

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

To Catch Flies.

Speaker Reed used to say that he caught most of his flies with vinegar; but most folks can't, and Speaker Reed didn't catch many good ones.

+ +

Municipal Corruption Explained.

In Tom L. Johnson's intensely interesting autobiography, which begins in Hampton's Magazine for July, municipal corruption is truly accounted for. Out of a wealth of municipal experience and with characteristic clearness of judgment and directness of speech, this great American Mayor, writing as from the grave, warns the people that "the class which by its position should be our best citizens is best served by the worst city government."

+ +

Wool Men and Their Pals.

The only way to destroy Protection, the national bulwark of the trusts, is to put the principal raw materials on the free list. This must be done one at a time, or it can hardly be done at all. Attack them all at once, and you draw the opposing power of all. Attack one, and you minimize opposition as much as possible. When one is out of the way its beneficiaries cannot be rallied to fight the free listing of the next. When they are all gone, the needs of the national treasury will necessitate resort to other sources of revenue than tariffs. As to the plea for continuing protec-

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tion on wool, on the ground that wool raising ought not to be discriminated against in the one-at-a-time process of ending tariff plunder, the sufficient answer is that when you begin to abolish robbery, the first robber you catch is the one to "go for," regardless of all his outcries for a fair deal as between him and his pals.

* *

Taft in Training.

It is evident that Mr. Taft is in full training for the Presidential race of 1912, and that his trainer is a competent person. This may be inferred from the serious newspaper "jollies" that flow steadily out of Washington. But is the trainer a man totally without the sense of humor, or one who has it in high degree? That is something nobody can tell just yet. The newspaper "jollies" point sometimes one way, sometimes the other, and sometimes both. But anyhow he is singularly competent.

* *

Another College Coercion Case.

When college professors are accused of dodging live civic questions, they usually insist that they are under no coercion. Often, no doubt, they think so, and are prudent rather than timid; and sometimes coercion, which seems clear enough to the looker-on and must be felt by its victims, cannot be proved. But here is a case which, without assuming to pass judgment upon it, we submit to the college fraternity of the United States for consideration.

*

The facts we cite are from a statement by R. B. Brinsmade, late professor in the engineering department of the West Virginia University. They were stated by him at the request of the Morgantown Post-Chronicle, as the editor explains, and were published in that paper in its issue of June 15th. Professor Brinsmade was appointed to his chair in the University nearly two years ago. In the middle of the summer vacation of last year the president of the university notified him that the Board of Regents had decided to drop him at the end of the twelve months for which he had been engaged. No reason was given. Upon Professor Brinsmade's request for a reason, however, the president of the Board wrote him as follows, under date of August 9, 1910:

We have no charges to prefer against your conduct or ability, but we have been hoping to find a man who had the magnetism and personal qualities, together with the ambition, to build up the engineering department as it has not been before in our University. We have consulted your students and

visitors, together with some of the faculty and others who were in a position to get an impression of your work, and the consensus of opinion is to the effect that your work is seriously discounted by your active interest in certain economic questions which you discuss to the exclusion of the legitimate work of your classes.

That sounds like a good reason. But the best reasons are bad if not true, and this one seems to have had that defect. The truth about the matter turns out to be that Professor Brinsmade's "interest in certain economic questions," if they "discounted his professorial work" at all, did so not because he discussed them to the exclusion of the legitimate work of his classes, for he did not, but because the Governor of the State disliked the kind of economics he talked about with his fellow citizens when his day's work was over.

*

That Professor Brinsmade was removed in order to "discourage the free discussion of political and economic questions by members of the university faculty," is the openly declared opinion of the Morgantown Post-Chronicle, and here are its reasons: When Professor Brinsmade appeared before the Regents near the end of his engagement last September, he showed the falsity of the charge that he had allowed his economic views to interfere with the work of his department in the University; and then he asked the Board point blank if they believed in the policy of academic freedom for the University. They did. He then inquired if they had any objection to his conducting a class in economics in his leisure time among such as might be interested in Morgantown. They certainly had no objection. He thereupon explained that his chief object in leaving private engineering practice for a State university position was in order that he might work for the best interests of the State as a whole; and after a short withdrawal he was told, on his reappearance, that the Board had been incorrectly informed as to his activities, and had decided to renew his appointment. Professor Brinsmade thereupon continued his university work, and in his own leisure time he organized the "Social Ethics Club" among Morgantown citizens, for the study and discussion of economic and political problems from a non-partisan standpoint. The Club had informal meetings and a monthly banquet after the plan of the "Public Question Club" of St. Louis; and it brought to Morgantown Henry George, Jr., Democratic Congressman from New York City, who lectured to an appreciative audience on the Single tax. Henry George's lecture was on January 6th

On the 28th of the same month the Board of Regents dismissed Professor Brinsmade, long before the expiration of his term.

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Of that summary dismissal immediately after George's lecture, Professor Brinsmade tells the Morgantown Post-Chronicle that in his opinion "if there is no connection between these two events there is none between a match and a conflagration." He adds that he lays the responsibility not upon the Regents, who were evidently "acting on orders from higher authority," but "upon Governor Glasscock and his accomplices." The Post-Chronicle leaves no doubt of its own editorial opinion. "No one," it says, "who knows anything about present conditions at the University and in Charleston has any doubt that Professor Brinsmade's enthusiasm in promoting the Single-tax propaganda cost him his place;" and as to the Board's "assertion that the Professor had not been successful in 'building up his department,'" it characterizes this as "a ridiculous subterfuge," he "not having had time to show whether he could even make a good beginning at the work of building up the department." Very properly the Post-Chronicle closes its editorial with this comment:

The personal injustice that has been wrought in the case of Professor Brinsmade and in other cases is a small matter in comparison with the injury that has been done to the University itself and the loss of its efficiency in the educational economy of the State. No institution can be a fit place for the education of young Americans in which there is even a suspicion that the men of the teaching force are talking through political muzzles, that they are of an emasculated type of citizenship, incapable of taking a virile part in the practical affairs of government, afraid to speak the truth as they believe it in their hearts. The Brinsmade case should help speed the day when we may hope for the ultimate emancipation of thought and speech in West Virginia University.

+ +

Labor Sluggers.

Good people outside of Chicago, and many such inside, should be advised, as the fact is, that the "labor sluggers" of whom they read so much are not labor-union sluggers. Gangs whose brutal services are at the command of any paymaster, they are frequently hired by employers of labor. Members of this identical gang are reasonably believed to have been employed by detective agencies with anti-union work to do. They were hired by certain Chicago newspapers only recently, to "promote circulation." They did it by slugging news dealers. They were hired to create labor disturbances at Muscatine, Iowa, during the pearl button

strike, in order to make an excuse for calling out the militia to awe the strikers. The men "higher up" in the Chicago slugging are not labor leaders. They are business men and politicians.

+ +

Roosevelt's "If."

Roosevelt's editorial duel with Harrison Gray Otis is one in which the instincts of every intellectually honest reader must be with Roosevelt. Otis is the owner of the Los Angeles Times, whose building was destroyed last fall by an explosion of some kind. Disinterested reports indicated that the character of the explosion was that of one caused by gas. Otis decided, however, as soon as he heard of it, and while miles away, that it had been caused by dynamite used criminally for the purpose by labor unionist agitators—his particular aversion. In the course of several months, certain labor union men were indicted upon charges of having committed that crime. They are now in jail at Los Angeles awaiting trial. The question of whether the explosion was of gas or dynamite is still undecided in their case, and upon its decision their lives may depend. Under these circumstances Mr. Roosevelt published an editorial in The Outlook in which he said: "If the explosion was not an accident, it was an outrage of dastardly iniquity," etc. The italics are ours. We use them for the purpose of emphasizing the word for which Roosevelt is attacked by Otis. Observe, now, what Otis says of Roosevelt's "if." He denounces it editorially as "a distinct aid to the villains who dynamited the Times building"! This conception of a fair trial of men accused of capital crime marks the utter unworthiness of Otis as a citizen. He has been held up by other men to the contempt of fair men, but never so decisively as by himself in that quotation.

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As one of the two great issues in the charge of crime against those indicted labor union men is whether or not the explosion was by dynamite, and as this issue is yet to be decided by a jury of Los Angeles upon the testimony of witnesses sworn and subject to cross examination, the objection Otis makes to regarding the question as an open one, places him in the lynching class. He does not know, apparently, what law and order means. "If the explosion was not an accident," says Roosevelt, those who did it should be punished. Isn't that true? and isn't the "if" reservation necessary to make it true? But it is "a distinct aid" to the accused, says Otis. Why? Because it lends

the weight of Roosevelt's "influence to the unfounded proposition that the Times might not have been dynamited at all but was possibly blown up by gas." Pray what would have been the direction of Roosevelt's influence if he had left out the "if"?

* *

Ho, for a National Anthem, Ho!

The offer of a money prize for a national anthem, not to purchase one already in the market but to inspire an anthem-making mind to make an anthem to order, is full of the flavor of money-mongering. Shall we name the city in which it originated? No. Leave that for guessing matches. But give guessers the pointer that the scheme contemplates a penny assessment of school children to raise the fund for the prize. It is an interesting example of plutocratic patriotism. Wouldn't some ingenious adaptation of "Miss Kilmansegg and Her Golden Leg" meet the demand appropriately?

* * *

MAN'S HELL IN GOD'S COUNTRY.

Have you ever been in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania?

Have you ever driven along the narrow roads of that mountainous region, ever climbed the steep green hillsides, ever seen the mountain streams rushing down to meet the river in the valley?

Have you ever looked up and up and up to higher hills and yet higher, ever delighted in the rank luxuriance of the ferns, the beauty of the native wild flowers and the magnificence of the trees?

Have you ever seen a storm gather over those hills, witnessed the fantastic tricks of the lightning and watched the great trees bow before the wind?

Have you, perhaps, seen this wonderful bit of country, too, when the frost has painted the foliage of the forest in all of nature's colors, when the warm red of the sumac, the rich purple of the wild asters, the scarlet of the bittersweet and the gorgeous yellow of the goldenrod vie each with the other to win the eye from the restful dark green of the ivy which clings to tree trunks and softens the outlines of rocky hillsides?

If you have seen those things you have known the awe and the wonder, the joy, the peace, the strange satisfaction which Nature in her more majestic moods inspires. You have fixed your eyes on the summit of the loftiest mountain within the range of your vision and said reverently: "It is the fool who saith in his heart, 'There is no God!' Let him come to this beautiful country and look upon

all this grandeur and be convinced of his own foolishness!"

+

But have you ever been in the towns of Westmoreland county—in Port Royal and Irwin and Jeannette and LaTrobe and Yukon and the others?

Have you seen these nondescript villages clinging to the base of the hills, have you shuddered at sight of their rows of ugly drab houses, all just alike, with no lawns in front, no yards between?

Have you met the miners blackened by coal dust, with lamps in their caps and tin dinner pails in their hands, coming home from work in the evening?

Have you walked to pit mouth or shaft entrance and contrasted the dirt and confusion and buzz of industry of this lower region with the glory and majestic calm of the mountains above?

Have you ever stopped to consider your obligation to these men who delve in the bowels of the earth that you may have light and be warm? Have you ever realized that all of them carry their lives in their hands every day that they work? Do you know or care anything about the wages they get, anything about the way they live, anything about their families?

What do you know about the precariousness of this business of mining coal? You know that there are sometimes accidents, horrible ones, in which hundreds of men lose their lives, and that occasionally strikes occur, dreadful things, accompanied by violence, bloodshed, and too often loss of life.

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It is about one of these strikes that I ask you to think now—a strike that has been on for fifteen months, a strike that involved 17,000 men at most and that has involved about 5,000 for the whole time.

Fifteen months! A Thanksgiving, a Christmas, and two Easters have come and gone since that strike began. If you are interested in the cause of it you can inquire of the secretary at the strike headquarters in Greensburg, the county seat; or of any of the great coal companies interested. The principal ones are the Westmoreland Coal Company, the Keystone Coal and Coke Company, the Jamison Coal and Coke Company, the Berwind-White Coal Company, the LaTrobe-Connellsville Coal and Coke Company, the Skelley Coal and Coke Company. You can get a lot of information from strikers or operators about wages, blasting powder, screens, loading in entries, room turning yardage, undercutting in rooms, pick mining

(skilled and) unskilled), union and non-union labor.

Perhaps some of this information will be Greek to you as most of it is to me. These are not the things I understand.

+

But a baby dead from starvation because its mother had no milk in her breasts, a mortality rate of 35 per cent among the children born to the wives of the strikers, men and women and little children suffering for lack of food and shelter and clothing—I can understand these things.

When the strikers could no longer pay their rents, they were evicted from the company houses, of course, and found such shelter as they might in miserable shacks. They had not been any too comfortable before. Their condition was pitiable now. A camp for the unmarried men was established in the country on a piece of rocky land which the miners' officials were able to lease for this purpose. The camp overlooks two beautiful small lakes on property controlled by the coal operators. The State constabulary patrols the property and prevents the miners from using any of the water in these lakes. The campers are obliged to go a mile for water. They get it from a spring on land which the operators are now trying to buy in order to shut off this supply of water too. If they succeed, the men will have to go two and a half or three miles for water. The operators have also tried to buy the land on which the camp is located, but fortunately for the strikers their lease prevented this.

Those things I can understand too.

But not why we have surrendered to private ownership and control, coal and water and land which should belong to the children of the earth in common.

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As I walk among these dispossessed ones I learn that the only thing between them and actual starvation is the meagre allowance sent regularly by the United Mine Workers of America—an allowance provided from the assessments levied by the unions upon their members throughout the country. I learn of the destruction not of property only, but of life and liberty and happiness. I learn of tragedies I had not dreamed of. I realize that this is civil war, and civil war is hell.*

And I who said with you on the mountain top, "It is the fool who saith in his heart there is no God," add here, among my brothers, "But what

*Persons who wish to aid in the relief of the victims of the strike should send contributions, whether of clothing or funds, to Secretary McCartney, care strike headquarters, Greensburg, Pa.

shall we call the man who tells us that with this sort of world God bids us to be content?"*

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PENNSYLVANIA AWAKE.†

Pittsburgh, June 18.

Although the candidates for office in Pennsylvania will not be nominated until after the primaries in September, the people are preparing for the battle now. Usually it is difficult to create any enthusiasm over political questions before the candidates are thought of, and this is especially true in Pennsylvania, but during the past year the people of this State have caught the spirit of Insurgency, and as a result they are preparing to give the Republican machine the hardest battle of its life.

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The reorganization elements of the Democratic party met in Harrisburg last week, and formed the Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic Clubs. Nearly every county in the State sent a strong delegation, and they paid their own expenses—something entirely new for either a Democratic or a Republican convention in this State.

Congressman William B. Wilson of Blossburg was chosen president, and W. N. McNair of Pittsburgh was elected secretary.

It is the purpose of the Federation to organize clubs in every city and town throughout the State. Arrangements will also be made to affiliate the State clubs with the National League of Democratic Clubs.

The meeting of these delegates was the most enthusiastic gathering of Democrats in Pennsylvania for a quarter of a century.

A mass meeting was held in the Casino Theater in the evening, and every seat was filled to hear Speaker Champ Clark, Gov. Woodrow Wilson and Congressman A. Mitchell Palmer. Speaker Clark and Gov. Wilson, speaking from the same platform, were at their best, and each made a favorable impression. Wilson had the advantage in that he had no occasion to defend anything that had been done in the recent session of the New Jersey legislature; whereas Clark was compelled to use up a great part of his speech in defending the wool schedule.

If Clark and Wilson should campaign for the Presidency together, it would be an interesting race, with the odds in favor of Wilson.

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While the Democrats were thus auspiciously mustering their forces at Harrisburg, the new Keystone party that polled 380,000 votes in this State last fall was opening its campaign in Pittsburgh. On Friday evening Senator Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota addressed a crowd that completely filled the Lyceum Theater. The enthusiasm of the audience at this early date bespoke the interest already created in the welfare of the Keystone party movement.

*See "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George.

†See "The New Pittsburgh" in The Public of April 7, 1911, page 318.

We have reason to rejoice over these beginnings of the insurgent movement in both the Democratic and Republican ranks. The Federation of Democratic Clubs adopted Direct Legislation as its cardinal principle; and as the Keystone party has already written the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall into its platform, there are signs of better days in Pennsylvania, where public servants have with astonishing indifference ignored the rights of their constituents.

BERNARD B. MCGINNIS.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, June 20, 1911.

Federal Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

At the opening of the day's session of the Senate of the United States on the 12th, two memorials with reference to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall for national purposes were submitted by the Vice-President as having been adopted by the legislature of Wisconsin and duly certified by the President of the Wisconsin Senate, the speaker of the Assembly, and the chief clerk of each House. The first of these Wisconsin proposals is as follows:

Joint resolution (J. Res. 43, S.) memorializing Congress to take proper steps toward a Constitutional amendment providing for Initiative, Referendum, and Recall.

Whereas the principle involved in the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall, is thoroughly democratic and American; and whereas the American people have repeatedly evidenced their desire to have an opportunity to voice their sentiments through these forms of expression: Therefore be it resolved by the Senate (the Assembly concurring), That we respectfully memorialize the Congress of the United States speedily to take such steps as will result in the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall in relation to Federal legislation and officials; and be it further resolved, That a copy of the foregoing be immediately transmitted by the Secretary of State to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each of the Senators and Representatives from this State.

The second Wisconsin proposal is as follows:

Joint resolution (J. Res. 42, S.) memorializing Congress to take proper steps for the adoption of an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing that such Constitution may hereafter be amended by the Initiative.

Whereas the Constitution of the United States should be rendered somewhat flexible in order to meet changing political and economic conditions;

and whereas the amendment of such Constitution by the Initiative is a method founded upon thoroughly democratic and American principles: Therefore be it resolved by the Senate (the Assembly concurring), That we respectfully memorialize the Congress of the United States promptly to take such steps as will result in the adoption of an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing that such Constitution may hereafter be amended by the Initiative; and be it further resolved, That a copy of the foregoing be immediately transmitted by the Secretary of State to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each of the Senators and Representatives from this State.

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La Follette for President.

At a meeting on the 17th of the Minnesota Progressive League at Minneapolis, a resolution was adopted indorsing Senator La Follette of Wisconsin as the Progressive candidate of the Republican party for President, and recommending favorable action to all of the Progressive Republican organizations in the State. [See current volume, pages 34, 417.]

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Canadian Reciprocity.

When the report of the Senate finance committee, on the Canadian reciprocity agreement, came before the Senate on the 13th—a report without recommendation—the chairman of the committee, Senator Penrose, was heckled by other Senators as to the committee's reason for failing to make recommendations. Senator Williams, in behalf of Senators Stone and Kern and of himself, presented a statement favoring the agreement. Senator McCumber presented one in opposition. Senator La Follette presented one representing the Insurgent attitude. Senator Nelson filed a protest from farmers. Mr. La Follette's statement appears in full in the Congressional Record of June 13, at pages 1990, 1991 and 1992. Mentioning the Canadian agreement, it declares:

It is perfectly consistent for one who believes in free trade to support it. I respectfully submit that no man who believes either in a tariff for revenue only or in a protective tariff can consistently give it his support. In the belief that duties should represent the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad, with others I contended, when the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill was pending, for reductions in duties to that level in so far as the information then at hand furnished any safe criteria to determine rates upon that principle. I shall continue to advocate tariff legislation based upon that principle. I believe in reciprocity. I believe in reciprocity with Canada. The mutual give and take of tariff concessions between our country and our world neighbors, along the lines laid down by Blaine and McKinley, is a policy that has in view the best welfare of all concerned. The fair exchange of commercial privileges between the people of two great producing and con-

suming and interdependent nations must result in good for both. But I protest against this proposed revision of our tariff by Executive mandate. I protest against this diplomatic bargain that is masquerading in the guise of reciprocity. It is not reciprocity. It is not a fair exchange of tariff advantages between our citizens and the citizens of Canada. It is a tariff trade, conceived in special-interest selfishness, negotiated in secret, and brought into the open with the attractive label of reciprocity as a bid for favor of the American public—a people who believe sincerely in reciprocity that is genuine. The injustice and the unfairness of this one-sided arrangement, when fully understood by all people who believe in justice and fair dealing, will meet with the resentment it merits. Reciprocity—true reciprocity—implies a fair exchange between those whose products are the subjects of the exchange. This compact, the ratification of which is demanded without change, without the exercise of a legislative judgment on the part of Congress, is, in plain English, an Executive bargain, the terms of which require the farmer to surrender his market at an enormous loss to secure valuable concessions to a few prosperous special interests. That is all. President Taft's Canadian pact will increase the profits of the railroads, the milling interests, and the beef trust.

[See current volume, page 560.]

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The Illinois Deepwater Way.

In the Illinois Senate Governor Deneen's water way measure was reported out of committee favorably on the 14th; and with minor amendments, approved by Governor Deneen, it passed the Senate on the 15th by a vote of 30 to 7. [See current volume, page 564.]

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Hearst-Harrison Organization in Illinois.

Under the lead of Andrew M. Lawrence (representative of William Randolph Hearst) and Mayor Harrison, a conference committee of Illinois Democrats, originating in a recent complimentary banquet to Mr. Lawrence, was held at Chicago on the 17th. The following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, this committee believes that the complete union and future success of the Democratic party of Illinois must depend upon the fidelity and courage with which the party devotes itself to clean Jeffersonian principles, and the uncompromising repudiation of possible selfish boss control; and whereas, events have created in this State and in the nation a supreme issue between the selfish private and corporate interests and the people; and whereas, without any purpose to serve individual interests or promote the fortunes of any particular candidate, this committee desires to completely organize the sound and patriotic Democracy of Illinois; Therefore, be it resolved: That there be appointed a State Progressive Democracy committee on organization, with the following representation: Ten from each Congressional district in the State; provided, that in Congressional districts where there are more than ten

counties the representation from that district shall be one from each county; and provided further, that the members of the present committee of fifteen shall be ex-officio members of the State Progressive Democracy committee on organization.

The meeting was held behind closed doors. It is to reconvene on the 30th at the LaSalle Hotel, Chicago. [See current volume, page 563.]

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Labor Protest Against Kidnaping.

To the reported number of 80,000; a mass meeting of workmen and women was held at Chicago on the 18th to voice a protest, as described by the Chicago Daily Socialist of the 19th, "against the efforts of the United States Steel Corporation to hang J. J. McNamara and wreck union labor." Seymour Stedman presided. The first speaker after him was Jacob C. Le Bosky, who was followed by Frank M. Ryan, president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. Mr. Ryan described in detail the kidnaping of McNamara at Indianapolis and the ransacking of the desks and files of the international union. He was followed by Congressman Victor L. Berger. Meanwhile a sympathetic telegram had been read from Congressman Frank Buchanan, former president of the bridge and structural iron organization. Following are the resolutions adopted by the meeting:

Whereas, on April 22, 1911, the latest outrage of organized capital against organized labor was committed by the unlawful kidnaping of J. J. McNamara from his office at Indianapolis, and carrying him, without due process of law, three thousand miles to Los Angeles, there to be tried on the charge of having murdered men he never saw and never knew; and whereas, the charge made is made against McNamara in name, but against union labor in fact; therefore, be it resolved, by the trade unionists and Socialists of Chicago, that the arrest and kidnaping of J. J. McNamara is in violation of the fundamental law of the United States and of common right and justice; and be it further resolved, that we affirm our faith in J. J. McNamara and pledge to his defense our moral and financial support; and be it further resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be given to the press and a copy sent to J. J. McNamara and his brother in jail in Los Angeles.

Only meager reports of the meeting were published in the Chicago papers other than the Chicago Daily Socialist.

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Woman Suffrage Demonstration in London.

One of the demonstrations preceding the formal coronation of King George on the 22nd, was a parade of women on the 17th from the Victoria Embankment to Albert Hall, in honor of the movement for votes for women. Advocates of woman suffrage from all parts of the world, and numbering some 50,000, marched in review before

Mrs. Wostenholme Elmy, a long-time leader of the movement. The procession was seven miles in length, five abreast, and brilliant in dress except for 700 women who had been in prison for their deeds in behalf of the cause. These, known as "the prison pageant," wore prison garb. Among the paraders were titled women and working-women of many classes; and the groups included Americans, among whom were the widow of the late William Lloyd Garrison of Boston and Elizabeth Freeman of New York, led by Katherine Dreier of New York. There were 100 brass bands, and at the head of all rode Mrs. Drummond as grand marshal. [See vol. xiii, p. 708; current volume, page 440.]

* *

International Suffrage Congress.

At Stockholm on the 14th, the International Woman's Suffrage Congress authorized a men's world alliance for woman suffrage. [See current volume, page 562.]

* *

Land Reform in Denmark.

At the recent annual May convention of the Radical Party of Denmark the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas it is evident that easier access to land is the main condition for keeping up the surplus of population and avoiding emigration, to keep the shifting of population from the the country to the city districts inside the natural limits, and for seriously limiting the present unemployment, it is resolved, in adhesion to the proposition of the Land Commission, to suggest to the Parliamentary group of the party the following line of work: As soon as possible after the results of the sample valuation have been published, to make a proposition that the tax on property for national and municipal purposes be altered to a tax on land values, and that the municipalities be permitted to levy an extra tax on all increment after the valuation.

[See current volume, page 542.]

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Portugal Becomes Formally a Republic.

The new Constituent Assembly of Portugal, elected last month, was opened at Lisbon on the 19th. At the first session the President of the Chamber read a decree proclaiming the abolition of the monarchy and the banishment from Portugal of the royal family of Braganza, which was unanimously approved. The decree was also read by the President to the great throngs which gathered outside the Assembly building, after which the Chamber adjourned. This proclamation was the signal for formal American recognition of the Republic (a recognition announced in the press in general terms last November), and in the afternoon of the 19th George L. Lorillard, American charge d'affaires, waited upon Mr. Machado, min-

ister of foreign affairs, and delivered the following note:

Whereas, The National Constituent Assembly has this day settled upon and definitely proclaimed the form of government adopted by Portugal, I have the honor, acting according to the instructions received from my government, of hereby informing Your Excellency that the government of the United States of America has today officially recognized the government of the Portuguese Republic.

The day was observed as a public holiday throughout Portugal. Popular demonstrations were held everywhere, apparently without disorder. [See vol. xiii, p. 1097; current volume, page 538.]

NEWS NOTES

—President Taft and his wife celebrated their silver wedding on the 19th at the White House. About 4,000 invitations were issued.

—The Cuban House of Representatives on the 15th, on grounds of economy, abolished the teaching of English in the public schools of Cuba. [See vol. xiii, p. 1073.]

—By a statute of New York, to go into operation September 1, theatrical performances presenting a living character representing "the Divine Person" are prohibited.

—Porfirio Diaz, ex-President of Mexico, arrived at Vigo, Spain, on his way to Havre, France, on the 16th. He will go to Paris for surgical treatment. [See current volume, pages 538, 562.]

—W. J. Burns, the famous detective, was indicted on the 17th by the grand jury at Indianapolis for kidnaping John J. McNamara. The same grand jury indicted McNamara for conspiracy to dynamite bridge structures. [See current volume, pages 394, 538.]

—A measure imposing a graduated income tax ranging from ½ of 1 per cent to 6 per cent. on all incomes, with an exemption of \$1,000 for unmarried persons and \$200 additional for each dependent, was passed by the legislature of Wisconsin on the 14th, subject to a referendum at the election of 1912.

—In a "European circuit" aerial race which started on the 18th from Paris, with 50 aeroplanists contesting, there were three fatal accidents on the first day, the benzine reservoirs in two of the machines exploding while the machines were in flight, causing the deaths of the aviators by fire in midair.

—An international seaman's strike was formally declared on the 14th at London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Cardiff, Bristol, Southampton, and other British ports, as well as at Belgian and Dutch ports. Among the leaders are Tom Mann at Liverpool, Benn Tillet at London, and Havelock Wilson at Southampton.

—The Kansas Supreme Court enjoined three subsidiary corporations of the Standard Oil trust, on the 15th, from owning one another's stock, from selling petroleum or petroleum products cheaper in one part of the State than in another for the purpose of driv-

ing out competition, and from making contracts with any person to cause the latter to refrain from selling oil in Kansas.

—Cecil R. Atkinson, of Maryland, died at Asheville, N. C., on the 7th. He was long active in Maryland politics as a democratic Democrat, serving part of the time as a member of the legislature, and since 1886 and until his death had been active in the Single-tax movement.

—Professor Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago, has had his academic honors added to by the King of Italy who has decorated him with the "Crown of Italy" in recognition of his interest in and appreciation of Italian science. Professor Starr has been also honored with the Grand Prix for his exhibition of photographs representing the tribal marks of people of Central Africa at the Brussels Exposition of last year.

—Cipriano Castro, ex-President of Venezuela, who has been living in the Canary islands, is reported to be on board a steamer called the Consul Grostuck, which arrived in Haytian waters on the 13th, flying the German flag. The news purveyors assert that the vessel carries a large supply of arms and ammunition. The German government has repudiated the right of the vessel to sail under the German flag. [See vol. xiii, pp. 160, 542.]

—It will be remembered that a group of American financial experts sailed for Persia in April, under contract with the Persian government to reorganize the entangled finances of that country under its new regime of constitutionalism. One of their number, W. Morgan Shuster, has been created American treasurer-general of Persia, and on the 13th a bill giving the new treasurer-general direct effective control of all financial and finance operations of Persia, was passed by the National Council. On the 16th the Premier, Mustofi-el-Mamalik, without resigning, hastily left Teheran, ostensibly bound for Europe for his health. This hurried departure is laid to his loss of the support of the National Council and his reluctance to submit to the rigorous financial control directed by the Council. [See current volume, page 351.]

—Frank S. Southard of the Seattle law firm of Southard & Shipley, a famous Singletaxer of the Northwest and a graduate of Harvard Law School, died on the 3rd at the age of 46. At a dinner of the Commonweal Club of Seattle on the 10th, addressed by Charles Frederick Adams of New York, a memorial tribute was authorized in which Mr. Southard is described as "an ardent and faithful worker in the Singletax movement, giving liberally of his time and means," and one whose "integrity was unquestioned and his habits clean and wholesome," which "with his standing in the business world made him a valuable factor" in the Singletax movement. The memorial resolution is authenticated by Mary G. O'Meara as president of the club, Florentine Schaze as secretary, and Joe Smith as toastmaster of the occasion.

* * *

This mournful truth is everywhere confessed,
Slow rises worth, by poverty oppressed.

—Samuel Johnson.

PRESS OPINIONS

Bryan's Influence With the People.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), June 17.—Mr. Bryan, who serves notice on his party enemies that he will not submit to be cudged or scoffed into silence, may take this comforting knowledge to himself: There would be no objection to his counsels or his advice if men influential in the Democratic party, but opposed to him, did not recognize him as still powerful. If what Bryan said went to careless ears his party opponents might grin, but they would not protest. They do protest, and the grin is Mr. Bryan's.

* * *

Bryan and Underwood.

The Commoner (Dem.), June 9.—The Underwood bill has been endorsed by a Democratic caucus and will pass as it was reported, unless Republican ridicule shames the Democrats into amending the bill. The manner in which the resolution was received by the opposition when it was read in the House ought to give the Democratic members some idea of the mortification which will be felt by Democrats throughout the country when they have to meet the jeers and taunts of Republican protectionists. The Underwood bill leaves a 20 per cent tax on wool. This is a step backward at a time when the tariff reform sentiment of the country is moving forward. The Democrats put wool upon the free list bill nearly 20 years ago. Mr. Underwood defends the 20 per cent tax as a revenue measure and insists that it is necessary. That is the way most protective tariffs are defended. The Commoner does not accept Mr. Underwood's reasons and does not believe that the country will. . . . Many honest men have been misled by Mr. Underwood's specious argument, but The Commoner asks these Democrats to watch the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. If he is tainted with protection, as The Commoner believes he is, he will show it on other measures as he has on this. The hope of tariff reformers is not in his leadership but in the fact that there may be enough tariff reformers on the committee to outvote him. If time proves that The Commoner's estimate of him is erroneous an apology will be forthcoming; if events prove that this estimate is correct those tariff reformers who have followed him will have an opportunity to repudiate him.

* * *

Tom L. Johnson's Victory.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), June 15.—If Tom L. Johnson had lived a few weeks longer, he would have seen the complete triumph of his three-cent fare idea. At the time of his death, the Cleveland Street Railway Co. was charging three-cent cash fares and an additional cent for transfers. It has now been shown that this extra charge for transfers is unnecessary and it has been abolished. The Associated Press is making no great effort to let this fact become generally known and many plutocratic papers are still deliberately giving their readers the impression that three-cent fare in Cleveland

is a failure and has been abandoned. Three-cent fare was not by any means the ultimate aim of Tom Johnson. He knew, what the people of Cleveland will soon realize, that the effect of that reform will be to increase land values in the suburbs and force the residents to pay in rent to landlords all that they will save in street-car fares. But he also knew that this will interest the people in the land question. In Glasgow, where municipal ownership has given the people the benefit of good service and cheap fares, land values have also risen in consequence. But this had the effect of converting the people of Glasgow into strong advocates of land value taxation. Johnson foresaw the same thing for Cleveland. His foresight will soon be vindicated.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE HIGHER CATECHISM.

Let us ask ourselves some questions; for that man is truly wise
 Who can make a catechism that will really catechise.
 All can make a catechism—none can keep it in repair;
 Where's the workman can construct one that he'll guarantee will wear?
 We are fronted from our birthday onward to the day we die
 With a maximum of question and a minimum reply.
 So we make our catechism; but our work is never done—
 For a father's catechism never fits a father's son.
 What are we here for? that's the first one; that's the first we want to know.
 We are here and all born little just because we're here to grow.
 What is sin? Why, sin's not growing; all that stops the growth within,
 Plagues the eternal impulse upward, stunts the spirit—that is sin.
 Who are sinners? All are sinners; but this is no hopeless plaint,
 For there never was a sinner who was not likewise a saint.
 What's the devil? A convenient but supposititious elf
 Each man builds to throw his sins on when he won't "own up" himself.
 And where is hell? And where is heaven? In some vague distance dim?
 No, they are here and now in you—in me, in her, in him.
 When is the judgment day to dawn? Its true date who can say?
 Look in your calendar and see what day it is to-day!
 Today is always Judgment Day; and Conscience throned within
 Brings up before its judgment-seat each soul to face his sin.
 We march to judgment, each along an unaccompanied way—
 Stand up, man, and accuse yourself and meet your Judgment Day.

Where shall we get religion? Beneath the open sky,
 The sphere of crystal silence surcharged with deity.
 The winds blow from a thousand ways and waft their balms abroad,
 The winds blow toward a million goals—but all winds blow from God.
 The stars the old Chaldeans saw still weave their maze on high,
 And write a thousand thousand years their Bible on the sky.
 The midnight earth sends incense up sweet with the breath of prayer—
 Go out beneath the naked night and get religion there.

Where shall we get religion? Beneath the blooming tree,
 Beside the hill-encircling brooks that loiter to the sea,
 Beside all twilight waters, beneath all noon-day shades,
 Beneath the dark cathedral pines and through the tangled glades;
 Wherever the old urge of life provokes the dumb, dead sod
 To tell its thought in violets, the soul takes hold on God.
 Go smell the growing clover and scent the blooming pear,
 Go forth to seek religion—and find it anywhere.

What is the church? The church is man when his awed soul goes out
 In reverence to the mystery that swathes him all about.
 When any living man in awe gropes Godward in his search,
 Then, in that hour, that living man becomes the living church;
 Then, though in wilderness or waste, his soul is swept along
 Down naves of prayer, through aisles of praise, up altar-stairs of song.
 And where man fronts the mystery with spirit bowed in prayer,
 There is the universal church—the church of God is there.

Where are the prophets of the soul? Where dwells the sacred clan?
 Ah, they live in fields and cities, yea, wherever dwells a man.
 Whether he prays in cloistered cell or delves the hill-side clod,
 Wherever beats the heart of man, there dwells a priest of God.
 Who are the apostolic line? The men who hear a voice
 Well from the soul within the soul that cries aloud "Rejoice!"
 Who listen to themselves and hear this world-old voice divine—
 These are the lineage of seers, the apostolic line.
 And what is faith? The anchored trust that at the core of things
 Health, goodness, animating strength flow from exhaustless springs;
 That no star rolls unguided down the rings of endless maze,

That no feet tread the nameless path through wastes
of empty days;
That trusts the everlasting voice, the glad, calm
voice that saith
That Order grows from Chaos, and that life is born
from death;
That from the wreck of rending stars, behind the
storm and scathe,
There dwells a heart of central calm—and this, and
this is faith:

What is the world's true Bible? 'Tis the highest
thought of man,
The thought distilled from ages since the dawn of
thought began.
And each age adds its word thereto, some psalms
or promise sweet—
And the canon is unfinished and forever incomplete.
On the chapters that are written long and lovingly
we pore—
But the best is yet unwritten, for we grow from
more to more.
Let us heed the Voice within us and its messages
rehearse;
Let us build the growing Bible—for we, too, must
write a verse.

What is the purport of the scheme toward which all
time is gone?
What is the great aeonian goal? The joy of going on.
And are there any souls so strong, such feet with
swiftness shod,
That they shall reach it, reach some bourne, the ulti-
mate of God?
There is no bourne, no ultimate. The very farthest
star
But rims a sea of other stars that stretches just as
far.
There's no beginning and no end. As in the ages
gone,
The greatest joy of joys shall be the joy of going on.
—By Sam Walter Foss (author of "The Calf Path"*)

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PROTECTION AND THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

Viewed by Old Tom Harder as Related To Wool.

"What's that? Has Jim Deepship got back from Washington? Sure thing! Two weeks ago. He paid me the half o' that loan I made him to pay his expenses while lookin' after the woolgrowers' share o' the protection at the Capitol. Fact is that when he got there he found that the Steel trust farmers an' the Sugar farmers, an' all the other farmers that make a livin' by the hard labor o' cuttin' coupons an' watchin' the ticker, was all on the job there, an' they was so well heeled that Jim didn't have to spend much money. The wool industry was loved an' looked after as well as Mary's little lamb. So he had some cash left to spare me a little on the loan."

"What'd he say? Not much of anything. There

wasn't much to be said. I says to him, 'How's it look for the wool, Jim?'

"'Looks like we'd git our share while it's goin' 'round,' says Jim.

"'Your share o' what?' says I.

"'Our share o' the protection,' says Jim. 'S'long's the gov'ment is in business o' buildin' industry we want to be built 'long o' the rest of 'em.'

"'Are you sure you're gittin' your share?' says I.

"'I don't know for sure,' says Jim. 'I don't believe anybody knows. But s'long's the gov'ment is slingin' the protection dope round I want a show at gittin' some of it. It's right I should.'

"'Is it right for 'em to be slingin' the protection dope round that way?' says I.

"'How'm I goin' to know if it's right or wrong?' says Jim.

"'Do you believe in the ten commandments, Jim?' says I.

"'Some of 'em,' says Jim.

"'What about stealin'?' says I. 'It's wrong,' says Jim. 'Why?' says I. 'Why?' says Jim. 'Cause it takes away a man's property without askin' him for it, or givin' anything in return for it.'

"'Sure thing!' says I. 'It's gittin' something for nothin'. But, Jim, what's the difference between stealin' an' protection?'

"'Why?' says Jim. 'I hain't got the thing clear in my mind yet, but it looks like protection's gittin' something for nothin' accordin' to law, an' stealin' is gittin' something for nothin' an' takin' the chance o' gittin' into jail.'

"'Why do you stand for protection then?' says I.

"'Cause I want some o' the profits,' says Jim.

"'But what about the ten commandments, Jim?' says I.

"'Well,' says Jim, 'near's I can figure it out them ten commandments don't count when it comes to gittin' something for nothin' accordin' to law.'

"'Yes, sir. That's all that was said. There wasn't a syllable more that could be said.'"

GEORGE V. WELLS.

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HOW WE FOSTER OUR SLUMS.

Bolton Hall as Reported in the Proceedings of the
First New York City Conference of Charities
and Correction, May 10-12, 1910.

I spent part of the summer once with Professor Howard, an authority on mosquitoes, and he taught me a good deal, and when in our country home the mosquitoes became pretty virulent, I sought for the hole where they were breeding. There was a place between two trees that had a little water in it and I could see the mosquitoes rising up from there, so I poured on kerosene; a few days after, it rained, and the mosquitoes began again, and I again poured on kerosene, my little

*See The Public, volume xii, page 524.

girl on both occasions watching me. She asked me why I did this and I tried to explain to her, and her comment was, "Why don't you fill up the hole?"

I had never thought of that.

That is the way our minds work, and that, it seems to me, is what we have been doing here this evening, except that we have not been even looking for the hole. We have not been seeking the cause of the congestion. We have heard that congestion is responsible for the poverty, but we have avoided that thing, which we foster with our lies, because it enables the keen and the strong to live upon the simple and the weak, namely, speculation in land.

There is such a thing, I know, as people preferring to live in the slums, just as it is said that Dr. Johnson got a taste for putrid meat because he had had to eat it when he was so poor, but I tell you the people who live in these places, live there because they must, and the sweat-shop boss when he has made a little money, wants the first thing, to move up to the Bronx or somewhere where he can live with his children half decently. That is the first desire that springs up in their minds. It is becoming a commonplace that the poor pay more for their accommodations than the rich. Why? Because they are so poor that they have to live near their work, and, because by the appropriation of land and holding it out of use, and because of the speculation in land, our city is not one-quarter built up, but covered in whole areas with old shacks, "tax payers," as they are called, waiting a rise in the value of land which shall enable us to live without working at the expense of our poorer brethren. That is the main cause of these things.

We have been talking of poverty and crime and degradation and disease, and these are the things you and I have permitted and are permitting today by our acquiescence in and support of this system by which some men are allowed to possess themselves of the earth and then charge their brothers a fee for living at all. I wish we could think a little about this main cause of congestion. As we look at these tenement houses and see the valueless buildings in which most of the people live, and the enormously valuable land underneath, and realize that you can get anywhere in the country a decent house for five dollars a month, while you must pay for a single room in New York more than five dollars in the very poorest districts, we must see that this is the cause of congestion.

Materials are cheaper in New York than in the country, but the value of land is enormously higher, and we keep up that price and profit by it, and have a system of legislation to tax the immigrants and leave off the taxes from the values of land, so that we practically paralyze a man who tries to build model tenements, by raising his taxes, and so encourage him to keep the land vacant in order that somebody may profit by its

ascending value. If we are going to do anything but talk, we must take the value of the land in taxes and open up to labor and living and life the illimitable opportunities of the universe for living and making a living that have been approved by nature from all eternity.

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WHAT'S THE USE?—OF EDUCATION.

Address by Louis F. Post on Graduation Day at
Miss Howe and Miss Marot's School,
Dayton, Ohio, June 15, 1911.

When I was a boy, "What's the use?" was a favorite specimen of boys' slang. If some of the boys wanted another to play with them when he was already "played out," he would be very likely to drawl, "Aw, what's the use?" Not as a question, however, but as an assertion. If his mother told him to fetch her an armful of firewood, when he had more important business on hand, he would probably respond with, "Oh, what's the use?" If his father told him to—Well, no. I don't think that we boys of those days used to ask "What's the use?" when our fathers told us what to do.

This very slang of our boyhood has now become the serious slogan of a serious study, a test phrase of a school in philosophy. For several years some of you may have been hearing about pragmatism, or reading about it; and "What's the use?" is a slogan of pragmatism. What pragmatism is, I don't believe that I know; which might not be remarkable but for the fact that those who do know find the task of explaining it even to other philosophers so very difficult. This much, though, I think I may say, that when a philosophical problem confronts you, and the pragmatist tells you to ask yourself "What's the use?" he means that unless you can figure out a use for its solution, if the problem were solved, then it is of no use, at least to you under existing circumstances, and you had better think of something else.

It is in that view of the problem of education that I am proposing that you join me today in asking "What's the use?" of an education. And this pragmatic question seems to me to be peculiarly appropriate at the graduation of a class from school; for that which a school has been to its graduating class, the world is to be through all the rest of their lives.

You will please observe that the thought I have just expressed is not original with me. No doubt you have heard it often before now. In one phrase or another it is probably as old as graduation ceremonies, and in essence it must be as old as teaching and learning. This is my reason for repeating it, because it is old; for I think of the old thoughts, the time-tested thoughts, as the true thoughts.

So did Solomon. That is where Solomon and

I are alike. When he said there is nothing new under the sun, he was not dreaming an idle dream; he was describing a veritable vision. So profoundly true was his vision that one might almost say of a new thought even now, that it is a false thought, a misleading thought. New and true forms of thought we certainly have, but are they new in *essence*? New experiences, but hardly new principles. Old truths with new facts for variety of expression, yes; but new truths? We may at least doubt it. Listen with human sympathy to the ancient mythologies, and you catch the heart beat of all religious experience. Tap the new philosophies for their wisdom, and you get in essence the wisdom of the old philosophies. Examine into your ethics, and their truths hark back to the Ten Commandments and the Ancient of Days. Sift the multifarious mechanical facts of our mechanical age, and how many mechanical principles do you find that are really new? The lever and the inclined plane come down to us through generations of workers from a mouldy antiquity, unchanged in anything but name and forms of use. Gigantic greyhounds of the sea, what is their propeller movement but sculling, advanced from muscle power to steam power? The locomotive is an evolution from the wheel; and any sidewalk seller of toys can show you that wheel-motion and leg-motion are in principle indetical. We do not get aviation from ballooning, which is probably new and now seems to have been misleading; we get it from the flight of birds, which dates back to Eden—however remote that may be. One of the very forms of aviation is reported now to have been developed in the long ago of geological ages by bi-plane flying-fishes of the ocean. Even literature, when it gives us new fables, for instance—I mean fables of genuine human interest,—it is only in form that they are new; and although our literature is flooded with jokes, isn't every good one a chestnut—and antediluvian at that?

Speaking of jokes reminds me that I must not take my little plagiarism about school graduations too seriously. Of course I must justify myself for saying what some one never fails to say on an occasion like this—or hardly ever; but it is probably enough to quote Solomon, without burdening myself and you with an effort to help him out. All I wish is to put life into that graduation-day platitude, that the world is to be, through all the rest of their lives, what a school has been to its graduating class.

And isn't it a true and useful saying, old as it may be? And not alone for the graduation classes of the hour, but for undergraduates as well, and for teachers and parents and friends? Isn't it as true for all that great host of men and women of every class, condition, purpose, motive and activity, who constitute the world of human society?

Our world is indeed a school—a school even like

this Dayton school—with its utilities and its ideals, its tasks and its play spells, the problems of teachers, the talents of pupils, and its graduating honors. Hath not Emerson written it, the Emerson who wrote so many good things, all old in substance but new and charming in form? And let no older one among us think that the lessons of the world school are only for new comers. If we who have long been pupils in that great school were as true to its higher lessons in the fullness of our powers as those *intend* to be who are coming into it from such schools as this, our world would be a better world.

It is as we come into the great school of responsible human society, and as we graduate out of it, that we are at our best; and of the two, the graduating out of it impresses me as making the stronger appeal to whatever of the angelic there may be in any of us. One of our great graduates has so voiced that appeal as to make it a glorious inspiration—for the young and the old, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor. This is what he said: "When our time comes, what does it matter whether we have fared daintily or not, whether we have worn soft raiment or not, whether we have a great fortune or nothing at all, whether we shall have reaped honors or been despised, have been accounted learned or ignorant—as compared with how we have used that talent which has been intrusted to us for the Master's service? What shall it matter, when eyeballs glaze and ears grow dull, if out of the darkness may stretch a hand, and into the silence may come a voice: 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'"*

Must we sacrifice dainty fare, then, and soft raiment? No; not unless we get it at the expense of others unjustly. If we get it unjustly we must let it go, provided the getting be individual and restoration is possible; if the getting be social, individual restoration being therefore impossible, we must at any rate denounce it for what it is if it is unjust. "Thou shalt not steal!" was never spoken for burglars and pickpockets alone. That command is one of the time-tested truths, and vital. It yields to no human law. Stealing by act of the legislature and with the consent of the courts is stealing just the same, except for prison purposes. But no sacrifice of justly earned wealth is involved in our use of the talent we have been entrusted with.

The question regarding riches is one of comparison. When we come to graduate after a life of luxury, the test of how we have used that talent of ours will not be that we are rich; it will be how our riches compare with how we got them. How we have spent them, too, of course; but

*Henry George in "Social Problems," chapter ix, pages 89 and 90.

mainly how we got them—whether we have given value for our wealth, value in brain and brawn of our own, or whether we have screwed our wealth out of somebody else. For the supernal honors of graduation when our time shall come to see that hand stretch out of the darkness and to hear that voice come into the silence, we must have *served our fellows*—the men and women and children who in the world's school shall have lived their lives with us.

Served them how? By teaching? Some of us, but not many. By preaching? Some, but not many. By propagating the old and everlasting moral truths in new settings and getting ourselves crucified for it? Some, but not many. For the most part, our service to our fellows must be by useful work in one or another of the multifarious vocations of human society. As to the vocation itself, the decisive factor is its usefulness; as to us, the decisive factor is our faithfulness.

But this is still not enough. We do not use our talent well in the Master's service if we ignore our citizenship. The pupil in a school like this of yours cannot hold aloof from the school as a whole without detriment to both; no more can men and women hold aloof from human society as a whole. Each of us, says Emerson,* "is a bundle of relations, a knot of roots whose flower and fruitage is the world." By older similes, we are interdependent "like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth." Some there be who say that each of us should mind his own business. It sounds well. But "this is the gospel of selfishness," comes a response echoing down the years—"the gospel of selfishness, soothing as soft flutes to those who, having fared well themselves, think everybody should be satisfied."†

To me, that contentment which those of us who fare daintily preach to the discontented at whose expense it may be that we fare so well, is always a reminder of the prayer of the child who had not yet learned to use language so as to conceal thought: "O, Lord," she prayed, "teach Martha Smith to be a good little girl, so that I may take her playthings away from her and she won't make any fuss about it."

In one sense of "contentment," the doctrine that everybody ought to be contented is good doctrine; but as usually preached it means or is taken to mean "satisfied," and this is bad doctrine. If all men had always been satisfied with their lot, we should be savages yet. Discontent, if by that word you mean dissatisfaction, has given us all the labor-saving invention we have; and it is labor-saving invention that gives us civilization. Do you recall the anecdote of the lazy but ingenious boy who was hired to pull a string, now at one end and now at the other of a part of a steam engine, so as to alternate the steam pressure and

thereby produce wheel-motion—do you remember how his employer caught him one day playing ball in working hours? If you do you will remember that the boy had discovered a way of making the engine itself pull the string. He was discontented. So he made a labor-saving invention which has enriched the world. Incidentally, he lost his own job.

The writer I have just quoted, urges us further to realize that "he who observes the law and the proprieties, and cares for his family, yet takes no interest in the general weal, and gives no thought to those who are trodden under foot, save now and then to bestow alms, is not a true Christian, nor is he a good citizen."* That may be a high standard of citizenship, but it is none too high. And if any other or wider associations than business, family and citizenship be conceived, then the talent entrusted to us for the Master's service must be devoted to our fellows in those associations too.

Nor is it enough to use our talent merely as it has come to us. To do so would be like wrapping money in a napkin. We are derelict if we do not train ourselves to the highest efficiency in order that we may be all the more useful. What's the use of education? That is the use of it. Better service to our fellows. That is its use in the kindergarten, its use in the grammar grades, its use in high schools and preparatory schools, and in colleges and universities. Even more emphatically is that the use of education throughout all the rest of our lives,—better and better and ever better service to mankind, irrespective of race or nationality, of sex or age or color or creed or station; aye, or of goodness or badness.

Not service by sacrifice for anybody, unless in some emergency, but service for service. For is not each of us a unit of human society and equal in rights,—an equal in all the problems of fair play with every other human unit? Then it must be as unwholesome socially for others to flourish upon our unrequited work as for us to flourish upon theirs. "Thou shalt not steal!" means also that thou shalt not be stolen from, and this too is one of the old thoughts.

If it be true, then, that usefulness to mankind is the function of education, that its use is to make our inborn talents more and ever more efficient in human service, we are confronted with the task of tackling the problem of *head-education* versus *heart-education*. This is one of the first tasks before us, perhaps the very first. The problem is an old one; if it were not, it might hardly be worth while. It has probably bothered pedagogues ever since pedagogues came to be. I am not trying, though, to invade their special realm. It is their specialty to train the young mind, the undergraduate mind; but I address myself more par-

*Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay, "History."

†Henry George's "Social Problems," chapter 1, page 9.

*Henry George's "Social Problems," chapter 1, page 9.

ticularly to the graduate mind, to that mind of us older ones which is called mature—out of respect I suppose for the age of the body that carries it.

Education of the intellect alone seems to me a poor kind of education. To borrow from an Italian immigrant girl a phrase that has impressed me profoundly, one must have "a listening heart" in order to understand folks in this world. If we haven't got listening hearts we can't educate them; but if we have, they need training as much as a talent for music does. Our heart talent as well as our head talent must be educated—educated in the training school of youth, educated in the social school of the world. If there be any difference, it were better, perhaps, to educate the heart than the head. There is truth, old time truth, in Bourdillon's lines:

The night hath a thousand eyes, the day but one;
Yet the light of the whole world dies at set of sun.
The mind hath a thousand eyes, the heart but one;
And the light of the whole life dies when love is done.

But may there not be somewhere a normal balance between those functions of human life which we loosely distinguish as "head" and "heart"? The *thinking* function and the *feeling* function must go together. Of course this is not necessary for a trick lion, or a learned pig; but it is necessary to produce the best human effects.

Could we conceive of a being with perfect thinking faculties perfectly trained, but with no feeling faculties, all head but no heart, I suspect that he would come pretty near to filling out our notion of the Devil. On the other hand, it must be admitted that if there were a being with abundant feeling faculties and none for thinking, all heart but no head, he might be a perfect model for a tolerably useless crank. But imagine strong thinking faculties and warm feeling faculties in balance, and you have a man, a gentleman; or a woman, a gentlewoman. Were we to conceive of a being with those two faculties infinite in scope and perfect in balance, we should have a concept of God.

But the natural talents of individual men and women vary in their tendencies of "heart" and "head" one way or the other. Some lean more to the heart-side than to the mind-side, others the reverse. It has sometimes seemed to me that here we have the difference that makes of one an artist and of another a mechanic. Both artist and mechanic have mind, and both have heart; both think, both feel. But feeling is predominant with the artist, reasoning with the mechanic. The mechanic must have the heart, the feeling, the imagination to perceive mechanical possibilities; but unless his thinking faculties are what card players would call his stronger suit, he is more likely to potter away at perpetual motion than to improve a locomotive or to make a flying machine. The artist also must think, but unless feeling is his stronger suit his landscapes may be in mathe-

matical perspective and his portraits only facial diagrams.

In the domain of art, education of the heart, of the affectional or feeling faculties, of the imagination, does get attention. In that domain every school for the training of youth fosters the feeling faculties. There are few of us any more who do not understand that in painting and sculpture and to some degree in architecture, the heart must be educated. We may differ in our terms, but that is what we mean. This is true also of poetry, of fiction, probably of the whole range of literature, unless we except the scientific. Even in scientific literature there are traces of heart education, as there ought to be. An all-head-and-no-heart book on physics, for instance, may be useful as a hand book until its "head" work has got discredited by scientific discoveries prompted by "heart" action. But what more foolish is there, unless for back reference, than such a book that is out of date—except one of the same kind that is further out of date.

If I were asked to specify scientific literature in which there are no traces of heart education, or in which the traces are faint, I should turn instinctively first to modern economics; and were you then to confront me with some particular book on economics with "heart" in it, I could probably checkmate you by proving that it is in bad standing at the universities. But of all the sciences, where else than in economics can education of heart as well as head be more appropriate or more necessary? Economics has to do with human relationships in which sentiments of fair play and temptations to foul play are powerful factors. Its laws do indeed spring out of insentient physical nature; but they spring also out of human nature. Here is the science that relates to child labor, to women's work, to employer and employe, to intensity of work and the pay for it, to capitalist organizations and labor organizations, to slavery in fact though it be not so in form, and to what Herbert Spencer once called "man's right to the use of the earth." In the solution of all such problems human feeling must go double with impersonal thinking. Education of heart as well as head cannot here be ignored with safety. Colleges may leave the heart out, but when they do they are like the student who questioned a professor about the tides with the moon left out. "Young man," said the Professor, "you may leave out the moon, but God didn't." Neglect of heart education in connection with economic subjects has evolved social conditions which Arnold Bennett describes and accounts for in a single sweeping sentence when he refers to "the vast unconscious cruelty that goes with a perfect lack of imagination."

Of those social conditions I shall have something further to say, but right here I wish to dwell a little upon what it is that constitutes education.

Much of what we call education is something else. To distinguish that something else from education I shall call it "tutoring." I don't mean education by a tutor. What I mean by tutoring is the filling up of the mind from outside instead of drawing the mind out from the inside. To educate a mind is a different process from tutoring it. A tutored mind is a machine, doing over and over again what it has learned to do; an educated mind is a thinking man, a thinking woman, a thinking boy or girl, equipped with things to think about and methods to think by. When the tutored but uneducated soldier was asked why his sword had a curve, he said it was to make it fit the scabbard. Was his unthinking reply any more unthinking, was it any more absurd, than the theories of men who tell us that matter produces mind instead of mind producing matter? One may be tutored to overflowing without being educated; and if besides merely tutoring the mind you neglect the heart, or tutor that too, you get a specimen for a museum. Did you ever hear that an educated fool is the worst of fools? That is what it means—a person who has been tutored, and thinks he is therefore educated.

Education is training in feeling and in thinking. Things are to be learned of course, and so there must be tutoring. And for much of this we must cultivate a memory, for much of it also a forgettery. The things we learn are food for education, and not education itself. Education has its analogue in bodily digestion. It is not what we take in, but what we assimilate that constitutes our education. The heart is educated by feeling and thinking, the head by thinking and feeling. And neither can be trifled with. Delicate functions are the reasoning faculties and the conscience! To play make-believe with either is to run great risks of setting up a fallacy factory in the head or of cultivating an inverted conscience in the heart.

Of method in education I have never seen a better lay-out than "Gregory's laws." Some of you may know who Gregory is, or was. I do not. If I ever did, his identity has gone into my forgettery. It is of no importance, anyhow, except to give credit where credit is due, and that I am offering. Gregory must have got his laws from a good way back, for they are too true to be very new. Intended for teachers of children, they are applicable also to us children of older growth, and to every thing any of us may do that is worth the doing—be we teachers or learners, workers or idlers. If everyone with a problem to solve would recur to those educational laws, more problems would be solved right. If they were always applied in determining policies of action—household, business, professional, political, civic—policies of action would work out easier and better. If everyone would turn to them and be guided by them in writing, in speaking, when reading or listening,

we should have an infinitely better society in which to live—a better school from which to graduate when our day comes.

Gregory's laws are seven. The first is that the teacher must know the thing to be taught, and the second that the learner must be interested in it. That the language used must be common to both teacher and learner is the third, the fourth that the unknown must be explained by the known, and the fifth that the learner's mind must be aroused and used to form within it the desired thought. The sixth explains that learning is thinking an unfamiliar thought or truth into one's own understanding, and the seventh that the test of thinking is re-thinking.

If comparisons may be made I should say that the seventh is the best of all. The test of thinking is re-thinking. And when we re-think, it is highly important that we distinguish mere tutoring from educating. The unlettered boy had the right idea crudely. "This is A," said the teacher. "How do you know?" asked the boy. Well, she didn't know how she knew! In that respect she had been tutored rather than educated; and she answered: "My teacher told me." But the boy had no notion of allowing himself to be tutored; he wanted to be educated; so he replied with another question, and rather more rudely than I shall quote him: "How do you know your teacher told you the truth?" he asked.

There is a better way than that boy's, however, of testing thinking by re-thinking, and I shall formulate it. I don't remember whether this formula also is from Gregory's laws. If it is, let us be grateful to Gregory; if it is not, let us be grateful anyhow—in a general and abstract way: This is the formula: What? Where? When? How? Why? and What's the use? If this formula were applied—with unselfish motives, intellectual honesty, and moral courage—to the social problems of our time, there might soon be an end to that "vast unconscious cruelty which goes with a perfect lack of imagination."

Let us try it. Let us do a little re-thinking according to that educational formula. I make no decisions for you. I have no intention of tutoring anybody full of anything. All I ask of others is that they think. Then that they re-think. And that they do both intelligently, feelingly—with heart and with head. Not as amiable cranks, all heart and not much head; nor as devils, all head and little heart. But that they think and then re-think unselfishly, from the heart; with an honest mind, from the head; and with that courage which is the synonym not for battlefield bravery but for moral stamina, remembering, to quote Emerson again, that "God will not have his work made manifest by cowards."

The first question to ask ourselves is, *What?* To answer it we must call upon our observation, our experience, our reading, upon all the pertinent

facts we know, and give our imagination a chance—not our wild fancy, but the same loyal imagination that serves us so well in our more selfish concerns. If we do this, we shall see an appalling picture of poverty. High lights there may be as well as dark shadows, but the highest lights will have a sickly hue. We cannot see this picture from comfortable homes that look out upon green lawns and beautiful boulevards, nor through the windows of our limousines. But the picture is there—just beyond, just beyond. Glimpses of it may be got in drawing rooms through some of Mrs. Browning's verse—her "Cry of the Children," for instance; but only glimpses, and glimpses only of the dramatic reality. The real reality is beyond our ken unless we experience it ourselves. We must live the poverty life to know what it is. We must live it now. Memories of having lived it before we got rich won't do. We boast of our magnificent charities for the worthy poor; but these very institutions testify, and the more magnificent they are the stronger do they testify, to conditions of dreadful poverty among the worthy poor. Magnificent charities for the worthy poor cannot exist unless the worthy poor are in need of them. Jane Addams tells us that the usefulness of a Hull House is not so much the help it enables the well-to-do to bring to the working poor, as the knowledge of the lives of the working poor it brings to the well-to-do. This is the *What* of our re-thinking as far as we need go with it here.

The *Where* of it is our own country, which we as citizens govern if we will; the *When* of it is the present time.

And then the *How*? Here we may have to do some hard thinking, and there is authority for saying that hard thinking hurts the head. "To think," says Emerson—and I am making him largely my authority today—"is the hardest task in the world."* Now, good friends, if we lived in a simple civilization, our *How* might be easy to answer. But our civilization is complex, and the tracing of effect back to cause through its complexities is no easy task. Yet it is one of the tasks we are in this world for. These graduating pupils have unraveled complexities in this school; shall any of us in the world's great school say, "Oh, what's the use?" to the task of unraveling social complexities there? Shall these graduating pupils say it as they grow older?

If we re-think the *What*, the *Where*, the *When* and the *How*, we have yet to re-think the *Why*? And there's the rub! When one fares daintily in leisure, while others fare harshly in work, it is a crucial test to ask oneself *Why*? and then to answer unselfishly, with intellectual honesty, and with moral courage. We may explain to our comrades, to our clergyman, at political meetings, in editorial leaders, at trade conventions (whether of

laborer or employer), and with a good face, or a fine imitation of one; but could we explain to ourselves on the great graduation day, with that vision then before us of the hand stretching out of the darkness and the voice coming into the silence? This is a question each of us must answer for himself and to himself.

But after all, and this is the final question of our formula, *What's the use* of our *Why*, of our *How*, of our *Where*, of our *When*? aye, of our *What*? What's the use of marring our own comfort by thinking of the misery of others? What's the use of it even if their misery be the awful price of our comfort, as many of them are pretty boldly beginning to say it is? What's the use of bothering our heads about the *How*, or our hearts with the *Why*? This question is answered by the answer to another: What's the use of education?

If education is merely to serve our own self-interest, merely to cater to our vanities, merely to enable us to get the better of our fellow men, then the answer is that all this pother about *What's* and *Why's* is of no use at all. But what if we have higher aspirations? Of such as have, let me ask what's the use of education if it cannot grapple with every public question—thoughtfully, feelingly, honestly, courageously, and in the spirit of brotherhood?

The labor question, for example, is an old question, and we can study it in history. It has had many forms, but it is the same question in essence today as in the time of the Gracchi. We have had it in many centuries and places and shapes; and again and again does it appear in history to have brought on terrible social struggles—awful revolutions. We accustom ourselves to think that revolutions are made by wicked men. Our histories teach us better. We might as well say that wicked men make smallpox epidemics. Taine read history aright when he wrote that "great revolutions are not introduced by court intrigues and official cleverness, but by social conditions and popular instincts." To ascertain the conditions which inflame the popular instincts and remove them, is not that one of the highest uses of education?

But are we doing this? or trying to? If not, what is the use of education? Will the young men and women who are coming now into responsible human society,—will they do it, or try to? If not, what is the use of *their* education? We cannot leave public questions alone, nor can they; for those questions do not let us or them alone, and never will. And we exert an influence whether we intend to or no. On one side or the other, the right side or the wrong one, everybody who thinks at all or acts without thinking, as so many of us do sometimes, turns his influence into the scale of public opinion.

I might discuss specific questions, but this would not be an appropriate occasion for that, even if the necessary time were at my command. There

*Emerson's essay, "Intellect."

are some facts, however, some great big facts, that we can hardly escape knowing, and about which, if we have an education or are getting one, we ought to think—intelligently, honestly and courageously.

Here we are upon an island, a great island in space. We call it the earth. It is a fruitful island, with an ingenious and skillful and constantly increasing population.

Some say the fruitfulness of this island is giving out. But that can't be true; we have hardly begun to scratch the surface of it; and no sooner does its fruitfulness diminish in one respect than it multiplies in others. The older ones among us can probably remember when there were great fears that with the disappearance of forests we should have to deal with the problem of getting along without firewood. Then came the discoveries of coal deposits beyond the few of which we had known. But even coal deposits can not last forever. Hardly had we begun to think so, however, when electric inventions assured us that though wood and coal give out, we can depend upon every running stream for heat, and for light and power thrown in.

Some say that our island in space is crowded. But there is more vacant room by far even in the most crowded spot of all, New York City, than there is of occupied room.

Some say invention has reached its limits. But we keep on inventing. Labor per man now produces vastly more than ever before, and the tendency still is toward greater productive power.

Nevertheless, and for all this richness of our island in space, and all our progress in labor saving invention, masses of the people are poor and the rest of us are in constant fear of poverty. I have my own opinion about the question that thus arises, but I am not inerrant. I do not press my opinion upon you, for I may be mistaken. Yet I should like to leave the question with you. What do you think about it? Not what do you wish to think about it, nor whether it may be to your interest, but what do you think? What do you really think, as men and women of education and influence?

Could there be any better use of education than applying it diligently, progressively, unselfishly, with honest minds and moral stamina, to the questions of human relationship as they arise, and especially to those that involve God-given rights and God-imposed duties? If education ought to be devoted to religion, here is religion in one of its two great phases; it is loving your neighbor as yourself. If to good government, here is the sine qua non of good government: a democratic foundation. If to material progress, you devote it to material progress here; the fairer the distribution of wealth the more abundant and varied its production. If to ethics, here is the root of ethics: equality of social rights. If to one's calling, here is its most profitable application; for neighborli-

ness, good government, abundant production, fair distribution, equality of all social rights—these make for the continuous prosperity of every worker in every occupation.

* * *

THE LAND OF HEART'S CONTENT.

"A sail! a sail! Oh, whence away

And whither, o'er the foam?

Good brother mariners, we pray,

God speed you safely home!"

"Now wish us not so foul a wind

Until the fair be spent;

For hearth and home we leave behind!

We sail for Heart's Content."

"For Heart's Content! And sail ye so.

With canvas flowing free?

But, pray you, tell us, if ye know,

Where may that harbor be?

For we that greet you, worn of time,

Wave racked, and tempest rent,

By sun and star, in ev'ry clime,

Have searched for Heart's Content.

"In ev'ry clime the world around

The waste of waters o'er;

And El Dorado have we found,

That ne'er was found before.

The isles of spice, the lands of dawn,

Where east and west are blent—

All these our eyes have looked upon;

But where is Heart's Content?

"Oh! turn again, while yet ye may,

And ere the hearths are cold,

And all the embers ashen-gray,

By which ye sat of old,

And dumb in death the loving lips

That mourned as forth ye went

To join the fleet of missing ships,

In quest of Heart's Content!

"And seek again the harbor lights.

Which faithful fingers trim,

Ere yet alike the days and nights

Unto your eyes are dim!

For woe, alas! to those that roam

Till time and tide are spent;

And win no more the port of home—

The only Heart's Content!"

—William Young.

BOOKS

"PRAYERS OF THE SOCIAL AWAKENING."

For God and the People. By Walter Rauschenbusch.
Published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1910.

Modern man as a conscious part of the social whole has yet to find literary expression for his religious emotions. As an attempt at such expression Walter Rauschenbusch—the widely-known

writer and preacher—offers this volume of prayers, many of which readers of the American Magazine will remember.

All are eloquent. Very many ring strong and clear with truth and justice. Witness these sentences from the prayer "Against Impurity:"

Save our nation from the corruption that breeds corruption. Save our innocent sons and daughters from the secret curse that requites the touch of love with lingering death. O Jesus, thou Master of all who are both strong and pure, take our weak and passionate hearts under thy control, that when the dusk settles upon our life, we may go to our long rest with no pang of shame, and may enter into the blessedness of seeing God, which thou hast promised only to the pure in heart.

Read this prayer "For the Idle:"

O God, we remember with pain and pity the thousands of our brothers and sisters who seek honest work and seek in vain. For though the unsatisfied wants of men are many, and though our land is wide and calls for labor, yet these thy sons and daughters have no place to labor, and are turned away in humiliation and despair when they seek it. O righteous God, we acknowledge our common guilt for the disorder of our industry which thrusts even willing workers into the degradation of idleness and want, and teaches some to love the sloth which once they feared and hated.

We remember also with sorrow and compassion the idle rich, who have vigor of body and mind and yet produce no useful thing. Forgive them for loading the burden of their support on the bent shoulders of the working world. . . . Forgive them for appeasing their better self by pretended duties and injurious charities. . . . And to our whole nation do thou grant wisdom to create a world in which none shall be forced to idle in want, and none shall be able to idle in luxury, but in which all shall know the health of wholesome work and the sweetness of well-earned rest.

Turn to this plea, "For Those Who Come After Us:"

O God, we pray thee for those who come after us, for our children, and the children of our friends, and for all the young lives that are marching up from the gates of birth, pure and eager, with the morning sunshine on their faces. We remember with a pang that these will live in the world we are making for them. We are wasting the resources of the earth in our headlong greed, and they will suffer want. We are building sunless houses and joyless cities for our profit, and they must dwell therein. We are making the burden heavy and the pace of work pitiless, and they will fall wan and sobbing by the wayside. We are poisoning the air of our land by our lies and our uncleanness, and they will breathe it. . . . Lift the veil of the future and show us the generation to come as it will be if blighted by our guilt, that our lust may be cooled and we may walk in the fear of the Eternal. Grant us a vision of the far-off years as they may be if redeemed by the sons of God, that we may take heart and do battle for Thy children and ours.

Such prayers spoken in the high enthusiasm of a place of convention or in the quiet of a place of worship might well, as the author hopes, "stiffen all our bravest desires into fighting temper."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

✦ ✦ ✦

THE MUNICIPAL OUTLOOK.

Proceedings of the Buffalo Conference for Good City Government and the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League. Held November 14, 15, 16, 17, 1910, at Buffalo, New York. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Editor.

"Most largely attended," "most successful in the character of new papers," "more live, vigorous, useful, virile discussion by experienced workers and experts than at any preceding meeting." These quotations are from Mr. Woodruff's preface; and upon examination of the papers printed in the volume one may understand how profoundly interesting the Conference must have been.

We have already quoted from the admirable paper of the new president, William Dudley Foulke* in which he gave sanction to the Single-tax idea that cities should draw their incomes from the value of the land—which is the value that the city gives. Mr. Foulke's paper is appropriately supplemented with a valuable paper by John Martin, marshaling many of the details of the unearned increment in cities.

Another encouraging contribution is by Delos F. Wilcox, who discusses traction questions with special reference to New York. It is peculiarly interesting to learn from Mr. Wilcox's paper that some traction franchises in that city, being unlimited as to term, are held by the courts to be perpetual, and therefore "a vested right that cannot be taken away either by local or by legislative action, either with or without compensation for the physical property." and that while they "might perhaps be condemned, the city would in that case be compelled to pay not only for the physical property, but also the full present value of the perpetual right to occupy the streets." It is property of this predatory kind that will bring on violence if violence comes in the course of pending social readjustments.

Ernest S. Bradford compares commission forms of government, in a paper which enumerates the cities adopting this form, and makes a critical presentation of official functions under it. Of 46 cities tabulated by Mr. Bradford, 41 have the Referendum, 28 the Initiative, 30 the Recall, 15 the non-partisan primary, and 11 a civil service commission.

Mary Winsor, president of the Pennsylvania Limited Suffrage League, makes a report upon the working of woman suffrage in Colorado, in which she endeavors to bring out fully and fairly

*See The Public, current volume, page 64.

the best non-partisan judgment of competent observers resident in that State.

With a sweep of the municipal horizon, the secretary of the League, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, tells of municipal progress during the year, one of the facts upon which he dwells being the evolution of land value taxation in Canada. These annual reports by Mr. Woodruff on municipal progress make the printed proceedings of the National Municipal League a record of high value in civic history.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Forty-third Annual Insurance Report of the Insurance Superintendent of the State of Illinois. By Fred W. Potter. Part II—Life Insurance. 1911. Published by the Illinois State Journal Co., Springfield, Ill.

—Studies in the Scriptures. Series I—The Plan of the Ages. Series II—The Time is at Hand. Series III—Thy Kingdom Come. Series IV—“The Day of Vengeance.” Published by the International Bible Students' Association, Brooklyn, N. Y. Price, per volume, 35 cents.

—Theodore Parker. Anniversaries of Birth and Death. Celebrated in Chicago, November 13-20, 1910, under the auspices of the Free Religious Association, the Congress of Religion, the National Federation of Religious Liberals, and a Local Committee of One Hundred. Stenographically reported by Mrs. Annie Laurie Kelly. Published by Unity Publishing Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, 75 cents.

* * *

Willis—“Why don't you go to church?”

Gillis—“Too far. Why don't you go?”

Willis—“We live next door to one, and I hate to get all dressed up just to go that little way.”—Puck.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

Land Nationalisation Society. 30th Annual Report. For Year ending March 31st, 1911. Published by the Land Nationalisation Society, 432 West Strand, London, W. C. Price, one penny.

The Civic Man; or, the Larger Neighbor. By L. G. Landenberger. Vol. 47, No. 6 of The Helper. Published by the American New-Church Tract and Publication Society, 2129 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Price, 2 cents.

PERIODICALS

The Twentieth Century.

Mr. Flower contributes to the Twentieth Century for June, not only editorially as usual, but also to the body of the magazine. It opens with his description of “Franklin Square House,” a rentless home for young women workers and students. This account of an interesting semi-philanthropy is followed farther on in the magazine by his sympathetic story of “Science and Health,” the text book of Christian Science. Among other subjects likely to appeal to our readers are Hammell's little lessons in direct legislation, Crosman's recall of judges, and Bigelow's fifth installment of his “Religion of Henry George.”

* *

Tom L. Johnson in Hampton's.

Hampton's Magazine (New York) for July begins a series of reminiscent articles on the career of the late Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, by Tom L. Johnson himself. Written and dictated during his months of illness, they were finished as he passed into the unconsciousness that preceded his death, and they come now to the reader of Hampton's for July like a

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personal and friendly letter. "Nine Years' War With Privilege," is the title of this autobiography, the first installment of which is a sweeping review of the circumstances that led Mayor Johnson into the realm of Privilege in pursuit of a vocation and out of it into the public service. While he has written his experiences in the past tense, as must be with the story of a life, he has been careful to remind his readers that the conditions are of the present also. The keynote of his disclosures of the partnership between Big Business and politics is that it is not men that must be attacked, nor particular political parties that must be changed, but economic conditions. Among the events touched upon in this first installment are the principal ones relating to Mr. Johnson's boyhood, to his making money and how he

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years as a circus spieler would be, but just the same he let him have the job.

No. 44 was taking nickels on an Indiana avenue car—crowded at the rear, empty in front. Appeals "to move up in front" became useless; so No. 44 mounted to the doorway.

"Lad-i-e-e-s-s and gentle-men," he began, "I desire to call your attention to the lar-rge and open spa-ace at the front end of the car. This large open space, ladies and gentlemen, has been procured at a vast and e-normous expense, having been planned and executed by some of the greatest and most widely celebrated artists and constructors of passenger coaches the world has ever known. I desire to call your attention to the wideness and roominess of the aisle, the beautiful view to be had from the French plate windows, the invigorating ozone, which, undisturbed, floats breezily through its confines. It is a

chance of a lifetime, ladies and gentlemen, here to-day, gone tomorrow. Now, with your kind permission, I will beg that you step a little closer, every-y-bodie-e-e-e, step just a lit-tle closer-r-r-r!"

The carload of go-to-works laughed. But it didn't budge.—Kansas City correspondence of Chicago Inter Ocean.

* * *

An American archeologist with a great enthusiasm for the period of the Caesars was wandering about the Roman Forum one morning when a woman poked her head over the wall.

"Hey!" she said, in the familiar accent of western New York, "What place is this?"

"This is the ruins of the Forum," responded the archeologist.

"And what might that be?" she asked.

Amused, but glad of a chance to induct a fresh

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George

Delivered by

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D. D.
DR. GUSTAV GOTTHEIL
REV. EDWARD McGLYNN, D. D.
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mind into his hobby, the archeologist explained. He waxed eloquent; he began at its foundation; he pictured the pageant after pageant of history, the successive armies and races that made that spot memorable. Finally he ran down for want of breath.

"My!" she said. "Quite a historic spot, isn't it?"—Success.

+ + +

Glady (to aeroplaning friend):—"I do love to see the gulls flying about!"

Aeroplaning Friend:—"Oh, come away, do! I can't

stand watching them! They oughtn't to be out in this wind!"—Punch.

+ + +

"What are you laughing at, Mabel?"

"I've just got a letter from Cousin Fannie."

"I never suspected that your Cousin Fannie was much of a humorist. Where is she?"

"In Holland. She says she intends to send me picture postcards from Rotterdam and Amsterdam."

—Chicago Record-Herald.

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