, its recruiting opportunities are progressively narrowed by its own self imposed limitations. As to the "industrial" faction, the experience of last week in France is at least mildly significant of the fatuity of adopting tactics for political and economic revolution, which lie along the line of the very greatest, instead of the least resistance.

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The New York Situation.

Our rather pessimistic view last week of the political situation in New York (pp. 937, 938), has called out three mutually exclusive suggestions, each of which we are asked to adopt and urge. In full consciousness that if we adopt any one of the three, we shall be regarded by even the best of our friends who sympathize with either of the other two, as having made at least "a grave mistake," we shall nevertheless consider them all frankly and possibly make a choice.

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From the Socialist party side we are urged to advocate voting for Charles E. Russell. One correspondent, not a Socialist, writes that Mr. Russell is "Iowa's best product," and that our editorial question, "What is a really progressive New York voter to do?" is answered in our News Columns (p. 946) quoting Mr. Russell's platform. But the problem for New York progressives who are not party Socialists, can hardly be so simply solved. They know that either Mr. Stimson or Mr. Dix will be elected, and if they distrust one more than the other, they will vote for the other. This is the human nature of it when you take men in masses. And wicked, illogical and silly as we may concede it to be, since they might elect some one else if they would spontaneously pool their votes for one or another of the candidates whose election each regards as hopeless, we must nevertheless treat it as a fact, though only a mere fact, just as we should treat a vicious and totally illogical bull dog as a mere fact if he met us on our way home and wouldn't listen to reason. That being the view of the voting mass in New York (outside of side party membership), we are forced to conclude that in the mass this voter will vote for Stimson or Dix, unless he doesn't care which goes in, and decides either not to vote at all or to vote a protest. In the latter case he might vote for Mr. Russell. But wouldn't he consider more than the personality of Mr. Russell or his personal platform? He might consider that in voting for Mr. Russell's party he would be voting for the segregated labor theory of government, and this he

might not like to do. Neither should we. Nor do we think that Mr. Russell or his party would like to have his candidacy used as a mere opportunity for protest.

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Another suggestion comes from the Land Value Tax Party, recently organized in New York City (p. 588) by a group of earnest followers of Henry George, who disregard Mr. George's idea, if they agree with it, that "the political art, like the military art, consists in massing the greatest force against the point of least resistance;" and disagree with his observation that "to bring an issue into politics it is not necessary to form a party," and his theory that "parties are not to be manufactured" but "grow out of existing parties by the bringing forward of issues upon which men will divide." According to the suggestion here under consideration we ought to take advantage of the opportunity to urge New York voters to write the name of George Wallace for Governor on their ballots when they get them at the polling place. The reason given for the necessity of writing Mr. Wallace's name is that the Land Value Tax Party has not been able to get it printed upon the ballot for lack of funds, the notary fees alone in getting up a petition amounting to some \$1,500. What we have said of Mr. Russell's candidacy would apply to Mr. Wallace's. So would another consideration. In a State with a million voters and upwards, we should not regard \$1,500, nor even considerably more, as an obstacle to the nomination of a candidate for Governor, if his party had really any reason for existence as a political party. But passing that point by, voters wishing to protest against Dix and Stimson, would hardly write the name of a hopeless candidate upon their ballots if there were other hopeless candidates already named there in print. While such voters might praise the Land Value Tax Party for its courage in standing up to be counted, they would not be likely to regard its proposal to write as offering an attractive opportunity to protest. We say again, as we said regarding Mr. Russell, that we may pity this narrowness of these voters, or their indolence, but we are bound to respect the facts as facts. For ourselves, we have an additional objection to urging Mr. Wallace's candidacy upon reluctant protesters. To do so would be to join in the responsibility, which we do not regard as a light one altogether, of making it appear that American sentiment for land value taxation is ridiculously small when the fact is quite the contrary.

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The third recommendation for protesting voters

is the candidate of the Independence League (p. 969), John J. Hopper, and this suggestion we adopt. Any voter who has no choice between Stimson and Dix, be he Republican or Democrat, and who wishes to register a protest, can make his protest emphatic by voting for Mr. Hopper, whose candidacy is expressly for the purpose of protest. If this candidate could be elected, we should support him with enthusiasm. When a member of the Democratic party, John J. Hopper was always a democratic Democrat, and he is still a democrat in the Jefferson and Lincoln sense. Since he has been for years a pronounced and consistent disciple of Henry George, any voter of like mind—whatever opinion one way or the other that voter may have of Mr. Hearst, Hopper's running mate—can express both his protest and his convictions by voting for Mr. Hopper. Nor need any one fear for his character or the ability of the man. He is an upright and successful business man, a man of public spirit, a politician of the higher order, and a candidate for Governor who if elected would serve the people and honor the office.

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The Religion of Politics.

Sound political doctrine is not always found in the Monday mornings' newspaper abstracts of sermons preached the day before, nor sound religious doctrine either always. But here is a fine example of both. We quote the Rev. E. J. E. Schreck, from the Chicago Record-Herald of the 17th:

There are two things indispensable to make the best kind of citizen—one is a genuine love for the common good, the other is an intelligent conception of what to do to promote that good. Our political parties are not divided along the line of patriotism, but along the line of the science of Government. A man's love for the common good is qualified by his conception regarding the truth that shall govern the legislation, execution and adjudication of public affairs. The same law prevails in spiritual life. It is not enough to have a heart full of goodness; we must also have a head full of truth to match it. And so said Tom Hood: "For evil is wrought by want of thought as well as want of heart."

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Chief Justice Steele, Democrat.

Little notice outside of Colorado has been taken of the death on the 12th of the Chief Justice of the Colorado Supreme Court, Robert W. Steele; yet few men have deserved more than he. Judge Steele was the one man on the Supreme Court bench of Colorado who faced the "Beast" alone, when his two associates on that bench surrendered to it. When the "Beast's" Governor of the State

had arbitrarily suspended the civil law and placed the military in control, and two of the "Beast's" judges had yielded in a decision which acknowledged in the Governor of Colorado despotic powers transcending those of any monarch, Judge Steele dissented and stood fearlessly against the "Beast" and for the law. Referring to his associates he said: "The court has not construed the Constitution, it has ignored it."

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Judge Steele was only 53 years old. He went on the bench of the County Court at Denver in 1895 and served until 1901, when he was elected an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and in 1906 to the Chief Justiceship. He was this year the Democratic candidate for re-election and was regarded as a tower of strength to the whole ticket. Chief Justice Steele was a man who saw no wrong in being a democrat on the bench, in a democratic country, when plutocracy rears its head and democratic principles are at stake.

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Julia Ward Howe.

The death of this venerable woman, who may be truly called one of the greatest of American citizens, for few citizens of either sex have done more patriotic service than she, is a reminder of some of the darker periods of our Republic. Born in 1819, she passed through the hottest controversies of the anti-slavery agitation, as an adult, and in middle life experienced the thrilling sensations of those who then realized the profound significance of the Civil War. This was the time when she composed her Battle Hymn of the Republic—"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,"—which alone would have made and perpetuated her fame.

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But Mrs. Howe did not live in historic graveyards. Up to the last hours of her life of over 90 years, she faced the future, and with her hands worked at what her eyes saw to do. As President of the New England Woman Suffrage Association, an office she occupied until her death, she lately sent a circular letter of inquiry about the good or bad results of woman suffrage, to all the Episcopal clergy and to all the Congregational, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian ministers, in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, where women have had full suffrage for periods ranging from 41 years in Wyoming to 14 years in Idaho. The circular was also sent to a number of Sunday School superintendents and to the editors through-

out those States. The answers came while her days of life were shortening, and were of a kind to make her feel that once more she had "seen the glory of the coming of the Lord." Of the 624 received up to October 15, only 62 were unsatisfactory and 46 in doubt, while 516 were in favor. The replies of the Episcopal clergy were in favor more than 2 to 1; those of the Baptist ministers were 7 to 1; of the Congregational ministers, about 8 to 1; of the Methodists, more than 10 to 1, and of the Presbyterians more than 11 to 1. Of the Sunday School superintendents replying, one was opposed and one in doubt; all the rest were favorable. The replies from the editors were favorable, more than 8 to 1. Julia Ward Howe has thus left her associates a legacy of value for their own encouragement and the promotion of their work.

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The Death of Dolliver.

Senator Dolliver's death is a genuine loss to the progressive movement in the Republican party—more of a loss than those who had not yet learned to appreciate the disinterestedness of his motives in joining that revolt are likely to understand. But the truth of it all will come out in good time. Some sense there should have been of the genuineness of the man from his recent speeches in Wisconsin. The man in high place who can in public frankly confess his own blindness and folly while others were desperately fighting the Beast, as Dolliver did, is no commonplace character. It seems easy, but how many are there who do it? And his memory will be further exalted when it comes to be commonly known what it was that first opened his eyes, and why it was that he remained inactive and dumb for a time. Littler men, with no keen sense of responsibility, may still criticize; but those who appreciate the complexities and perplexities of public service will generously forgive the weakness if they think it weakness and applaud the courage that followed. Had he lived, Senator Dolliver might not have become chief among the leaders in the democratic struggle before us, but he would have been one of the strongest.

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A Deadly Parallel.

La Follette's Magazine for the 8th invited its readers to compare the Wisconsin Republican platform with that of New York. Arranged by subjects, they are put side by side in "deadly parallel." And that parallel is deadly, indeed—for the New York platform and all persons responsible for it.

The Company He Keeps.

In criticizing Mr. Roosevelt for the New York Republican platform, it is but fair to recognize the plea of his friends. No Republican leader could be expected to take so pronounced a stand in New York for progressive measures as in a progressive State. But due allowance being made for those circumstances, what is to be said of Mr. Roosevelt's letter of September 30, written from The Outlook office, in which he congratulates Congressman William E. Humphrey of Seattle upon his renomination, and says: "For the sake of the people of Washington, as well as for the sake of the country as a whole, I hope you will be returned." Naturally Congressman Humphrey is using that letter now to promote his re-election. And who is Congressman Humphrey? He is a defender of the Aldrich-Payne-Taft tariff bill, which Mr. Roosevelt professes to despise. He is a defender of Cannon, the "Iron Duke of American politics," as he called Cannon in a glowing tribute at the Washington State convention recently. He opposed the nomination for Senator of Miles Poin-dexter, the Republican progressive. He won his own renomination, for which Mr. Roosevelt is glad, by barely defeating a progressive Republican; and he can be returned, as Mr. Roosevelt hopes he will be, only by defeating a progressive Democrat. If Mr. Roosevelt is truly what he makes his confiding friends think him—a progressive Republican who uses the soft pedal for progress in the State of New York because local conditions make it advisable—why does he use so loud a pedal for the other tune in the State of Washington?

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Chicago Newspapers.

Assured of our error regarding the Chicago newspapers (p. 939), we should be glad to make complete amends were it not that these assurances, all from excellent sources, are almost as conflicting with one another as with our original hints. One thing seems certain, however, and that is that the Chicago Evening Post has not been bought by the Tribune, but is paddling its own canoe as the penny pioneer fighter, and satisfactorily, too. The fact appears also to be that the Tribune and the Record-Herald have adopted their penny price in order to force Hearst's Examiner to "go up"—to two cents or "the flue." So the penny fight is not a free-for-all between the Chicago papers, but a combination fight against Hearst. Rumor has it—but we mustn't be too tolerant of rumors—that The Tribune has cut deeply into the Hearst circulation, that the Hearst papers won't allow the newsdealers to cut down former orders, and that the

Record-Herald—really the best newspaper in Chicago—is playing in the role of the mouse that volunteered to help the cat fight the dog.

* * *

"BACK TO THE LAND."

Since Bishop Nulty of Meath uttered this slogan, and Henry George gave it currency some twenty years ago, it has taken on different meanings.

"Back to the land" may mean "back to the soil," away from the cities and towns and back to the farms. Had it been current in Horace Greeley's time, that might have been its meaning to him; for "back to the soil," the free soil at the American frontier of his day, was what he intended by his once famous but now obsolete advice: "Go West, young man, go West!" Such, too, is its meaning to most of the popular speakers and writers of the present time from whose lips the phrase falls or from whose pens it flows.

It is part of its meaning also with those to whom the venerable Irish bishop's words are pregnant with a broader significance, a significance more comprehensive and modern, one better suited to the fact that the land is vitally necessary to all industry,—not alone to the primitive in woodcraft or agriculture, but also to the highly specialized and organized in manufactures and commerce.

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This comprehensive meaning of "back to the land" is clearly recognized in practice by your business man, by "capitalistic" classes of every grade. Though they know not the phrase itself in any other sense than popular speakers and writers do—as an allusion merely to agricultural soil—they understand and profit by what is involved in its broader meaning.

That Bishop Nulty meant more than soil when he urged men "back to the land," is plain enough from his memorable address; and it is certain that Henry George meant vastly more.

Henry George meant all that ordinary business men mean when they search for "good locations," that land speculators mean when they boast of their "confidence in the growth of localities," that great capitalists mean when they scheme with governments for grants of "undeveloped" natural resources. He meant all that they mean, and somewhat besides; for whereas their solicitude is for the augmentation of their own fortunes, his was for the individual rights of all the people, together with the conservation of their common wealth.

To Henry George, "back to the land" meant

back not only to the soil, not only to natural resources, not merely to land in even its widest physical significance, not alone from towns and cities to farms, nor by a moderately fortunate few; to him it meant as well, back from the custom of land monopolization, back from the grinding capitalism that land monopoly breeds and nurtures, back from the exploitation of labor, back from poverty in the midst of plenty—from all this, "back to the land" in order to open fair opportunities for the full enjoyment by all the people of all the benefits of advancing industrial processes. Not "back to the land" for a primitive life for any; but *forward*, through restoration of the land, to civilized and civilizing lives for all.

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In associating this comprehensive meaning of "back to the land" with Henry George, there is no thought of chaining so great a gospel to any man's altar.

Nor indeed is there ever such a thought when we pursue the subject in his name. No appeal is made to him as to one in authority, or to an original inventor or discoverer, or the founder of a cult. With few exceptions was he himself ever so impatient as with contentions for his priority of invention or originality of discovery of the substance of the civilizing message his name is identified with. He never claimed it as his own, and never so regarded it. He had no other solicitude about it than that the people should see it, understand it, and adopt it as theirs. Whether this were with credit to him or no, was not alone his least concern; it concerned him not at all. The relationship which Henry George regarded himself as holding to the message he proclaimed, was in no wise as of one having authority; it was simply that of an expositor, a teacher, an apostle.

Precisely so in spirit are his words always quoted in these columns, and his activities recalled. Whenever we recall his activities, it is because he was truly a great leader. Whenever we quote his words, it is because his is the best expression of that gospel of "back to the land" which constitutes the substance of the message his eloquence and devotion have made the civilized world listen to.

It is best for its reasoning; best for its completeness in form and its clarity of exposition; best for its wealth of suggestion, for the aptness and effectiveness of its practical proposals, and for their adaptability to institutional differences of time and place; best for its simple eloquence, its heart-felt appeal, for the common sense that characterizes every part, and for its consistency as a whole.

There is no idle or worshipful boast in this superlative estimate of the expression Henry George gave to the substance of that message.

Among the intelligent of every country and class, he can no longer be either over praised or depreciated with effect. For, scattered broadcast now, the message as he delivered it may be read by every one, and each may form a personal judgment.

To all intelligent persons who take the pains to do this, our estimate is submitted as an impersonal and moderate statement of fact.

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HENRY GEORGE, JR.*

It is nearly thirty years since Henry George, Jr., a candidate now for Congress from New York, first saw and first heard in public speech a man then hardly known who has since risen to high political power by renouncing the economic faith he at that time adhered to, and which is still Mr. George's faith and the platform on which he is making his Congressional campaign.

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It was at a dinner of the Free Trade Club of New York City, and in the early '80s. Parke Godwin, Captain Codman and other veteran free traders were among the speakers; and at the guest table where they assembled there was a single vacant chair. It remained vacant until the eating was over and the speaking had got well under way, when a bustling young man came pressing through the party to that table of honor at the far end of the room and took that empty chair.

He seemed the younger for the white heads about him. On his nose were eye glasses, and he showed his teeth. But what made this striking man most striking in that company of free traders whose doctrines committed them to peace, and where plain evening dress prevailed, was the fact that he wore soldier clothes.

That was really less out of place, however, than it seemed. A member of the "National Guard"—the official name for the organized citizen soldiery of New York—he had come over to the dinner from a drill at his regimental armory.

"I asked one of the club members," Mr. George has explained, "who this confident-mannered young man might be; and I was informed that his name was Theodore Roosevelt, that he was one of the most active members of the Free Trade Club, that he belonged to an aggressive little band of wealthy young men of the region of Gramercy Park,

*A portrait of Mr. George goes with this issue of The Public as a supplement.

where Samuel J. Tilden had lived, and that while nominally a Republican he was forcing his way into politics in defiance of the bosses."

Presently the young soldier-politician-reformer-freetrader was introduced to speak. "He delighted my young soul," said Mr. George in telling of it, "by smiting Protection hip and thigh." There was to be no pottering with the iniquity for *him!* We should give no quarter to it! We must strike it to the heart and kill it!

But Mr. George's joy over Mr. Roosevelt's strenuous free-trade speech was not long lived. When this valiant reformer went to the New York legislature, as soon after that he did, he quickly found it sore work, too much like kicking against the pricks, to try to make independent headway against the bosses. So he surrendered. Resigning from the Free Trade Club, he wrote a letter to Poultney Bigelow saying he had concluded that he "must become regular," that he must work inside the Republican party organization and get outside of extraneous movements.

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Mr. George was at that time employed by the Free Trade Club, of which his own and his father's friend, Poultney Bigelow—son of the venerable democratic Statesman, John Bigelow, and himself a distinguished journalist and author, and an intimate friend of the present Emperor of Germany as well as of Mr. Roosevelt—was one of the leading members. Not long before, the younger George had come to New York with his father, the author of "Progress and Poverty," from San Francisco, where in the printing establishment of William Hinton the boy had worked when "Progress and Poverty" was first put in type. He had set some of the type upon it himself. Not San Francisco, however, but Sacramento was his birthplace. While his father was "picking" type on daily newspapers in that capital city of wooden cottages and mud streets, Henry George, Jr., was born there on the 3d of November, 1862.

Delicate of health in childhood, though rugged enough now, he did not go to school until his eighth year. For the same reason his schooling thereafter was slight and broken. The most agreeable among his recollections of it are of his declamation contests with David Warfield, famous now as an actor, whose simplicity of manner and musical voice affected George pleasantly back in the days when they were school boy rivals for oratorical honors.

Although Mr. George had but little schooling, he had the greater advantage perhaps of intimate

companionship with his father and the intellectual stimulus of his father's Socratic method of encouraging his children to question all things rationally. Also through his father's encouragement he acquired the reading habit, which he has indulged throughout his life, over a wide range of subjects and books but with political economy and political history and science as the center of it all.

When less than seventeen he left school for good, and teaching himself shorthand became his father's secretary, a service in which he continued, with breaks at intervals, until the early '90s. In the beginning—it was before the days of typewriting machines—he copied in handwriting most of the manuscript of "Progress and Poverty," as the author's amanuensis. When the father went first to Great Britain in the Land League days, as special correspondent for the "Irish World," the son began work as a reporter on the "Brooklyn Eagle," then under the editorship of Thomas Kinsella. As democratic a Democrat as ever wrote miles upon miles of editorial matter, Thomas Kinsella was the editor who made for "The Brooklyn Eagle" a place of influence in the State, which it lost when it lost him and which it has never regained. The managing editor at that time was Andrew McLean, editor since of the "Brooklyn Citizen" and one of the most distinguished of the early converts to "Progress and Poverty."

After some reportorial experience, the subject of this sketch became again his father's secretary, going with him upon his cyclonic lecturing tour through the British Isles in 1884. He was present at the Glasgow City Hall in that year when his father spoke there to the historic Scottish meeting out of which have sprung a group of devoted apostles, and from which may be traced a current of agitation that has made Great Britain now the center of the fight for that which Henry George taught. This is the fight that rages around that Lloyd George land tax Budget which came triumphantly out of the British elections of 1910, wherein the younger George, twenty-six years after the Glasgow meeting, and twelve after his father's death, was a popular campaign speaker in support of the cause that Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and Alexander Ure were leading.

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A little more reporting work in the United States after his return from abroad in 1885, some further service for his father as secretary in the preparation of "Protection or Free Trade," a secretarial experience with the managing editor of "The North American Review" (James Redpath,

founder of the Redpath Lyceum), some supplementary work at writing fictitiously signed articles for that magazine, a round of campaign speeches in his father's contest for Mayor of New York in the Labor campaign of 1886, some miscellaneous service on the "Standard" which his father started in 1887, and Henry George, Jr., became the managing editor of that paper. He served as such with skill and fidelity through trying experiences during his father's long absence in Australasia and on his trip around the world in 1889.

The "Standard" having finally gone into the ownership of William T. Croasdale, the subject of our sketch became a Washington correspondent. While in that service he heard Congressman William McKinley champion his protection measure in the House of Representatives years before he was President; saw "the boy orator of the Platte," Congressman William J. Bryan, spring into national fame with his masterly speech against Protection two years before his first nomination for the Presidency, and otherwise knew Congress as it was when Tom L. Johnson, Jerry Simpson, James G. Maguire and John DeWitt Warner were notable figures there.

One of his friends in Washington at that time was Daniel F. Goodloe, a personal friend of Lincoln, an anti-slavery Democrat of North Carolina before the Civil War, and during the war an editorial writer on the Administration organ in Washington. Another was the venerable and scholarly Fox, who had been Henry Clay's secretary at a still earlier period in our national career. Through both, Mr. George got life and color out of the historical narratives and documents of those earlier times in the Republic to the study of which he was devoting all the leisure he could command.

In 1891 he transferred the seat of his activities as newspaper correspondent from Washington to London. Here he made the acquaintance of Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, William Stead, Helen Taylor (step-daughter of John Stuart Mill), and Cardinal Manning. Of this democratic Cardinal he speaks and writes as he does of Tolstoy—"a great spirit no less than a great mind."

Further newspaper work succeeded Mr. George's return to the United States: editorial writing for a Washington paper, and a period of two years in Florida, first as news editor and then as managing editor of a Jacksonville daily under the editorship of Loretta S. Metcalfe, at one time editor of the "North American Review" and afterwards the founder of "The Forum."

After a business venture in Cleveland in competition with the Bell telephone monopoly, in 1895

and 1896, Mr. George again joined his father, this time to assist in the preparation of "The Science of Political Economy." But the first mayoral election for Greater New York coming on in 1897, his father was drawn into the campaign as the candidate of the Jeffersonian Democracy, and dying just before its close was succeeded in the candidacy by Henry George, Jr.

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In later years and since his marriage to Marie M. Hitch of Chicago in 1898, Mr. George has traveled extensively—as an observer, writer, and lecturer—in the United States, Canada, and Japan, and in a trip around the world in which he visited Tolstoy on the way. In 1900 he was a candidate for Presidential elector on the Bryan ticket in New York, and in intervening times he has published in magazines and newspapers investigations into the Pennsylvania anthracite strike, the Colorado gold mine strike, and the steel trust, the copper trust, and other monopoly organizations. He is author of "The Menace of Privilege" and of "The Romance of John Bainbridge," published by the Macmillans, in which his investigations furnished material for the warnings of the one and for the romantic story of the other.

Mr. George has done much lecturing since his father's death, on subjects principally within his own wide experience and observation. He is one of the regular lecturers on the list of the Henry George Lecture Association,* along with Herbert S. Bigelow (vol. vii, p. 388), Peter Witt, Charles Frederick Adams (p. 532), and other platform speakers of the democratic as opposed to the plutocratic type. On Sunday of the present week Mr. George spoke on the platform of Ford Hall, Boston, as the first speaker in the fourth series of the famous Ford Hall meetings, his subject being "Has the Single Tax Got Anywhere?"

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At the Congressional convention of the Democratic party for the Seventeenth Congressional district of New York, and independently at the Congressional convention of the Independence League for the same district, Mr. George was nominated last week as their candidate for Congress.

The Seventeenth district, in the upper and westerly part of Manhattan, is normally a Republican stronghold. It is now represented by William S. Bennet, a Republican whose record in Congress is that of a supporter of Speaker Cannon as the Republican "boss," and of the Aldrich-Payne-Taft

*Frederick H. Monroe, Manager, 356 Dearborn Street, Chicago.

tariff bill against which the whole country is in revolt. Congressman Bennet is making his campaign as a Taft-Roosevelt candidate.

Inasmuch as the strong progressive current now running through the country in both parties is felt in Mr. George's district, it is believed that his prospects of election are more than fair, notwithstanding the traditional complexion of the district, and that unless political signs are all at fault he will be a member of the next Congress.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

OREGON RAILROAD AMENDMENT.

Portland, Ore., October 12.

Bearing witness to the care, skill and rare intelligence with which a legislature does its work is the pamphlet issued by the Secretary of State of Oregon, containing copies of all measures submitted to the voters at the November election.

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At the urgent request of citizens, newspapers and commercial bodies, the legislature proposed an amendment to the Constitution authorizing the creation of railroad districts and the purchase or construction of railroads, or other highways, by the State, counties, municipalities and railroad districts.

It is an amendment to Article XIX, but when it came out of the legislative mill it was labeled an amendment to Article IX; so the Attorney General has had to make a note of that blunder for the information of voters and to keep the record straight.

The proposed amendment is the result of the bottling up of Oregon by the Harriman roads—the Oregon Railway & Navigation Co. and the Southern Pacific Co. Harriman himself was often appealed to, but was indifferent, except to say on one occasion: "If Oregon is so anxious for more railroads, why doesn't Oregon build them?" At least, that was the substance of his contemptuous reply to the request for more railroad facilities. That was in 1908, and, taking him at his word, during the legislative session of 1909 the Portland Chamber of Commerce and other associations of business men stormed Salem, and after many urgings, persuaded the legislature to submit this amendment, which gives the people of Oregon freedom to throw the railroad monopoly off their backs.

Remember this, for subsequently the newspapers and associations of "business men" experienced a change of heart—or was it pocketbook?

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The effect of the submission of that amendment by the legislature was marvelous, for within a few weeks the railroads suddenly discovered about 50,000 square miles of Oregon that have no railroads, and began to take great interest in "developing Oregon."

Naturally, the first development began in the newspapers, and since February 19, 1909, the day the amendment was submitted, the newspaper linotypes have been laying track in this State at the

rate of about 42 miles a day. Verily, the linotype is the greatest track-laying machine ever invented. The woods, plains and valleys of Oregon were suddenly jammed with engineering corps running railroad lines faster and closer than ever spider ran her lines, and for the same purpose—to catch flies. It is, and has been, mostly political track-laying.

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The flies were caught. Judge Lovett, head of the Harriman system, came to Oregon with a special car and his solemnity; James J. Hill came with his wacry against "extravagance"; and Louis Hill came with his motor car. They talked "development"; the newspapers and business men who made a holler for "State railroads" shut up tighter than a clam at low tide; and when the time came to file an argument for the railroad amendment, and have it printed in the Secretary of State's pamphlet, so as to make votes for the amendment, they really didn't see the necessity for the amendment.

However, an argument was filed by Col. C. E. S. Wood, W. S. U'Ren and other men, not in favor of building State railroads, but asking the people to take into their hands the power to build them—to have that power ready for any future emergency. For that is all that the amendment proposes.

The Constitution of Oregon does not prohibit the building or owning of roads by the State. There is no such prohibition in any State constitution. What the Constitution of Oregon prohibits is the creation of a State debt of more than \$50,000, or the partnership of the State with any private corporation. The purpose of this amendment is to remove the prohibition against the issuing of bonds by the State for railroad purposes; it permits the issuing of bonds for highway purposes, and none other; it does not permit any sort of partnership between the State and a private corporation, nor will the State be able to alienate any of its highways.

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"The amendment is but one more step in line with the people's resumption of those great fundamental powers which naturally belong to them," says the argument filed in favor of the amendment. "The great mistake was made when in the beginning, by reason of the strangeness of the situation, railroads were permitted to be owned by private parties. It was the first time in the history of the world that any nation ever turned over to private interests its whole system of highways, the great arteries of commerce which take toll from every one."

The railroad interests have not seen fit to file an argument against this amendment, but here and there various objectors have asserted that a State should not go into the railroad business because it would impeach the wisdom of the forefathers—especially those who never heard of railroads, but Lincoln advocated State ownership of railroads by Illinois; that it is a new departure—which isn't true and wouldn't be an argument if it were true; that the experience of other States in the railroad business has been disastrous—which is a "short and ugly word," in view of Georgia's experience with the Western & Atlantic, not to speak of the successful

State ownership in other countries; and that it will bankrupt the State—which is an assumption that if the amendment is adopted the people of Oregon will build more railroads on the ground than the corporations have built here on paper since this amendment was proposed.

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One beautiful argument against State ownership of a railroad is that it will bring the State railroad into politics, which of course would be a dreadful thing, seeing that privately owned railroad corporations so religiously refrain from mixing in politics.

It is objected, also, that privately owned railroads would parallel the State roads; but as that would give two railroads instead of one, the sufferings of the people would not be very acute, and the output of indigestible insecurities might be materially lessened.

However, the "capitalists"—those benevolent gentlemen who sit up nights to tuck the dear people into bed and save the country against panics—might have some hesitancy in sowing the seed for new "melons" to be cut at stockholders' luncheons.

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Anyway, if the people of Oregon adopt the pending tax amendments, they will have power to sprinkle some land value tax salt on the tail of the railroad monopoly, and that will ruin the "melon" crop in this State.

But will an application of that salt solve the political and economic problems due to private ownership of highways? Well, would even the most radical application of the land value tax have solved the problems due to chattel slavery—to private ownership of what is by its very nature not a proper object of private ownership?

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Behind every plot against the political rights of the people are the private owners of Special Privilege, which is the incubator of corrupt politics. The railroads are in politics because they are under private ownership. The way to take them out of politics is to take them out of private hands; for public highways in private hands are the political and financial tools of public highwaymen, with which they dynamite the public rights and burglarize private pockets.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

TEACHERS WITH ITCHING EARS.

Bowman, N. D., October 12th, 1910.

In a late number of *The Public* (September 23), you comment upon a recent statement of Lyman Abbott's in the *Outlook*, in which he says: "No man has a right to take part in governing others who has not the intellectual and moral capacity to govern himself."

I have tried to procure a copy of the *Outlook* with the article containing this statement but have been unable to do so.

However, I wish to call your attention to another

statement made by Mr. Abbott, some years ago, in one of his published sermons entitled "The Divinity in Humanity." After saying that "faith in man is the inspiration of all human progress," he asks as follows: "Now is there any ground or basis for this faith in man? . . . Have we a right to think that man can govern himself, or must we go back and say with Carlyle and Ruskin and Voltaire that the great body of men are incompetent to govern themselves, and a few wise rulers must govern them"?

Mr. Abbott's answer to these questions, implied in the argument, is that the great body of men are perfectly competent to govern themselves better than a few wise rulers can govern them, and this because "man is made in the image of God."

Now the teaching of this sermon is splendidly democratic, but what about this new doctrine published in the *Outlook*? Methinks it has a strongly aristocratic flavor. Is this a case of another "Perplexed Philosopher"? Has the subtle power of Privilege also captured Lyman Abbott? If so, what a tremendous force it must be when it compels "Free Land" Spencer, "Free Trade" Roosevelt and "Free Men" Abbott to all reverse their doctrines.

Which reminds me of the warping an old man gave to a younger brother over 1900 years ago: "For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine but . . . shall heap to themselves teachers having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the Truth and shall be turned unto fables."

GEORGE A. TOTTEN.

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 18, 1910.

The Republic of Portugal Becoming Settled.

The little new Republic of Portugal (p. 968), established since the 1st of this month, is getting into order. The provisional President, Theophile Braga, reiterated on the 11th the provisional government's intention of administering affairs only until it is able to hand over control to a properly elected assembly. He added that the assembly would be elected by universal suffrage and that he saw no reason why women should not vote as well as men, they being equally interested in the nation's well being. Official announcement was made on the 11th that Brazil had recognized the Republic. It was also announced that the government had exempted the Irish Dominican monks and nuns, who have conducted a school in Lisbon for many years, from the order of expulsion against religious orders promulgated on the 8th (p. 969).

By the 11th the Republican soldiery had been almost entirely withdrawn from the streets of Lisbon, the people had resumed their business occupations, and perfect tranquillity prevailed. General amnesty to all military and naval offenders was promulgated on the 12th. On the same day the Archbishop of Lisbon, Monsignor Tonti, who bears the title of Patriarch, tendered his allegiance to the Republic; and a telegram was received from President Comtesse of Switzerland announcing the recognition of the Portuguese Republic by the Republic of Switzerland. José Relvas, the new Minister of Finance, in an interview on the 12th, reported by the Associated Press, said that one of the first acts of the government would be to impose obligatory secular education. At the same time the Republicans would fully recognize liberty of conscience. They did not desire to destroy religious sentiment, but only would obligate the priests to confine themselves to spiritual matters. Speaking with reference to financial conditions, the Minister said that the government intended to readjust taxation and make the colonies bear their own administrative charges. This, he added, would meet a third of the existing deficit without injuring the colonies, the preservation and development of which would be of supreme interest in Portugal's policy.

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The members of the Portuguese royal family left Gibraltar (p. 968) on the 16th; King Manuel, his mother the Queen Amélie, and his uncle the Duke of Oporto, embarking on the British royal yacht Victoria and Albert for England, and the King's aged grandmother, the Queen Maria Pia, leaving on the Italian warship Regine Elena for Italy.

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British Leadership in Land Value Taxation.

Alexander Ure (vol. xii, p. 1071; vol. xiii, p. 89), the member of the Asquith Government as Lord Advocate for Scotland, is described in a London letter to the New York Tribune of the 11th as "the most obnoxious radical in the sight of titled landholders and Tory squires." Proceeding with its description of Mr. Ure, the Tribune says:

He is the apostle of land reform who converted the Chancellor of the Exchequer and became responsible for the new Budget taxes on land values. Lamponed, derided and denounced as the ally of the proletariat and the enemy of private property, he has earned the rancorous hatred of land owners and has also succeeded in arousing the enthusiasm of advanced radicals. He speaks with the fervor of conviction, and when on a public platform and in close touch with the masses he is an orator. Land taxation is his hobby, and he rides it hard and fast. Probably the Lord Advocate is a long way in advance of his fellow Ministers, who find it impossible to argue with him and to control him. Nothing could be more unconciliatory than his recent speech at Dollis Hill, in which he declared

that the valuation of land now in progress was not an end in itself, but only a means toward a general revolution in taxation. The hands of the clock seemed to have been turned back, and Henry George was again in England—a voice crying in the wilderness.

The land owners have formed a union for the avowed object of carrying on a determined agitation for the repeal of the land taxes. Mr. Ure, rising on tiptoe and speaking in his shrillest treble, warns them that they will fail, for the land taxes will never be repealed when the country has found a vast reserve of wealth which can be dedicated to the needs of the masses. When the valuation has been made by skilled and intelligent experts the Budget taxes can be collected, but that will be only a small matter. The principle will be widely extended when the valuation has been obtained, and in time all rating and taxing will be removed from buildings and improvements and placed upon the land itself. The result will be that the great monopoly of ownership will be broken down, the land will be free, and men will be encouraged to make a profitable use of it and to spend money upon it in labor and material so as to multiply the resources of the whole community. The radical advocate's sortie in the direction of a single tax on land is resented by Tory squires as a premeditated and wanton attack on private property. In place of tapping a new source of revenue ministers are reproached for proclaiming confiscation



Mr. Ure, the Lord Advocate [for Scotland] who spoke at a land demonstration in Gladstone Park, Dollis Hill, on [September 24] alluded to the taxation of the future. He was anxious, he said, to lift all taxation from men's labor, and to lay all rating and taxation by-and-by upon land alone. There was no man or woman in that gathering, however young and healthy, he continued, who would live to see the day when the land taxes were repealed. They would, however, live to see the day when the principle would be extended far more widely than it is now.—The Daily Mirror (London).

by taxation. Mr. Ure has attempted to popularize his ideas of land taxation by practical illustrations. He has referred to an estate of 92 acres, with a capitalized value of \$28,500, which was recently in market. The owner who had been paying rates [local taxes] on an agricultural rental of \$955, refused an offer of \$160,000, and declared that he would not consider any purchase price under \$225,000. Having stated his case Mr. Ure brings in the principles of the Budget with telling effect. Mr. Ure and his radical followers are not silenced by evidence that the land owners have been hard hit and are thinking of disposing of their estates. "The breaking up of the big, unmanageable estates is what is wanted!" they exclaim joyfully. "The Budget is doing its work scientifically and the people are in the way of getting land on easy terms." Radicals like Mr. Ure are likely to overstate their case, but they have the popular side of a question in which audiences are deeply interested.

Mr. Ure, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill and the other vote winners on the Liberal side have a live issue in the next canvass—one which the people want them to discuss. It will not be difficult for them to prove that land will be cheapened by taxation*, the problem of housing working people solved more easily in this way, and a practical measure found for relieving the burdens of rate payers.

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The British Conference on Land Value Taxation.

Advices by mail regarding the conference at Manchester on land value taxation (p. 947) enable us to reproduce the principal resolutions.

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On the subject of the relationship of land values to free trade, housing and unemployment, at the public meeting at Memorial Hall on the 1st, presided over by L. W. Zimmerman, the following was the resolution adopted:

That this conference of advocates of the taxation of land values hereby declares its unflinching adherence to the principle of Free Trade, meaning thereby the complete freedom of trade from all taxes and restrictions, whether imposed for protective or for revenue purposes; is of opinion that the true principle of Free Trade must be carried out to its fullest extent, both as affects agriculture and manufactures, by the removal of all existing obstacles to the unrestricted employment of industry and capital; and further declares that the only just and expedient method of effecting this policy, is by the exemption of all improvements, and all the processes of industry from rates and taxes, and the substitution for them of the direct taxation of the value of all land, a value which is due entirely to the presence, growth, industry, and expenditure of the community. Further, this meeting agrees that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Prime

Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to all members of Parliament.

The adoption of the resolution had been preceded by a discussion, led by Fredk Verinder, who read the paper specially prepared by him for the International Free Trade Congress recently held at Antwerp (p. 870), and which he briefly outlined from the platform at Antwerp. This paper, printed now in pamphlet form,* will receive attention in a later issue of The Public.

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The other principal resolution was adopted after a discussion introduced by the Lord Advocate for Scotland, Alexander Ure, K. C., M. P., a member of the Asquith Government. The subject of the discussion was in these terms:

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.

This meeting was held on the 30th at the Manchester town hall, and here too the chairman was Mr. Zimmerman, who is one of the leading Liberal party officials in Manchester, and president of the Manchester League for the Taxation of Land Values. Following is the resolution adopted:

That this conference of advocates of the taxation of land values desires to express its gratitude to the Government for the 1909-1910 Budget, conveying as it does an inspiring message of hope and encouragement to the progressive forces at home and abroad; it especially recognises and appreciates the principle of the separate valuation of land; it earnestly urges the Government to continue this policy by making land values available for public needs and freeing industry from the grip of land monopoly; it hails the Budget as the dawn of a new era for our Country, and urges that the valuation of the land be completed with all possible speed and be made accessible to the public; that a Budget tax on the land values so ascertained be levied to provide a fund towards the cost of such public services as education, poor relief, main roads, police, and asylums, and in substitution of the remaining duties on the food and comforts of the people, and further expresses the hope that at the earliest possible moment the local rating authorities throughout the country be empowered to raise their local revenues on the land values basis, with a view to relieving houses, factories, machinery, farm buildings, and other improvements from the present grievous and ever-growing burden of rates. Further, this meeting agrees that copies of this resolution be for-

*It was the New York Tribune from which this London correspondence is quoted, that recently "proved" editorially, the New Orleans Picayune accepting the "proof" (see The Public of Sept. 30, page 924), that the land tax made land dear.

*"Free Trade and Land Values." By Fredk. Verinder, General Secretary English League for the Taxation of Land Values. Price one penny (two cents). Land Values Publication Department (of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values) 67 West Nile street, Glasgow, and 376 and 377 Strand, London, W. C.

warded to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to all members of Parliament.

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In opening the discussion which resulted in the adoption of the latter resolution Mr. Ure said that—

he was present with the idea of demonstrating how reasonable and necessary was the filling up of Form IV [which requires particulars of ownership, interest, liabilities, etc., and if desired by the person making the return, the particulars of value], unless the land clauses of the Government were to become wholly ineffectual and farcical. He thought, too, that he might have been able to demonstrate, even to landowners, the sweet reasonableness of this revolutionary Government; but the necessity for that had entirely passed away. The agitation had abated, the storm had ceased, and a great calm prevailed, and the fury and frenzy of Form IV had positively died of inanition, in spite of the rather feeble attempt to fan the flickering flames and impart a few faltering breaths to the agitation raised by Mr. Balfour in his foolish telegram to Captain Pretzman, in which he referred to the impenetrable mystery of valuation, and spoke of the movement as likely to fall to pieces of its own weight amidst universal derision. Impenetrable to Mr. Balfour perhaps!

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Joseph Fels in France.

An extension into France of the work in favor of land value taxation which Joseph Fels has promoted in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia and Denmark, is reported in the London Evening Mail of September 20th. It began at a meeting of the newly formed League for the unification of French taxation, held at the Grand Hotel, Paris, on the 18th for the purpose of welcoming Mr. Fels. In responding, Mr. Fels said, as reported by the Mail, that—

as a practical business man he was convinced that no more equitable and effective system of taxation could be devised than that of levying all charges on land-values. It was not a violent measure. Its main effect was to force idle land into use and to stimulate both industry and commerce. He had been the means of inaugurating a movement in Denmark which was meeting with much success. He offered to give a donation of \$250 to the funds of the French League, and to guarantee to duplicate any sum which they raised by their own efforts within a given time. The first work of the League, he pointed out, should be to study local conditions. The existence of a large class of peasant proprietors in France would no doubt call for certain modifications, but the single tax was just, logical and simple, and could be adapted to the needs of any nation.

The chairman of the meeting was George Darien, who remarked that—

It was strange that the idea of imposing all the taxes of a country on all the land value of a country, and on that alone, which was first advocated by the French Physiocrats, should have been perfected by

an American citizen, Henry George, and that it should be another American, Mr. Fels, whose aid would no doubt lead to a re-adoption of the single tax idea in France. Mr. Darien claimed that the unification proposed would ensure considerable economy, would free industry from many charges which at present impeded progress, and would be a benefit to every class of society.

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Railroad Strike in France.

A railroad strike in France, which began on the 11th, was settled on the 15th by concessions to the strikers made through the mediation of the Ministry. The principal fact about this strike which makes it an event of general interest has reference to its character as an "industrial" or "syndical" strike. As explained by Keir Hardie, M. P., in one of the news dispatches—

during the past five years, what is known as "syndicalism" in France and as "industrial" unionism in America has grown in France. It originated in Italy, and is socialistic and in the main anti-political. It seeks the destruction of capitalism by the direct revolutionary "general" strike instead of constitutional, parliamentary, or political methods. By "general" strike is meant strikes on general industrial rather than trade lines. This means, in effect, that a general strike of nearly all trades might accompany every dispute in any particular trade.

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The strike in question began on the privately owned Northern railroad system, and extended to the Western, the Eastern and other government owned systems, besides ramifying kindred vocations. The French government made a military call for men liable to military duty to take the place of strikers, ordering even the strikers themselves to do industrial service as a military duty. Their call was ignored on the ground that proceedings for desertion under the military law could not begin for fifteen days. The Ministry held it to be three, and Premier Briand, distinguished as the first socialist prime minister (vol. xii, p. 730), denounced the strike as revolutionary. On the 15th Paris dispatches stated that—

the directors of the companies involved had agreed to grant a minimum wage of \$1 a day to the employes of all lines running out of Paris, the new scale to go into effect on Jan. 1. The decision was reached at a conference in which the Minister of Public Works, Posts, and Telegraphs took part. The strike was formally called off on the 17th.

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An Appeal for Free Trade.

Deeming this an opportune time, the American Council of the International Free Trade League makes the following appeal to American citizenship "concerning the fundamental injustice of the policy of Protection":

Sixty years ago there was a world movement

towards the reduction of tariffs, and a consequent sense of the inter-dependence of nations. That generous feeling has given place to international jealousies which find expression universally in unprecedented armaments, and, almost universally, in tariff restrictions on foreign trade.

A tendency so general must have its origin rather in feeling than in reason. That the primary meaning of protection is hostility to the foreigner, is shown by the facts that Free Trade is the rule within the confines, however wide, of every Government; that many nations are eager to extend by conquest their Free Trade areas; that protection has so often followed wars; and that the lowering of interstate tariffs is everywhere regarded as a friendly act by which both parties gain. Clearly, economic theory plays but a subordinate part in the adoption of Protective tariffs.

The unworthy and erroneous idea that one nation gains by another's loss, blinds men to the fact that Protection is not less a national than an international wrong. A nation which tries to confer on a few men the sole right to supply its market, is decreeing a servitude to the vast body of its citizens in defiance of their just claims to equal laws and equal protection. Private privilege masquerades as national interest; and in so far as the system succeeds, it cripples the revenue which was its pretext.

A policy which has for its frank purpose the frustration of what has been done to bring the nations nearer together, demands the strongest justification on grounds of expediency. Such justification, we, who belong to this Protective country, declare to be entirely lacking. From experience we affirm that progress in our own country has been in spite of *Protection*; that its burden falls most heavily on those least able to bear it; that by its deliberate disregard of the fact that plenty can only be had at its maximum by international co-operation, it diminishes national capital and profit, narrows the home market, tends to unemployment, depresses wages, and places the Protective country at a disadvantage in the markets of the world; and that the system which confounds with national wealth the gains of the privileged trader, ends in setting up a tyranny which makes a mockery of the popular franchise.

So long as people believe that political independence means industrial severance, they will believe that the prosperity of one nation injures that of another, and that in commerce the interests not of competing capitalists only but of whole nations are hostile; and so long there will be room for perpetual apprehension of war. The moral bearing of Protection in matters international, is unmistakable. International co-operation for the promotion of Protection is not supposable.

Thus we have, on the one side, a great and beneficent principle, wholly necessary to the progress of the race; on the other, a mere policy of questionable material efficacy, but of unquestionably evil moral influence on international relations. The rising power of such a policy is of grave concern to all, and for our country we hereby promulgate the appeal of the International Free Trade League to the Free Traders and the friends of Peace in every country, whether as organizations or as individuals, to join

them in a systematic effort to show that the interests of the nations of the world do not and cannot conflict, and that each will find the surest guarantee of its own prosperity in encouraging the prosperity of all others.

This address and appeal is signed on behalf of the Executive Council of the International Free Trade League, by the Council for the United States of America as follows: Charles Francis Adams, Boston, Mass.; Louis R. Ehrich, New York, N. Y.; A. B. Farquhar, York, Pa.; James Denton Hancock, Venango Co., Pa.; Byron W. Holt, New York, N. Y.; David Starr Jordan, Palo Alto, Cal.; Alfred Bishop Mason, New York; John J. Murphy, New York; Jesse F. Orton, New York, and George Haven Putnam, New York. It is issued from No. 26 Beaver street, New York City, under date of October 13, 1910.

* *

Roosevelt in Politics.

After his Southern speaking tour (p. 970), ex-President Roosevelt campaigned for Senator Beveridge in Indiana, and on the 14th at Elmira, N. Y., began the campaign for his ticket in his home State (p. 944). He made several speeches in Western New York on that day. The report of a friendly paper, the *Chicago Record Herald*, says of his reception there, that—

the crowds in the early part of the day were not large and there was little cheering. Later in the day the crowds grew larger and there was more enthusiasm.

From hostile sources—we quote from the *Chicago Inter Ocean's* report from Elmira—three-fourths of his "tour in southwestern New York opening the State campaign was a decided frost." At Elmira, continues this report—

he was greeted by two audiences that taxed the capacity of the two theaters, but outside of these hearers there was no crowd in the streets nor any excitement attendant upon his visit. The greeting extended the boss of the Saratoga convention was in striking contrast to the welcome that has been extended him throughout the country. Cheering was only noticeable by the fact that there was no cheering. Sometimes a perfunctory yell would greet his appearance. Sometimes there would be a faint clapping of hands as he bowed his departure. Enthusiasm was totally lacking outside of this city and here it was only mild enthusiasm.

* *

Municipal Government by Commission in Massachusetts.

The Des Moines plan has been adopted in Lynn, Mass. At a special election there on the 11th the question of a new city charter was voted on. The threefold alternative presented to the voter was (1) the old charter, with mayor and double chamber government; (2) a new charter, with mayor and a single chamber; (3) a new charter with all

authority centered in a commission of five members elected by popular vote and subject to the Recall on petition of 500 voters, and to the Initiative and Referendum. The third proposition was adopted by a decisive vote.

+

The acceptance of this radical plan in an industrial city of near 90,000 population and of strong New England traditions is regarded there as significant. All the more so that it came about not from revolt against corruption, but from a widespread belief that a more efficient system of administration than the old one could be found. The campaign was clean and educative, and the interest aroused through public discussion was keen and sustained. Under the initiative of the Men's Federation, public appeals gained the supporting interest of influential merchants and manufacturers; and this united with the pronounced support of the labor unionists to make a controlling factor. The new charter abolishes all ward lines in elections, provides for the Initiative and Referendum and Recall, and also for a public meeting at which official records and city contracts shall be open to inspection.

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Initiative and Referendum Campaign in Colorado.

Advices from Colorado, where a campaign for the Initiative and Referendum is now in progress (pp. 914, 923), are to the effect that if the vote is not light the Constitutional amendment embodying this reform will be carried. As William J. Bryan went through Arkansas speaking for this reform which carried there (p. 926), so John Z. White is now campaigning Colorado. The newspaper reports of his speaking in Colorado indicate similar popularity to that which he evoked in New Mexico and Arizona (pp. 795, 873). Of his opening speech in Denver, the Denver Post of the 7th reports:

With calm logic and clear reasoning that apparently carried conviction to the minds of his audience, John Z. White of Chicago last night answered the objections advanced by the opponents of the Initiative and Referendum. It was the opening gun in the campaign organized by the Direct Legislation league for the passage of the Constitutional amendment at the coming election, and the convention hall of the Albany hotel was filled with an audience that greeted every telling point of the speaker with applause. At all future speeches White will offer to divide time with any opponent of the Initiative and Referendum who may care to participate in joint debate with him. It has been suggested that former Congressman R. W. Bonyng might be induced to cross swords with the eloquent Chicagoan. "The great art in modern politics," said the speaker, "is how not to do it, and of this you have a notable example now in your midst. The theories of the Initiative and Referendum are absolutely simple; it is only the labels that con-

fuse the average mind. The Initiative is only the parliamentary form of making a motion, and the Referendum is appealing from the chair, or tabling a motion. We must have government, and it must be by some part or by all the people. If it is by some part of the people, they can use the power to oppress the remainder, and history shows that they will always do it. With the Initiative in force, what happens? If our legislators do not do what we desire, some individual arises and makes a motion that it be done. He does this in the form of a petition properly drawn and he secures a number of signers, all of whom are seconders of the motion. It is filed with the Secretary of State at least four months before election day and the people have all that time to consider its merits. On election day it is put to a vote and all the people have a right to express an opinion on it. That is the Initiative. If the legislature passes a bad law we vote to table it. The motion is made by a petition within ninety days after the law is passed, and voted on at the election. That is the Referendum. First get the Initiative and Referendum, and then get the Recall, by which you can elect men out of office as well as into office."

NEWS NOTES

—A huge evangelistic crusade was started in Chicago on the 16th.

—An international Municipal Congress and Exposition is to be held in Chicago, September 18 to 30, 1911.

—Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, United States Senator from Iowa, died on the 15th at his residence in Fort Dodge.

—Roque Saenz Pena was inaugurated as President of Argentina on the 12th, and Victorino de la Plaza as Vice-President (p. 855).

—Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the German socialist leader, is now in the United States, intending to make a speaking trip across the continent.

—William Vaughn Moody, poet, writer of plays, and assistant professor of English at the University of Chicago, died at Colorado Springs on the 17th.

—William Barnes, Jr., leader of the "old guard" in the fight against Theodore Roosevelt in the Republican ranks in New York State (p. 944), resigned from the Republican State Committee on the 12th.

—Thomas J. Riggs, Jr., a government engineer, reported on the 13th the discovery far north of the arctic circle in Alaska of what he believes to be the highest mountain on the continent, exceeding Mount McKinley by 2,000 feet.

—Violent storms are reported from the shores of Europe, and also from West Indian waters, where a hurricane on the 14th was succeeded by a series of cyclones during three days. The damage in Cuba alone, it is believed will aggregate millions of dollars.

—Larkin G. Mead, American sculptor, died at Florence, Italy, on the 15th. Among his works are the National Lincoln monument at Springfield, Ill., the Soldiers' monument at St. Johnsbury, Vt., and the statues of Ethan Allen in the National art gal-

lery, Washington, and in the state capital at Montpelier, Vt.

—"Few peoples in Europe, with the possible exceptions of the Spaniards and the Norwegians, are more truly democratic and more ready for Republican institutions than are the Portuguese," says R. B. Cunninghame Graham in a letter in the London Nation.

—The London grand jury on the 12th indicted Dr. Hawley H. Crippen and Ethel Clara Leneve (p. 926), charging the former as the principal and the latter as an accessory after the fact in the murder of the former's wife, whose stage name was Belle Elmore.

—The French dirigible balloon Clement-Bayard made an air voyage from Compiègne, in France, to London, on the 16th, in six hours, a journey requiring by the fastest trains and boats, seven hours. This is the first time a dirigible balloon has crossed the English Channel.

—The fifth international balloon race was started from St. Louis on the afternoon of the 17th. Ten balloons representing four countries ascended and floated away. Four of the balloons were entered from Germany, two from France, two from Switzerland, and two from the United States.

—By an emergency decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, the Constitutionality of the new primary law (p. 255) appears to have been sustained, but as the opinion of the court has not yet been written, the effect, except in the particular case, is not clear. The decision was made by a divided court—4 to 3.

—Ramon Barros Luco was elected President of Chile on the 15th, to take the place of President Montt, who died on August 16 (p. 782), and Acting President Albano, who died on September 6. Mr. Luco was the candidate of the Liberal parties. These parties form a large majority in the country, and the elections were carried without disorder.

—A proposal to change the title page of the Episcopal hymnal so as to describe it as the hymnal of "the Holy Catholic Church," or "The Catholic Church of the United States," or "The Episcopal Church of the United States," instead of "Protestant Episcopal," was defeated on the 15th in the House of Delegates at the General Convention in Cincinnati (p. 948), by a majority of one vote.

—In the Fourteenth Congressional district of Massachusetts, carried at the special election of last spring by Congressman Foss, a Republican recruit to the Democratic party (p. 295), the nominee at the regular election this year is Thomas C. Thacher, son of the late Henry C. Thacher, who was a Democratic leader in Massachusetts for many years. Mr. Thacher's Congressional nomination was unanimous.

—Edmond Shelby Kinkead, a descendant of Governor Shelby and son of William B. Kinkead, the Kentucky statesman, died at Lexington on the 2d. Mr. Kinkead was a democrat in the original sense of the word, a thinker and writer on civic subjects, and a man whose unobtrusive neighborliness distinguished him beyond the circle of his personal associations. Of strong individuality and intense conviction he was fearless in the expression of his own convictions, and unsparing in denouncing public

abuses, yet tenderly considerate of opposing convictions.

—The first anniversary of the execution of Professor Francesco Ferrer (p. 926), the 13th, passed off in Spain without disorder. The government had been anxious, and throughout Spain troops were held at their barracks ready for instant service. Barcelona was like an armed camp. Masses of flowers were placed on Ferrer's grave by the representatives of various associations, but there were no disturbances.

—John Lind, former Governor of Minnesota and nominated by the recent Democratic convention but who declined (p. 878), and who has been mentioned as the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate, declared flatly on the 12th in favor of the re-election of Moses E. Clapp, Republican. Mr. Lind stated that Senator Clapp has done great work for the people, that he is a progressive, and that progressive members of the legislature should vote for him, regardless of whether they are Republicans or Democrats.

—Walter Wellman (vol. xii, p. 829), with a crew of five men, sailed from Atlantic City on the morning of the 15th, in the airship America out over the Atlantic, with the purpose, if the voyage opened auspiciously, to proceed, if possible, across the Atlantic to the shores of Europe. Wireless communication was kept up with the American shores until noon of the 16th. On the evening of the 18th came the wireless report that the British mail steamer Trent had picked up Wellman and his crew from the wreck of the America, 375 miles off the North Carolina coast. The America was abandoned.

—Indictments against C. F. Munday, A. H. Stracey, Archie W. Shields, E. E. Slegley, Cornelius Christopher, George Simmonds and Mortimer C. Sweeney were filed on the 14th by the United States grand jury at Tacoma, and warrants of arrest issued. The charge against the indicted men is their making public land entries in the Bering Strait district, Alaska, in the names of "dummies." Most of the "dummy" entry men were residents of Washington and their claims are said to have been located with an agreement that they should be assigned or deeded to third parties. The first four men belong to the so-called "English" group, and the others to the "Christopher-Simmonds" group. The entries relate to 25,000 acres of coal lands and are 154 in number.

—The National Council of Congregational churches in triennial session on the 15th at Boston, decided to work out some plan whereby the Council shall assume governing power over the various Congregational societies, "missionary and others connected with the denomination," as the dispatches report; and just before adjournment the Council adopted resolutions providing for the incorporation of the Council, the moderator to be the president of the corporation, which is to be organized under the laws of Connecticut. On the 14th the Council adopted a program for bringing the churches and labor interests into closer affiliation and defined the stand of the churches upon such matters as industrial disputes, child labor, protection of the worker from dangerous occupations, and other so-

cial, economic, and industrial questions. There was a protracted and animated discussion before the recommendation was adopted and two amendments aimed to defeat the resolution were lost.

—A gigantic system of undervaluation frauds upon the Custom House was reported from New York on the 14th to have been perpetrated by Duveen Bros., art brokers for American multimillionaires. These frauds are said to run into amounts equal to or greater than those of the sugar trust exposures. Millionaire patrons of Duveen Bros. were subpoenaed to appear before the Federal grand jury to testify regarding their purchases of works of art from that firm. There was a report also that several wealthy connoisseurs and some patrons of Duveen Bros. are under Federal investigation. On information conveyed to the Federal authorities by an anonymous letter the Duveens' store in Fifth avenue was raided and two of its principals arrested. Their attorney, Walter J. Stern, is quoted as denouncing the raid as "outrageous" and as saying: "All the Duveens are British subjects and the British government has a habit of looking after the rights of the King's subjects in other countries. Almost everything purchased by the Duveens is bought as a collection, and when they come to value these collections for importation they believe they have the right to put such value on individual pieces as they deem proper." They were indicted on the 17th for conspiracy to defraud the Government, and a civil suit was instituted for the recovery of \$1,000,000 in customs duties.

PRESS OPINIONS

Municipal Conservation.

The (Memphis) New Scimitar (ind.), Sept. 22.—The science of taxation for a city would seem to be to tax more largely those things that are here and can't get away, that cannot be concealed, and that owe their increase in value largely to the increase in population apart from the energies of the owners. One element in scientific taxation is the economy and efficiency of collection. These principles observed would, we believe, increase the population of Memphis 100 per cent in ten years.

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"Back to the Land."

The (South Bend) New Era (dem. Dem.), Oct. 8.—Whenever a man has been dissatisfied with his lot he has always had the golden West to beckon him toward a place where land was still cheap and where opportunities were still awaiting the enterprising, though he came without capital. This condition is past. The free lands of value are all taken; the vast stretches of woodland are in private hands; the mineral lands are no longer open territory to the man with pick and shovel, until now a man without capital cannot establish himself in an independent field. While not his choice, his last opportunity to earn a living is to seek a place in a factory, mill or mine.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

By the Late Julia Ward Howe.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:

He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;

He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword:

His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch fires of a hundred circling camps;

They have bulldozed Him an altar in the evening dews and damps;

I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:

His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel:

"As ye deal with My contemners, so with you My grace shall deal;

Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,

Since God is marching on."

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat;

O, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant, my feet!

Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,

With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me;

As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,

While God is marching on.

+ + +

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Hot Springs, Arkansas, Oct. 10, 1910.

Dear John: I doubt if you ever heard of my great State of Arkansas, nor of the hot springs in an Ozark mountain valley, nor of the trainloads of lame and halt and run-down that draw in here from all over the land. If you've read Opie Read, you know still less about Arkansas.

Well, Hot Springs is a large and interesting town, and today it boils. The State fair of Arkansas is being held here, and the Governor came, and two balloon-air-ships, and a string of fast horses, and an ex-President of the United States

who don't know he's ex, and there is a humming time.

But Roosevelt opened the fair. There is no doubt of that. Crowds began to gather in the streets early in the day.

"On what train will Roosevelt come in?"

"He's done come in, sir, on the 7:40. He's sure at the Arlington now."

"No, he ain't agoin' to ride no African lion down the middle of the street."

The entire town was decorated, the streets for a mile and a half showed ropes and festoons of colored streamers like an immense man-of-war on festal occasion. At the great fair ground with its one hundred and twenty acres of dish-shaped field, bordered by its mile of racing-track, the decoration was striking—almost grand. Opposite the principal building and band stand and a bow-shot away, was the speakers' stand; and back of it, a half acre of elevated seats, 80 feet high, where "sat" the American flag on edge, in shape and vivid color, every color being alive. The white stripes, girls in white; and the red, boys in red saashes; and the blue field and 40 white stars, also living, yelling, cheering, whooping boys.

Over the speakers' stand and outlined against the vivid national flag in the rear, was a pure white arch, and from the red lettered "Liberty" inscribed on it, swung a snow-white liberty bell, which, by the way, was of paper and held white doves for a later occasion.

Well, the cannon *bimmed* (cannon do not roar any more as they used and ought to)—*bimmed* or *biffed* like a falling sash, the band played, and the orators orated. Then Roosevelt climbed on something; the doves got out and, not knowing where to go, hit on the pretty girls of the flag—not a bad selection; then the American flag went frantic and grew ragged around the edges, and the Rebel yell and Union shout were all mixed up and thrown about.

Quieting down, Roosevelt made a long speech. At its close the flag started up, "My country 'tis of thee," in quick time. The band opposite started in to lead it, but, pshaw! the youngsters were well trained, quick and well led, and the band, finding itself two bars behind and drowned out, simmered down and listened to the rhythmic roar. The national hymn was rapid, but "Dixie's Land" a sight quicker followed, and no American flag ever heard it more loudly or better sung. Then the flag rose and filed down from the seats in good order, the white stripes leading, and the State fair of the great State of Arkansas was opened. Whatever may be said of the fair itself, the opening was spectacular and fine. Everybody went to dinner, and after dinner the horses were introduced and there was racing on the great track below, and two balloon-ships cavorting in the heavens above.

But the fair is a good fair, though but a touch to what Arkansas could do, even now, if she would off coat and at it. The great State is wonderful in its resources, its climate, its crops, its people, and apparent future. As it is, look at those rows of beautiful apples. If they had had Arkansas apples in the Garden, A. and E. might have been more reluctant to leave; and John Milton would have had another job. There are cords of white, yellow and red corn, each ear a foot long; okra 10 feet high; a stalk of cotton planted in June, now 1½ inches in diameter; oats producing 70 bushels per acre—they state it seriously, and I guess it's so; piles, too, of lead ore, silver ore, kaolin for pottery, building stone, slate, and a black, greasy, soft stuff that a man said he had a forty-foot vein of and didn't know what it was. That's Arkansas, rich and don't know how rich, or poor and don't know how poor—nor care. In one building was a model of a rice farm, for Arkansas produces 60 to 90 bushels of rice to the acre, and in another a model 5-acre farm which later, in December, will be exhibited in Chicago.

The people, too, are noteworthy—the women in the beautiful Southern dress (white); and the men, tanned and brown, but of beautiful *address*, calling one "brother" on short acquaintance, or no acquaintance at all. A nice, comfortable-feeling sound, that "brother" to a man fresh from the straight-ahead, bicycle-gaze-dollar-in-view silence of the anxious North. The true food-anxiety has not reached here yet, but is coming.

The usual State fair crowd surged about the buildings, and the usual teams of half-grown girls plowed through them, but the acreage was immense and there was ample room. Machinery, shows, poultry, cattle—a volume only could tell of all, and so I mention none. A little girl of character had taken off her new shoes and, barefoot, carried them in hand as she went among the cattle on a self-imposed stunt, to pat every bull on his back—"Every single bull at the State fair." And the bulls took it stoically, if not with approval. Seemed to like it. No bull fighters in that family, nor occasion for them.

I'm afraid, John, you're not much interested in all this. Have your eye on Spain and Portugal, like as not. I've had Administrations that would have had a warship out in the neighborhood of a budding republic, just to keep down the weeds and grass; but I don't seem to have any use for warships nowadays. I don't think I'm feelin' my best.

UNCLE SAM.

* * *

Tecumseh is said to have exclaimed: "Sell a country! why not sell the air, the clouds and the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?"—From Thoreau's *Commonplace Book* (in manuscript).

BOOKS

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

The Coming Religion. By Charles F. Dole, Author of "The Ethics of Progress," "The Spirit of Democracy," etc. Boston. Small, Maynard & Co. Price, \$1.00.

Religion, as Mr. Dole traces its history through the centuries, is a continuous series of lessons or messages with a gradual broadening influence on the life of mankind. It is not, in substance, a matter of forms and creeds but of faith and love and social justice. In the nominal Christian religion Mr. Dole deprecates the stress laid upon points of doctrine upon which Jesus put no emphasis whatever. "The good Samaritan," he says, "unorthodox in doctrine, but a good neighbor, was acceptable enough to Jesus." He sees no dark mystery about religion. It is only an unfolding glory which will open more and more upon our vision as we enter more and more into its living spirit. The new necessity is that each should think for himself and recognize the truth that if God exists, He is present here and now; that He has no favorite sons; that immortality is based on reality and not on the authority of priest or prophet. He looks for "the religion behind the creeds;" he finds "the new message" that this is God's world and therefore a good world under a Divine Governor. He cites abundant proofs of the true religion manifested in all conditions of life. He shows us that the mightiest of all forces is good will to men; that the good life is the normal life and not at all the difficult thing that a false piety has taught; that what we call evil is a process and not a fulfillment of law; and that the "will of God" means the highest, holiest and best possible good for each of us, not suffering and sorrow and renunciation, as the pietists have sought to make us believe.

The author of "The Coming Religion," with his uncommonly prophetic vision, preaches a "Democratic Gospel" in which the humblest soul has an important work, just as valuable and effective in its way as that of the gifted leader and

hero who represents only the average power of the life standing back of him and making his accomplishment possible.

"Religion is the life of God in the soul of man," is quoted from an old Scotch writer as a true definition of the state at which humanity may hope to arrive—has already arrived when the soul recognizes its one source of being and doing. Prayer is mainly such a recognition with genuine desire to act in accordance with the Supreme Love and Wisdom.

The whole world is the province of the coming religion. We who accept it must be tolerant and see good and truth wherever good and truth are. It is not division but union that real religion seeks.

Freedom of thought must be exercised and regarded by all as an individual right. But co-operation in great uses is the invincible power of the coming religion which is broad enough to embrace "the church that puts its emphasis on the words, 'Thy kingdom come, thy will be done,' and goes forth to do what it sees in its vision." "The main thing at present, however, is that the leaders of churches should clearly see what their churches are for."

There are many pages in Mr. Dole's book that tempt to large quotation, but the reader will find greater satisfaction in the grasp of its full argument than in a few detached statements that might not adequately unveil the writer's hopeful and inspiring idea of the coming religion.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Rewards and Fairies. By Rudyard Kipling. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.50.

—The Industrial History of the United States. Revised Edition. By Katherine Coman. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1910. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Francesco Ferrer. His Life Work and Martyrdom. With messages written especially for this publication by Ernst Haeckel, Maxim Gorky, Edward Carpenter, Havelock Ellis, Jack London and others.

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Ferrer Association, 241 Fifth Avenue, New York.
Price, 25 cents.

—Eugene V. Debs. An Introduction. By Walter
Hurt. Progress Publishing Co., Williamsburg, Ohio.
Price, 15 cents.

+ + +

Poet: "Will you accept this poem at your regular
rates?"

Editor: "I guess so—it appears to contain nothing
objectionable. Go to the advertising department

and ask them what the rates are. How many times
do you wish it inserted?"—Cleveland Leader.

+ + +

Wild Duck [flying over]: "Now, then, fellers,
make a noise like a gasolene motor, and those fool
hunters will think we're aeroplanes!"—Puck.

+ + +

"Why don't your boy enter college?"

"He couldn't pass the examination."

"Do they have to pass an examination? I thought

4003—to be exact.

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

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How many hands are up?

EMIL SCHMIED, Manager.

all a college boy needed was some funny clothes."—Pittsburg Post.

+ + +

A pile of monster grape fruit attracted his attention. "What are these?" he asked.

"That's a kind of orange," replied Mr. Rudd.

"Gee!" exclaimed the visitor. "It wouldn't take many of them to make a dozen."—Cleveland Press.

+ + +

"Paw, what is the great continental divide?"

"It is the final division of the continent, my son, between the Morgans and the Guggenheims!"—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

Nurse: "What's that dirty mark on your leg, Master Frank?"

Frank: "Harold kicked me."

Nurse: "Well, go at once and wash it off."

Frank: "Why? It wasn't me what did it!"

—(London) Punch.

The Story of My Dictatorship.

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It is also an editorial paper, according to the principles of fundamental democracy, expressing itself fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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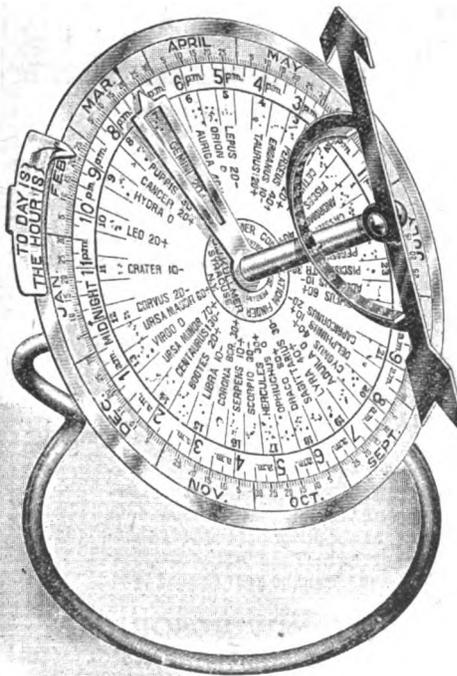
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