

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Roosevelt's Political Creed.

"One of the greatest pronouncements ever made by a public or private citizen." It is not strange that Gifford Pinchot should thus have characterized Theodore Roosevelt's speech at Osawatomie. For Mr. Pinchot is intensely democratic, and in this speech Mr. Roosevelt struck some of the highest notes of democracy—though not with purity of tone, yet sharply and vigorously.

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If Mr. Pinchot had put his characterization of that speech in the superlative, as *the* greatest, which is probably what he felt, it would not even then have been remarkable. For his own democracy has been awake hardly long enough to qualify him for making comparisons. Without going back to Lincoln, whose democracy was related concretely to other political issues than ours, as great if not greater pronouncements directly upon the political issues of the present have been made by William J. Bryan, by John P. Altgeld, by George Fred Williams, by Henry George, and by many less distinguished men, all of whom Mr. Roosevelt has despised and some of whom he would have liked to hang simply because they made those pronouncements. Yet they were the same pronouncements in kind as his own at Osawatomie. In so far as they differ from Roosevelt's, it is in their freedom from "weasel words." Omit from his Osawatomie speech its Rooseveltian "buts," and its

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over emphasis of the minor delinquencies of workmen in order to balance the major offenses of the privileged, and one might suspect Mr. Roosevelt of having borrowed it, its socialistics included, from some scrapbook of Bryan's speeches or from Altgeld's volume of "Live Questions."

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A word of explanation about Mr. Roosevelt's over emphasis of workingmen's delinquencies. Of course mob violence should be frowned down and forced down. Of course poor workingmen, as well as rich capitalists, should be punished for crime. But when the workingman's crime is in the nature of impulsive resistance by impoverished and unsophisticated masses to capitalistic aggressions, which they feel keenly but do not understand (neither does Mr. Roosevelt, by the way), and when the burning question is not the secondary and resulting offenses of these masses but the primary capitalistic offenses from which they result—when in those circumstances a popular idol takes special pains to condemn in as loud a voice the resulting secondary and minor offenses as the generating primary and major offenses, his friends must not be surprised or offended if his good faith as a popular leader be suspected. If they themselves have suspected the good faith of Bryan and Altgeld and Williams and George, whose democratic speeches and writings were not honeycombed with "weasel words," how can they complain of the effect upon his reputation of Mr. Roosevelt's "weasel words" habit?

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Nevertheless, Mr. Roosevelt at Osawatomie did make declarations of a kind which, if he—as he moves eastward out of the political atmosphere of Kansas, where those sentiments shot through his lips—gives evidence of growing toward them instead of away from them, will evidently make him the leading figure of the new American democracy, whether it gain possession of an old party or clothe itself in a new one. Many will be glad to fall in line behind him; the rest of us may have to, or look on uselessly from the galleries.

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But if we read the signs of the times aright, the political revolt which Mr. Roosevelt's friends so fondly hope he may decide to lead, and which is rapidly bringing on a friendly appreciation by one another of democratic Democrats and democratic Republicans, is not a personal affair. No leader now in either party can make this movement or mar it, or lead it helplessly up some blind

alley or other. It is itself a living thing, which will survey its own course, and if it cannot borrow old leaders will train new ones. We do not believe that the Insurgents of Kansas and Iowa and California and Ohio and Illinois and Wisconsin—the La Follettes, the Cumminses and the Dollivers, the Bristows and the Whites and the Murdocks, the Johnsons and the Kents, the Garfields or the Pinchots, or any of their kind anywhere—will put all the Insurgent eggs into any man's market basket. At least we do not wish to believe it. They doubtless have become enthusiastically hopeful from the Osawatomie speech, but we misinterpret both the men and the movement that has caught them up, if they surrender it to Roosevelt or anyone else or continue long to live upon hope. The rising curtain on the political drama does not to us disclose Roosevelt as sitting in judgment on the new American democracy; it discloses the new American democracy as sitting in judgment upon him.

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Progressive Politics in Spokane.

Out in Washington, east of the mountains, William Mathews is a Democratic candidate for the lower house of the legislature, and another of the same political mould, E. R. Weeks, is a candidate for the senate in the same district. What their mould is may be inferred from Mr. Mathews' platform as we find it in the Review of Spokane. He will stand for the Democratic nominee for United States Senator as long as there is any reasonable prospect of his election, and then for the Republican Insurgent; he is for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people and in the meantime favors the Oregon plan; he favors direct legislation, including the initiative, referendum and recall; he is for a State and national conservation policy that will not only prevent further concentration of natural resources into corporate and monopolistic control, but compel either use or disgorgement; and as natural bounties monopolized are far more valuable and numerous than those still in the public domain, he "would place a tax upon unused lands, according to actual selling value and sufficient to make it very unprofitable to hold them in idleness for purely monopolistic and speculative purposes."

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Governor Harmon.

Some of the reports of Roosevelt's circle-swinging speeches quoted him as attacking Gov. Harmon of Ohio for not putting down the Columbus street car strike with a high and Rooseveltian

hand. If this was Roosevelt's meaning the verdict should be for Harmon. Columbus despatches told of his calling out State troops to preserve the public peace, but refusing to man the cars with them for the private purpose of serving a traction company. In this course Gov. Harmon set an example of respect for the law which is quite unique among "law and order" officials. For that as well as for his almost forgotten straight-forward decision against Paul Morton for a crime of which President Roosevelt had apparently expected him to exonerate Morton, Gov. Harmon deserves praise without stint. He also identified himself modestly with anti-imperialism. If the qualities thus indicated were the only ones needed in national affairs at this time, Harmon's Presidential aspirations might well command enthusiastic support.

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But more is needed now for Presidential timber than democracy of the traditional type and conventional honesty with reference to individual relationships. Both are needed. They have been scarce enough in both parties these many years. But much is needed besides—much that Gov. Harmon does not possess. His refusal to use his influence with the Democratic convention for a Senatorial nomination, as Bryan rightly urged him to; his refusal to back up the promise of the platform on which he was elected Governor, regarding the initiative and referendum to which it had pledged him; his long affiliation with the worst elements of influence in the Democratic party in Cincinnati; his aloofness from every progressive movement and tendency in Ohio and the nation—all this goes to stamp him as a man who, however excellent for party leadership his good qualities might have made him some years ago, is utterly unfit for any but reactionary leadership now.

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Lost—Mr. Armour.

The Chicago papers report that the local taxing authorities are unable to find J. Ogden Armour's home for taxing purposes. Have they searched the Mayor's office? That is said to be his home for politico-business purposes. Some say he is really the Mayor, the word "busse" being cabalistic.

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The Enemies He Has.

To paraphrase an old saw for a better and truer use, one cannot say that all the political enemies of William J. Bryan are plutocrats, for that wouldn't be true; but it is true enough that all plutocrats are his political enemies. Of three

men—a democrat, a plutocrat and a plutagogue—each of unknown party politics, the gambling chances would at least be even that the democrat believes in Bryan, and 100 to 1 that the plutocrat and the plutagogue would be against him.

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Land Values Taxation in Oregon.

The tables of taxation for every county in Oregon, in the "People's Power and Public Taxation" pamphlet of Oregon (pp. 746, 761) which the Fels Fund has paid for and which is to be sent to every registered voter in Oregon, are alone of inestimable value as promoters of good thinking and right voting on tax questions. By way of example, take the first table, that for Baker county, at page 41 of the pamphlet:

Assessments and Taxes Under Two Systems in Baker County.

BAKER COUNTY Tax Levy in 1909 was \$301,567.16. To figure your own taxes, see rule on page 76.	How the General Property Tax System worked in 1909. Total is within \$20 of tax actually levied.		Results if Land Value Tax System had been in use in 1909; within \$3 of tax actually levied.	
	Assessment.	Taxes.	Assessment.	Taxes.
Farmers' lands....	\$ 4,268,095	\$ 79,045	\$1,002,958	\$ 40,319
Far m buildings, stock and imple- ments	1,953,108	36,171	Exempt.	No Tax.
Speculators' lands.	1,899,797	35,184	1,899,797	76,372
Improved city lots.	759,942	14,074	759,942	30,540
Improvements on city lots.....	1,602,954	29,686	Exempt.	No Tax.
Speculators' city lots	759,943	14,074	759,943	30,549
Franchise corpora- tions	3,079,139.	57,025	3,079,139	123,781
Other assessments and taxes.....	1,961,442	36,325	Exempt.	No Tax.
Total under each system	\$16,284,240	\$301,587	\$7,501,779	\$301,570

Taxes Saved by Farmers, Business and Labor Under Land Value Tax System Are Paid by—

Speculators' lands.....	\$ 41,264
Speculators' city lots.....	16,476
Franchise corporations	66,756
Total increase on franchise corporations and lot and land speculators.....	\$124,496

Who Gets Benefits of Land Value Tax System.

Farmers save on land taxes.....	\$ 39,726
Farmers save in taxes on improvements and per- sonal property	36,171
Total saved by farmers.....	\$ 75,897
Owners of improvements on city lots save.....	13,221
Other savings by business and labor.....	36,325

Total savings to farmers, business and labor by
Land Value tax system.....\$125,443

Thus it is shown from an actual example, that in Baker county, Oregon, the tax which Henry George recommended and which rich monopolists have fooled farmers into a fear of, would save the farmers of that county \$75,000 and odd—nearly \$76,000—a year. Every other Oregon county offers a similar showing. The difference is made

up by higher taxes on land speculators and franchise corporations. This Oregon book is worth studying, if only for its tables of comparison of general property taxation with land values taxation. A copy would doubtless be sent to any applicant, but as this entails expense a small contribution ought to go with the application, which may be made to William S. U'Ren of Oregon City, Oregon.

* * *

"FIGHTING BOB'S" FOLLY.

When we contemplate the ordinary lives of naval officers, with their dressings and undressings, their elaborate etiquette, their calls of ceremony on each other, accompanied by the banging of guns and the salutation of free men—obliged to wear low necked shirts and trained to servile manœuvres,—as well as their representative functions here and abroad, at dinner tables and in ball rooms, where they accept homage and distribute buttons to the girls, perhaps we may be inclined to think somewhat lightly of the profession and to reckon that, considering the vast amounts paid out for the maintenance and enjoyment of these gentlemen, it is somewhat too expensive.—But when they come to put pen to paper, the true value of the genuine sea-dog is apparent and we feel that he can't come too high! An illustration occurs in a book called "An Admiral's Log," by Robley D. Evans, "Fighting Bob," which touches upon the Philippines as well as many other places visited in the author's naval cruises.

The author records that on one occasion he met in Manila a Filipino of such quality and condition that he was likely to have a great deal of influence with his countrymen. This gentleman dwelt earnestly upon the dissatisfaction which is generally felt with the American rule, and asserted that the Spanish rule had been in every way preferable. Admiral Evans says that he pointed out to this Filipino in defense of the American position, that very important sanitary conditions had been established by the Americans. To his astonishment the Filipino hotly rejoined that his people would have much preferred waiting for their sewerage system until they were ready to put it in themselves, rather than have it done for them by a foreigner. Then "Fighting Bob" comments: "There was no use talking to such a fool. I could have told him that his fellow-countrymen would soon come to a different conclusion, or, if they did not do so willingly, I would vouch for it that bullets and bayonets would make them." How could we do without a service which

develops such broadmindedness, wisdom and kindness of heart?

ERVING WINSLOW.

* * *

A DUBIOUS RECOMMENDATION.

John Hays Hammond's enthusiastic commendation of President Taft recalls a White House incident of nearly sixty years ago of which Gen. Benjamin F. Butler used to tell. It was in the days when an appointment to Great Britain as American minister was regarded in political circles as the final preparation for Presidential honors, the foreign position being sufficiently exalted, yet comfortably remote from political battle fields where enemies are made. The appointment of James Buchanan to that post by President Pierce was therefore suspected to be part of an arrangement for putting Buchanan into the running for President. While calling at the White House after Buchanan's appointment, Butler happened to remark to Pierce: "Well, Mr. President, I see you have decided not to be your own successor." "Why?" asked Pierce. "Because you have put Buchanan in training for it," Butler replied. "But I have guarded myself," the President explained, as he fished from some receptacle a letter from Buchanan promising that if appointed minister to Great Britain he would leave the Presidential race open to Pierce. Having read the letter Butler commented with a story. "That letter reminds me," he said, "of a court room incident in Massachusetts. Judge —— was a very kind-hearted, extremely sensitive man, whose first judicial experience with crime was in the case of a youngster of respectable antecedents and agreeable personality who had been convicted and stood before this sympathetic judge for sentence. The judge announced a term of years in the State's prison, tears rolling down his cheeks, and then he spoke kindly to the prisoner, saying: 'This is hard for us both, my boy, and it will be hard for you during these coming years; but be a good prisoner and a good man while you are there, and when your term expires, I am sure the warden of the State's prison will give you a certificate of good character.' 'Judge,' the prisoner interrupted, 'that would be a useful certificate to travel on, wouldn't it?'" As Butler applied the anecdote to President Pierce's reliance on Buchanan's unpublishable letter, the last words of that prisoner and the first words of this editorial are somewhat similar in their suggestiveness.

* * *

The truth is that God gave all things in common to men for their use.—Pufendorf.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

**THE DIRECT LEGISLATION CAMPAIGN
IN ARKANSAS.**

Little Rock, Ark.

It would be illuminating indeed for all good Republicans in Northern States, who regard direct legislation with suspicion on the ground that it is a "Bryan Democrat scheme," to visit Arkansas just now, where an amendment to the State constitution providing for the Initiative and Referendum is an active issue to be decided by the voters at the polls September 12. For Arkansas is as insanely Democratic as Pennsylvania is Republican, and the aforesaid Republican conservative who thinks with his prejudices instead of his brains would be astonished to find a persistent opposition to the Initiative and Referendum by Democratic politicians.

Strangely enough, these valiant champions of "un-terrified Democracy" are opposed to direct legislation, to judge from their talk, for the identical reasons which lead the followers of Lincoln to combat it; to-wit, "the people are not intelligent enough," "it is a Populist idea," "the Socialists are for it," "the Niggers could vote;" and then follows the wearying list of the terrible things—the confusion, anarchy and all—which might happen if these "dangerous powers" were given to the people.

This is the underground talk which is spread among the upper classes. When it comes to the common people more adroit methods must of course be adopted. Here appear, then, the ancient and formidable objections to "this particular amendment," set forth with due gravity by most eminent and praiseworthy pillars of the law, the church and society, all of whom are heartily "in favor of the principle"—but! "the percentages on petition are too low," "the majority required to enact a law by the initiative is entirely too small," it contains the constitutional initiative which would allow most direful things to happen to our "organic law" and upset that venerable and sacred document, the constitution.

Further still an alarming "joker" has been discovered. It is set up that under this amendment towns could "vote in" whisky, gambling, horse racing, etc., in spite of State laws; and a prominent religious editor has been induced to come out against "Amendment 10" on the ground that it is a "gamblers' and saloonkeepers' scheme." Since the "wet" vote of the State will go solidly against the amendment, it is sadly amusing to see this ardent champion of prohibition solemnly calling out in a recent editorial, "Men of God, rally and defeat Amendment No. 10!" when the amendment itself is the only hope he can have to achieve State-wide prohibition. Which again demonstrates the political acumen of the average preacher, long on moral enthusiasm and short on economic facts and political maneuvering.

The real sources of all this opposition, here as elsewhere, are the big corporations, through their adroit lawyers and political tools. The leading Democratic newspaper of the State, "The Gazette," of Little Rock, is the subservient tool of the privileged

interests and is in violent opposition to the amendment; and in charming corporation consistency it is chanting the editorials of the Plunderbund organ of the northwest, "The Oregonian" of Portland, against the whole system. Fully two-thirds of the newspapers of the State are silent or in opposition, but the other third are doing fairly good work. Not more than 25 editors are intelligently and valiantly fighting for the amendment.

A good force in the struggle is the influence of Governor Donaghey, who has not only passively but actively supported the Initiative and Referendum throughout his political career. The labor unions give their usual support, but the most potent favorable factor and the one on which victory depends is the Farmers' Union. This organization has over 1,300 local bodies in the State with a large membership. But like all farmers, they are slow to act, and whether they can be stirred into enough activity to win is problematical.

The amendment must receive for its adoption a majority of the votes cast at the election, and the uncast vote may be responsible for its defeat, since the amendment will be supported by at least two to one by the intelligent citizens who vote upon it.

The indications are that it will be adopted or defeated by a narrow margin, and the deciding factor will probably be the effect which the "joker" scare has upon the temperance people.

The Democratic State committee has done nothing for the amendment, nor will, and as far as they are concerned it will be lost in the scramble for office.

GEORGE JUDSON KING.

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**THE INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE
CONGRESS.**

Antwerp, Belgium.

The second International Free Trade Congress (vol. xii, p. 1153) was held here August 9 to 11. Nearly every important European and many other countries were represented, and of the nearly 700 accredited delegates, about 400 were in attendance. Of Great Britain's 60 or 70 delegates present, at least 20 were representatives of the United Committees for the Taxation of Land Values and of the English and of the Scottish Leagues for the Taxation of Land Values. Those present from the United States included R. R. Bowker, Mr. and Mrs. Louis R. Ehrlich, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fels, Byron W. Holt, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Hoopes, Mr. Harvey N. Shepard and daughter.

Papers were presented on six different topics. Dr. Carl von Tyszka, of Germany, discussed price statistics showing the heavy burden that Protection is placing on the working people of Germany. As a result there has been a fall in the per capita consumption of the higher forms of food and an increase in that of the lower forms.

Professor Lujo Brentano, of Munich, made an address, showing that out of 45 millions paid by the German people as increase in food prices only five go to the national revenue, the remaining 40 going to the landed or protected interest. Prices of land have, consequently, risen enormously. Protection,

then, by increasing the rent of agricultural land has made it progressively harder for the cultivator.

Senator Pulsford, of Australia, submitted a paper showing that an abundance of crops and the tariff of 1901-2 had "swept out of existence all duties between the various States," and Protection is apparently not causing much suffering. He noted, however, that there is a tendency under the recently increased customs rates, to substitute inferior for superior goods.

Dr. B. Basket, of England, after commenting on the recent remarkable declaration of the farmers of Canada that they were unwilling to seek any advantage in tariff favors which would involve the raising of food prices to the mass of the British people, proposed that the Congress send a message of congratulation to these enlightened farmers. It was agreed to unanimously.

On the second day some striking testimony as to the results of Protection were given by several European speakers. Mr. B. Rosenfeld, who owns earthenware factories both in England and Austria, forcibly contrasted the commercial conditions of the two countries. Austria has heavy duties on every kind of machinery, and yet in spite of the Protection thus enjoyed by home manufacturers, his firm was able to send English boilers for their Austrian works at a lower cost than Austrian boilers could be got for. And yet his English workmen received one-third more in wages than his Austrian workmen.

Mr. George N. Barnes, the English labor leader, in the course of a lively speech, defended "dumping" as a benefit to his country. The more such countries as Germany and America dumped their goods in England the better it was for everybody but the monopolist. As a working engineer he held to the principle of free trade because it gave the workers cheaper and better food, prevented the growth of trusts and promoted international peace.

Mr. Joseph Fels, of Philadelphia and London, declared that owing to the tariff of 5 cents a pound on borax in America, there was a great difference between the prices of borax in England and America. As a result he had at times found it cheaper to purchase American borax in England, ship it back to America, manufacture it into soap and get the duty back in the form of a drawback when the soap is exported. In one instance he bought 50 tons (long) in England at 14 pounds per ton (3.1 cents per pound) when the price quoted to him in America was 7 cents per pound. Since making this statement Mr. Fels has been informed by the agent of the borax trust—the Borax Consolidated of London—that he did not buy United States borax in England but borax from South America. The fact that the American brand—the "20-mule team"—had been used on the borax sold in England had deceived Mr. Fels. However, as the Borax Consolidated is an international trust and includes the United States trust, it is immaterial whether the borax bought by Mr. Fels was produced in North or South America. The essential fact is that the trust charges 4 cents more per pound for its borax in protected America than it does in free-trade England.

Miss Dorothy Hunter, who is a prominent English Free Trade propagandist, assured the meeting that the British working classes were in no danger of fall-

ing back on Protection. The Protectionists, however, were active and were using the most contradictory arguments, promising the city artisans that Protection would not raise prices, and promising the farmers that Protection would increase the price of their wheat. Protectionism, she declared, amidst loud applause, only appealed to selfish feelings and local interests, whereas Free Trade made for peace, social progress and universal brotherhood.

As chairman of the Tariff Reform Committee of the Reform Club, I presented a paper, sketching the recent history of Protectionism in the United States. I expressed the opinion that the American had, at last, a surfeit of Protection. I quoted statistics showing the tremendous increase in the cost of living since the passage of the Dingley bill in 1897, and criticised the Lodge Committee for not going back more than ten years in its endeavor to learn the causes of the advance in prices. I referred to the Insurgent movement which promises soon to control the Republican party, and also stated that the farmers, who had hitherto been the mainstay of Protection, are beginning to see what a farce it is. I expressed the opinion that the United States would give a good account of itself on the tariff question in the next few years.

The Reform Club had invited the Congress to hold its next meeting (1912) in New York. This proposition, however, on being put to the vote was lost. The majority preferred either Denmark or Holland, in one of which countries (the choice to be made later by the permanent committee) the next Congress will be held.

From a Single Tax standpoint the most interesting and important event of the Congress was the attempt of the officers to prevent discussion of Mr. Verinder's paper, and the successful attempt of Mr. Fels, Mr. Paul and other land value taxers, to force the Congress to permit such a discussion.*

While it is undoubtedly the intention of some of the officials of the Free Trade Congress to exclude all Single Tax papers from future Congresses, it is on the other hand reasonably certain that the Single Tax camel, having gotten its nose into the Free Trade tent, will soon be in possession of the entire Free Trade camp. That is the logic of the situation.

BYRON W. HOLT.

*Report by Mr. Holt and Mr. Hoopes of the International Single Tax Conference at Antwerp, and its action here alluded to, will appear in the next Public.—Editors of The Public.

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What does it matter if the United States is the only civilized country outside of Spain and Bulgaria which does not have a parcels post? We are not compelled to follow the lead of other countries. We are perfectly able to map out our own course of action. Even if we had not the company of Spain and Bulgaria, still we have both the right and the stamina to stand alone and the money to back it up with a big navy if necessary. What does it matter if other countries carry parcels at a much lower rate than we do? We are a Republic, and they are not. Being a Republic, we can charge ourselves as much as we please and it's nobody's business if we do.—Puck.

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, September 6, 1910.

Republican Insurgency.

At the primaries in Wisconsin on the 6th inst., the Insurgent movement under La Follette's leadership swept the State. By 5 to 1, according to the early reports, Senator La Follette was nominated for re-election, carrying all the Insurgent candidates for Congress and State offices with him. Standpaters claim the legislature, however, and predict La Follette's defeat in that body. The democratic Democrats of Wisconsin abandoned their party for La Follette, leaving so small a remnant of the other kind of Democrats that the Democratic party in Wisconsin loses its right to a place on the official ballot at the election.

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In Michigan, where Insurgency was supposed to be hopeless, Senator Burrows (Standpat) was defeated by Charles E. Townsend (Insurgent) by 40,000. In New Hampshire the progressive Republican, Robert P. Bass (brother of John F. Bass of Chicago, and a State senator), was nominated by a large majority, but the Standpat candidate for Congress, Sulloway, was renominated. Insurgent sentiment was expressed at the Vermont election, where the Republican plurality is reported as the smallest, with two exceptions, since 1870.

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Roosevelt's National Speaking Tour.

Arriving at Osawatimie, Kansas, on the 31st, ex-President Roosevelt (pp. 825, 826) made an address in connection with the celebration of the 54th anniversary of the battle of Osawatimie between Missourian raiders and local settlers, the latter under the leadership of John Brown. The celebration began on the 30th with Joseph G. Waters of Topeka as orator of the day. Mr. Roosevelt's address on the 31st was in dedication to the city as a park of the woods where the battle of August 30, 1856, was fought.

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In this address Mr. Roosevelt went farther than before in specific political statement as well as in generalities. Specifically he declared for—

Revision of the tariff; not by its friends or enemies, but by a commission of experts.

Workingmen's compensation laws for injuries, child and women's labor laws, industrial education in the common schools, and sanitary and safety appliance laws for workers.

Graduated income and inheritance taxes.

The direct primary and a corrupt practices act as steps in the direction of making our representatives more quickly and sensitively responsive to the people.

An army and navy big enough to guarantee peace.

Publicity "not only after election but before election as well," of campaign receipts and expenditures. Prompt removal of unfaithful or incompetent public servants in whatever way experience shall show to be most expedient in any given class of cases.

Government supervision of the capitalization of all corporations doing an inter-State business and of all combinations that control necessities of life.

Forbidding every national officer, elected or appointed, to perform any service or receive any compensation directly or indirectly from inter-State corporations, and a similar provision within the States.

Personal responsibility of officers and directors of corporations for law breaking by corporations.

Revision of the financial system.

Development and use of the natural resources of our land for the benefit of all the people of this generation, but without waste or otherwise to the prejudice of future generations, and no monopolization for the benefit of the few.

Among Mr. Roosevelt's more advanced generalizations were the following:

In every wise struggle for human betterment one of the main objects, and often the only object, has been to achieve in larger measure equality of opportunity. In the struggle for this great end nations rise from barbarism to civilization, and through it peoples press forward from one stage of enlightenment to the next. One of the chief factors in progress is the destruction of special privilege. The essence of any struggle for healthy liberty has always been and must always be to take from some one man or class of men the right to enjoy power, or wealth, or position, or immunity, which has not been earned by service to his or their fellows. At many stages in the advance of humanity this conflict between the men who possess more than they have earned and the men who have earned more than they possess is the central condition of progress. In our day it appears as the struggle of free men to gain and hold the right of self-government as against the special interests, who twist the methods of free government into machinery for defeating the popular will. At every stage and under all circumstances the essence of the struggle is to equalize opportunity, destroy privilege and give to the life and citizenship of every individual the highest possible value both to himself and the commonwealth. Practical equality of opportunity for all citizens, when we achieve it, will have two great results. First, every man will have a fair chance to make of himself all that in him lies, to reach the highest point to which his capacities, unassisted by special privilege of his own and unhampered by the special privileges of others, can carry him, and to get for himself and his family substantially what he has earned. Second, equality of opportunity means that the commonwealth will

get from every citizen the highest service of which he is capable. No man who carries the burden of special privileges of another can give to the commonwealth that service to which it is fairly entitled. I stand for the square deal. But when I say that I am for the square deal I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity, and of reward for equally good service. This means that our governments, national and State, must be free from the sinister influence or control of Special Interests. Exactly as the Special Interests of cotton and slavery threatened our political integrity before the Civil War, so now the great Special Business Interests too often control and corrupt the men and methods of government for their own profit. We must drive the Special Interests out of politics. That is one of our tasks today. Every Special Interest is entitled to justice—full, fair and complete. Now, mind you, if there were any attempt by mob violence or in any other way to plunder and work harm to the Special Interest, whatever it may be, that I most dislike, or to the wealthy man, whomsoever he may be, for whom I have the greatest contempt, I would fight for him and so would you if you are worth your salt. He should have justice. Every Special Interest is entitled to justice. But not one is entitled to a vote in Congress, a voice on the bench or to representation in any public office. The Constitution guarantees protection to property, and we must make that promise good. But it does not give the right of suffrage to any corporation. . . . The absence of effective State, and especially national restraint upon unfair money-getting has tended to create a small class of enormously wealthy and economically powerful men, whose chief object is to hold and increase their power. The prime need is to change the conditions which enable these men to accumulate power which it is not for the general welfare that they should hold or exercise. We grudge no man a fortune which represents his own power and sagacity, when exercised with entire regard to the welfare of his fellows. But the fortune must be honorably obtained and well used. It is not even enough that it should have been gained without doing damage to the community. We should permit it to be gained only so long as the gaining represents benefit to the community. This, I know, implies a policy of a far more active governmental interference with social and economic conditions in this country than we have yet had, but I think we have got to face the fact that such an increase in governmental control is now necessary. No man should receive a dollar unless that dollar has been fairly earned. Every dollar received should represent a dollar's worth of service rendered. The really big fortune, the swollen fortune, by the mere fact of its size, acquires qualities which differentiate it in kind as well as in degree from what is possessed by men of relatively small means. . . . We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his

profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it. But I think we may go still further. The right to regulate the use of wealth in the public interest is universally admitted. Let us admit also the right to regulate the terms and conditions of labor, which is the chief element of wealth, directly in the interest of the common good. The fundamental thing to do for every man is to give him the chance to reach a place in which he will make the greatest possible contribution to the public welfare. No man can be a good citizen unless he has a wage more than sufficient to cover the bare cost of living, and hours of labor short enough so that after his day's work is done he will have time and energy to bear his share in the management of the community, to help in carrying the general load. We keep countless men from being good citizens by the conditions of life with which we surround them. . . . In the interest of the workingman himself we need to set our faces like flint against mob violence just as against corporate greed; against violence and injustice and lawlessness by wageworkers just as much as against lawless cunning and greed and selfish arrogance of employers. If I could ask but one thing of my fellow countrymen my request would be that whenever they go in for a reform they always remember the two sides and that they always exact justice from one side as much as from the other. I have small use for the public servant who can always see and denounce the corruption of the capitalist, but who cannot be persuaded, especially before election, to say a word about lawless mob violence. And I have equally small use for the man, be he judge on the bench or editor of a great paper or wealthy and influential private citizen, who can see clearly enough and denounce the lawlessness of mob violence, but whose eyes are blind when the question is one of corruption in business on a gigantic scale. . . . We must have—I believe we have already—a genuine and permanent moral awakening, without which no wisdom of legislation or administration really means anything; and, on the other hand, we must try to secure the social and economic legislation without which any improvement due to purely moral agitation is necessarily evanescent. What we need is good citizens. The prime problem of our nation is to get the right type of citizenship; and to get it we must have progress and all our people must be genuinely progressive.

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One part of the Osawatomic speech has since been interpreted as a suggestion for a third party—a Nationalist party. This part of the speech was as follows:

I do not ask for over-centralization, but I do ask that we work in a spirit of broad and far-reaching nationalism when we work for what concerns our people as a whole. We are all Americans. Our common interests are as broad as the continent. I speak to you here in Kansas exactly as I would speak in New York or Georgia, for the most vital problems are those which affect us all alike. The national

government belongs to the whole American people, and where the whole American people are interested that interest can be guarded effectively only by the national government. The betterment which we seek must be accomplished, I believe, mainly through the national government. The American people are right in demanding that new nationalism without which we cannot hope to deal with new problems. The new nationalism puts the national need before sectional or personal advantage. It is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat national issues as local issues. It is still more impatient of the impotence which springs from the over-division of government powers, the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness or for legal cunning, hired by wealthy special interests, to bring national activities to a deadlock. This new nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare. It demands of the judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property, just as it demands that the representative body shall represent all the people, rather than any one class or section of the people.

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Both Gifford Pinchot and James R. Garfield were on the platform with Mr. Roosevelt at Osawatimie, and both spoke after him. Mr. Pinchot, who characterized the Roosevelt speech as "one of the greatest pronouncements ever made by a public or private citizen," made conservation the keynote of his remarks, saying in this connection that—

every man gets his living from the earth, either directly or indirectly. The amount of wealth or the possible prosperity and well-being of the whole people depends on how we use this earth and what we do with its products. The conservation idea is that all the people ought to get from our natural resources every advantage they can yield, both now and hereafter. But that condition cannot be brought about if the big fellows get an undue share of the wealth of the earth. In no phase of life is there more opportunity for the operation of the principle of square dealing than in that which involves equality of all men and women in sharing in our prosperity. To curtail men's opportunities by allowing a few to control the riches of the earth is essentially wrong. Conservation merely proposes, under such restrictions as are necessary, to work these natural resources so as to give the greatest benefit to every man, woman and child, now and hereafter.

Mr. Garfield, speaking of "special interests of all kinds, whether corporate or otherwise," declared them entitled to just consideration and fair treatment, but not to representation in any public office; for the official who owes his nomination or election to the influence of any special interest will inevitably yield to the demands of his master, as against the public welfare.

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At Kansas City, Mo., on the 1st, Mr. Roosevelt enlarged upon the subject of workmen's compensation laws. At Omaha on the 2d he spoke briefly

and without significance. At Sioux City on the 3d, in the afternoon, he made his first mention of President Taft, commending him for what he had said of the tariff commission in his McKinley letter. The crowd of 6,000 or 7,000 people received these remarks in absolute silence, although they applauded enthusiastically when Mr. Roosevelt commended Congressmen Martin and Hubbard and Senator Dolliver. In his Sioux Falls speech, also on the 3d, Mr. Roosevelt dealt with the tariff, saying:

I believe this country is fully committed to the principle of protection; but it is to protection as a principle, to protection primarily in the interest of the standard of living of the American workingman. I believe that when protection becomes not a principle but a privilege and a preference—or, rather, a jumble of privileges and preferences—then the American people disapprove of it. Now, to correct the trouble, it is necessary, in the first place, to get in mind clearly what we want, and, in the next place, to get in mind clearly the method by which we hope to obtain what we want.

What we want is a square deal in the tariff as in everything else; a square deal for the wage-earner, a square deal for the employer and a square deal for the general public. To obtain it we must have a thoroughly efficient and well-equipped tariff commission. The tariff ought to be a material issue and not a moral issue, but if instead of a square deal we get a crooked deal, then it becomes very emphatically a moral issue. What we desire in a tariff is such a measure of protection as will equalize the cost of production here and abroad, and as the cost of production is mainly labor cost, this means primarily a tariff sufficient to make up for the difference in labor cost here and abroad.

... As a means toward the attainment of the end in view we have as yet devised nothing in any way as effective as a tariff commission. There should be a commission of well-paid experts; men who should not represent any industry; who should be masters of their subjects; of the very highest character; and who should approach the matter with absolute disregard of every outside consideration. These men should take up in succession each subject with which the tariff deals and investigate the conditions of production here and abroad; they should find out the facts and not merely accept the statements of interested parties; and they should report to Congress on each subject as soon as that subject has been covered. Then action can be taken at once on the particular subject concerned, while the commission immediately proceeds to investigate another. By these means log-rolling would be avoided and each subject treated on its merits, while there would be no such shock to general industry as is implied in the present custom of making sweeping changes in the whole tariff at once. Finally, it should be the duty of some governmental department or bureau to investigate the conditions in the various protected industries and see that the laborers really are getting the benefit of the tariff supposed to be enacted in their interest. Moreover, to insure good treatment abroad we should keep the maximum and minimum provision.

Mr. Roosevelt spoke at Fargo on the 5th, where he stated in answer to a questioner that the expenses of his tour are paid by The Outlook, and where his subject was the labor question. On the 6th he spoke at the Conservation Congress in St. Paul.

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National Conservation Congress.

At St. Paul on the 5th the National Conservation Congress (pp. 708, 758) assembled, with Bernard N. Baker as president in the chair. Gov. Eberhart made an address of welcome in behalf of the State of Minnesota, and was followed by President Taft, Gov. Stubbs of Kansas, Gov. Norris of Montana, Gov. Vesey of South Dakota, and Gov. Deneen of Illinois.

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Mr. Taft is reported to have taken sides cautiously with the State's rights as opposed to the national policy of conservation, thereby placing himself in accord with the corporation leaders who oppose the Pinchot-Garfield (and probably the Roosevelt) plans of national conservation. Mr. Taft took this stand specifically in connection with the subject of drainage, saying:

Suggestions have been made that the United States ought to aid in the drainage of swamp lands belonging to the States or private owners, because, if drained, they would be exceedingly valuable for agriculture and contribute to the general welfare by extending the area of cultivation. I deprecate the agitation in favor of such legislation. It is inviting the general government into contribution from its treasury toward enterprises that should be conducted either by private capital or at the instance of the State. In these days there is a disposition to look too much to the Federal government for everything. I am liberal in the construction of the Constitution with reference to Federal power, but I am firmly convinced that the only safe course for us to pursue is to hold fast to the limitations of the Constitution and to regard as sacred the powers of the States.

Regarding the Alaska coal lands (p. 684) Mr. Taft said that in his judgment they — should be opened and that the Pacific slope should be given the benefit of the comparatively cheap coal of fine quality which can be furnished at reasonable prices from these fields; but the public, through the government, ought certainly to retain a wise control and interest in these coal deposits, and I think it may do so safely if Congress will authorize the granting of leases, as already suggested for government coal lands in the United States, with provisions forbidding the transfer of the leases except with the consent of the government, thus preventing their acquisition by a combination or monopoly, and upon limitations as to the area to be included in any one lease to one individual, and at a certain moderate rental, with royalties upon the coal mined proportioned to the market value of the coal either at Seattle or San Francisco.

In the rest of his speech, Mr. Taft discussed the

general conservation subject with reference to the mineral, forest, oil and gas, phosphate, and water power lands belonging to the national government; and made a detailed statement of the withdrawal policy initiated by President Roosevelt, saying on this point that the precedent Mr. Roosevelt set— was followed by the present Administration. Doubt had been expressed in some quarters as to the power in the Executive to make such withdrawals. The confusion and injustice likely to arise if the courts were to deny the power led me to appeal to Congress to give the President the express power. Congress has complied. The law as passed does not expressly validate or confirm previous withdrawals, and, therefore, as soon as the new law was passed, I myself confirmed all the withdrawals which had theretofore been made by both Administrations by making them over again.

Mr. Taft concluded with a warning that—

the time has come for a halt in general rhapsodies over conservation, making the word mean every known good in the world; for, after the public attention has been roused, such appeals are of doubtful utility and do not direct the public to the specific course that the people should take, or have their legislators take, in order to promote the cause of conservation. The rousing of emotions on a subject like this, which has only dim outlines in the minds of the people affected, after a while ceases to be useful, and the whole movement will, if promoted on these lines, die for want of practical direction and of demonstration to the people that practical reforms are intended.

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The conference gossip of the 5th indicated that not only had delegations from the Northwest been packed with corporation representatives opposed to national conservation, but that this was true also of the delegations from Wisconsin, Illinois and New Jersey. On the 6th Mr. Roosevelt, who made the speech of the day, seemed to allude to this when he said:

Open opposition we can overcome, but I warn you especially against the men who come to congresses such as this, ostensibly as disinterested citizens, but actually as the paid agents of the special interests. I heartily approve the attitude of any corporation interested in the deliberations of a meeting such as this, which comes hither to advocate, by its openly accredited agents, views which it believes the meeting should have in mind. But I condemn with equal readiness the appearance of a corporate agent before any convention who does not declare himself frankly as such.

In this speech Mr. Roosevelt touched the question of State versus national regulation, putting himself in opposition to President Taft in this wise:

One of the most important conservation questions of the moment relates to the control of water-power monopoly in the public interest. There is apparent to the judicious observer a distinct tendency on the part of our opponents to cloud the issue by raising the question of State as against Federal jurisdiction.

We are ready to meet that issue if it is forced upon us. But there is no hope for the plain people in such conflicts of jurisdiction. The essential question is not one of hair-splitting legal technicalities. It is simply this: Who can best regulate the special interests for the public good? Most of the predatory corporations are inter-State or have inter-State affiliations. Therefore they are largely out of reach of effective State control and fall of necessity within the Federal jurisdiction. One of the prime objects of those among them that are grasping and greedy is to avoid any effective control either by State or nation; they advocate at this time State control simply because they believe it to be the least effective. In the great fight of the people to drive the special interests from the dominion of our government, the nation is stronger and its jurisdiction is more effective than that of any State. The most effective weapon against these great corporations, most of which are financed and owned on the Atlantic coast, will be Federal laws and the Federal Executive. That is why I so strongly oppose the demand to turn these matters over to the States. It is fundamentally a demand against the interest of the plain people, of the people of small means, against the interest of our children and our children's children, and it is primarily in the interest of the great corporations which desire to escape all government control.

* * *

Republican Politics in Kansas.

The party council of the Republican party of Kansas (p. 755) met at Topeka on the 30th, and having elected Senator Bristow as permanent chairman, adopted a platform in which they declare:

Desiring to express our pride in the traditions of our party we feel that respect and veneration for those traditions and for the history we have made may be most adequately and fittingly expressed by turning our faces forward rather than backward. Therefore we bind ourselves to specific future performances rather than to ask for votes by reason of our past achievements, however great these may be.

With that preamble, and having endorsed "such efforts as President Taft has made to fulfill the promises of the Republican national platform," and pledged "support for all efforts for the enactment of progressive laws," the platform proceeds:

We pledge anew our loyalty to the Republican national platform of 1908 and bind ourselves to carry its declarations, accepting the policy of protection as outlined in our party platform as the established policy of the nation and binding our members of Congress in both Houses to vote steadfastly and without reference to any other instructions for a revision of the tariff law of 1909 using as a basis for fixing duties the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad with a reasonable profit for American manufacturers. We do not recognize the revision of the tariff of 1909 as a satisfactory fulfillment of the tariff pledge of the Republican platform, and we therefore pledge the people of Kansas that the Republican Senators and Congressmen from this State shall work and vote for legislation that

will create an independent non-partisan tariff commission with ample power and sufficient appropriation to ascertain accurately the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad and, after having obtained such information, we hereby pledge our Republican Senators and Representatives to fix immediately the duties upon the basis of this information.

The remainder of the platform consists of specific pledges. Those relating to national affairs bind the Senators and Representatives from Kansas—to vote for a joint resolution that will promote the revision of the tariff, one schedule at a time; to support and vote for a rule that will make the membership of the more important House committees elective instead of appointive; to vote for a law providing for a jail sentence for wilful violators of the anti-trust laws; to vote for such further amendments to the inter-State commerce law as will give power and money to the inter-State commerce commission to ascertain the physical valuation of the railroads; to vote and work for effective laws that will prevent overcapitalization of corporations and will divert all moneys received for the sale of stocks and bonds to actual investments in construction or extension or betterment of property owned by the corporations; to continue the policy of the Republican party now firmly established of caring for the soldiers and sailors of the war of the rebellion and for those who carried the flag of liberty to the oppressed of other lands; to vote on all measures concerning the conservation of our natural resources along the lines advocated by former President Roosevelt, as opposed to the lines laid down by those who are hiding behind the out-worn doctrine of States' rights, and we demand that every possible effort be made to prevent private interests from obtaining unrestricted ownership or unchecked control over the vast mineral and water and timber resources of Alaska; to make every effort to secure the submission to the people of a Constitutional amendment that will provide for the direct election of United States Senators by the people; to support a law that will provide for six year terms for Federal, District and Circuit judges.

Relative to State affairs the platform endorses the administration of Governor Stubbs, and pledges the party to the following:

A law that will place public utilities, railroads, telegraph, telephone, electric light and power companies, street railways, distributors of gas, whether in cities or by pipe line, express companies and common carriers of all kinds, under the control of a State commission having authority over the issues of stocks and bonds, having means and power to obtain the physical valuation of the plants of these corporations, to fix and adjust rates upon their own motion and to regulate rates and services in the interests of the people of Kansas and the investors and employes of these corporations; a law that will compel corporations doing business in Kansas to begin all litigation in Kansas courts and take no refuge in the Federal courts until the litigation in question has been passed upon by the Kansas Supreme Court; a law that will make the second offense against the Kansas prohibitory law punishable by a sentence to

the penitentiary; a constitutional amendment giving the people the power to recall officers of city, county and State governments under procedure similar to that now granted to cities of the first class adopting the commission form of government; a constitutional amendment giving them the right to initiate legislation and to vote upon certain legislative enactments—the amendments that have been adopted by the States of Maine, Oregon, South Dakota and Missouri, and known as the Initiative and Referendum, with as low a per cent of the voters on the petition as is found in any State in the Union; the Oregon plan which gives the people a right to choose at the November election between the partisan nominees for United States Senator; a law which shall compel publicity of campaign contributions both as to source and to disbursement before primary and general elections both for campaign committees and for individuals; amendment of the primary law so that delegates to the national convention may be elected at the primary election and that the names of the candidates for President and Vice President shall be placed on the ballot; the ratification of the amendment to the United States Constitution providing for a Federal tax on incomes; a measure creating a commission under the authority of the next Kansas legislature which shall make inquiry into the practicability of a working man's compensation law framed to meet labor conditions in Kansas; the upholding of the bank guarantee law.

Preceding the final pledge for both State and nation "to consolidate all appointive offices, boards and commissions where good administration and economy have common interest; to reduce tax levies direct and indirect wherever possible, and to spend no dollar of taxes without giving the tax payers one hundred cents of value received," the platform sends "greeting to Theodore Roosevelt, the new world's champion of the rights of man in the world-old contest between rising humanity and the encroachments of special privilege," and pledges the Republicans of Kansas "to enlist under his banner in the fight for human rights."

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Democratic Politics in Kansas.

On the 3d at Topeka, the Democratic Council adopted a platform with the following preamble:

When great men and newspapers deny the self-evident truth "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" and substitute the despotic doctrine that "governments exist for the benefit of the governed," when thousands of dollars are used to corrupt the electorate and our Representatives and Cabinet officials use their delegated powers to make laws and decisions to enrich themselves and their friends, it is time for those who would perpetuate freedom and establish justice to act.

Following are among the specific clauses:

A demand that all articles manufactured here and sold abroad for less than they are sold to the people of this country be placed upon the free list; a demand for the election of all officers, includ-

ing United States Senators, Federal judges and postmasters, by a direct vote of the people; until the Constitution can be amended, demand for the Oregon plan of electing United States Senators; demand for an income tax law; demand for repeal of the present postal savings bank law, enacted at the behest of President Taft, as a short cut for the savings of the Kansas people into banks of Wall Street, and the enactment of a postal savings law that will leave deposits in the community where savings are deposited; laws prohibiting corporations from issuing fictitious stocks and bonds and for the physical valuation of railroads and other public service corporation properties; conservation of all natural resources; demand for a ballot stripped of all emblems and providing for the Massachusetts ballot; the settlement of labor disputes through receiverships or compulsory arbitration; extension of fellow servant law to employes in coal mines; demand for the Recall, and reiteration of the demands of Democratic State platforms for many years for the Initiative and Referendum; commendation of the State bank guaranty law, passed by non-partisan vote of the last legislature; a demand for an increase of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission so that it shall have effective jurisdiction over all interstate business, including express, telephone and telegraph companies, and amendment of the long and short haul clause of the Hepburn bill so as to make effective the provision that a common carrier may not charge a higher rate for the short haul than for the long haul in the same direction; enactment of a maximum railroad passenger rate law of two cents a mile; publication of campaign contributions and expenses before the election.

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Roosevelt in Politics.

The first big conference of Progressives in the Republican party, with the purpose of making Theodore Roosevelt temporary chairman of the New York convention on the 27th (p. 801), and insert in the platform a direct primaries plank, was held on the 30th in New York City. It was announced that Roosevelt's name would be presented to the convention, and it leaked out that primary fights will be fostered wherever possible, with a view to electing Roosevelt delegates.

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President Taft on the Defensive.

For the purposes of the Congressional elections, President Taft has written an open letter to Congressman William B. McKinley (Standpatter) of the National Republican Congressional Committee. It bears date August 20th, but was not published until the 29th. In this letter Mr. Taft refers to the factional differences in the Republican party, urging that "in the election such differences should be forgotten," as "the only other alternative is a Democratic majority." Proceeding then to consider the Republican platform promises of 1908, Mr. Taft enumerates those he regards as having

been redeemed, and explains how. Of the others he says:

A number of other promises remain to be kept. There is the promised procedure to determine how preliminary injunctions shall issue without notice, and when. There is the measure to promote the merchant marine engaged in foreign service, to which in previous Congresses the Democratic party has always opposed an almost solid front. There is the measure forbidding the acquisition of stocks by one railway company in a competing line. There is also the promise of the Republican platform to make better provision for securing the health of the nation, the most tangible and useful form of which would be the establishment of a national bureau of health.

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Tom L. Johnson Back Again.

A political conference in Cleveland, attended by ex-Mayor Johnson, was held on the 28th, as subsequently reported by the Plain Dealer, which describes him as appearing "to be acquainted with all matters of interest that have developed in his absence," and physically in fair health, some of his friends thinking "he looks a little better than he did when he went away," explaining "that the medical treatment Mr. Johnson is taking isn't calculated to put any flesh on him," and adding that "his eyes are clear and his step firm." He has since gone back to the East, but expects to return to Cleveland in time for the opening of the political campaign there by the Democrats, which is set for the 20th.

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Direct Legislation in Arkansas.

Arkansas is on fire with a campaign for the Initiative and Referendum (Constitutional Amendment No. 10), which is to be voted on at the election on the 12th. The amendment has the support of Governor Donaghey, but the only active worker for it in the State-wide field thus far has been George Judson King, whose excellent editorial on direct legislation in Switzerland appeared recently in *The Public* (p. 604), and whose report from Arkansas appears this week in *Editorial Correspondence*. He has had for his principal unofficial supporter Robert Heriot of Little Rock. Arrangements have now been made, however, for a speaking tour by William J. Bryan. Mr. Bryan begins at Little Rock at 7 a. m. on the 7th, and closes there at 8 o'clock p. m. on the 10th, making 26 other speeches in behalf of the Initiative and Referendum amendment in the interval. He will travel on a special railway train, the party consisting of Mr. Bryan, Gov. Donaghey, R. F. Milwee, chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, R. P. Allen, chairman of the Arkansas Railroad Commission, and representatives of the press—Gov. Donaghey having invited two Little Rock papers, three St. Louis papers, two Pine Bluff papers, one Memphis paper and

two Fort Smith papers to place representatives on the special train.

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Direct Legislation in Colorado.

An initiative and referendum bill for amending the State Constitution, modeled after the Oregon law (p. 616), was reported favorably to the Colorado Senate on the 26th, after having passed the House on the 25th. It got the sanction of the Democratic Senators in caucus that night, and on the 1st it was adopted by the Senate and sent to the Governor for his signature. The only Democratic Senator to stand out against the measure was Senator Frank Gove, whose speech denouncing it and predicting its defeat was published in full on the 20th in the *Denver Republican*. The only Republican was Senator Frick. The affirmative vote in the Senate was cast by 19 Democrats and 11 Republicans. After approval by the Governor, the amendment will go to the people for adoption.

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Labor Sunday.

Special services with reference to Labor (p. 587) were held in churches over the United States, without regard to denomination, on the 4th. Among the representatives of organized labor in Chicago who occupied pulpits were Agnes Nestor, Oscar F. Nelson, L. P. Straube, A. C. Anderson, A. A. Allen and Emmet Flood.

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Government by Injunction.

In connection with a strike and boycott against a restaurant, carried on by the Waitresses' Union of Chicago, its president, Anna Willard, having been twice tried on criminal charges for "picketing" and each time acquitted, application for an injunction against the "picketing" was applied for to Judge Tuttle, who issued the injunction against enforcement of the ten-hour law for working women and was overruled by the Supreme Court (p. 393), and Judge Tuttle granted a sweeping injunction. To circumvent this injunction, as Miss Willard explained at the Federation of Labor on the 4th, a silent signal code has been adopted.

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Altgeld Memorial.

Under the auspices of the John P. Altgeld Memorial Association, and through the personal devotion of its secretary, Altgeld's friend, Joseph S. Martin, four bronze tablets for the Altgeld monument in Graceland cemetery, Chicago (vol. iv, pp. 775, 782, 786, 792, 795; vol. vi, p. 685; vol. vii, p. 330; vol. viii, p. 556; vol. ix, pp. 1177, 1183, 1191; vol. xiii, pp. 758, 771, 813, 840), were unveiled and dedicated at the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on Sunday, September 4, by an immense audience.

FIRST TABLET.

JOHN PETER ALTGELD
Citizen, Volunteer Soldier,
Lawyer, Judge, Orator,
Governor of Illinois

Born December 30, 1847: Died March 12, 1902

These Tablets
Containing Selections from his
Public Utterances
Are Dedicated by

The John P. Altgeld Memorial Association.

"I have given Illinois four of my best years, and have brought all my offerings to her altar. Had it been necessary, I should have considered life itself a small sacrifice in her interest."

SECOND TABLET.

"If the defendants had a fair trial, there ought to be no interference; for no punishment under our laws could then be too severe. But they did not have a fair trial. The evidence utterly fails to connect the unknown who threw the bomb with the defendants; and I am convinced that it is my duty to act."—Pardon of Chicago "Anarchists," 1893.

"Under the law as you assume it to be, a President, through any of his appointees, can apply to himself to have the military sent into any city, and base his application on such representations as he sees fit. This assumption is new, and I submit that it is not the law of the land. The jurists tell us this is a government of law, and not a government by caprice of an individual."—Message to President Cleveland, 1894.

Daniel L. Cruice presided. The prayer was by the Rev. Thomas E. Cox, and the singing by the Sinai Congregation choir under the direction of Arthur Dunham. Mrs. Altgeld occupied a box in the auditorium. There were addresses by W. E.

THIRD TABLET.

"The doctrine that 'might makes right' has covered the earth with misery. While it crushes the weak, it also destroys the strong. Every deception, every cruelty, every wrong, reaches back sooner or later and crushes its author. Justice is moral health, bringing happiness; wrong is moral disease, bringing moral death."

"Compromisers, traders and neutral men never correct abuses, never found or save free institutions, and never fight for human rights."

"Republican institutions and government by injunction cannot both exist in the same country. They are opposite in character, and one or the other must die."

FOURTH TABLET.

"I am not discouraged. Things will right themselves. The pendulum swings one way, and then another, but the steady pull of gravitation is toward the center of the earth. Any structure must be plumb if it is to endure. So it is with nations: Wrong may seem to triumph, Right may seem to be defeated, but the gravitation of eternal justice is toward the throne of God. Any political institution which is to endure must be plumb with that line of justice."

Clark and Lee Meriwether, and George Fred Williams of Massachusetts delivered the oration.

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The memorial tablets, unveiled by Miss Oris

Gottlieb, daughter of Nober Gottlieb, the president of the Association, have since been affixed, each to one of the four sides of the granite shaft at Altgeld's grave.

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Extended quotations from the eloquent dedication oration by George Fred Williams will be found in this issue of *The Public* in the department of Related Things.

NEWS NOTES

—The convention of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks met at Chicago on the 5th.

—The Fairhope Hotel, the oldest of the Fairhope colony, Alabama, was totally destroyed by fire on the 28th.

—Early reports from the Constitutional convention election in New Mexico (p. 795) give 64 of the 100 seats to the Republicans—4 more than they were expected to get.

—The Khan of Khiva, Seyid Mahomed Rahim, is dead, after a reign of forty-five years. Khiva lies in Turkestan, south of the Sea of Aral. Since 1872 it has been a Russian vassal state.

—The American Bar Association (vol. xii, p. 848) was in session last week at Chattanooga, Tennessee, with 200 delegates, including some of the most prominent lawyers of the United States.

—President Taft appointed on the 3rd, as members of the Stocks and Bonds Commission—to recommend a plan for preventing the issue of watered stocks by railroad corporations, the following persons: Arthur T. Hadley, Chairman; Frederick N. Judson, Frederick Strauss, Walter L. Fisher and B. H. Myer.

—The Fourth International Conference on State and Local Taxation (p. 709) was held at Milwaukee on the 30th and 31st of August, and the 1st and 2nd of September. A committee to investigate the subject of a practicable substitute for the present tax on personal property was provided for in a series of resolutions adopted on the 1st.

—The executive committee of the Republican central committee of Hudson county, New Jersey, adopted resolutions on the 2nd, endorsing "the new nationalism" advocated by Colonel Roosevelt in his Osawatomie speech, and pledging the support of the county organization to any movement looking to placing him in the White House again.

—President Taft announced at Beverly, on the 2nd, the appointment of Joseph Austin Holmes of the geological survey as director of the new Bureau of Mines. Dr. Holmes is reported as an intimate personal friend of Gifford Pinchot, James R. Garfield and F. H. Newell, and his appointment as having been "held up" as offensive to Secretary Ballinger in whose department the new bureau belongs.

—A monoplane flight to a height of 8,741 feet is reported from Deauville, France. At its highest point of flight the monoplane's motor stopped, and the machine slid with frightful rapidity to earth, as down a great plane, landing a mile and a quarter

from the point of departure, with a dazed but not hurt aviator, sitting in his usual seat. The flying man who had this exciting experience was Leon Morane.

—The New York estate of Grover Cleveland (vol. xi, p. 370), personality, has been appraised at \$39,065 for taxation. As the executor declined to tell the amount of the estate in New Jersey, a tax of 5 per cent is assessed on the New York estate, whereas if the amount had been stated the tax would have been 1 per cent. The estate in New York therefore pays \$400 more in taxes than if the amount of the estate in New Jersey had been disclosed.

—All the Republican candidates for Congress in Iowa (p. 770) met on the 30th at Des Moines in the office of S. F. Prouty, insurgent candidate in the Seventh district, to eliminate factional differences in Iowa, with a view to electing every Republican candidate. A resolution was adopted to the effect that the Republican Congressional candidates of Iowa believe, with President Taft and Colonel Roosevelt, that the place for Republicans to fight out their differences is at the primaries and not at the polls.

—A settlement was made on the 2nd, of the cloak-makers' strike at New York (pp. 637, 819) which has involved 70,000 workers, and is described by the dispatches as "one of the greatest industrial disturbances in the history of American labor." The victory seems to have been sweeping for the strikers. Sweatshops abolished, collective bargaining for piece work prices, the factories unionized ("closed shop"), no sub-contracting within factories, a six-day work week of 50 hours, weekly cash payments and double pay for overtime. The swamping of the courts with eviction cases against strikers forced the settlement.

—The Pan-American Congress (p. 805) which had been in session at Buenos Ayres, Argentina, since July 10, adjourned on the 30th. The closing session was attended by Mr. Saenz Pena, the President-elect of Argentina, and Mr. De La Plaza, the Vice President-elect, and by the members of the Argentine cabinet, Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Among the foreign visitors were Mr. Clemenceau, former Premier of France, and Mr. Enrico Ferri, of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. The Argentine minister of foreign affairs made an address to the congress of which the dominant note was a plea for peace and arbitration.

—Two new courts were opened in New York on the 1st. One is a Night Court for Women, the other the Court of Domestic Relations. The latter was described by the sitting magistrate as "a court for the poor, and its special object to provide for abandoned wives." In the former every prisoner convicted of soliciting is to pass inspection of official physicians, upon whose judgment the prisoner will be sent either to a hospital or to the Department of Corrections as a convict. Detectives have established paraphernalia for taking identifications by finger print system of all women who pass the doctor's inspection. The allied suffragists are reported to purpose testing the constitutionality of certain phases of the new law which discriminate against women.

—Dynamiters demolished the Lucas Bridge and Iron Company's immense plant at Peoria, Ill., on the

4th, at 10:30 p. m., with three explosions, which reduced the building to kindling wood. Four buildings adjacent to the property were wrecked, and a night watchman, Robert Genhardt, was seriously injured. At midnight, when two carloads of steel girders were lying in the switchyards of East Peoria, they also were blown up. The cars had just arrived from the Pittsburg Steel Works and were to be used on the Peoria and Pekin Union Bridge now being constructed. Both the Pittsburg company and the Lucas Structural Steel Company are nonunion shops, from which fact it is suspected that the dynamiters were structural iron workers. The two explosions make three to occur within ten days, the first being the dynamiting of the spans of the New Peoria and Pekin Union Railroad bridge. While labor trouble is suspected to be the cause, the police have been unable to find a clue, and the Peoria and Pekin Union has offered a reward of \$2,000 for the apprehension of the dynamiters.

PRESS OPINIONS

Roosevelt and Altgeld.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.), August 25. The question of conservation merges, as a practical matter, into that of ownership. The original conservationist in this respect among modern American politicians was Gov. Altgeld of Illinois, who advocated a measure of public ownership which, stopping far short of the socialist demand, should yet extend to embrace public service monopolies and such limited natural resources as mines. And it was the present great leader and ultimate judge of conservation and just what it is, who was then credited with the remark that if he had his way Altgeld would be fastened to a board fence and shot.

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The Un-Democratic Party.

Emporia Weekly Gazette (William Allen White), August 18.—In the West the Democratic party is more aristocratic than the Republican party. For instance in Nebraska the Democratic State convention voted against accepting the vote of the people on United States Senator as provided by law. The same day and in the same State, the Republican State convention voted to abide by the choice of the people in the matter of electing a United States Senator, and to elect a Democrat if the people chose him even though the legislature was Republican. This attitude of the Democrats indicates that the big interests having failed to control the insurgent States through the Republican party are moving into the Democratic party.

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Roosevelt's Insurgency.

The (Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post, August 27.—Oddly enough the most signal and binding act of insurgency that Roosevelt has performed since his return from Africa attracted little political comment. Early in August he visited Pennsylvania to find out at first hand how the workmen in some of that State's great industries were faring. If his

Republicanism had been of the "regular" pattern he would have been content to know that Pennsylvania's coal mines, steel mills and silk factories produce the better part of a billion dollars a year—thereby, in the standpoint view, abundantly justifying all the favors which the government grants them at the expense of the rest of the country. But Roosevelt wanted to know how the men, women and children whose labor produces this wealth were living; what, for example, three hundred and fifty thousand mine employes, whose average income is forty dollars a month, were getting out of it. This is the very essence of insurgency—to demand how people, rather than industries, are getting along.

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Where the People Have Begun to Rule.

The Portland (Ore.) Labor Press (Labor), Aug. 27.—The expenses of State printing for the election under the new laws are greatly augmented. It is thought the bill will run over \$100,000. However, the politicians will save that much in automobile bills, cigars, whisky and loans, and the people will secure an honest election. Every man can vote intelligently on any question or candidate if he wishes to do so. That is a long way ahead of the good old days of Simon, Mitchell and Holliday when voters were obliged to call off by open vote and voice their choice of candidates. . . . No citizen who has any regard for the referendum and initiative should neglect to vote "No" on the constitutional convention scheme. Every vote cast for it will be seized upon as an instruction to do away with all the progressive steps taken to secure power for the people.

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Conservation in Oregon.

The (Portland) Oregon Daily Journal (ind.), August 11.—In Oregon, with respect to water, the Pinchot view has been very closely followed by new legislation. Perpetual title is no longer given for private control of water powers. A power is leased for 40 years at an annual rental and at the end of the period it reverts to the people. The plan does not hold back development, for Oregon with this system in force is in the midst of the most rapid development in her history. . . . Water is one of Oregon's greatest resources. Under the Oregon system of conservation it will always remain a resource, not of syndicates, but of the people and bona fide water users. It will not be a public asset controlled and owned for speculation, but available for legitimate industry and legitimate profit. As the rights become more valuable the returns for them will pay a proper share for the support of government. It is a system that has the indorsement of Mr. Pinchot and that those in authority at the national capital might study with profit.

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Proprietor of Private Fishing Preserve (to trespasser)—What do you mean by coming here and carrying off my fish?

Trespasser (who hasn't had a bite all day)—Excuse me, my dear sir, I'm not carrying off your fish. I'm feeding them.—Lippincott's.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE MELIORIST.

For The Public.

One saith, content, "Whatever is, is best;
All evil is a seeming; fear it not,
But see the fruitful good, by good begot,
Throughout God's perfect world where thou art
guest."

One answereth: "Can any soul feel blest
By entertainment where the common lot
Is misery unmerited, and what
Of 'seeming' is brings terrors manifest?"

Another saith: "As hosts not guests of God,
'Tis we should entertain, and haply make
This plot of ours more fit for Him to bless;
Its seeming not such foul unseemliness,
But kept in weedless beauty for His sake,
That buds of hopes shall cleave its trampled clod."

FREDERICK LEROY SARGENT.

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JOHN P. ALTGELD.

Portions of the Oration Delivered by George Fred
Williams at the Dedication, September 4, 1910,
of Memorial Tablets for the Altgeld
Monument.

Only out of hearts which still throb with the memories of a great man could there have been chosen memorial words so apt to describe his life purposes and deeds, as those which these tablets bear. The first inscription tells of the high service he gave to his State; the second, his sense of justice and devotion to Constitutional guaranties; the third epitomizes his defense of the weak, his protest against compromise and the perversion of the instruments of justice; the fourth expresses his mighty faith in the triumph of the right. Out of his own mouth has his history been written upon the tablets we dedicate today, graven with a pencil of steel.

How imposing is the life of a great patriot! The historians laureate of monarchs have not been able to dwarf the figures of those who have demanded justice and liberty for human-kind. The eloquence which survives is that which is brave, human and self-sacrificing. There is no poetry in selfishness, greed inspires no songs, and even religion cannot paint a god-head except in suffering.

It has been too often said that John P. Altgeld was misunderstood. The truth is that he was too well understood. That wonderful and almost superhuman solidarity, the trust of all trusts, which we call Privilege, dreads but few men. It stands in awe only of the man who is armed with

the flaming sword of Truth, and who wields it defiantly, who feels no pain, no wounds, no taunts, no discouragement, and fears not even death.

Such a man was Altgeld, and if his life was darkened by suffering, by slander and defeats, it was the life of his choice; its pathos is but seeming, and its heroism brought the rewards with which only the great can be satisfied.

Wherever wrong uttered its defiance or demanded concession, whether it spoke from the bench, from the political convention or from the Presidential chair, it found Altgeld standing full armed, his back against the wall. Privilege knew him and understood him, and if millions of honest men were misled in judging him it was because Privilege, realizing the destructive capacity of the man, determined that his power must be broken by any means.

Slander and misrepresentation were the contemptible weapons used against the man who had no price for the betrayal of the people. The pity is that he was misunderstood by those he loved; would that they had rallied as one man to a leader who knew no fear, compromise or danger when the oppressed stood in dumb need.

Today we must again put our helpless reason to the everlasting question, "What is such a life worth?" Sacrifice, sacrifice and ever sacrifice that justice may be done! Justice even to those who resist it, as the bonded slave clings to his chains and his rations. At the best we can add to the right not more than an infinitesimal fraction. But the God who gave life to our dust is not indifferent whether we return it pure, life-sustaining, breathable, or corrupted, infectious and destructive.

He is a weak observer who thinks the work of Altgeld is not apparent in the world. If you would know by heart the appeals which patriots are making in the politics of today, read the book of Altgeld—well named "Live Questions," because the questions he asked cannot die. It is the greatest text-book of modern progressive statesmanship. Those utterances of his, seeming like firebrands in their day, are now becoming commonplaces, accepted truths, many of them.

There is much praise of insurgency within a party, but did Altgeld ever compromise with the servants of Privilege in his own party? Was he not the bravest of insurgents? Had not Altgeld spent his life in this insurgency, the soil might yet have been unyielding where the crop of democracy is now smothering the weeds of both political parties.

There is no time so portentous in the life of a man as the day when, by design or accident, he draws aside the curtain which covers the inner sanctuary of Privilege, and sees the high priests at their work; for it is written that no stranger shall enter into their sanctuary. He must be a hypocrite who can worship there after he has seen;

he must be a hero who dares to expose the shams.

Here, Altgeld did not swerve, and here his miseries began.

I am not willing to review the injustice and suffering which Altgeld endured without entering some protest against the conditions which caused them. It is a scandal of our civilization that one cannot today speak for human rights as against property interests without incurring social, political and financial penalties. If his enemies will not now give him credit for sincerity, it is because they will allow the people's true advocates not even the peace of the grave. The time will come, if our Republic is to survive, when wealth must answer at the bar of justice for its stolid resistance to the rights of man, its indifference to civic righteousness, and its persecution of those who protest against its injustice.

Altgeld brought against property interests the indictment that in the name of the law itself it defended its tools against the penalties for violence and even murder. With abundant testimony, he proved that the police of the city of Chicago had, without legal justification, broken in upon lawful assemblies of men and clubbed them or shot them to death in the name of the law; that these murderers had not been prosecuted and condemned and were continued in office to repeat their barbarities. Yet when he pardoned men who had been falsely convicted under forms of law, he was followed by the agents of wealth with misrepresentation and persecution that have not had a parallel in the history of our country. When he released the so-called anarchists, he discarded the request of thousands of leading citizens that they be pardoned because, "assuming their guilt, these men had been punished enough." His answer was that if they were guilty, no punishment under our laws could be too severe; and I am glad that there stand today upon these tablets his memorable words, "They did not have a fair trial" and "the evidence utterly fails to connect the unknown who threw the bomb with the defendants."

It is not important now to review his masterly discussion of the evidence in that case, the bias shown by the court, the packing of the jury, the probability of personal revenge as a motive, and the doubts of the prosecutors. He took his responsibility like a brave man and refused to yield his conscience to popular clamor. His mortal offense was that his denunciation of wrongs included the ferocity of courts and police. He deemed the life of the citizen to be as sacred against perverted legal procedure and the brutality of the guardians of the public peace as against the misdeeds of perverted men. In the moment of calm judgment, who will today assert that if Altgeld was convinced that the guilt of these men was not proven, he should have refused to pardon them?

The keynote of Altgeld's conduct was duty, inspired by love. It would be futile here to review all the controversies into which duty so inspired led him.

In his debate with President Cleveland upon the sending of United States troops into Illinois, when he as Governor stood ready to suppress domestic violence with the forces of the Commonwealth, he fixed his eyes upon the Constitution and doggedly demanded that its guaranty be observed.

He resisted with fiery eloquence the use of the injunction by courts of equity against the laboring masses, banded to improve their condition by setting the organization of men against the organization of capital. Since Altgeld's death, the tentacles of the law have wrapped themselves closer about the trade union, but his protests still constitute the most eloquent appeals made by human voice against this menace to liberty.

In extolling the memory of Altgeld, it is not necessary that he should be proved right in all his judgments. From holy writ, from human reason and experience one truth shines clear above all doubt; it is that human conduct should be judged according to the heart purpose which actuates it. Altgeld may have been mistaken in his judgment of policy, but he never was mistaken in the motives of his act. He judged all things and all men in accordance with the dictates of a pure and righteous conscience, and of weak man no more can be demanded.

But, nonetheless, as this man's opinions and utterances are studied, we must marvel at his sagacity and prophetic vision, for in his eclectic radicalism we find the outlines of policies which are even now gaining daily in public approval.

Spreading through the West and now even bedded in the constitution of our most Eastern State is this truth he long ago uttered, "Each age furnishes a weapon for the people; the weapon of this age is the Initiative and Referendum through which we can restore democracy."

The idea of municipal government by commission, which now promises to purify our city politics, is at least as old as 1890, when Altgeld advised to "do away with governing boards of councils, with their division of responsibility, and have one man at the head of each department who feels that he is accountable to the people for the conduct of affairs."

The extension of the social function of government, now rapidly progressing, was foreshadowed by him thirteen years ago in the words: "Today, if asked whether the government will take the railroads, or establish the referendum, say you do not know, but that every step which may become necessary to save free government and restore happiness in this land will be taken. Say that if necessary to do so, the government will not only take the railroads, but every monopoly and

concentration of property which interferes with either the rights or the welfare of the people."

In 1896 he said, "Our people are beginning to understand that making money scarce makes money dear; that dear money means low prices for property, for the products of the earth and for the products of labor." This was Altgeld's statement of a fact which was denied in 1896 with vitriolic vehemence, but which is now admitted and restated by the journals not only of Wall street but of the whole world.

He was not a zealot upon woman's suffrage, but his judgment on this question went back to the foundations of justice. "There is no man," he says, "who holds a commission which authorizes him to sit in judgment on the rights of woman. She has as much right to sit in judgment on man and limit his sphere and his actions as he has to limit hers. Therefore, any attempt by man to deny woman independence or equality of rights is simply the assertion of brute force."

Of war he asserts, "The business of killing men is a brutal and degrading profession which must brutalize those who engage in it to a greater or less degree. Even the man who delights in killing the lower animals gradually changes; he becomes coarse; his finer and nobler feelings are blunted, and he finally partakes somewhat of the nature of the fierce brutes whose conduct he imitates." But he adds, "There is no nobler spectacle than that of a great body of citizens taking up arms in defense of liberty. To establish liberty for mankind is the highest mission on earth."

I loved this man, and approached this memorial service in a spirit of sorrow; but not long could this spirit survive under the radiance of inspiration from his life and words as they passed before me in review. I have come into the glory of his achievements as I have seen him, bruised and bleeding, throw himself fiercely upon the barbed wires which greed had thrown up between humanity and the fair field of God's harvest; unmindful of his wounds, beating away his precious strength to rescue the weak, carrying new scars each day, ever at the forefront, as if the blood he shed were the measure of his service. As the mother would rush into the flames to rescue her child, so he was blind to consequences when he saw before him his human brother struggling in the grasp of injustice.

We know what solace to him was the love of her who comforted and sustained him in his hardships; we know, too, that however precious they would have been to him, children of his body were not the need of a man to whom all humanity was as the offspring of his soul. We were his friends. Here at least a loving judgment may be rendered upon his life. Hatred beats in vain against his memory, fear is relieved, envy is silenced by death, love alone may now utter its tribute of affection and review the scenes of his life.

In the murky atmosphere of graft and greed, like a burst of glorious sunlight is the memory of this man. No price could buy away the services of Altgeld to humanity. I speak not of the vulgar sale for money, but of the more subtle bribes of social preferment, of comfort, luxuries, peace, honors, kind words and looks, the flattery of the press and the powerful, the deck of the yacht, the place of honor at the banquet and of power in the state. Oh, beloved, wonderful man! how did you put aside all those cherished things which come to subservient talents, and rack your tired and painful body with strivings for the weak who could give you nothing, and who even turned their faces from you in the hours of your best service? What mattered to you the criminal, the diseased, the sweaty workman, the unjustly condemned! What were the distant Boers to you for whose life and liberties you were pleading when the shaft of death entered your aching heart! You cannot answer us, but we know that your life was given to us as a benediction, and now beyond our ken we believe it has become a part of the eternal power for good. You have said it to us. Let now our love repeat to you: "We hear the rustling of a wing; we feel a breath from the other shore; we do not know where, but are sure we shall meet over there."

BOOKS

SCIENTIFIC LIVING.

Euthenics. The Science of Controllable Environment. By Ellen H. Richards. Published by Whitcomb & Barrows, Boston. 1910. Price, \$1.00. Postage 7 cents.

Long on the teaching staff of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mrs. Richards is known also to many devoted readers through her former books, such as "The Cost of Living" and "Sanitation in Daily Life." By "Euthenics," as is told in the foreword, the author means "the betterment of living conditions, through conscious endeavor, for the purpose of securing efficient human beings"—"a term proposed for the preliminary science on which Eugenics must be based."

The book is a hearty word of encouragement for men and women in their home making, a plea for the prompt application of modern science to the problems of housekeeping. "Knowledge of labor-saving appliances," writes Mrs. Richards, "is to-day everywhere demanded of the successful establishment, except of the family home. . . . If the housewife would use wisely the information at her hand to-day, it is safe to say that in six cases out of ten she could cut in half the housekeeping budget and double the comfort of living."

Two little tables quoted by the author as ex-

amples, one of the expenditure of time, the other of money, both illustrate her advocacy of definiteness, in the attack on our slipshod ways of life.

"Taking the six days of the week as a unit," one busy man made and lived by the following acrostic:

Food—One-tenth the time.

Exercise—One-tenth the time.

Amusement—One-tenth the time.

Sleep—Three-tenths the time.

Task—Four-tenths the time.

"The division of the income according to the necessities of health and efficiency, not according to whim or selfish desire, is sometimes estimated as 20 to 25 per cent for rent, 25 to 30 per cent for food, 10 to 15 per cent for clothing, leaving only 45 or 30 per cent for other things," such as "fuel, light, amusements, education, books, insurance or investments." And most of these latter comforts, one is tempted to add, will continue to be assured to landlords only, just so long as he pockets such rent.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

PERIODICALS

* There is a curious similarity in the leading articles of our magazines, which often makes readers wonder how the editors manage to work so closely along parallel lines as to seem almost to be working in collaboration. In the September *Everybody's*, for instance, Lincoln Steffens begins his story of "It" (see last week's *Public*, page 836), dealing with the Big Business end of political corruption, Pierpont Morgan being "It;" while McClure's for September announces the Moody-Turner series on the Morgan-Rockefeller-Frankfort interests which are developing for the twentieth century the economic struggle in place of the political struggle of the nineteenth; and now comes the *American* for September with C. S. Raymond's story of "The Lorimer Scandal," the most spectacular instance of the political corruption which Steffens and Moody are tracing to the fountain head in Big Business—the lair of Judge Lindsey's "Beast." A similar exposure is made of New York politics, by Burton J. Hendrick, in McClure's, which contrasts finely with the Lorimer exposure in the *American*, much as the corruption of politicians with the Harvard accent contrasts with that of politicians with the lingual flavor of tavern barrooms. Do the editors of the different magazines confer, one wonders, over the subjects they shall exploit? Or do the writers give hints to one another? Or is there truly a spirit of the time, which fits through magazine sanctums and breathes the breath of contemporaneous homogeneity into editorial nostrils?

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Like its distinguished and fluent contributing editor, *The Outlook* is so prone, in discussing democracy, to "distinguish and divide a hair 'twixt south and southwest side," that one hardly expects to find in its editorial columns anything quite as

straight out as this advice in its issue for August 27th, which it labels as an "application of the elementary principles of democracy" to the local option liquor question: "Let the power that makes the law enforce the law; or, let the power that enforces the law be free to make the law." Here is the usual dullness of analysis, for, instead of being an elementary principle of democracy, the statement is not characteristic of democracy at all. It is but a rule of action quite as applicable to autocracy. A czar as well as a democrat might say: "Let the power that makes the law [Me] enforce the law; or, let the power that enforces the law [Me, too] be free to make the law." Yet as a rule of action for democracy, it is a good rule, as *The Outlook* puts it: "If the State insists upon determining under what kind of laws the cities within the State shall be governed, then let the State accept the full responsibility for the law by assuming the responsibility of enforcing it; on the other hand, if the State is unwilling to assume this responsibility of enforcement, then let it give to the city that freedom which must always go with responsibility, and allow the latter to decide under what laws it shall live." An excellent rule for efficient administration, even though the elementary principles of democracy would decree that the State shall not insist upon making laws for cities except in so far as the subject is State and not local in character.

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McClure's for September is especially interesting for its thoughtful and well worked out paper by Amos Pinchot (a brother of the Insurgent), in which he draws the historical parallel between the Insurgent movement of the fifties that gave birth to the Republican party (then truly democratic), and the Insurgent movement of today in which that party seems to be dying as did the Democratic party in the fifties—for indeed, the Democratic party, as a party, has never since really lived, albeit it, it has by peculiar circumstances been kept out of the graveyard. As Mr. Pinchot shows, the Insurgency of the fifties was "to drive the special interests dependent upon slave power and cotton power out of politics," just as the present Insurgency is against interests "represented by the railroads and the industrial trusts supported by tariff and upheld by privilege." Although Mr. Pinchot recalls the Free Soil movement of the forties as the precursor of the wider insurgency of the fifties, he appears to overlook the fact that the Free Soil movement, and the Abolition movement preceding it (which also led on to the Insurgency of the fifties), are paralleled in connection with the present Insurgency by the Greenback and Granger movements of the seventies, the Populist movement of the eighties and nineties, the Bryan movement within the Democratic party, and the sympathetic La Follette movement within the Republican party. Senator Dolliver is the only prominent Insurgent thus far who begins his Insurgency with a frank confession that he was delinquent in not sooner waking up. — An important announcement in this issue of McClure's is of the beginning in the November issue of a serial by John Moody, whom it rightly characterizes as "the international authority on American financial af-

fairs." This serial, in which George Kibbe Turner collaborates with Mr. Moody, is to follow "the main thread of the financial and industrial history of the United States in the past twenty years," as the McClure announcement calls the story of the growth, alliances and consequent power of the Morgan banking house, the Rockefeller oil business, and the Frankfort money-mongers. If the announcement is made good—and we are sure there will be no fault of John Moody's if it is not—this series will prove to be one of the most interesting and probably the most useful of all the magazine publications yet made in connection with what the McClure announcement points to as "the struggle for

economic freedom" which is to be "the dominant note of the twentieth century" as "the fight for political freedom was that of the nineteenth."

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The question used to be, "What shall we do with our ex-presidents?" Now it is, "What will our ex-president do to us."—Chicago Record-Herald.

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A passing stranger was attracted by frightful screams from a little house by the road. He found that the little boy had swallowed a quarter, and his mother was frantic. The stranger caught the little

Delivering the Goods

You know the kind The Public delivers.

If you like them there must be others of your acquaintance who would if they could but have a look in.

Give them the chance.

See them at once.

530 Walnut Street
Cincinnati

Daniel Kiefer

The Women's Trade Union League of Chicago PUBLIC MEETING

Sunday, September 11, at 2 P. M.
IN FEDERATION HALL, 275 La Salle St., Chicago
(Second Floor)

A State Conference of Trade Union Women has been called to consider the next step in

Protective Legislation for Women Workers

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"No, madam," replied the stranger; "I'm a collector of internal revenue."—The Interior.

+ + +

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+ + +

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