

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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The Portuguese Revolution.

Monarchy has long been dead in civilized countries, and now its form even is toppling. It might be likened to a skin tumor which could be removed by a slight surgical operation, but is neglected until an accident knocks it off and it is carried to the dumps with other garbage. When the operation was attempted in France, toward the end of the Eighteenth century, there was some bungling and a little blood poisoning; but in Portugal now the excrescence falls off at the first revolutionary blow.

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Russia's time has not yet come. Germany's is postponed by her close patterning after Great Britain. Great Britain, with a monarchy which exists only as an expensive anachronism in a glass case, is marching noiselessly but steadily and ponderously forward to a great federation of autonomous States. And Portugal, setting an example to Spain, bids adieu to that medievalism of state and church which is giving way everywhere to modernism in both. Well does Cherterton remind us of "that high dawn that Kings shall not forget."

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Double Horse Bareback.

After yielding to a standpat convention in New York, because he couldn't boss it (p. 970), and then congratulating that sterling German silver

"progressive" of Washington, the Cannonistic Congressman Humphrey, upon his defeat of a progressive Republican at the primaries and urging his re-election over a progressive Democrat at the polls (p 990), Mr. Roosevelt wins new laurels as a "progressive" by going over into Massachusetts to oppose Foss, the "renegade" who renegaded from Cannonism and Aldrichism, and to help re-elect Senator Lodge.

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But why criticize the tentatively progressive Roosevelt for going over into Massachusetts to campaign for Lodge, Standpatter of the Senate, when so proved a progressive as Senator Cummins leaves Iowa to campaign in Chicago for Congressman Mann, Cannonistic Standpatter of the House?

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Truly, much must be allowed for progressive party leaders like Roosevelt and Cummins in times when party walls are crumbling. No matter how irksome party music may be, they must often sing party tunes to the shrillest accompaniments of Standpat co-partisans. Unless they do, they and their progressivism may lose party standing. Bryan is the only exception; nothing is ever allowed for his difficulties of this kind—perhaps because he is so little of a trimmer. But with Roosevelt and Cummins it is different; for are they not Republicans of the brahmin caste? Of such difficulties, however, it is necessary that the progressive rank and file of all parties be considerate. Political leaders must be loyal partisans in order to lead at all, whether selfishly into office for themselves or patriotically for the triumph of a cause.

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Our mention of Senator Cummins is an allusion to his speech at Chicago on the 24th. Progressive Republican though he is understood to be, he came all the way from Iowa to plead for the re-election of Standpat Republicans—notably of Congressman James R. Mann. In doing this he was neither better nor worse than Mr. Roosevelt, who goes to Massachusetts to plead for the re-election of Senator Lodge. But Senator Cummins went Mr. Roosevelt one better. Mr. Roosevelt leaves at least a door open for progressive Democrats to come in and back him up; Senator Cummins slams the door insultingly in their faces.

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"Any man who reaches the conclusion," said Senator Cummins, to the hearty applause of deadly enemies of the progressive policies he is un-

derstood to stand for, "that we ought to substitute for any Republican the best Democrat on earth, badly needs an intellectual stimulant." If this is not simple minded demagogy, it is a penitent's bid for personal favor to the worst elements of the Republican party. Be it either the one or the other, the man who uttered it can hardly command any longer, as fully as heretofore, the confidence of the genuine progressives of either party. The more especially is that so, since they must also bear with this further exclamation of his: "With all its inequalities, with all its mistakes and all its wrongs, I would rather have 1,000 years of the present Payne-Aldrich tariff law than one month of Democratic free trade."

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Recently a Washington correspondent reported that if Senator Dolliver had lived he would have been a peace maker, chosen of the Administration, between the Progressive and the Standpat factions of the Republican party. We did not believe it of Senator Dolliver, nor would we have believed it then of Senator Cummins; but the Cummins speech at Chicago makes one wonder if that correspondent didn't follow the wrong Senator on the right trail.

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Illinois Candidacies.

Regarding the candidates for election to State, Congressional, legislative and judicial offices in Illinois, our advice has been asked and we make it public, though incompletely for lack of full information, as follows:

For State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the present incumbent, Francis G. Blair (Republican), because his tendencies are in the direction of democracy in education.

For Cook County Superior Court Judge in Chicago, William E. Dever (Democrat), because he has a long and unbroken record for faithfulness in the public service, and as a Democrat is of the democratic brand. (Incidentally, we advise an adverse vote on the following nominees: Edward J. Brundage, as judicially incompetent and subservient to political bossism; Axel Chytraus as judicially indifferent and likewise subservient; and Jesse Holdom as a thick-and-thin anti-Labor judge.)

For the Cook County Circuit Court, to fill a vacancy, ex-Judge Edward O. Brown (Democrat), whose record of six years on the Circuit Court bench is a demonstration of his judicial loyalty and competency and whose Democracy is democratic.

For Congress: First district, Michael E. Maher (Democrat), because he is a democratic Democrat with a good record as State Senator, and to defeat Martin B. Madden (Republican), the Cannon Standpatter; Second district, John Charles Vaughan (Democrat), because he is a democratic Democrat, a democratic business man and a competent person

for the office; also in order to defeat James R. Mann (Standpat). Fifth district, Congressman Adolph J. Sabath (Democrat), because his record in Congress is democratic; Seventh district, Frank Buchanan (Democrat), because he is a democratic Democrat, and his service is needed in Congress to help abolish government by injunction; Ninth district, Frederick H. Gansbergen (Republican), because he is a Republican of the La Follette-Dolliver type, and in order to defeat Lynden Evans (Democrat), because the latter gave aid and comfort to Mark Hanna's "crowd" by opposing Bryan and vilifying Altgeld, and is of like mind still; Eighteenth district, William I. Cundiff (Democrat), to defeat Joseph G. Cannon (Standpat Republican); Twentieth district, Congressman Henry T. Rainey (Democrat), a Congressman with a faithful and efficient record as a democratic Democrat; Twenty-second district, Bruce A. Campbell (Democrat) to defeat Congressman William A. Rodenberg (Standpat Republican), who favors a postal censorship of reform periodicals; Twenty-third district, Congressman Martin D. Foster, a Democrat of democratic tendencies.

For the legislature: Fifth district, Hiram T. Gilbert (Democrat) for reasons stated in *The Public* of August 26, 1910, at page 796; and Morton D. Hull (Republican) because he is for direct legislation; Nineteenth district, Rev. Frank O. Smith (Independent), because he aims to be right, is a fighter for the right, and has the sense to know that religion cannot be divorced from politics and the courage to step out of his pulpit long enough to try to make good when the other candidates are unfit. Twenty-first district, Christopher J. McGurn, to defeat Benjamin M. Mitchell, a political parasite. Forty-first district, James O. Monroe (Independent) for reasons given in *The Public* of October 14, 1910, at page 963, and because he is a democratic Democrat with sound views on taxation and direct legislation. Forty-ninth district, Fred J. Kern (Democratic candidate for State Senator), because he is a democrat with sound views on taxation and direct legislation.

Be careful, besides choosing progressive and trustworthy candidates, to help roll up as large an affirmative vote as possible on the three Public Policy questions: (1) for an amendment to the State Constitution providing for the Initiative and Referendum; (2) for a comprehensive State civil service law; and (3) for a corrupt practices act. The larger the affirmative vote on these questions, which will appear together upon a separate ballot, the more certain will their passage through the legislature be.

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Judge Cleland.

In their selection of candidates for Municipal Court judges for Chicago, it is to be earnestly hoped that the voters will remember the courageous as well as faithful service that Judge McKenzie Cleland (Republican) has rendered on that bench. His determination that, in so far as he could prevent it, the Court should not be used as

a lever to pry fines out of delinquents among the poor, but should be made a reformatory agency with reference to crime, ought to guarantee his reelection by a majority so large as to be an unmistakable vote of confidence.

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The Expeditious Crippen Trial.

American papers are full of applause at the manner in which our British cousins have pursued, caught, tried, convicted and will probably hang, Dr. Crippen. But this applause seems to relate wholly to the expeditiousness of the proceeding. Are they not yielding the palm of their own country all too easily? If expeditiousness is the one thing needful, no Scotland Yard officer nor any British lord chief justice can hold a candle—no, nor a rope—to any public spirited lynching mob anywhere in the United States.

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We, too, applaud the British method as exhibited in the Crippen trial, but not for its expeditiousness alone, nor its tragical climax, although both may count for much when not at the expense of justice. What we admire about the management of the Crippen case is the official respect for law which has characterized every stage—with a single exception, and that we shall mention presently. The prisoner was not maltreated when arrested. He was given ample time to invoke the Canadian law before extradition, if there might be in that law a shelter for the fugitive. His treatment throughout—the one point excepted—was considerate and exemplary. Especially was he protected, in accordance with the law, from any such brutal police inquisition as prisoners in this country are subjected to in defiance of the law. It was all as orderly and humane—with the one exception—as it is possible for any man-hunt to be, and therein it was in fine contrast with capital cases here.

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And that exception? We refer to the judge's charge. This was the kind of charge that made the name of Lord Jeffreys—well, immortal. It may be quite in accord with British judicial practice all the way from Jeffreys' day down; but it was not in accord with the British spirit of fair play nor the British theory of criminal procedure. Here was a man whose guilt the law was to determine. Its agent for determining that fact was the jury, only the jury. Yet the judge, sitting there to hold the scales even while the trial went on, made a more powerful argument against the prisoner than the able prosecutor had made. So,

at any rate, say the dispatches. Is it certain then that the jury acted freely?

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We may absolve the hangman for "turning off" capital convicts. Also the sheriff who hires him. A sense of duty may influence both. And the jury, they but decide a question of fact, leaving the law to take its course. So the judge, if he holds the scales even in passing on questions of evidence, and from the stores of his greater knowledge and experience instructs the jury on the nature of evidence and how to weigh it; and this though he imposes the specific sentence, thereby standing almost literally by the side of the hangman in the choking out of a human life. But the judge who makes to a pliable jury such a charge as was made in the Crippen case is, within the spirit of the law, as truly a murderer as any lynching mob, if Crippen be as guilty as most of us probably guess him to be; and if he happens to be innocent, as he protests he is, then that trial judge, by intruding his personal suspicions into the jury box, made himself as truly a murderer as he so forcefully argued that the prisoner was.

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"Weasel Words."

Having made John Bunyan's "man with the muckrake" famous, Mr. Roosevelt has undertaken a similar service for Stewart Chaplin's "weasel words." He is quoted in the New Hampshire dispatches as having "invented weasel words" with the meaning of "words that suck the meaning out of the words that follow," as weasels suck the substance out of eggs. Since this use of "weasel words" found its original specific application to the McKinley-Roosevelt platform of 1900, our readers may be interested in a reproduction of that part of a Public editorial (vol. iii, p. 179) in which the phrase then appeared:

In a delicious political satire by Stewart Chaplin, published in the June Century, the subtle art of constructing party platforms is exquisitely and humorously worked out. It is there explained that they must, for example, "please civil service people and not scare the heebers, please the gold people and not scare the silverites; please the people generally that want economy and not scare the crossroads folks that want a marble postoffice and a granite bridge over their creek; please the anti-trust element and not scare the capitalists, and please the free traders without scaring the protectionists;" and that they must "be written with lots of nerve, sliding over all the things the people are hot about and going in strong for what nobody disputes."

The most important element in the construction of

these platforms is what the satirist calls "weasel words." They are the "words that suck all the life out of the words next to them, just as a weasel sucks an egg and leaves the shell;" so that "if you heft the egg afterward, it's as light as a feather and not very filling when you are hungry, but a basketful of them would make quite a show and would bamboozle the unwary." Examples of weasel words are "wise exceptions," "justly," "undue," "duly," etc., and their synonyms and variables.

When duly drafted in accordance with these principles of the art, a political platform is, in the estimation of the satirist we are quoting, a sort of stained glass window; "you look through one pane and see a purple dog, and you look through another and he's green, but what his real color is you can't tell till you throw open the window."

In some respects this ingenious satire of Mr. Chaplin's quite snugly fits the McKinley-Roosevelt platform adopted last week at Philadelphia.

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Judge Anderson of Indiana.

Whatever one may think of Mr. Roosevelt's somewhat vulgar characterization of Judge Anderson's thoroughly sound American decision in the Panama libel prosecutions (vol. xii, pp. 1011, 1017, 1058), there can hardly be two opinions as to the fact of Mr. Roosevelt's having made the characterization. A story that he had called Judge Anderson's decision "the decision of a jackass and a crook," and that the principal official host at the reception where this occurred thereupon yielded his function to subordinates and withdrew—if such a story were false, Mr. Roosevelt could be depended upon to call somebody a liar (not loosely but "scientifically and descriptively," and because no other term would "express the fact with the necessary precision") before a second sun had gone down on his wrath. But he has called no one a liar—not in this connection. So far from doing so, he has "refused to discuss the matter." The only question therefore is as to the merits of Judge Anderson's decision, and the propriety of Mr. Roosevelt's remarks about it.

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Press Censorship.

An excellent candidate to defeat for re-election is Congressman Rodenberg, of southern Illinois. In a speech before the Illinois Association of Postmasters at East St. Louis on the 3d of October, Congressman Rodenberg made this declaration, as reported by the St. Louis Post Dispatch and quoted by the Belleville News-Democrat: "Muck-raking, cheap, fake, and reform magazines, should be denied the second class mailing privilege." When it is understood that no periodical can live without that privilege when others have it, and that the

decision on which magazines are "muck-raking," "cheap," "fake," or "reform," would be made by a postal bureau at Washington, and without any right of appeal to the courts, but upon the mere say so of the Postmaster General of the day, the significance of Mr. Rodenberg's deliberate proposal is manifest. He is for a press censorship. No doubt that would be handy for his "crowd." But do the people of his district want representation in Congress of that kind?

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Robert R. McCormick.

There is one candidate for public office in Chicago at the approaching election whom Big Business and its politicians in both parties are devoutly desirous of defeating. For that reason, if for no other, he ought to be triumphantly elected. We allude to Robert R. McCormick. Mr. McCormick is the efficient and faithful member and president of the Sanitary District. Because he is efficient and faithful he displeases Big Business, and its parasites; and it is the set purpose of Big Business to defeat him for re-election if it can. The records of the school board, wherein he appears as the decisive factor in shattering a "grafted" deal with the electric power trust of Chicago, prove his fitness. So does his service in forcing the use of Sanitary District power upon the city at cost, in place of high priced monopoly power. Here are reasons enough for his re-election. Let no democratic Republican turn away from him, nor any democratic Democrat stay away. If faithful service for the people is to be secured, it must be recognized and appreciated when it appears, not by Big Business alone, which doesn't want it, but by the people who do.

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Corporations in Politics.

The Democratic situation in Massachusetts, resulting at last in the nomination of Congressman Foss for Governor, is peculiar and instructive. At the convention the candidates were Congressman Foss, Charles S. Hamlin, and a former candidate, Mr. Volney. The score on first ballot was: Foss 383, Volney 302, Hamlin 295. Hamlin then threw his strength to Volney, and on the second ballot, Foss had 438, Volney 425 and Hamlin 20. It was thereupon decided, late at night, to break the deadlock by nominating Frederick W. Mansfield, with the understanding that he should give place to a candidate to be selected by a committee. Then the committee got into a deadlock, and so remained for days. Finally, Mr. Hamlin with-

drew and Congressman Foss, the Democrat who swept a Republican district recently to fill a vacancy in Congress, and should have been nominated for Governor by acclamation, was named. So much for superficial peculiarities.

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Now for the deeper peculiarities and the instructive elements. The conduct of Governor Draper (Republican)—whose re-election Mr. Roosevelt is urging, by the way,—his official conduct in promoting the unpopular absorption of the Boston and Maine railway by the New York, New Haven and Hartford, thereby giving the latter the monopoly of New England traffic, made a Democratic victory this year highly probable. The obvious Democratic candidate was Congressman Foss, who had turned the 14,000 Republican majority of 1908 in the Fourteenth Congressional district, into a Democratic majority of 6,000. But thereupon Charles S. Hamlin came into the field, ostensibly as a Democrat but really, it seems now, as a corporation lawyer. Mr. Hamlin is a smooth "proposition" of charming personality, who was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under Carlisle in the reactionary Presidential term of President Cleveland. He dutifully opposed Bryan in 1896, and has ever since trained with reactionaries. But he was not generally known to hold salaried relations with the Boston and Maine railroad, nor with its present owner, the N. Y., N. H. & H. But while the committee of the Democratic convention were at a deadlock, the fact came out that Mr. Hamlin has had such a connection to the tune of \$10,000 a year, for years—first with the B. & M., and latterly with the N. Y., N. H. & H., as part of the assets and liabilities of the former which the latter absorbed. The revelation appears from the Boston papers to have come through George Fred Williams. Had Hamlin been nominated by the Democrats it wouldn't have mattered to the Interests whether Roosevelt's candidate, Draper, the railroad Governor, or Hamlin, the railroad attorney, had won at the election. They could then have felt, whether they said it or not, that "both are good men, safe and sane, and we may go fishing." The exposure settled the matter, however, and in this case Hamlin was laid aside. But how many Hamlins of other names and other annual retainers by public service corporations are in the Democratic party awaiting the opportunity to take up corporation interests in politics when their associates in the Republican party have to leave them off?

A Progressive St. Louis Candidacy.

Percy Pepon, of Typographical Union No. 8 (St. Louis), is the Democratic candidate for the Missouri legislature from the Second district. He is endorsed, moreover, by the Missouri Federation of Labor. If all the people of the country who know him well were voters in his district, his election would be assured. It is to be hoped that among the voters who do live there he is well enough known to make the same result secure. Mr. Pepon is the kind of Democrat who believes in democracy, and the kind of labor unionist who believes in securing to all workers the full product of their work.

* * *

"BACK TO THE LAND."—AN ECONOMIC STUDY.

With his first words in "Progress and Poverty"—which is the best exposition of the profound significance of Bishop Nulty's phrase, "back to the land," now so commonly and heedlessly in use*—Henry George discloses the economic object of all that follows. Not a certain system of taxation, is this object; nor a certain form of land tenure; nor any program of social reconstruction. All are considered as methods for realizing the object, but quite another thing is the object itself.

What that object is, may be inferred from the riddle that "Progress and Poverty" attributes to the Sphinx of Fate,† and which may take this form: "Why does poverty persist with progress?"

I. The Industrial Problem.

That is the economic problem, the industrial problem. Not why poverty persists, be it observed; but why it persists with progress. In other words—and this we all know from observation or experience to be the fact—Why does poverty persist in the midst of abundant and constantly increasing wealth and wealth-producing power?

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Turn to the beginning of "Progress and Poverty" and reflect upon its eloquent exordium, wherein the object of the penetrating and judicial inquiry that follows is indicated.

The Sphinx of Fate had put her question to Henry George. Before venturing an answer, he in that exordium gave to the question a form which all readers with any experience at all of the world in which they live may easily understand.

He drew a vivid picture of the prodigious increase in wealth producing power. So great was

that power, even in his day, that if any man of the century before, a Franklin or a Priestley, could have seen it in a vision of the future as we see it now, he would have inferred—no, it "would not have seemed like an inference," but "further than the vision went, it would have seemed as though he saw; and his heart would have leaped and his nerves would have thrilled, as one who from a height beholds just ahead of the thirst-stricken caravan the living gleam of rustling woods and the glint of laughing waters. Plainly, in the sight of the imagination, he would have beheld these new forces elevating society from its very foundations, lifting the very poorest above the possibility of want, exempting the very lowest from anxiety for the material needs of life; he would have seen these slaves of the lamp of knowledge taking on themselves the traditional curse, these muscles of iron and sinews of steel making the poorest laborer's life a holiday, in which every high quality and noble impulse could have scope to grow. And out of these bounteous material conditions he would have seen arising, as necessary sequences, moral conditions realizing the Golden Age of which mankind have always dreamed. Youth no longer stunted and starved; age no longer harried by avarice; the child at play with the tiger; the man with the muck-rake drinking in the glory of the stars! Foul things fled, fierce things tame; discord turned to harmony! For how could there be greed where all had enough? How could the vice, the crime, the ignorance, the brutality, that spring from poverty and the fear of poverty, exist where poverty had vanished? Who should crouch where all were freemen; who oppress where all were peers?"*

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And such have been the hopes and dreams of men since this era of prodigious wealth producing power set in. But disappointment has followed disappointment, until we have come upon a time when no one any longer expects general prosperity from general progress.

But Henry George was disturbed by this inconsistent though universal fact of continuous poverty—aye, of deepening poverty—with increasing powers of wealth production. Why is it, he asked, that just as frontier communities, where "no one able and willing to work is oppressed by the fear of want"—that "just as such a community realizes the conditions which all civilized communities are striving for, and advances in the scale of material progress; just as closer settlement and a more intimate connection with the rest of the

*See *The Public* of October 21, 1910, page 990.

†"Progress and Poverty," page 10.

*"Progress and Poverty," pages 3 to 5.

world, and greater utilization of labor-saving machinery, make possible greater economies in production and exchange, and wealth in consequence increases, not merely in the aggregate, but in proportion to population," why is it that "so does poverty take a darker aspect," and while "some get an infinitely better and easier living," that "others find it hard to get a living at all"?*

He found, that is, as all are beginning now to realize, that "unpleasant as it may be to admit it, it is at last becoming evident that the enormous increase in productive power which has marked the present century [the Nineteenth] and is still going on with accelerating ratio, has no tendency to extirpate poverty or to lighten the burdens of those compelled to toil."

This "association of poverty with progress" was to Henry George that "riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed."†

II. Solutions of the Industrial Problem.

Patiently seeking the answer to that riddle, Henry George found it in the true significance of Bishop Nulty's phrase—"Back to the land!"

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University economists had found explanation in the insufficiency of capital devoted to the payment of labor—of artificial capital in contradistinction to land capital. But labor itself makes all artificial capital; and it adds continually to the volume, not only more than it draws for pay but before it is paid. "Production is always the mother of wages."‡

Further explanation was found by university economists in a theory of Malthus, that population naturally tends to increase faster than subsistence. But not only do human numbers not tend to decrease the relative production of human food, they tend to increase it. So far as human experience has yet gone there is no indication of our planet's failing to respond generously to the progressive activities of its population. Wherever you look for an explanation of poverty, or whatever your explanation may be, there is no accounting for it by lack of capabilities either of man or of external nature.§

University economists of later times are leaving no place for the Malthusian explanation of poverty. Though they attribute it in the past to production "deficits," they account for those "def-

icits" not by any niggardliness of nature but by the ignorance and consequent inefficiency of man; and they find now an increasing "surplus," which confessedly leaves no natural reason for persistent poverty.*

Among other explanations of poverty in spite of progress were and are such feeble ones as personal inefficiency, personal immorality, personal vices, personal unthrift, and the like. These have no value, however, as explanations of the persistence of poverty amid advancing wealth, when it is considered that the same kinds of personal inefficiency, personal immorality, personal vice, personal unthrift, and the like, are no more characteristic of the working poor than of the idle rich. The idle rich are not impoverished by them.

Highly important among the explanations other than George's is that of most schools of socialism. It is adopted also by many non-socialist economists. We allude to the explanation that the advent of steam produced an industrial revolution.

As this theory runs, the industrial revolution which steam power inaugurated has deprived workmen of the possibility of owning their tools. For great machines, superseding hand implements, have necessitated far reaching and intricate organization; and under the system of private ownership, machinery of great value and which no workman can either own or operate alone, has made labor as a class dependent upon machinery owners as a class for opportunities to work. The effect has been to displace feudalistic land-lords with capitalistic machine-lords, as exploiters of labor. According to that theory, the power of capitalists, supplemented with what little power may be left to feudalists, diverts from labor the benefits of increasing productive power. In other words, it is capitalism that perpetuates and intensifies the poverty of the working class as progress goes on. Capitalism monopolizes machines.

But why? Inasmuch as machines are made and continually repaired and replaced exclusively and wholly by "the working class" (using that term as socialists use it, in common with every one else who tries to think straight, as comprising all persons to the extent that they do useful work), and inasmuch as machines are operated exclusively and wholly by the same class, does not the "machine-lord" explanation fail? There is nothing in it to show how mere machine-lords can continuously divest "the working class" of the machines

*"Progress and Poverty," page 7.

†"Progress and Poverty," introductory, pages 3 to 13.

‡"Progress and Poverty," book I, pages 17 to 87.

§"Progress and Poverty," book II, pages 91 to 150.

*"The New Bases of Civilization," by Prof. Simon N. Patten. Reviewed in The Public at page 929 of volume X, December 28, 1907.

which the latter and they alone continuously produce. Capitalistic monopoly of machines does not explain, for capitalistic monopoly itself must be explained.

It may be said of course, and truly, that capitalists own the existing opportunities for production, and therefore can and do coerce the working class into selling out their interests in current production in advance and for inadequate wages. But unless capitalists own not only these artificial opportunities, but also the natural opportunities, that explanation also fails. If capitalists monopolize both, they can indeed coerce laborers, precisely as socialists say they can and do. But this would be true if they monopolized natural opportunities alone. The contention regarding machine owning as a coercive force is somewhat suggestive, then, of the "nice, smooth, clean stone" with which the penniless but resourceful wayfarer made "stone soup," begging of the curious innkeeper "just enough water for boiling," "just a little beef for flavor," and "just a few vegetables for variety." "But, why the stone?" asked the innkeeper; "except for the name of it?"

It seems more probable that the advent of steam, instead of making an industrial revolution made but another long stride in the direction of that perfect industrial accomplishment which Henry George imagined illustratively when he wrote: "Were labor-saving invention carried so far that the necessity of labor in the production of wealth were done away with, the result would be that the owners of land could command all the wealth that could be produced, and need not share with labor even what is necessary for its maintenance. Were the powers and capacities of land increased, the gain would be that of landowners. Or were the improvement to take place in the powers and capacities of labor, it would still be the owners of land, not laborers, who would reap the advantage."*

If absolute perfection in machinery would thus subject labor absolutely to land owners—not because ownership of machinery is in itself coercive, but because land monopoly is coercive (whether feudalistic as in Great Britain, or capitalistic as in the United States, Canada and Australasia)—why, then, isn't the same effect in lesser degree, from the advent of steam, attributable to land monopoly instead of machine monopoly?

At any rate, land monopoly is the primary cause to which Henry George attributed the coercion of labor, in the conclusion to which he came after considering all the explanations known at the

*"Social Problems," chapter xiv, "The Effects of Machinery," page 146.

time he wrote. His complete overhauling of the subject fifteen years later and in the light of intervening knowledge and discussion, did not alter his original conclusion as he had put it forth in "Progress and Poverty."

III. The Economic Solution in "Progress and Poverty."

In its economic inquiry, "Progress and Poverty" interrogates the science of political economy for an answer to the fateful riddle of the Sphinx: "Why does poverty persist with progress?"

Its primary axiom for this purpose is that self-evident principle which is to social science (or would be were it better understood and oftener used) what "the line of least resistance" is to physical science, the axiom* namely, that "men seek to gratify their desires with the least exertion." In the light of this axiom, the book clears economic rubbish out of the way and discloses the fact, which few at this day would deny, that the economic answer to the riddle hinges, not upon any problem of wealth *production* but upon problems of wealth *distribution*.

Even in so far as production may be at fault, it is discovered to be from no lack of productive power, but from interferences created and fostered by distributive maladjustments.

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Proceeding then with its economic inquiry, and still in the light of its axiom, "Progress and Poverty" establishes in the economic field the conclusion upon which rests the economic remedy it proposes.

In briefest form, that conclusion may be stated thus:

Two factors, *Land*, the natural opportunity, and *Labor*, the human force, are the only primary factors in wealth production.

In correspondence therewith, *Rent*, the share of Landowners in Labor's earnings, and *Wages*, the share of Labor in its own earnings, are the only primary shares in wealth distribution.

No matter how many subordinate factors there may be in production, such as machinery or other forms of capital produced by labor, nor how many subordinate shares there may be in distribution, such as profits on governmental monopolies other than land, nevertheless "land" and "labor" are the only primary factors, and "rent" and "wages" are the only primary shares. All other factors in production are always dependent upon "land" and "labor," and all other shares in distribution are carved out of "rent" and "wages."

*"Progress and Poverty," page 11.

Whether those primary shares in distribution be called "rent" and "wages," as in economic terminology, or by less technical names, they consist, respectively, (1) of the share of the product which land-owning interests are able to exact of land-using interests for permission to utilize in production appropriate parts of the earth, and (2) of the share of the product which the exaction enforced by land-owning interests leaves to land-using interests.

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From that conclusion to the true solution of the riddle of the Sphinx of Fate is no far cry. It reduces the difficulties of the problem to simplicity itself. For just as the share of the land-owning interests falls or rises, the share of the land-using interests must correspondingly rise or fall.

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If, then, progress in production does not increase wages," which is the share that goes to land-using interests, the fundamental reason must be that it does increase "rent"—the share that goes to land-owning interests.

It is truly a mathematical certainty that such an increase of "rent" must reduce "wages" as a proportion of the total product. But if the reduction of "wages" thus associated with greater productive power were only proportional, poverty might not persist with progress; the share of land-using interests, though less as a proportion, might nevertheless be more in amount.

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This possibility is balked, however, by the custom of forestalling land. General expectations of higher land values are always and everywhere excited by general expectations of progress—of "development" as business men usually call it. Consequently an inevitable result of confidence in progress is the forestalling of land, or speculation in "land futures." This consists in holding natural opportunities wholly out of use (as vacant land), or out of their best use (as inadequately improved land), in order, without enterprise or industry, to profit in higher ground rentals, or higher capitalizations of ground rentals, from the expected market scarcity of desired land. It may be added that while this is usually the motive, the evil effect is the same whether the withholding be from that motive or from any other.

Nor is this true of only some kinds of land. It is true of all kinds that are in demand—not alone of agricultural soil, but also of city and town sites, water power locations, shore lines, mineral

deposits, forests, transportation ways and terminal spots, and so on. Quite as truly as any government land in Alaska, are all these in the category of natural opportunities.

Anticipation of the benefits of expected progress by means of this forestalling or speculation, tends to reduce the share of producers in their product in far greater measure than the measure of a smaller proportion of a larger product. It presses land values up abnormally, which pushes labor values down abnormally. In consequence, "wages" are reduced not only as a proportion but also as a quantity.

The only limit to the contracting influence upon the share of land-using interests of this expansion of the share of land-owning interests, is the minimum standard of living. Even that is under constant and increasing pressure, as continued general progress stimulates general expectations of further progress and confirms general confidence in the profitableness of land-owning investments.

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There, then, you have the force, evolved by economic progress, "which tends," as in its economic inquiry "Progress and Poverty" demonstrates,* "constantly to increase rent† in a greater ratio than progress increases production." It is a force, therefore, which "constantly tends, as material progress goes on and productive power increases, to reduce wages,‡ not merely relatively but absolutely." Thereby it causes poverty to persist, and even to deepen with and in consequence of progress.

"If it were possible," so "Progress and Poverty" proceeds,§ "continuously to reduce wages until zero were reached, it would be possible continuously to increase rent until it swallowed up the whole produce; but as wages cannot be permanently reduced below the point at which laborers will consent to work and reproduce, nor interest¶

*"Progress and Poverty," book iv, ch. iv, p. 257.

†"Rent" is the technical term, remember, for the share in production which land-owning interests are able to exact from land-using interests.

‡"Wages" is the technical term for the share in production which remains to land-using interests after "rent," the share of land-owning interests, has been deducted.

§"Progress and Poverty," book iv, chapter iv., page 258.

¶As here used, "interest" means none of the incomes from land of any kind; nor of premiums for money due to an insufficient volume; nor from stocks and bonds in so far as they represent landholdings or other monopoly privileges; nor from shares in industrial trusts ("Progress and Poverty," ch. iv of book iii, p. 192). It means a form of compensation for work ("Progress and Poverty," ch. iii, iv, v, of book iii), analogous to the higher payments for their greater skill to workmen trained in specialties.

below the point at which capital will be devoted to production, there is a limit which restrains the speculative advance of rent."

IV.—The Economic Proposals of "Progress and Poverty."

Having found the economic answer to the riddle of the Sphinx—"Why does poverty persist with progress?"—having found it rooted in land monopoly (whether feudalistic or capitalistic in form would make no essential difference), "Progress and Poverty" proposes the obvious remedy. It is to *abolish land monopoly*.

But as a practical proposal, abolition of land monopoly would have been altogether too vague. Few there are who would not assent cordially to it in the abstract, yet assail it uncompromisingly in almost any particular application.

So "Progress and Poverty" stated the remedy in particular form. Whenever society has advanced very far beyond primitive conditions, the institution of private ownership of land gives advantages to land-owning interests and imposes corresponding disadvantages upon land-using interests. Therefore, wherever advanced social conditions exist, as in our civilization they do, private monopoly of land and private ownership of land are virtually the same. "Land monopoly" is the indefinite abstract term for what "land ownership" definitely expresses. Accordingly, "Progress and Poverty" proposed to *make land common property*.

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There was nothing novel in this proposal. From the day of Roman Cornelia's "jewels" down to Henry George's time, from the revolt of Moses in Egypt to the experiments of Owen in the United States, the doctrine of communism in land had been advocated in varied settings and practiced in numerous utopian ways. But this ancient remedy for involuntary poverty, this fundamental suggestion for an orderly social state, is discussed and defended in "Progress and Poverty" with unexampled thoroughness. Its expediency, its efficacy, its conformity to the natural laws of social life, its harmony with the moral law of justice, are there disclosed with a brilliancy of rhetoric, a richness of diction, a novelty and charm of style, a power of popular appeal, a cogency of argument, an abundance of apt illustration, and a resistless marshalling of the facts that count, which surpass every effort ever before brought to the service of the old doctrine that society must in some way make land common property.

But the way? Secondary though this problem

is, the long history of disappointing colony experiments in land communism make it vital. So the secondary problem too is discussed in "Progress and Poverty," and its solution demonstrated.

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The result is a practical method for making land common property in effect, without assumption of titles, or revolutionary disturbance, or a risk of reaction, or any extension of the functions of government, or any dubious and dangerous experimentation. To quote from the volume itself,* it seemed to its author that "we should satisfy the law of justice, we should meet all economic requirements, by at one stroke abolishing all private titles, declaring all land public property, and letting it out to the highest bidders in lots to suit, under such conditions as would sacredly guard the private right to improvements." He thought that we should thereby "secure, in a more complex state of society, the same equality of rights that in a ruder state were secured by equal partitions of the soil." He believed that by thus "giving the use of the land to whoever could procure the most from it, we should secure the greatest production." And he held this leasing method to be "perfectly feasible." But he did not think it in all respects as good a method as the one he had to propose.

To him it seemed that the restoration of the land itself "would involve a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought, which is to be avoided;" and "would involve a needless extension of governmental machinery, which is to be avoided." For "it is an axiom of statesmanship," he wrote, "which the successful founders of tyranny have understood and acted upon, that great changes can best be brought about under old forms;" and "we, who would free men, should heed the same truth."

He therefore proposed, not to confiscate land but "*to confiscate† rent*."

Inasmuch as we already take some land rent in taxation, he proposed the slight administrative

*"Progress and Poverty," book viii, chapter ii.

†This use of the word "confiscate" has afforded opportunity for some superficial criticism. Since the word has disagreeable connotations in common use, a better one for the purpose might possibly have been chosen. But it is doubtful if any other would have been as appropriate in denotation. This word comes from the same root as "fiscal," and alludes to public revenues. Its unpleasant significance is due to historical seizures of private property for public revenues unjustly, or by way of penalty. But Henry George's proposal is to turn ground rent regularly into the public treasury, not as a penalty nor an aggression, but because that is where ground rent justly belongs.

changes in our taxing methods that would be necessary to take it all in that way—thus leaving land-owning interests in possession, but taxed approximately the full amount of the ground rent they get or might get from land-using interests.

Yet the immediate practical proposal of "Progress and Poverty" fell short of that; it was merely to "abolish all taxation save that upon land values."

This, however, was a proposal to begin with, not to end with.

To abolish all taxation save that upon land values is just, as a mere fiscal measure; and as a fiscal measure it is also sound scientifically. A just and expedient reform in taxation, it can be advocated and adopted simply as such without reference to its effect on land monopoly; and to the full extent of the formula, or in lesser degree, according to political opportunity and other circumstances. The rest would be only a matter of keeping on.

In that character, then, "Progress and Poverty" puts the fiscal formula forth, and expounds and defends it. But in itself this formula, though so fully carried out as to take public revenues from land values alone, might, in the long run, be of no effect in abolishing involuntary poverty with social progress. Precisely as increase of population, industrial inventions, governmental efficiency and economy, and other modes of social progress tend to increase the wealth of land-owning interests without increasing that of land-using interests, so would land value taxation, if levied so lightly as to leave a large and widening margin between land value taxes and land values. Not at first, indeed, might it do so in fact; but the tendency would become manifest increasingly if land tax exactions were to remain far below ground rent possibilities.

While, then, "Progress and Poverty" proposes the substitution for all other taxation of a single tax on land values, advocating it on its merits as a tax reform, the author did not allow the book to stop with that proposal. His practical plan was designed to be progressive. It contemplates any step, however timid, for the reduction of taxes on industrial processes, and increasing them on land monopoly. But only as a beginning. It is but a means to an end, the end economically being the extreme of abolishing approximately all profit in land-owning as distinguished from land-using.

Since the taxation of land values "must necessarily be increased just as we abolish other taxes," says "Progress and Poverty," we set out prac-

tically with the proposal to "abolish all taxation save that upon land values," leaving the extension of the system to the future. For, the argument continues, "when the common right to land is so far appreciated that all taxes are abolished save those which fall upon rent, there is no danger of much more than is necessary to induce them to collect the public revenues, being left to individual landholders."

It was with reference to this initial proposal in practical statesmanship for recovery of "the land for the people," this proposal that "all taxation save that upon land values" be abolished, that the words *Single Tax* grew into use in the English-speaking world. In Great Britain the name is now nearly superseded by *Taxation of Land Values*.

Neither name may bear a very rigid logical test, or close etymological inspection. The former came into vogue without design, and the latter gained strength from the quite peculiar relations of British taxes to British land values. But names of social movements, like names of persons, are seldom very accurate in description. Nor need they be. Their function is not so much to describe, as conveniently to identify. Whatever the name of a cause, it will be cherished affectionately by friends of the cause and be scorned by its enemies; and substitutions of names will not weaken the affection of the one nor turn the scorn of the other aside.

Be the name "Single Tax," then, or "Taxation of Land Values," it will serve well enough, as long as it "sticks" (which is the sole test of appropriateness in a name), just as other names have served* and others may hereafter, to distinguish that forward movement, "back to the land," for which "Progress and Poverty" maps out the way.

*The Public, vol. xiii, pp. 916, 917, 918.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

ELECTORAL PROGRESS IN AUSTRALIA

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 15.

A letter from Professor E. J. Nanson, of the Melbourne University, bearing date September 8th, informs me of the adoption of the second ballot recently by the Parliament of the State of New South Wales. Prof. Nanson writes that it "will be used for the first time in that State at the next general election," to come off in about five weeks from the date of his letter. He adds: "The State Ministry in the State of Victoria (Australia) has decided to introduce a bill for the alternative (a preferential) vote, and it is understood that a majority of mem-

bers are in favor of it if the preferential vote is made compulsory."

ROBERT TYSON.

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 25, 1910.

The Land Question in Australia.

Australian papers report the circumstances of the introduction into the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia, of the Ministerial land tax measure the principle of which was adopted by the people at the Commonwealth elections (pp. 411, 535, 730) in the triumph of the Labor Party. Mr. Fisher, leader of the Labor Party, and Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, presented the bill in the lower House. He explained that as the principle had been unassailably asserted in the elections, questions of detail alone remained for determination. On that point he stated that the bill clearly provided that the land tax should begin as of July 1, 1910, and that it was graduated in the hope of making large estates available for closer settlement, as well as to augment the revenues. To show the effect of land value taxation in bringing monopolized land into use, he cited the experience of the States and of New Zealand where land value taxation had made land more reasonably available to the people. Mr. Fisher's speech of an hour and a half is described as having been packed with convincing facts, and strengthened by quotations from Opposition leaders who profess to favor the principle but insist that the tax should be imposed by the States and not by the Commonwealth. It was at the conclusion that he said the policy of land taxation had "not only been approved by the Labor Party, but by the country at large," and that its principles were now "beyond the realm of serious controversy." An adjournment of the discussion was taken at the request of the Opposition.

†

Later mail advices bringing the subject down to September 6th, reach us through the London Daily Chronicle of October 7th, which reports that—

the original proposal of the Labor Government to begin with a tax of 1d. in the pound on estates over £5,000 in value, and then rise by a series of steps to a rate of 6d. in the pound on estates over £80,000 in value, has given place to a more scientific

plan by which every pound of the taxable value of an estate is made to bear a fair share of taxation.

In the case of absentee owners, of course, the tax is heavier, for there is no £5,000 exemption, and the "ramp" begins on the first pound of value.

The following tables will show English readers how the rate works out under the new scale:

Resident Owners.			
Unimproved Value. £	Taxable Value. £	Rate per £1 in pence.	Amount of tax £ s. d.
5,001	1,000	1	0 0 1
6,000	1,000	1 1-30	4 6 1
7,000	2,000	1 1-15	8 17 9
8,000	3,000	1 1-10	13 15 0
9,000	4,000	1 2-15	18 17 9
10,000	5,000	1 1-6	24 6 1
11,000	6,000	1 1-5	30 0 0
12,000	7,000	1 7-30	35 19 5
13,000	8,000	1 8-30	42 4 5
14,000	9,000	1 9-30	48 15 0
15,000	10,000	1 1-3	55 11 1
16,000	11,000	1 11-30	62 12 9
17,000	12,000	1 12-30	70 0 0
18,000	13,000	1 13-30	77 12 9
19,000	14,000	1 14-30	85 11 1
20,000	15,000	1½	93 15 0
21,000	16,000	1 16-30	102 4 5
22,000	17,000	1 17-30	110 19 5
23,000	18,000	1 18-30	120 0 0
24,000	19,000	1 19-30	129 6 1
25,000	20,000	1 20-30	138 17 9
30,000	25,000	1 25-30	190 19 5
35,000	30,000	2	250 0 0
40,000	35,000	2 1-6	315 19 5
45,000	40,000	2 1-3	388 17 9
50,000	45,000	2½	468 15 0
55,000	50,000	2 2-3	555 11 1
60,000	55,000	2 5-6	649 6 1
65,000	60,000	3	750 0 0
70,000	65,000	3 1-6	857 12 9
75,000	70,000	3 1-3	972 4 5
80,000	75,000	3½	1,093 15 0

Absentee Owners.

Absentee owners will pay one penny in the pound on the first £5,000 of unimproved value, no exemption being allowed. On all unimproved value beyond £5,000 the tax commences at 2d. on the first pound, and rises on each pound, according to the prescribed scale. The following table shows the amount of tax payable on their estates of unimproved value, from £5,000 to £80,000:

Unimproved Value. £	Rate in pence on excess value over £5,000.	Annual tax. £ s. d.
5,000	20 16 8
10,000	2 1-6	65 19 5
15,000	2 1-3	118 1 1
20,000	2½	177 1 8
25,000	2 2-3	243 1 1
30,000	2 5-6	315 19 5
35,000	3	395 16 8
40,000	3 1-6	482 12 9
45,000	3 1-3	576 7 9
50,000	3½	677 1 8
55,000	3 2-3	784 14 5
60,000	3 5-6	899 6 1
65,000	4	1,020 16 8
70,000	4 1-6	1,149 6 1
75,000	4 1-3	1,284 14 5
80,000	4½	1,427 1 8

For every £1 sterling of unimproved value beyond £80,000 the tax will be 7d. in the £1. An estate of £100,000 unimproved value owned by an absentee will pay £1,427 1s. 8d., plus a sum of £583 6s. 8d. (being 7d. in the £1 on £20,000), or a total tax of £2,010 8s. 4d. per annum.

The revenue expected from these rates by the Government is £1,000,000 in the first—that is, the current financial—year, but an Opposition critic calculates the yield at over £2,700,000! The tax coming on top of heavy customs revenue and the annexation by the Commonwealth of a larger share of

the revenue and the transfer to the Government of the issue of all paper currency, have simply infuriated the Tory classes in the Commonwealth. It will, however, pass by swinging majorities for two reasons. (1) The pressure of the population problem. At all costs good estates have to be forced into the market in small holdings, so that the British farmer may be induced to settle here on a decent area on which a good living can be made. (2) The swing of the pendulum in favor of direct taxation to raise revenue for the Australian navy and the Australian conscript army. The people voted land tax at the election because they wanted the landowner to pay now, not sixteen years hence, for the defence of that land.

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Government Land Sales in the Philippines Checked.

All who have watched the progress of the fight against sales of great areas of lands in the Philippines to foreign exploiters (promoted by the Administration under the authority of an opinion by Attorney-General Wickersham), which culminated in the passage of a resolution by Congress for investigation into these sales offered by Representative Martin of Colorado (pp. 395, 564), will read with interest the words of the Secretary of War in his last address at Manila, as reported in the *Vanguard* of Sept. 9th:

I will say in general in regard to the Friar Lands, that at the time of making contracts for other sales of large amounts it was not supposed that there would be any opposition. The principal idea was to reduce the bonded debt as rapidly as possible. Now that opposition has declared itself and the affair is being investigated by Congress, no large sale of these lands will be authorized until the situation is entirely cleared up.

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Prohibition as a Federal Question.

A new Federal question has been raised in Memphis. Because the prohibition law of Tennessee is enforced in other parts of the State but not in that city, and the proper State officials refuse to enforce it there, either by police or judicial proceedings, members of the Law Enforcement League make the point that the State deprives them of "the equal protection of the laws," contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Upon their application, based upon that point, Judge John E. McCall of the Federal court at Memphis, has granted a preliminary injunction restraining 114 Memphis saloons from selling intoxicants.

NEWS NOTES

A Correction.—The phrase on page 2, column 1, of last week's issue, "imperio in imperium," should have been, of course, "imperium in imperio."

—Cholera continues on the increase in Italy (pp. 948, 973).

—David Bennett Hill, former Governor of New York, died on the 20th at his country home near Albany at the age of 67.

—Congressman Eugene N. Foss (pp. 295, 1001) has been substituted for Frederick W. Mansfield (p. 971) as Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts.

—Thomas Thompson Eckert, chairman of the board of directors of the Western Union Telegraph Company, died on the 20th at his home near Long Branch at the age of 85.

—Ex-President Roosevelt spoke in Massachusetts last week for the re-election of Governor Draper and Senator Lodge. He also spoke in New Hampshire in behalf of the Republican candidate for Governor (p. 847), Robert P. Bass.

—Edwin R. Wright, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor for four successive terms, was re-elected on the 21st at the convention (vol. xii, p. 1044) at Rock Island by a vote of 170 to 46 over Thomas A. Shea of Bloomington.

—Ethel Leneve, charged as accessory after the fact to the murder of Cora Belle Crippen (Belle Elmore) by Dr. Crippen (pp. 1001, 1011, 1023), was placed upon trial at the New Old Bailey, London, on the 25th, and after a trial lasting but a few hours was acquitted.

—The Philadelphia "Athletics" of the American League, on the 23d, at Chicago, obtained the world's baseball championship by defeating the Chicago "Cubs" of the National League. The "Athletics" won four games out of an actual five and a possible seven (vol. xii, p. 1021).

—The resignation as president of Princeton University of Dr. Woodrow Wilson, now running for Governor of New Jersey on the Democratic ticket, to take effect immediately (p. 898), has been formally delivered and accepted. John Aikman Stewart, a trustee for 42 years, has been appointed president provisionally.

—Luigi Luccheni, who on September 10, 1898, assassinated the Empress of Austria at Geneva, Switzerland (vol. 1, no. 24, pp. 1, 10), committed suicide on the 19th by hanging himself to the bars of his cell window in the prison called l'Eveche at Geneva, where he was confined as a life prisoner, Switzerland not imposing capital punishment for any crime.

—Mayor Gaynor of New York accepted resignations on the 20th of Police Commissioner W. F. Baker and his deputies, Frederick H. Bugher and Charles Kirby, and appointed in their place James C. Cropsey as police commissioner, and Clement M. Driscoll as first deputy and Capt. William J. Flynn (chief operative of the United States secret service) as second deputy.

—The death of the widow of the late Judge Murray F. Tuley (vol. viii, pp. 797, 808), recalls the incident of their going arm in arm to the polls to vote together when women in Illinois were first granted the narrow privilege of voting for University trustees. Mrs. Tuley was Judge Tuley's helpmeet, as he was hers, in their citizenship as well as in their household affairs, and of the same democratic

type as he. Born at Louisville, Kentucky in 1831, and married in 1851, Mrs. Tuley died on the 23d at the age of 79.

—The Kingdom of Siam, lying to the south of China, and between French Indo-China and Burma, with a population of over 6,000,000, lost its king on the 23d, by death. Chulalongkorn I was born in 1853, and succeeded to the throne on the death of his father in 1868. He was a well instructed and enlightened ruler. He will be succeeded by his son, Prince Chowfa Maha Vajiravuh, born in 1880.

—The triennial convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held in Cincinnati (p. 1001), closed on the 21st. The movement toward Christian unity was given strong support by this convention, and a commission was appointed to call a conference with all Christian denominations. A resolution was passed by both houses of the convention, to expunge the words, "Jews, Turks, heretics and infidels," from the collect for Good Friday.

—The National Council of Congregational Churches, in session at Boston (p. 1001), adjourned on the 20th. A policy of greater centralization of activity and authority was adopted. The council placed itself on record in resolutions as favoring closer relations with the Protestant Episcopal Church in matters of church work and worship, and as favoring a union with the United Brethren and the Methodist Protestant Church.

—The Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians and other Dependent Peoples (vol. xi, p. 733) opened at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., on the 19th. At the first day's session Henry Roe Cloud of Nebraska, Yale's first Indian graduate, class of 1910, urged the taxation of the Indians. "The Indian today is demoralized and degraded largely because he pays no taxes," he said. "Why not tax him on his inherited lands and make him a respected factor in the community?"

—At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Single Tax League in Chipman Hall, Tremont Temple, Boston, October 15, the following officers were elected: President, James R. Carret; secretary, Edwin T. Clark; treasurer, Prof. Comfort A. Adams; executive committee, Arthur R. Bush, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Jr., Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, John G. Pike and Henry Sterling. W. Lathrop Meaker, independent candidate for Congress in the seventh district (p. 938), delivered a vigorous address.

—The first Universal Races Congress is to meet next year in London. The object of the congress is announced to be to discuss, in the light of modern knowledge and the modern conscience, the general relations existing between the peoples of the West and those of the East—between the white and the colored peoples—with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation, political questions being subordinated to this comprehensive end.

—The Republicans of Rhode Island unanimously renominated on the 19th Governor A. J. Pothier and all the other State officers, and Congressman William P. Sheffield of the first district. In the second district a former governor, George H. Utter, was nominated to succeed Congressman Adin B. Capron, who declined renomination. The platform indorsed

the administrations of President Taft and Governor Pothier and the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill and commended Aldrich for his "integrity, ability and loyalty to the Republican party."

—Under a ruling made on the 21st in the Circuit Court at Milwaukee by Judge Ludwig, every candidate on the Democratic county ticket will be placed upon the official ballot, notwithstanding that the vote for each at the primaries fell short of the number necessary to give party standing at the election (p. 847). The court ruled that a Democratic ballot deposited by a voter, whether marked or not, must be counted for the Democratic candidates, it being the intention of the voter, in the opinion of the court, to vote the Democratic ticket.

—The international balloon race which was started from St. Louis on the 17th (p. 1001), ran fast and far, most of the balloons bringing up in Canada, eight hundred or a thousand miles from their point of departure. Some landed in forests, and at least one in a lake—Lake Nipissing. By the 25th all had been heard from except America II, manned by Alan R. Hawley and Augustus Post, of New York. Search parties, one in the balloon St. Louis III, are beginning exhaustive search for the missing men in two great Canadian wildernesses.

—The Women's Single Tax Club of Washington, D. C., reports the death of Florence Ada Ramage, October 17, of whom its members write in highest terms as of a woman clear in opinion, patient with opposition, generous in recognizing sincerity of effort by others, and of the best type of womanhood in the performance of domestic as well as civic duties. She was the wife of M. H. Ramage and was born at Toronto in 1870. An article by Jackson H. Raletton converted her to the single tax idea after she came to Washington. Her husband and five children survive her.

—The new Chinese Imperial Senate, the forerunner of the general Parliament promised by the Chinese government for 1915, has proved itself to be astonishingly radical and progressive. The Senate, convened for the first time on October 3 (p. 948), has been demanding that it should have executive and not merely advisory power, and on the 21st voted by a large majority to memorialize the throne for an early summons for a full, general parliament. It is believed that this attitude on the part of the Senate will bring a parliament at an earlier than the program date.

—American friends of Leo Tolstoy often wonder how he is regarded by the masses in his own country. Rothay Reynolds wrote in the London Daily News of September 10 of Tolstoy: "The extraordinary popularity enjoyed by him in Russia was demonstrated a few months ago, when he passed through Moscow. At the railway station and in the streets enormous crowds gathered and cheered him. I have seen the Tsar drive through his capital. A few men uncovered as he passed, but nobody cheered, and there was no sign of enthusiasm; that which was denied the Autocrat of all the Russias was given to the old man in a peasant's blouse."

—The funeral of the late Senator Jonathan P. Doliver (pp. 989, 1000) took place on the 20th at Fort Dodge. Senator Cummins, Governor Carroll, C. M.

Stewart of Evanston, Ill (in place of Frank W. Gunsaulus), President W. F. King of Cornell College, Major S. H. M. Byers of Des Moines, William F. McDowell of Chicago, Rev. Charles M. Stuart, Chicago (editor Northwestern Christian Advocate) and Dean Luther Freeman, president Morningside College, delivered addresses to a packed audience in the armory which seats 6,000. Senator Clapp spoke to 3,000 gathered about the armory where they stood through the ceremony in the rain.

—Arthur Withey has gone from Great Britain to New Zealand to undertake a five years' campaign for land value taxation under the auspices of the New Zealand Fels Fund. In making the announcement the Auckland Liberator for August says: "Twenty years ago we had hopes that New Zealand was destined to lead the world in this vital reform; but our comparative prosperity, induced by the small measure of reform then secured, seems to have lulled us to sleep. New South Wales has gone ahead of us, Victoria is waking up, Germany is actively engaged in municipalizing ground rent, England adopts Lloyd George's second budget with acclamation, while we, who should have led the march to freedom, are torpid, silent, stagnant."

—Harvey Hawley Crippen (pp. 1001, 1011) whose trial began on the 18th in the New Old Bailey, London, was convicted on the 22nd of the wilful murder of his wife, an actress whose stage name was Belle Elmore. The charge of the trial judge, Lord Chief Justice Alverstone is reported to have been "the most merciless exposure of the prisoner's story, far exceeding in damaging effect the criticisms of counsel for the prosecution in his closing address." The jury returned its verdict of guilty in a few minutes after retiring; and immediately upon the oral rendering of the verdict by the foreman, Lord Alverstone who, as the news dispatches report it, "already had assumed the black cap," pronounced sentence of death. The execution is set for November 8th. In response to the usual formal question, the prisoner said: "I still protest my innocence." Upon receiving a note from the foreman, the contents of which are not divulged, the Chief Justice read it and remarked: "That shall be forwarded to the proper quarter."

PRESS OPINIONS

Nationalism in Australia.

The (London) Daily News (Lib.), Oct. 1.—A Reuter telegram announces that the Labor Government has introduced in the Australian Parliament a bill giving the Commonwealth complete legislative control over trade, commerce, corporations, and industrial matters, including employment, wages, the settlement of disputes, and the power to deal with combinations and monopolies. The message adds that the measure before becoming law will be submitted to a Referendum. The meaning of the new bill is perfectly plain to all familiar with the character of the Commonwealth Constitution and the development of public opinion in Australia since that document was drafted. . . . Observers note two salient Australian characteristics—the feeling of national unity and

the sentiment of social equality. The Australian feels himself an Australian primarily, not a Queenslander, or a Victorian, or a Westralian; and he is much more anxious that every Australian should have a comfortable subsistence than that any Australian should have wealth. . . . The Labor party stands for unification, but even parties that do not go so far as that have shifted a long way from the Federal principle as it was originally established. The truth has been appreciated that the American model is a very bad one, and that the American Constitution is the greatest obstacle in the way of social justice, and the best friend of the trusts.

† †

Tax Out the Manger Dogs.

The (Philadelphia) Evening Bulletin (ind.), Aug. 11.—There are numbers of vacant plots in various parts of Philadelphia—particularly in West Philadelphia—which are today undeveloped solely because their owners are awaiting for the rise in value which is bound to come with the upbuilding of the sections surrounding them. Would not many such eye-sores quickly disappear if we had a system under which homes erected upon them would be so lightly assessed that to keep land in idleness would no longer be a profitable undertaking?

† †

The Democratic Party.

The Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), Oct. 15.—Unless the tide turns it will soon be once more the conservative, the anti-popular party, as it was when it was first overthrown by the humanitarian democracy of Lincoln and the early Republicans. If a defeat at the coming elections, especially a defeat in New York, can be interpreted as a rebuke to Progressive leaders and the Standpat element can regain control in the Republican party, well and good. If not, organized Democracy is most receptive. For example, the Democratic party organization in Illinois is today more thoroughly under the control of reactionary influences than it has been for years. In New York, for all its loud protestation, it has always been an ally of Wall street and sent to Congress men who came gallantly to the rescue of Cannonism in its hour of need. In the South it is essentially an aristocratic party. In Texas Bailey talks about the people. At Washington he is one of the ablest of the privilege champions. In New Jersey, where Republicanism has been corrupt for years, the Democrats have chosen a real democrat and a good man—who, if he were elected to the Presidency, would be a good man "surrounded by men who know exactly what they want" and how to get it, as has been the misfortune of another good man in that place.

† †

The "Unearned Increment."

(Milo Hastings in) Chicago Examiner (Hearst), Oct. 12.—The increased value of a natural resource that comes from humanity's increasing needs is the unearned increment. Upon the fundamental wrong to the many that comes from the few, thus capitalizing man's growing needs for nature's bounty, Henry George based his justly famed plea for Single Tax,

which virtually means government ownership of all natural resources, thus securing the unearned increment for the people. Against the theoretical justice of Single Tax no economist has ever been able to frame a successful argument. . . . The private ownership of such resources as form the basis of gross corporate wealth breeds political corruption and solicits foraging expeditions from the emasculated nobility of Europe. The present Conservation policy of the retention of such resources, either for governmental development or to be leased for private development under government supervision, appears to be a serious effort to sever the chain that has bound progress to poverty. . . . The unearned increment of the nation's undeveloped wealth continues to increase and the question is: Who shall reap this wealth that no man soweth, Wall street or the people?

* *

The Single Tax.

Pittsburgh (daily) Leader (ind.), Oct. 19.—As a result of City Controller Morrow's recent pronouncements with reference to revision of taxation in Pittsburgh a widespread discussion and analysis of our present system has been created. This was the Controller's fundamental idea in giving his views. As he himself states, he has not in any manner been committed to the Henry George idea of Single Tax or to any other plan of revenue production. . . . But in stating his views Controller Morrow has indicated that he finds much merit in a modified form of the Henry George tax idea. And when so great an authority in matters of this kind intimates a willingness to proceed along lines that will place the heaviest burdens of taxation on land alone, citizens everywhere must take cognizance of the benefits that such a scheme of taxation would afford. . . . As between the man who assists in the development of his city by the wise and judicious improvement of vacant land and the one who caters solely to the highest degree of personal profit, Controller Morrow prefers the former. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should advocate some new system of taxation that will encourage a greater development of property and not act as a penalty to the man who gives his city and his neighbors the benefit of his own good citizenship. Just what is best to do under the circumstances not even the Controller has decided. . . . Whether it be along the lines he has suggested in relation to the Henry George idea of Single Tax, or in some other manner that offers advantages, is a matter of no moment to Controller Morrow, or to any other citizen who is striving to put taxation on a more equitable basis in Pittsburgh. The principal consideration is that progressiveness now struggles under a handicap that ought not to exist, and that as a matter of civic pride, if nothing else, steps should be taken at once to set it free. . . . Controller Morrow is a safe and trustworthy leader, and good citizens can do no better than advise with him.

* * *

At a meeting of the Yarmouth Guardians it was stated that an inmate of the workhouse had received a land valuation form to fill up. This is but a foretaste of the time when all land-tax forms will have to be addressed to the workhouse.—London Punch.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

JULIA WARD HOWE.

For The Public.

Beyond "the Gates Ajar" her soul hath flown;
Earth's joy and pain will speed her pulse no more,
Nor will great sorrow harrow to the core
The heart that felt a brother's grief its own.
Still, other hearts will reap what hers hath sown,
And while they turn the golden harvest o'er,
Soul-eyes will search along an endless shore,
And greet her spirit in the great unknown.

When time is ripe the sun of truth will shine,
And freedom's fire will set all hearts aflame.
Crowned heads, war lords, and potentates in line,
Whose gory deeds make grim the roll of fame,
And those that claim they rule by right divine,—
Their cognomens will pale beside her name.

MARY QUINLAN LAUGHLIN.

* * *

SKILLED ARTISANS.

Bolton Hall in The Independent (New York).

"I want my coat shaped so," said I to the tailor.
"It is not according to my pattern; it will not
make a good job," said the tailor.

"But I want it so."

"Then, my dear sir," said he, "you must cut it
yourself or find another tailor."

So I tried to cut it myself.

"I want my life shaped so," said I to God.

"It will not be well for you," said God. "It is
not according to my law."

"But I want it so," said I.

"Then, my dear son," said God, "you must shape
it yourself or find another God."

So I tried to shape it myself.

* * *

STUDIES IN OREGON'S DIRECT LEGISLATION.

For The Public.

An official pamphlet of 208 pages (including an index of six pages), issued by Hon. F. W. Benson, the Secretary of State of Oregon, is the text-book from which these "studies" have been made. A copy of this pamphlet was mailed in August and September last to every elector in Oregon, giving him the exact wording of each bill or proposed amendment to the State Constitution upon which he is to vote at the election Nov. 8 next. This pamphlet also contains the arguments that have been offered for and against the proposed measures, the purpose being to give the voter all possible information on the subjects submitted to him.

Statistical.

Of the 32 proposed measures, six were referred to the people by the Legislature, 25 by initiative petitions and one by referendum petition. Twenty-one are bills and 11 are for constitutional amendments. There were 26 arguments filed which favor the propositions, and 16 which oppose them. Fifteen of the propositions have affirmative but no negative arguments filed regarding them, while four of the proposed measures have negative but no affirmative arguments accompanying them. One bill—that to prohibit fishing, except by hook and line, in the Rogue River—has three arguments, one for and two against. One bill was submitted without argument on either side. It is one for an act to pay \$1,000 annually to the Judge of the Eighth District by Baker County in addition to \$3,000 now received by him from the State. This bill was passed by the Legislature over the veto of the Governor, and goes to the people by referendum petition. One bill—to continue the Normal school at Monmouth—has in its affirmative argument a cut giving a view of the principal school buildings there.

The measures are printed in the official pamphlet in the order of their filing with the Secretary of State. The first measure—that favoring equal suffrage—was filed September 16, 1908; and the last one, asking for a three-fourths jury in civil cases, was filed July 7, 1910. Six of the measures were filed in February, 1909; one each in May and December, 1909; eleven in June, 1910, and twelve in July, 1910.

Not All Strictly Direct Legislation.

There is a clause in the Constitution of Oregon which prohibits the Legislature, but not the people through the initiative, from creating new counties. Oregon is large in area but small in population; hence with rapidly increasing numbers there is a constant need of new counties being formed. Nine of the proposed measures relate to this demand for new counties, and may therefore, together with six propositions referred by the Legislature to the people, be regarded as not peculiar to the Oregon system of direct legislation, thus leaving only seventeen measures which should properly be considered in a study of the workings of the initiative and referendum.

Educational.

For some reason, not quite clear to the reader, the Legislature of 1909 failed to appropriate the usual funds for the maintenance of the three Normal schools located at Weston, Monmouth, and Ashland. This caused an appeal through the initiative to the voters of the State. There are no arguments on file against the measures, but three quite vigorous and interesting pleas in their favor presented by the alumni of each institution. The value of the Normal School plants owned by the State and now idle from lack of appropriations

is given as \$60,000 in Ashland, \$75,000 in Monmouth, and \$100,000 in Weston.

The Ashland Alumni said in part:

For 20 years Oregon recognized the Normal School idea, and in 1909 Oregon compared favorably with other Western States, the attendance at the Normal Schools then being 775. . . . Educators agree that numerous Normal Schools located in different parts of the State furnish the best opportunity for successful training of teachers. They also agree that the highest efficiency in the Normal School is reached with an institution of from 200 to 300 attendance. . . . In such a school the facilities for training school practice are at their best.

The Weston committee said in part when speaking of its school:

Its loss is felt, as the supply of teachers is now inadequate in this part of the State. Many of its former students and other young people of Oregon have gone to Washington and Idaho normals.

The Monmouth committee said in part:

The Normal School is no longer an experiment; every State in the Union, save and except Oregon, has from one to nineteen. . . . It [the Monmouth School] has within its alumni more than 1,000 members whose work has been felt throughout the Northwest.

Equal Suffrage.

The proposed Constitutional amendment omits the word "male," and adds the words:

It is expressly provided hereby that no citizen who is a taxpayer shall be denied the right to vote on account of sex.

The committee of twelve women who favor the amendment, in their argument, say in part:

Women under present industrial conditions, forced upon them by circumstances beyond their control, are compelled to compete with men for a livelihood in rapidly increasing numbers every year. A disfranchised class, brought necessarily into ruinous competition with an enfranchised class, creates demoralization in business, and works especial hardship upon all men and women who toil for a livelihood, thus adding an ever increasing menace to the stability of the home. Women who are supported in idleness and luxury do not feel the need of the ballot, and some of them say they do not desire it. But that is no reason why they should seek to deprive other women of their right of choice.

The committee of fifteen women who oppose the amendment, in their argument, say in part:

Women and children are citizens and persons. The only effect of the foregoing proposed amendment, therefore, is to take the word "male" out of the qualifications of the voters and give the ballot to women. The last clause in the proposed amendment about tax-paying women is pure buncombe. It adds nothing and detracts nothing from the preceding provisions.

They also quote from the woman novelist, "Ouida," and from Cardinal Gibbons in opposition to woman suffrage.

Temperance.

For several years prior to the time when Oregon secured direct legislation the temperance people of that State had tried in vain to secure a liquor local option law. When, however, direct legislation prevailed the desired law was in 1904 at once passed, being one of the first measures ever enacted in the United States without the intervention of a legislature. In 1906 and 1908 bills were introduced by initiative petition to amend the local option law, but were rejected by increasing majorities at the polls.

The liquor war, however, continues unabated. Many of the temperance people desire State prohibition, while the liquor interests and others who claim to be temperance people wish no change in the law as it now stands. An amendment for State prohibition and a drastic law for its enforcement have been proposed and will be voted upon next November. To offset this the opposition have presented an amendment to the constitution to give cities and towns the exclusive power to regulate the liquor business subject to the provisions of the present local option law of the State.

The arguments which are interesting and able are presented by various bodies—the Oregon Anti-Saloon League and the Oregon Dry Campaign Committee on the one side, and Greater Oregon Home Rule Association on the other side.

Taxation.

Three tax amendments will be voted upon in November, two proposed by the State Grange in 1909, and one offered by the State Federation of Labor. Among other things the last amendment abolishes any poll or head tax, which the labor committee in their argument denounce as “the most odious and unjust of all taxes, . . . unjust because it bears so unequally on men in proportion to their ability to pay.” These tax amendments are fully discussed in *The Public* of Sept. 20 (page 918), by W. G. Eggleston, a member of the People’s Power League of Oregon.

Employers’ Liability.

A bill for the protection of laborers in hazardous employments has been offered by the Oregon State Federation of Labor for a vote in November next. In their argument for the bill it is said in part:

The only factor in the production of social wealth which is not protected in any sense whatever is labor. Babies are born without limit and must live, and there are always plenty waiting to take the dead man’s shoes. . . . Ten per cent of electrical workers are killed. It is a more hazardous employment than war. The same may be said of workers on bridges and high steel frame structures.

There is no negative argument to this bill presented, but another bill to create a board of nine commissioners “to examine the subject of employes’ indemnity” is offered without affirmative argument. In the argument against the bill signed

by the Federation of Labor it is asserted as their opinion that the bill is “a mere pretext, or blind, intended to head off the law proposed by the initiative at this election in favor of employes engaged in hazardous occupations, which is the very law the Employers’ Association [the promoters of this commission bill] defeated at the last legislature.”

Good Roads.

An amendment to the Constitution is presented permitting counties by vote of the people to incur indebtedness beyond \$5,000 to build permanent roads, and an argument for the amendment is presented showing the value of good roads to the farmer. No opposing argument appears.

Political.

A bill is offered creating a convention to revise the State Constitution. The People’s Power League (Hon. W. S. U’Ren, secretary) presents an argument against the bill on the ground that “the railroad, street railroad, telephone, express companies and other special interests behind this scheme for a Constitutional convention” hope to form a new Constitution “leaving out the initiative, referendum, and recall.”

A Constitutional amendment is proposed to provide a separate district for the election of each State Senator and each State Representative. This amendment is also opposed by the People’s Power League on the ground that it is an attempt to defeat proportional representation which Oregon adopted in 1908.

The People’s Power League introduces two bills and two proposed Constitutional amendments—one to extend direct primaries to Presidential nominations, one a plan for the election of the legislature by proportional representation and with a six year term, one to provide for the publication of an Official Gazette every two months, and one to allow three-fourths of a jury to render a verdict in civil cases. These have elaborate arguments in their favor of about twelve pages in all. All but the last of these measures have negative arguments presented, in one case the charge being made that the “measure is proposed by a group of men whose leaders are disgruntled because they were not sent as delegates to the Chicago convention in 1908. . . . They are now attempting to vent their spleen upon the taxpayers of Oregon.” In another case, opposing the Official Gazette, citizens are asked to “vote ‘no’ and keep this freak measure off the statute books of our State.”

Eastern Oregon’s Climate.

The bill for the establishment of a branch insane asylum in eastern Oregon is supported by an argument in which, after speaking of the State’s rapid growth, it is said in part:

California has asylums in six localities, Washington two and Idaho two. . . . Eastern Idaho with its greater elevation and dry and invigorating climate, together with a large preponderance of sunshine and

pure water, make the location ideal from a sanitary and healthful standpoint; in fact, our section has all the health-giving qualities that have proven such a valuable resource to Colorado.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

BOOKS

VILLARD'S LIFE OF JOHN BROWN

John Brown, 1800-1859: A Biography, Fifty Years After. By Oswald Garrison Villard, A. M., Litt. D. Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston. 1910. Price \$5 net.

The hero of Kansas and of Harper's Ferry has had many biographers, but Mr. Villard's book is likely to be for all time the authoritative work upon that most picturesque figure in American history. Details of fact as Mr. Villard has gathered and sifted them will no doubt be questioned, and his appraisal of John Brown's character, and of his conduct as a whole and in specific instances, will fail to command the assent of many readers now, and of some hereafter; but no candid man can deny the fair and painstaking spirit with which the facts have been sought and weighed, and the temperance, wisdom and charity with which the biographer has judged the character of his subject. In wealth of detail, in the careful citation of authorities, and the impartial quotation of evidence and opinion, the work far surpasses anything upon John Brown that we have seen.

Mr. Villard has no foolishly exalted notion as to the appropriate eloquence of historic style, but he recognizes the great dramatic moments in John Brown's career, and records them in a worthy fashion. Long as the book is, it could not well have been shorter; and few intelligent, truth-seeking readers will find it in any part dull.

Almost every fact and incident of John Brown's life, almost every phase of his character, and his motives upon all occasions, have been the subject of eager and acrimonious debate. Perhaps the questions most earnestly disputed are those concerned with his business career and character, the length of time during which his plan for the emancipation of the slaves by force was a main preoccupation, the midnight killings on the Pottawotomie, the mixture of motive in connection with the Harper's Ferry raid, and the plausibility of his hope that the raid would really result in a rapid freeing of the slaves in accordance with his plan. Upon all these matters Mr. Villard presents a mass of carefully weighed evidence, and we think his conclusions are in the main irresistible.

The author fails to find any convincing evidence that John Brown entertained for more than ten or twelve years a steadfast and clearly con-

ceived purpose of attempting to free the slaves by some such plan as he put into execution at Harper's Ferry. Any one who reads Sanborn's fascinating biography of John Brown must find it exceedingly difficult to discover in its pages the facts upon which the biographer bases his conclusion that Brown had entertained some such plan unswervingly for more than twenty-five years. Mr. Villard's conclusion upon this point is presented in the most convincing fashion.

Writing with the greatest desire for fairness, and with the utmost charity, Mr. Villard is forced to admit that John Brown did commit a serious breach of trust when handling a large sum of money turned over to him by others in his character as a wool factor. The transaction does not seem to have differed materially in its moral aspect from instances in which bankers and others have used speculatively or, otherwise money not their own with the full intention and expectation of making it good to the owners, though Mr. Villard does not draw any such parallel. We think, however, Mr. Villard is not sufficiently impressed with a certain largeness of vision that Brown exhibited in his business plans. In business he was not quite the mere thing that we call visionary, but rather a far-sighted man whose plans often failed through the unscrupulousness of competitors, or the unfavorable condition of the times. Some of his transactions in Ohio the biographer finds reprehensible, but almost excusable.

As to the Doyle and other murders on the Pottawotomie, Mr. Villard is extremely detailed, extremely careful as to the weighing of evidence, and definite though in the main charitable in his conclusion that "no plea can be made that will enable him to escape coming before the bar of historical judgment." Possibly Mr. Villard has not sufficiently allowed for the mental disturbance accompanying the awful period of distress, danger and struggle that led up to the murders. We are inclined to believe, in part from Mr. Villard's own evidence, that John Brown's fervor and exaltation of that time came nigh to madness. His extreme reticence afterward as to his bloodthirsty eagerness of the time, something that he had never exhibited before going to Kansas, indicates the natural revulsion of his cooler moments, and it is hard not to read in his concern to avoid unnecessary bloodshed at Harper's Ferry a symptom of remorse for the hideous night on the Pottawotomie.

The biographer finds that John Brown really hoped success for his fantastic scheme of attack at Harper's Ferry and of maintaining a ridiculous camp of freed slaves in the mountains under an equally ridiculous form of government, but that he faced with calmness and joy the probable martyrdom as the alternative of success, and as only another form of success. As to the execution of

the raid itself, it proves, as Mr. Villard abundantly shows, the unfitness of John Brown for any warfare involving plan and foresight, but as to the utter heroism and disinterestedness of the man, Mr. Villard fully agrees with all intelligent historians, and with the unwilling admissions of some conspicuous Southerners and their Northern sympathizers.

Mr. Villard examines with care the accusations as to the undue, and as many have thought, cruel and indecent hastening of John Brown's trial, and while he thinks Governor Wise blundered in not giving the prisoner more time to prepare for trial, he exonerates the official world of Virginia from the bitterest accusations of the period. He shows, indeed, that there was a somewhat surprising humanity in the attitude of the Virginians toward their chief prisoner and his companions, except in the pursuit of those who attempted to escape. The mighty power of courage, sincerity and unselfish devotion to a cause was marvelously exemplified in the attitude of a part of the Southerners and their sympathizers who came in contact with John Brown, and nearly fifty years later a Southerner on being asked by a New Englander what he regarded as the most dramatic incident in American history, promptly answered, "John Brown's raid, by far." Mr. Villard has omitted one of the most surprising tributes of the time to the heroism and sincerity of Brown. It is not the avenger of Kansas, but the devotee of the gallows in Virginia that men will love in John Brown, thinks Mr. Villard. What will probably be accepted in all future time as a truthful estimate of John Brown's adventure at Harper's

Ferry, is summed up by the author at the close of this very notable volume in these eloquent words: "And so, whenever there is battling against injustice and aggression, the Charlestown gallows that became a cross will help men to live and die. The story of John Brown will ever confront the spirit of despotism, when men are struggling to throw off the shackles of social, political, or physical slavery. His own country, while admitting his mistakes without undue palliation or excuse, will forever acknowledge the divine that was in him by the side of what was human and faulty, and blind and wrong. It will cherish the memory of the prisoner of Charlestown in 1859 as at once a sacred, a solemn and an inspiring American heritage."

EDWARD N. VALLANDIGHAM.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—World Corporation. By King Camp Gillette. Published by the New England News Co., Boston. Price, \$1.00, postpaid.

—The History of the Telephone. By Herbert N. Casson. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1910. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Social Justice. By Percy Vivian Jones. Published by the Cochrane Publishing Co., Tribune Building, New York. 1910. Price, \$1.50. Postage, 12 cents.

—Suggestion. Spiritism. Clairvoyance. Hindu Philosophy. Psychic Science Series, Numbers 5, 6, 7 and 8. By Edward B. Warman. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., New York. 1910. Price, each 50 cents, net.

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PERIODICALS

A Consular Report.

One-half the land in Sweden is in wood, 51,000,000 acres, and one-third of this wooded land is owned by the state. The Forest Service controls most of the forests both public and private, and, under recent legislation, enforces economical lumbering upon penalty of confiscation. (United States Consular Reports, October 14. Bureau of Manufactures, Washington, D. C.)

+ +

The Outlook.

In its October monthly edition, The Outlook (New York) is notable for a good editorial defense by Theodore Roosevelt, of his speech in criticism of the Supreme Court. He identifies himself with Lincoln, but holds aloof from Bryan and Altgeld, whom he denounced with bitterness when they set the good example he follows now.—One editorial might be called a purring protest against criticisms of the regime of Diaz in Mexico, as if he were the Mexican people whom we must not offend.—What gives most value to this issue of The Outlook is the late Senator Dolliver's excellent article on "The Forward Movement in the Republican Party." If a more statesmanlike and genuine democratic contribution has ever appeared in The Outlook it has not been our good fortune to see it. Every public spirited man and woman should read Senator Dolliver's article. It is a rich legacy to his party and his country.

+ + +

There are sections on Ninth avenue in which you can get any sort of a game you want and when you want it, says the New York correspondent of the Cincinnati Times-Star. In those sections the police sometimes walk in pairs and prefer the middle of the street. It was down there that the word came to the district station house the other night that "Frankie O'Donnell is on the war pat'. He's licked Casey and

Cahoon, and says he's comin' up to bust the green lights offen the station house."

The coppers of that district know Mr. O'Donnell. He is somewhat smaller than a moving van, and has muscles like ships' cables. When he works he is a professional strong man. "Rocks is broke on me chist," Mr. O'Donnell will tell you, wiping a moist face with a large hand in modesty. "An' I pull out spikes w' me teet,' and juggle anvils, and dat sort of ting."

Much of the time Mr. O'Donnell does not work,

Marriage

The remainder of the first edition of the "Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce," by Louis F. Post, wherein the subject of divorce is treated only incidentally, the main theme being the

Ethical Principles of Marriage,

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From Review in The Outlook of April 7, 1906: "A high ideal of marriage is the starting point of this monograph by Mr. Louis F. Post;" and "it should be said that the emphasis of Mr. Post's argument is rightly laid on the ideal conception with which it begins and ends: 'Marriage-love is not complete in any case until, aglow with mutual association and service, it radiates outward in democratic service to others.'"

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We have already used about 50,000. The folder is doing good work—it advertises The Public effectively and is not objectionable. Address

THE PUBLIC, 205 Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago, Ill.

because of an unconquerable liking for what goes by the name of "third rail" on Ninth avenue. Two drinks would make a duck fight a bulldog. When Mr. O'Donnell is pickled he is cruel to the cops. When word comes to the station house that Mr. O'Donnell has made war medicine, the captain wearily sends out the reserves, and notifies Bellevue to have the ambulance and two beds ready on call. On this occasion the reserves trotted with resignation toward that part of Ninth avenue that Mr. O'Donnell was making hideous. Just as they got in sight of a swirling mass in the middle of the street they

saw a small, withered and aged woman, with a steel blue eye, belligerently thrust herself into the mass.

"You, Frankie," said the small woman with the blue eye, "you come wit' me. I'll jist about tan the hide of yez for this, me boy."

"Yis, mother," said Mr. O'Donnell, meekly. "I'm comin'. Nix pullin' any of that rough stuff here on the street, mother. Wait till we git home."

It was with blithe countenances that the reserves trotted back to the station house. "It's all right now," they reported. "Frankie's ma has got him."
—Chicago Inter Ocean.

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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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