

The Public

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

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PERIODICALS.

EDITORIAL

In Season and Out of Season.

There is nothing more baffling to a good word than to be spoken out of season.

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Dr. Butler's Demagogy.

"The art of being a demagogue," so Dr. Nicholas "Miraculous" Butler is reported in current comment, "is easy to learn." But Dr. Butler himself hasn't found it easy.

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"Good Men" in Bad Business.

Big Business grafters and their tools of all degrees in politics are frankly analogued by the Chicago Tribune's Alineotypeortwoster in these not quite historical but neatly significant as well as distinguished precedents:

Jack Sheppard was a burglar bold.

At crime a master-hand.

His public life was full of sins,

His private life was grand.

Dick Turpin lived so loose a life

That words describe it faintly.

They hanged him for his public deeds;

His private life was saintly.

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The British Crowning.

Magnificent spectacles were those royal coronation tableaux in London last week. They were more than magnificent. Against the background

of British democracy—the farthest advanced and most advancing democracy, political and religious, to be found anywhere on earth today—those gorgeous emblems of mediæval monarchism and paganistic pieties had a wholesome human meaning. There was a toy throne, a toy crown, a toy king and consort. They were surrounded by toy aristocrats in a curio church-edifice, and there were toy ecclesiastics to officiate at the toy crowning. Outside, for the entertainment of commoner and the commonest crowds, which lined the streets with only purchasable places for distinction, there was a procession of more or less animate toys skilfully arranged in sets and brilliantly costumed. Expensive it all was, and the expense was wrung from the sweat of labor; yet it was less expensive than dreadnaughts, and it exacted no toll of human life besides the sweat. It was archaic, yet interesting and instructive if only for that reason. But above all it was suggestive, sublimely suggestive. That which made it so was its function of symbolizing the submission of the despotic past peaceably to the democratic future. It was the Tenth Century stretching a friendly hand across the interval to bid the Twentieth Century godspeed.

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Regenerate Mexico.

Most of our information about Mexico under the new regime is gratifying. The leaders seem in the main to be brainy men and honest. But they have a difficult task before them. The moral stamina of the country was sapped by the Diaz dynasty. Greed and graft were so long and steadily triumphant as to take on a flavor of legitimacy the taste of which survives. "Where's our share?" is an unasked question but a potent sentiment with which Madero, Gomez, Rodriguez, Gonzales and others among the new leaders may have to cope, and possibly to their undoing. Many will "want theirs," and failing to get it as the supporters of Diaz did, may turn back from following the leaders who have put Diaz out. It looks like our own familiar spoils story in a southern and latin setting—that perennial post-election story of ours in which the "appointed" and the "disappointed" are most conspicuous. It is a sentiment, too, of which Big Business in the United States will avail itself. Mexicans had better watch John Hays Hammond, the Guggenheims, the Gallingers, and their underground and overhead connections.

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But there are reasons to hope that Madero may

prove right enough and strong enough to shake off the parasites. If that is his disposition, the circumstances are with him. His government will need greatly increased revenues, and the people much help that will necessitate still greater need for revenues. Where shall these revenues come from? Where shall the increased taxes fall? The common people were exhausted under Diaz, and Madero must go elsewhere for taxes or go to political ruin himself. If he does go elsewhere, tapping the only source of public revenues that Diaz left untapped, he will get his revenues abundantly, and at the same time "swat" the parasites—all of them, native and foreign. Let him tax the estates, giving the workers a rest from taxation, and he will win. By making it easier for the owners of big and unused tracts to let go than to hold on, which is what a heavy tax upon the estates would do, he will drive the parasites out; by taxing the estates on the land value basis, and as users come into them exempting improvements, he will stimulate legitimate business and fill the public treasuries. But does Madero see and understand the power of this policy? and if he does, will he have the nerve to adopt and pursue it?

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Tom L. Johnson's Tax Report.

In his recollections of "Nine Years' War With Privilege," which began in the July number of Hampton's Magazine, Tom L. Johnson tells of his efforts in Congress to destroy the graft of land monopolists in the District of Columbia. He had been "shelved" as a Congressman upon the then obscure committee for the District, but Tom Johnson never staid "shelved." On that committee he left no stone unturned to get his associates to see that the public treasury of the United States, drawn upon to the extent of fifty per cent for District expenses, was not thereby benefiting the people of the District or of the country, but was enriching local landowners; and that these, not satisfied with that lawful graft, were augmenting it with unlawful graft by tax-dodging.

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Mr. Johnson's reminiscences in Hampton's tell how the efforts of his committee to secure fair land value assessments in the District "were met with opposition by those landowners who were paying less than their share of taxes;" but what he rightly regards as the greatest result of the committee's report, was its exposure, for the first time comprehensively and specifically, of "the low assessment of valuable property, the high assess-

ment of small homes, and the utter futility of all attempts to tax personal or intangible property." He has also rightly described that historic report as "the very beginning of a line of inquiry that has gone on in this country since, is the heart of the Budget fight now going on in England, has been applied in parts of Australia, in New Zealand and western Canada, and is today a recognized part of the taxing system in these places."

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As that system is usually and rightly associated with the name of Henry George, whose chief American disciple Tom L. Johnson was, there is singular appropriateness in the fact that Henry George's son, Henry George, Jr., now in Congress and on Johnson's old committee, is reviving the work there which began with the Johnson report.

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Tom L. Johnson's Democratic Successor.

When Mayor Johnson was defeated for re-election in Cleveland two years ago next fall, one candidate upon his ticket was nevertheless elected. This was Newton D. Baker, the City Solicitor, whom Mayor Johnson had appointed to that place in the cabinet of his first term, and who had been thereafter (appointments having been abolished) regularly elected to the same office. Through all his long fight with Privilege in Cleveland, Tom L. Johnson relied upon Mr. Baker as his chief of staff. For not only had Mr. Baker become Johnson's worthily trusted personal friend, and his appreciative and loyal political associate, adviser and coadjutor; but Baker's general training and character, together with his fidelity and experience in the city's law department, made him especially valuable to Johnson in his administration of the affairs of Cleveland for the public good. Whoever had the confidence of Tom L. Johnson knows that through all the years of their association and down to the last hour of his conscious life, he would have chosen Newton D. Baker, had the responsibility of choosing come to him, for his own successor in political and administrative leadership in Cleveland. Mr. Baker's announcement of his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Mayor, must therefore be encouraging to the men of Cleveland who believed in Johnson. And regardless of all questions of Johnson's confidence in Baker, the candidacy of the latter should be an inspiration to the democratic Democrats of Cleveland and a welcome announcement to all non-partisans. The Plain Dealer says none too much in Baker's favor when

it emphasizes his popularity, his qualities of leadership, his years of service as City Solicitor, and the fact that the announcement of his candidacy for Mayor "raises the campaign to a high plane," and warns both parties that unless they pit against him broad and strong men his nomination and election are assured.

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Civic Intelligence and Direct Legislation.

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall will be glad to know that Mr. Wickersham is "agin 'em."

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Who is Mr. Wickersham? Why, don't you know? He is the Attorney General whom President Taft promoted to that exalted post, from a partnership with brother Henry in the service of "good" trusts.

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Mr. Wickersham, with the provincialistic spirit of his place and class, tells this year's graduates of Yale that under the Initiative and Referendum "a small minority of the qualified electors, organized to accomplish any particular purpose, can mould the laws, or even the Constitution, to accomplish their purposes before the great majority of the electors are aware of what is going on."

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Then the great majority of the electors must be lacking in civic intelligence, and therefore properly disfranchised, the more especially as they disfranchise themselves. But Mr. Wickersham forgets that under the same Initiative and Referendum the "great majority," caught napping in that way by a minority, could recover what they had lost before they were aware of what was going on, by resorting to their electoral rights of Initiative at the very next election. If their rights were snatched away by misrepresentatives in the absence of the Initiative and Referendum, they couldn't recover them without trusting other representatives, who also might misrepresent them or be outmaneuvered by corporation lawyers. We say that Mr. Wickersham forgets this. But does he?

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Those Co-ordinate Departments.

Much boasting has been done, first and last, of the balance of powers in our Federal Constitution. With an Executive free of dictation from Congress and Court, with Congress free from Court and Executive, and the Supreme Court free from both the others, it has long been argued that this Republic would sail majestically through the

political atmosphere as planets through space; that each co-ordinate department—executive, legislative and judicial—would hold each of the others in equilibrium. But President Taft, if correctly reported by Edward G. Lowrey in Harper's Weekly of June 3rd, must have abandoned the co-ordinate theory if he ever held it. When asked about the trust decisions, he said, as Mr. Lowrey reports him, that whatever had been his opinions as expressed in one of his messages to Congress, "he abandoned them when the Supreme Court spoke." If this does not mean that Mr. Taft subordinates the Executive to the Court, what can it mean; and if the Executive is subordinate to the Court, how can the two be co-ordinate?

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Legitimate Business versus Big Business.

Through men like Robert Moran, of Seattle, the legitimate business interests of the country are beginning to see that their prosperity is not with Big Business but with the labor interests, of which they themselves are part. In other words, the true industrial line is not between employer and employe; it is between producer and parasite.

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Mr. Moran cannot be denounced by Big Business as a wild-eyed radical whose ravings are to be ignored while Big Business keeps on plundering legitimate business. He has been Mayor of Seattle, he was founder of the Moran Brothers Company of Seattle and its head until its sale to the Moran Company, he was a large employer for many years and is a man of wider than Washington State influence. Writing on harbor improvements at Seattle, in the Railway and Marine News of that city, issue of June 1, Mr. Moran denies that Seattle is in need of any further great public improvements. "She needs not the destruction of capital, in the construction of harbor works that will not be required for a hundred years hence." What she needs is factories, he explains, and to get them she must work out a plan "to take the speculator in raw land out of the deal," some such plan as that of Vancouver and "other places, to stop taxing productive labor and put taxes on vacant land."

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Quite as encouraging to legitimate business as Mr. Moran's declaration, is its editorial approval by the Railway and Marine News, an old established business periodical, which agrees that harbor improvements beyond the present needs of

Seattle "are land speculation and debt-creating schemes pure and simple," and that many business men know it but "haven't the nerve to come out and say so, as does Mr. Moran." It quotes approvingly another letter from Mr. Moran in which he truly says: "Manufactures and agriculture make commerce and produce wealth; they never made hard times; you can lay that up to the gambler, and in that profession the speculator in raw land stands in the foreground in Seattle. He is a parasite in every industrial community, and there is only one cure, taxation." To appreciate Mr. Moran's thoroughly sound position, it might be better to identify land speculation as an interest maintained in greater or less degree by many persons having also productive interests, than to personify it. Land speculators as a distinct class may not be very numerous or very wicked anywhere; but land speculation is an enormous and industrially destructive interest everywhere.

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Coming! Coming!

Mr. Roosevelt's almost excellent editorial on "Arizona and the Recall of the Judiciary," in The Outlook of June 24th, testifies to an awakening as great and as sudden as that of the Irishman who in the story knocked down the Jew. If Roosevelt trots along at the rate he is going now, he will be abreast of Bryan in a year or two. And let us assure the admirers of his democracy who have been unable to see Bryan's under its prairie label, that we intend no odious comparison. Roosevelt really does seem to be advancing out of democratic phrase-making with shirt-sleeve exemplifications, into the open day of "the real thing." Though he still alludes to opinions of others than his own crowd as "the whim of the mob," he does truly seem to be improving.

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THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

I.

In an issue of The Public some months ago* we referred editorially in these terms to the Declaration of Independence in the Philippines, ten years ago or thereabouts:

"The Declaration of Independence was suppressed in the Philippines by American decree."

That assertion appears to have been erroneous.

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At the time of publishing it, the fact as stated

*Current volume, page 4.

had a place in our recollection like that of John Adams's prediction that the anniversaries of the Declaration would be celebrated generation after generation with the ringing of bells and the explosion of Chinese crackers. So clearly did it recur, as a fact of common knowledge, as to seem to us to need no confirmation. But we were soon advised by Mrs. Celia Baldwin Whitehead, of Denver, that the assertion had been denied by a gentleman to whom she quoted it in a controversy over American imperialism.

Since that time, Mrs. Whitehead and *The Public* have been searching separately for the truth of the matter. Both her search and ours having come to an end, we now set forth the result for the purpose of properly correcting our own error and in the interest of the truth of American history in the Philippines.

II.

We begin with Mrs. Whitehead's experience.

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She first wrote to the War Department, supposing that to be the quickest way of getting the information she wished. In reply she received the following from the Bureau of Insular Affairs:

February 6, 1911.

Madam: Replying to your letter of the 31st ultimo, I have the honor to inform you that the reading of the American Declaration of Independence is not prohibited in the Philippine Islands. On the contrary I might say that just shortly after the Americans took over the government of the islands, a pamphlet was prepared which contained the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence, in English as well as in Spanish, and several thousand copies of it were sent to the islands, where they were distributed throughout the schools. The pamphlet was also translated into several of the native dialects and distributed in a similar manner.

Furthermore, the Philippine Government has commemorated the signing of the Declaration of Independence by providing that the Fourth of July shall be one of the public holidays of the islands, and the day is celebrated there in a manner similar to that in which it is celebrated in the United States.

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Obviously Mrs. Whitehead could not regard that letter as satisfactory. In fact she did not, for she wrote again. The reply to her second letter was as follows:

March 7, 1911.

Madam: Your letter of the 24th ultimo has been received. If the reading of the American Declaration of Independence in the Philippine Islands was ever prohibited the bureau has no record of it, and furthermore I have made inquiries of officials of the Philippine government who have been in the islands

practically since the date of American occupation and they can not recall any prohibition of the kind.

In the May, 1902, number of the *North American Review* there appeared an article in which it was claimed that the reading of the American Declaration of Independence in the Philippine Islands had been prohibited. The claim was not supported by any information as to the source of the prohibition, or when it was issued, and a search of our records disclosed that we had never received, or been advised, of any order, circular, or other document which contained such prohibition.

To the best of my knowledge and belief the reading of the Declaration of Independence has never been prohibited in the Philippine Islands. Certainly such action would have been diametrically opposed to the efforts which were made by the government just after American occupation to bring to the attention of the Filipinos the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence which were mentioned in my letter to you of February 6th.

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Following the clue disclosed in that letter, Mrs. Whitehead procured a copy of the *North American Review* for May, 1902, and found the article alluded to. Its author was Andrew Carnegie.

Thereupon Mrs. Whitehead wrote to Mr. Carnegie for further information, enclosing the two War Department letters and asking their return. In due time the letters came back, but alone.

She then wrote this letter to Mr. Carnegie:

Denver, March 30, 1911.

Dear Sir: I am much puzzled at receiving, this morning, the letters from the War Department, which I sent you, unaccompanied by any reply to my inquiry regarding the matter of which they treat. Of course I realize that a mistake has been made somehow by somebody, because any other supposition involves an unbelievable discourtesy. But I can not imagine how the mistake arose. Did I not make myself understood in my former letter?

I am sorry to trouble you with this matter, but I never like to give up a quest until I find that for which I am looking, or am convinced that it cannot be found. Will you be so kind as to let me hear from you on the subject?

No reply to her courteous and surely not unimportant request of Mr. Carnegie has ever been received by Mrs. Whitehead.

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After waiting in vain a reasonable time to hear from Mr. Carnegie, Mrs. Whitehead wrote as follows to President Taft:

Dear Sir: I am sorry to trouble so busy a man, but when I begin a quest for information I dislike to give it up. In the present instance my search seems narrowed down to you.

What I wish to find out is this: Did you or any of your subordinates, while you were in command at the Philippines, at any time prohibit the reading

of the American Declaration of Independence? Was such prohibition ever promulgated?

Please do not refer this to the War Department. I have two letters from the Bureau of Insular Affairs declaring there is no record of any such thing. The second of the two letters said that a statement of that kind was made in an article published in the North American Review of May, 1902. I looked up the article, which is entitled "The Opportunity of the United States"—a most excellent plea for home rule. It was written by Andrew Carnegie and a portion of it reads as follows:

"We prohibited the reading of the Declaration of Independence in the Philippines last Fourth of July. To the incredulous reader let me repeat this fact. It is on record and acknowledged by our officials.

"We can imagine the first thought of so good a man as Judge Taft and so good an American as he has been hitherto when this was suggested to him: 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?' But, alas, he did it."

Twice have I written Mr. Carnegie asking for the exact sources of his information. No reply do I get, so I have decided to apply at headquarters for a settlement of the question.

Did Mr. Carnegie make up that story out of whole cloth and offer it for publication in so reputable a journal as the North American Review? That seems incredible; and yet, if he has the knowledge I am seeking, why should he refuse to impart it? An early and explicit answer to my letter will be a favor.

Mrs. Whitehead's letter to the President bore the date of April 26, 1911. His reply is as follows:

May 25, 1911.

My Dear Madam: In reply to your letter of April 26th, the President directs me to say that he never, while in the Philippines, prohibited the reading of the American Declaration of Independence; that none of his subordinates made such a prohibition, so far as he knows; that no such prohibition, so far as he knows, was ever promulgated; that he has made an investigation and, so far as he can learn, there was no such prohibition; and that the files of the Manila newspapers show that the Fourth of July, 1901—the day referred to by Mr. Andrew Carnegie in his communication in the North American Review of May, 1902—was celebrated in Manila by the reading of the Declaration of Independence and by patriotic speeches.

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With that letter, signed officially by the Secretary to the President, Mrs. Whitehead's search came to an end.

III.

Meanwhile, we had been making a search of our own and through other channels.

Upon the denial of our statement regarding the suppression of the Declaration, we supposed we should need do nothing more than refer to The Public files for verification. To our surprise we found no verification there.

(Something of historical importance and relevancy to the subject under consideration we did find, but of that farther on.)

Failing to find specific verification in our files, we made inquiries of various people regarding their recollection. Often, though not invariably, we got assurances of a recollection identical with our own; but none with any authoritative references.

So far as we now know, or have been able to ascertain, no actual suppression of the Declaration of Independence ever took place, in the Philippines, nor was its publication in any form ever prohibited there at any time in terms. And not only does our statement that "the Declaration of Independence was suppressed in the Philippines by American decree" appear to have been erroneous, but we have found no record indicating that there may have been any such suppression, except Mr. Carnegie's unsupported statement in the North American Review.

IV.

To any fair reader, however, it must seem as it does to us, that there must have been some kind of foundation for Mr. Carnegie's assertion, even if he does maintain an apparently inexcusable silence on the subject now.

It is hardly thinkable that he would have made the assertion falsely and out of whole cloth. Nor is it probable that such an assertion over the signature of a man so widely known as Mr. Carnegie, in a magazine of such standing and circulation as the North American Review, and so near to the time of the alleged occurrence, would have gone unquestioned if it had been wholly without foundation.

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That there was at least one substantial foundation for it, we discovered upon searching The Public files. This was the matter parenthetically alluded to above as of historical importance and relevant to the subject here under consideration.

It was a decree, issued under the authority of the United States government, November 4, 1901, and printed in full in the fourth volume of The Public at page 718. Section 10 of that decree is as follows:

"Until it has been officially proclaimed that a state of war or insurrection against the authority or

sovereignty of the United States no longer exists in the Philippine islands, it shall be unlawful for any person to advocate, orally or by writing or printing or like methods, the independence of the Philippine islands or their separation from the United States, whether by peaceable or forcible means, or to print, publish or circulate any handbill, newspaper, or other publication, advocating such independence or separation. Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$2,000 and imprisonment not exceeding one year."

✦

Now, it may be that the American Declaration of Independence does not in strictness fall within the proscription of that decree. For the Declaration does not advocate in precise terms "the independence of the Philippine Islands" nor "their separation from the United States." It advocates only in general terms the independence of any people governed as the Filipinos then were. Whether in such matters the general does not include some of its particulars, would therefore have been open to administrative interpretation, had some all too literal military subordinate "pinched" somebody for publishing the American Declaration of Independence in the Philippine Islands.

But let us ask what man of common sense and a prejudice against paying \$2,000 worth of fine and lying in Philippine jails for a year—what American anti-imperialist traveling through the Islands, for instance,—would have ventured to circulate copies there of the American Declaration of Independence while that decree remained in force, without first getting a special dispensation from the man highest up?

That decree and its observance—over-prudent though the observance were—may not improbably have generated and fostered the mistake to which Mr. Carnegie gave publicity in 1902 and into which we fell in 1911.

V.

In the files of *The Public* we find the following articles with an historical bearing upon the subject, more or less direct:

Suppression by Gen. Otis of a play, "For Love of Country," because it referred to independence.—*The Public* of March 31, 1900, vol. ii, number 104, page 1.

The sedition decree under which it might have been imprudent to publish the American Declaration of Independence without a special dispensation.—*The Public* of February 1, 15 and 22, 1902, vol. iv, pages 675, 718 and 723.

Fourth of July in the Philippines.—*The Public* of July 6 and 13, 1901, vol. iv, pages 199, 217; and *The Public* of July 12, 1902, vol. v, pages 209, 215.

Any further verified contributions to the question thus raised by Mr. Carnegie's apparent error of 1902 and our adoption of it in 1911, will be gladly received and used for the purpose of establishing the whole truth.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ECONOMIC CONTRASTS.

Providence, R. I., June 20.

The World Almanac gives the population of Chicago for 1900 as 1,698,575, and for 1910 as 2,185,283, being an increase of 28.7 per cent. The population of New York City in 1900 was 3,437,202 and in 1910 was 4,766,883, being an increase of 38.7 per cent. As it has long been the boast of the good people of the western city that the freer life and more vigorous society of that breezy burgh was bound to overtake the eastern metropolis, is it not time to take note of the facts expressed in the above figures?

A less percentage on a smaller quantity, is not likely to outrun a larger percentage on a greater quantity. This assertion is safe unless Chicagoans have discovered some new sort of calculus.

Has Chicago acquired a spirit of retrogression? Will the next census show that the fate of Iowa is to be repeated in the history of our city? Land in Iowa has increased in value in spite of a declining population. In Chicago the small increase in population has been attended by a large increase in the value of land.

Does increase in land value have a tendency to keep people away from Iowa and Chicago? Does New York use a larger percentage than Chicago of the land within the corporate limits? Would a higher tax on vacant land in Chicago cause its owners to part with it at a lower price, and thereby facilitate its use? Would such higher tax on the value of vacant land permit a lower tax on buildings, stocks of goods—on business generally—and thereby encourage men to locate in Chicago? Would such procedure afford some hope that the aforesaid boast may be realized?

Is there the remotest reason for such hope in the present situation? Would the Initiative and Referendum be handy tools for use in changing the existing tax laws? Is there ground for belief that the Lorimer-Deneen-Sullivan-Hearst-Harrison combine will exert their utmost energies to secure those same tools, or use them to the end that Chicago shall achieve its rightful destiny? Or, may we look for more taxes on industry in Chicago, that it may become more and more uninviting? Not even protection calculus can induce 28 per cent to overtake 38 per cent.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

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Being of a hopeful disposition, we believe the time may come when we shall have individual door knobs.—Chicago Record-Herald.

THE MARVELOUS HUMAN MACHINE.

Langdon, Alberta, Canada, June 20.

I have just finished baling 100 tons of prairie hay for the Rocky Mountain markets. There is nothing interesting or strange about that fact, and this article is not an advertisement for baled hay. But running through the story of the task is another practical demonstration of the marvels of this wonderful human machine—the body.

I have hauled the entire shipment of hay by myself, from the baler to the cars. The work was performed in about 10 days, while four men were running the baler. I lifted the hundred tons of hay three and four times—a clean, clear, straightforward lift each time. It was lifted once from the ground to the wagon, once from the wagon to the car, and once from the car floor into the tiers in the car, one-third of the bales being lifted higher than my head. That is to say, in ten days I lifted a load aggregating 600,000 pounds in weight, and today I feel as rugged and fresh as the day I began. I have eaten three average meals per day and have averaged about seven hours' rest each night.

Think of this marvelous work, performed by a bundle of bone, muscle and tissue, weighing but 175 pounds.

And greater wonder still, one could go on performing the same kind and degree of manual labor for months, perhaps years, without suffering any depreciation of physical strength, if proper care were taken of this matchless machine, the body.

In the face of these facts, is it not strange that the human species deteriorate, decay, become decrepit, feeble, tottering and finally give up the struggle just when life should mean the most?

Every year gives us almost an entirely new body. Silently, stealthily, without noise or display, the human tissues are rebuilt, rejuvenated, renewed. Lungs, heart, liver, brain—all are renewed constantly. Bone and muscle and tendon are all formed anew while we sleep. Blood is invigorated, rekindled with the living fires of health and strength day by day and hour by hour. We receive a new lease on life every time we draw into our lungs the life-giving oxygen. We receive a pardon for our excesses, our suicidal errors, every time we lie down at night to rest and refresh ourselves. Yet in the face of these munificent gifts of Nature, we waste and destroy ourselves faster than all the alchemy of the universe can replenish our stores of vitality and strength. We throw away our lives, we waste our forces faster than the workshop of Nature, with all her matchless equipment, can rebuild our bodies.

With proper care, the human body should last, with all its faculties intact, for more than a century. If the excesses, the passions, wastes of every day life could be abolished, and men and women could live clean, normal, wholesome lives, eating, drinking and sleeping only as the bodily functions required these, and performing our labors in the proper time and within proper limits, where would be the reason for the decay of the body? Nature is doing so much to keep us on the earth, healthful, vigorous and strong, by rebuilding year by year every tissue in our bodies, that it seems criminal in us, to do so little to co-operate with her.

BERT HUFFMAN.

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 27, 1911.

The British Coronation.

George V was crowned in Westminster Abbey on the 22nd, with the ceremonials that have come down from the time of Edward the Confessor. King George received the crown at 12:32 p. m., London time, and his consort, Queen May, received hers immediately afterward. Westminster Abbey was crowded with from 7,000 to 8,000 persons. Following a religious ceremony, the Archbishop of Canterbury proclaimed the presence of "the undoubted King of the Realm," east, south, west and north, accompanied by the Earl Marshal, the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Lord High Constable, the King meanwhile standing by his chair and turning to the four points of the compass as the proclamation was made at each. More elaborate religious ceremonies followed, all in accordance with the old time theory of the divinity of kings. Then came the oath, acknowledging the King's subordination to Parliamentary statutes and pledging him to the Protestant religion as established by law; whereupon, with the spoon used at English coronations since the twelfth century, the King kneeling, the Archbishop anointed him with oil. Long and varied archaic ceremonies followed, which culminated in the placing of the crown upon the King's head by the Archbishop and his being conducted to the throne. There he received in ancient form the homage of the archbishops and bishops, the Prince of Wales, the other princes, and the peers of the realm in the order of their rank. The coronation ceremonies being then over, the day which had opened with a royal procession through the streets of London closed at Buckingham palace with a royal dinner party.

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The British Imperial Conference.

Just previous to George V's coronation there met in London the first Imperial Conference of Premiers of the British Dominions. The Conference as the Assembly of Colonial Premiers had held five sessions, the first having been in 1887. At the meeting of 1907 the name was changed, and regular sessions four years apart were arranged for. The Premiers, guests of the English government during the Conference, and guests of the King for the coronation, were Andrew Fisher, Premier of the Commonwealth of Australia; Sir

Joseph Ward, Premier of the Dominion of New Zealand; Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of the Dominion of Canada; General Louis Botha, Premier of the Union of South Africa; and Sir Edward Morris, Premier of Newfoundland. The Premier of Great Britain, Mr. H. H. Asquith, was *ex officio* presiding officer of the councils. [See vol. x, p. 203.]

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The meetings of the Conference, which began on May 23, were not open to the public or the press. The Daily News assigned good reasons for this secrecy, saying: "The Conference is neither a propagandist meeting nor a Parliament. It is a gathering of picked administrators met to discuss with perfect frankness concrete matters interesting to the States which they represent." The press, however, reported proposals offered from the various Dominions, looking to closer and more equal federation between the various portions of the Empire, with less paternal care. Transference of the handling of their common affairs from the Secretary for the Colonies to the Foreign office or to an Imperial secretary, was advocated, but not pressed when objections on the score of convenience were advanced. The Premier of New Zealand was also reported as bringing forward a proposal for an Imperial parliament proportioned to populations, with an Imperial defence council of twelve, two from each of the six co-ordinate powers, Great Britain and Ireland being reckoned as only one factor among the six. The British Premier pointed out that this would destroy, first, the authority of the Home government in the conduct of foreign policy, diplomacy and war, and secondly, its responsibility to Parliament. The other Premiers also took stand against the super-powers of such a parliament and such a defense council, and Sir Joseph Ward withdrew his plan, stating that he realized that the problem "would require very careful consideration."

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At a luncheon given to the Premiers on May 27 at the Hotel Cecil, Mr. Lloyd George, who presided, made a speech on Imperial unity, in the course of which he said:

The conferring of self-government upon great communities in the Empire is the greatest of all the achievements of Liberalism. (Applause.) Our great statesmen in the past faced misrepresentation and obloquy, dared even political ruin, to confer freedom upon these great communities, and we see with pride how they have grown in strength, in influence, in power, and, above all, in the arts of self-government. They have added to the store of experience upon which humanity can draw in the settlement of its great problems, and as a party we feel that we can share in the triumphant vindication of democratic government which they present to the civilized world. (Hear, hear.) . . .

But we have another special interest as Liberals

in our self-governing Dominions. We study and watch with care, with admiration, with a spirit of emulation their bold social experiments. (Hear, hear.) It is an inspiration for us to see how the daring, the spirit of enterprise, the patient courage, which have transformed many a wilderness into a fertile province, are also inspiring the effort which is extricating humanity from the undergrowth of the social jungle in which it is tangled. In this land the growth is older and denser, the fibre is tougher and ranker. It is only with difficulty, with labor, with toil that we can cleave our way through it. But we are doing it slowly, laboriously, until I hope at last we shall cut a way for humanity to march through to the light. (Applause.)

This is an old country—not done with yet. (Applause.) The trade returns, the census returns, yes, and even the living issues we are fighting on the floor of the Mother of Parliaments, the House of Commons and the House of Lords, all prove that this country has not yet come to the end of its great career. (Hear, hear.) There are still chapters to be written which will thrill with nobler deeds than have yet been recorded even in the great past. The country which has founded the greatest Empire the world has ever seen means to prove that it can also rid itself of the social evils which are undermining its strength and dimming its lustre. (Applause.) The old country is not done with, but if we are not at the end of the greatness of Britain, these new Dominions are only at the beginning of their greatness. (Applause.)

The Prime Ministers who have honored us today with their presence now represent their millions. The day is not distant when either they or their successors will come over to the old country to represent their scores of millions. They have a great, and unlimited future before them. They may, and will, outgrow Britain in strength, population, power, position. But they will never outgrow their affection for the old country. (Applause.) There are shrines in Britain they can never forget. It is the land of Shakespeare, of Milton, of Burns; it is the land where generations of men and women dared death to fight for the freedom of the soul; and however they may grow, whatever their power and their influence, these things will draw them to the old country with an increasing attraction, an increasing affection, until we shall one day be indeed one people—one in purpose, one in ideals, one in devotion to the service of God and man. (Applause.)

In responding the Premier of Australia, Mr. Andrew Fisher, said:

We have found that the more we are allowed to manage our own affairs the more attached do the people of Australia become to the people of England and to the British crown. It is freedom which makes for safety.

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The Lords' Veto.

Parliament reassembled on the 26th, and in the House of Lords Lord Lansdowne gave notice of a series of amendments to the Lords' veto bill, providing for the exclusion of bills relating to Irish home rule, for joint sittings in case of disagree-

ments between the two houses, and for a referendum in other cases. [See current volume, page 516.]

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A New French Ministry.

After holding office a little more than three and a half months, the cabinet of Premier Monis was defeated on a vote of confidence in the French Chamber of Deputies on the 23rd, and shortly afterward the ministers tendered their resignations. The vote of confidence was on the question of whether the French army was controlled by a commander-in-chief. General Goiran, the new minister of war appointed in place of Mr. Berteaux recently killed by the fall of an aeroplane upon him, had taken the ground that the present organization of the army does not provide for a commander-in-chief in time of war, the direction of operations then being in the hands of a council of war made up of the minister of war and the generals of the army. It was pointed out in the Chamber that the late minister, Mr. Berteaux, had declared that the army had a commander-in-chief. Mr. Monis was not involved in the handling of the unexpected crisis as he was still confined to his room with the injuries received when Mr. Berteaux lost his life. President Fallières asked Mr. Caillaux, minister of finance in the Monis cabinet, to form a new ministry, the membership of which was announced on the 27th. Among other matters in Mr. Caillaux's program is early electoral reform. [See current volume, pages 229, 493.]

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First Elective President of Portugal.

When the ancient little monarchy of Portugal turned herself into a Republic last October, Theophile Braga was created Provisional President by his Republican compeers. On the 21st the recently elected Constituent Assembly itself elected Anselmo Braamcamp President of the Republic. Mr. Braamcamp has not been a member of the Provisional government, but has been holding the position of President of the Municipal Council of Lisbon. His full name is Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, but in common practice the "Freire" is not used. [See vol. xiii, p. 968; current volume, p. 584.]

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Canadian Reciprocity.

After seven hours' debate on the 26th in the Senate, the Root amendment to the Canadian reciprocity agreement, understood to be designed to modify the agreement in the interest of the print paper manufacturers, was defeated by a hostile vote so large that no roll call was demanded. Senator Root's proposal required that all Canadian Provinces should remove their export restrictions on pulp wood and its products be-

fore the reciprocal features of the wood pulp and print paper section of the agreement could go into effect. [See current volume, page 582.]

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Congress and the Wool Tariff.

After extended debate the Underwood wool tariff revision bill passed the House on the 21st by 221 to 100. One Democrat voted against it, Francis, of Ohio, while 24 Republicans—including LaFollette and Lenroot of Wisconsin, Kent of California, Murdock and Madison of Kansas, Lindbergh, of Minnesota—voted for it, as did Berger, the Socialist. Prior to its passage President Taft had transmitted a message stating that the Tariff Board would report on the wool industry in time for Congressional action next winter. A Republican motion to recommit the bill with instructions to report it back after the report of the Tariff Board and not later than January 10, was defeated by 189 to 118. Gray of Indiana had moved an amendment placing raw wool on the free list and reducing the tariff on manufactures to 20 per cent ad valorem instead of 42.5, but it was defeated, as were several amendments by Murdock of Kansas placing certain grades of raw wool on the free list.

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When the bill came to the Senate from the House on the 21st, the Senate referred it, by a vote of 39 to 18, to the committee on finance with instructions to report it back on or before July 10. These instructions were carried against the Standpat Republicans, on a motion of Senator Gore, Democrat, supported by 16 Republicans, most or all of them Insurgents, namely, Borah, Bourne, Bristow, Brown, Clapp, Crawford, Cummins, Dixon, Gronna, Jones, Kenyon, LaFollette, Nelson, Poindexter, Townsend and Works. The only Democrat to vote with the Standpat Republicans was Myers of Montana.

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On the very next day, the 22nd, the Senate finance committee reported back not only the wool tariff revision bill (ordered to be reported out by July 10) but also the farmers' free list bill. The recommendation on both bills was adverse, by a strict party vote on the wool bill (9 to 4) and with LaFollette voting with the Democrats on the farmers' free list bill (8 to 5). [See current volume, pages 440, 447, 535, 561.]

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Election of Senators by Popular Vote.

By a vote of 172 to 112, the lower House of Congress refused on the 21st to concur in the Bristow amendment, made by the Senate to the House resolution, for so amending the Constitution as to provide for the election of Senators

by popular vote in the respective States. The Bristow amendment would leave to Congress the power to regulate the time, place and manner of holding these elections. Sells (Republican) of Tennessee, voted against the Bristow amendment, while Burke (Democrat) of Wisconsin, voted for it, as did Berger, the Socialist. [See current volume, page 560.]

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The Lorimer Investigation.

With vastly greater freedom of inquiry and indifference to technical rules of evidence than the previous Senate committee tolerated, the new committee has entered upon the second investigation of the question of corruption in the election of William Lorimer to the United States Senate from Illinois. The committee organized at Washington on the 9th, electing for chairman, Senator Dillingham, of Vermont. It began its investigating work on the 20th. Cyrus H. McCormick, president of the International Harvester Company and the first witness, confirmed the now familiar story of his general manager, Clarence S. Funk, to the extent of saying that Mr. Funk had repeated to him shortly after Lorimer's election, his conversation with Hines (of the lumber trust) wherein the latter had asked for a contribution of \$10,000 from the International Harvester Company towards reimbursement of \$100,000 spent in behalf of Lorimer's election, and that it should be sent to Edward Tilden, president of the National Packing Company. The principal witness on the 22nd, was ex-Governor Yates (son of the Illinois war governor), a political coadjutor of Senator Lorimer, who disclosed a continued state of spoils politics at Springfield for years. He mentioned the noted Mueller law (authorizing municipal ownership and operation) as having had corrupt money behind it. George W. Hinman, editor of the Chicago Inter-Ocean, a Lorimer organ, was another witness on the 22nd. On the 23rd ex-Senator Hopkins, whom Lorimer defeated, testified to information he had received of corrupt uses of money during the contest at the State capital. As summarized by John Callan O'Laughlin, of the Chicago Tribune, his story "was one of broken pledges and promises, of the overriding of the expressed will of the people, of an offer of the sale of ten Democratic votes which was declined, of a proposal for the purchase of a Senatorial vote, and of the repetition of rumors and reports that improper influences were responsible for some of the Republican votes and 'considerations' for the Democratic votes which were cast for Lorimer." Edgar A. Bancroft, counsel for the International Harvester Company, confirmed the statement of Mr. Funk that Funk had informed him of the request by Edward Hines for \$10,000 as a contribution to the Lorimer "expense" fund. In executive session

of the committee on the 23rd, it was decided to allow the counsel for Mr. Hines, William J. Hynes, to assist Mr. Hancey, Senator Lorimer's counsel, but the committee refused him independent status, holding that Hines is not under investigation by the committee. H. H. Kohlsaas testified on the 24th. Mr. Kohlsaas is nominal owner of the Chicago Record-Herald, the property (as Mr. Kohlsaas testified) of Victor F. Lawson, and is the person to whom Mr. Funk divulged in confidence the application to him by Hines for Lorimer corruption money. In the course of his testimony Mr. Kohlsaas described Lorimerism as "the affiliation, co-operation, and cohesion of Democrats and Republicans for party pelf and for private pelf; and he named Roger Sullivan, Democratic national committeeman from Illinois, E. S. Conway and one of the Weyerhausers (but which Weyerhauser he did not know) as among those spoken of by Hines to Funk and reported to him by Funk as concerned in the Senatorial election deal in behalf of Lorimer. The story of Edward Hines's levy upon the Harvester Company was told at length on the 26th by Clarence S. Funk, general manager of the company. Mr. Funk said that Mr. Hines asked him for the contribution, and that he named Edward Tilden (of the beef trust and the president of Mayor Harrison's school board in 1905-06) as the treasurer of the corruption fund. Contrary to Mr. Kohlsaas's memory this witness did not recall the use of Roger Sullivan's name nor E. S. Conway's, nor one of the Weyerhausers. He told, however, of having been threatened over the telephone and with anonymous letters, and shadowed by detectives both in Chicago and in Washington. At the close of Mr. Funk's testimony on the 27th Wirt H. Cook of Duluth, a lumberman, testified that in his room at the Grand Pacific Hotel in Chicago during the Senatorial deadlock, Mr. Hines had a long distance telephone talk with Governor Deneen at Springfield. This witness described as follows what happened when the telephone bell rang and he answered it: "Mr. Hines there?" asked the girl. "Yes," I replied. "Here's Springfield; here's Gov. Deneen," she said. I called Mr. Hines to the phone. "Hello, hello, hello," said Mr. Hines. "Is this you, Gov. Deneen? Now, I just left President Taft and Senator Aldrich in Washington last night. They told me under no circumstances do they want Hopkins elected. They want Lorimer elected. I will be down on the next train prepared to furnish all the money necessary. Now, don't leave anything undone." [See current volume, page 560.]

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The Alaska Coal Claims.

The Cunningham coal claims in Alaska, which were at the bottom of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, were found by Commissioner Den-

nett of the General Land Office on the 26th to be invalid, and the secretary of the interior, Walter L. Fisher, approved the finding. This decision is regarded as a triumph for Pinchot and a blow to the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate. [See current volume, page 153.]

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The Illinois Deepwater Way.

When Governor Deneen's waterway measure came into the Lower House of the Illinois Legislature from the Senate, it was referred to a committee which reported it out on the 23rd, with an unfavorable recommendation by a vote of 10 to 9. An amendment transforming the measure into a simple power-conservation measure was tabled by 72 to 43, and by 71 to 53 a hostile amendment attaching a referendum clause to the \$20,000,000 appropriation was adopted. This was at the end of a long session of the 23rd which terminated at nearly 3 in the morning of the 24th. At the regular session of the 24th, soon after the House was called to order, the bill was put on its passage and defeated by 75 for to 52 against, the affirmative vote necessary to enact being 77. On the 26th the bill was to have been presented again in the Senate, but in the absence of a quorum a recess became necessary. [See current volume, page 583.]

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Progressive Republicans of Illinois.

In preparation for an immediate Statewide campaign, the managing committee of the Progressive Republican League agreed on the 20th at Chicago to the following platform drafted by the executive committee consisting of Charles E. Merriam, Charles M. Thompson, J. W. Breen, C. R. Bechtel and Harold L. Ickes.

We believe in a Republican organization which derives its authority from the free and independent expression of the will of the voters of the party under direct primaries. We believe such an organization will deserve and receive the enthusiastic confidence and support of the people. We do not believe the party should be manipulated and controlled by a few selfish persons holding their power by traffic in patronage or through connection with special interests. We believe the party should pledge itself to and faithfully carry out a platform of progressive ideas and principles. We favor principles rather than men. We shall support the candidacies of those men who are known to believe heartily in the principles here set forth and who will fight for them: Direct election of United States Senators. Initiative, Referendum and Recall. A thoroughgoing corrupt practices act. Enforcement of the civil service laws, local and State, with such additional legislative safeguards as may be necessary. Business methods in public office. A short ballot. Separation of the judiciary from politics. Conservation of our natural resources. A law providing for the instruction of delegates to national

conventions by popular vote. Let us make 'government of the people, for the people, and by the people' something more than an empty phrase in Illinois.

[See current volume, page 563.]

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Mexico.

The independent insurrection in the Mexican peninsula of Lower California, officered by Socialist and Anarchist leaders from the United States, which opposed itself to Madero in succession to Diaz, appears to have been suppressed, according to somewhat confused dispatches of the last week. Many of the insurrectionists have been driven across the north border into the United States. C. Rhys Price, who has been a chief leader in the Lower California insurrection, is a prisoner at Los Angeles. Other refugees are being held at Fort Rosecrans. It is announced that all these will be released except "General" Jack Mosby and two others for whom warrants are held. [See current volume, pages 562, 584.]

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Emma Goldman and British Socialists.

An attack upon Emma Goldman by "Justice," the Socialist organ of London, has been resented by supporters and other friends of Miss Goldman of the United States in a numerous signed protest to "Justice" which reads:

We write to protest in the most emphatic manner against this outrageous slander. It passes our comprehension why you should soil your columns by printing such an absolutely unsupported charge against one of the most devoted and beloved representatives of the radical movement in America. Emma Goldman has given the best years of her life to the Anarchist cause. Her integrity is above suspicion. There is not an iota of truth in the charge.

Among the signers are Leonard D. Abbott, associate editor of "Current Literature"; William English Walling, Hutchins Hapgood, J. G. Phelps Stokes, William Marion Reedy, Alden Freeman, Bolton Hall, Rose Pastor Stokes, Theodore Schroeder, James F. Morton, Jr., Edwin C. Walker, Daniel Kiefer, Rose Strunsky and Huldah L. Potter Loomis. The charge published by "Justice" appeared in its issue of May 13 and was as follows:

It is not generally known that Emma Goldman is in the pay of the police, though the fact has leaked out recently. At one time she was employed by Mr. A. E. Clarovsky, of the Russian secret police, in San Francisco, as an agent and a spy.

NEWS NOTES

—James B. Smiley, long familiarly known in Chicago as a Socialist, and a book publisher here for twenty years, died suddenly on the 26th at the age

of 60. He was held in much affection as an honest, modest, kindly man with ideals.

—The eighth annual meeting of the Catholic Educational Association of the United States began on the 26th at Chicago with 1,200 delegates.

—At least forty-five of the principal cities of the United States have made preparations for a "sane" celebration of Independence Day. [See vol. xiii, p. 636.]

—George V. Wells, President of the Chicago Single Tax Club, will address the club on the 30th at their rooms, 508 Schiller Bldg., on "What Are We Here For?"

—The sixth congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at Stockholm adjourned on the 20th to meet in 1913 at Budapest. [See current volume, page 584.]

—The powder trust was adjudged on the 21st by the Federal court for Delaware to be a combination in restraint of trade under the Sherman law and its dissolution decreed.

—Fourteen secretaries of lumber associations were indicted by the special grand jury at Chicago on the 23rd, for criminal violation of the Sherman law. [See current volume, page 539.]

—The United States Circuit Court of the Eighth District has decided that the Harriman railway merger was not within the reason of the Sherman law. Judge Hook, one of the three judges before whom the case was heard, dissented. [See vol. xi, p. 446.]

—In and about San Francisco Charles Frederick Adams lectured June 20, at San Francisco, on "Henry George and His Teachings;" and June 21, 22, 23 and 24 at Oakland Labor Council, Melrose, San Francisco Labor Council, and San Francisco Commonwealth Club, respectively, on "Government by Judges."

—J. Pierpont Morgan presented the Emperor of Germany, on the 26th, with the autograph letter from Martin Luther to the Emperor Charles V, written in 1521 upon Luther's return from the Diet of Worms, for which Mr. Morgan recently paid \$25,500. In acknowledgment the Emperor William immediately conferred upon Mr. Morgan the Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle.

—President Taft urged Congress in a Presidential message on the 21st, to amend the pure food and drugs law so as to "prevent the shipment in inter-State and foreign commerce and the manufacture and sale within the Territories and the District of Columbia of worthless nostrums labeled with misstatements of fact as to their physiological action." [See volume ix, page 321; volume xiii, page 146.]

—Newspaper reports from Vienna to the effect that Socialists have lost ground in the Reichsrath at recent elections are based upon the fact that it is the Christian Socialists that have lost. The Christian Socialist party and the Social-Democratic party are not in sympathy. As reported the change for Vienna, in the Reichsrath, is from 20 Christian Socialists to 4, from 3 German Liberals to 10, and from 10 Social Democrats to 19.

—President Samuel Gompers, Vice President John Mitchell and Secretary Frank Marrison of the American Federation of Labor, under rules issued on the 26th by Justice Wright of the District of Columbia

Supreme Court, were cited to appear Monday, July 17, and show cause why they should not be punished for contempt of court. The court's action followed the filing of the report of a committee of lawyers appointed to investigate the charge that the injunction granted by the court in favor of the Bucks Stove & Range Company had been violated. [See current volume, pp. 458, 465, 491, 564.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Municipal Cinderellas.

(Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post (ind.).—Chicago is by no means the only American city that plays Cinderella at its own feast—that continually creates wealth in profusion, yet never has a cent above board and lodging to bless itself with. A great many American cities do the same thing. Perhaps they are afraid it would be socialistic to take whatever they can spend beneficially out of the unearned increment of land values, for example.

† †

"Unto the Least of These."

Collier's (ind.), June 24.—A five-year-old girl had been working in the shrimp canneries of Florida all day when Mr. Owen Lovejoy, militant in behalf of the Child Labor Commission, came upon her and invited her to be photographed. She tumbled in a heap and burst into hysterical tears, sobbing that she was "too tired to have her pitcher tooked." Her hours of toil had consisted in plucking the heads from countless shrimps. A poisonous acid from this portion of the fish eats constantly into the baby fingers, destroying nails and flesh. An army of children is engaged in the work.

† †

Enlightened Mexico.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), June 17.—The American, the British, the German capitalist was able under the Diaz regime to get what concessions he wanted, if willing or able to pay the price for them. Whether any of the money reached Diaz is uncertain, but his underlings grew rich through the sale of monopoly privileges. The governor of Chihuahua, voicing the sentiments of the men who are to dictate Mexican policy henceforth, says the exploitation of the country and its people by the foreign concessionaires must cease. New monopolistic grants will not be made and old ones will not be extended.

† †

A Mission and a Purpose.

The Conservator (Horace Traubel), June.—Some people imagine that a purpose and a mission are the same thing. But that is a mistake. A man with a purpose is a pilgrim. A man with a mission is a pirate. Men with missions beat you down with a club. What are your petty affairs to a man with a mission? Get off the road. Step aside. See that he gets accomplished. It don't matter about you. Whether you are fulfilled or not. But the man with the mission. He must be confirmed. Postpone everything for him. Die for him to live. Starve for

him to eat. Anything. So he is preserved. But the man with a mission takes a good deal for granted. He takes the mission for granted. He takes himself for granted. The man who makes my shoes has as much a mission as the man who writes my books. Stop the printing presses. Dry up the inkwells. Make way for the shoemaker. Why not? Any man with a mission is as important and as useless as any other man with a mission.

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Farmers and Reciprocity.

The (Lincoln) Nebraska Farmer (agricultural), June 21.—When the Canadian reciprocity agreement was first made public last January we took hold of the subject rather gingerly. The thing didn't "look good" to us, for it provided for absolute free trade in all farm products of both countries, while leaving the tariff wall between the two countries on all manufactured articles, although the tariff was reduced on these in nearly every instance. It looked decidedly like a scheme hatched by the privileged special interests to get a cheap supply of raw material, and to overcome the "high cost of living" cry of their laborers by affording an opportunity to get cheap food products from Canada, while at the same time retaining protection on manufactured articles. At first blusn, then, we were opposed to the thing. But it soon developed that the special interests did not want the agreement adopted. Their representatives in Congress, such, for instance, as Dalzell of Pennsylvania and Cannon of Illinois, made vigorous speeches against it; and the American Protective League, an organization of manufacturers and their sympathizers who want the tariff revised upward always, began using printers' ink freely to kill the agreement. That was proof enough that the tariff-privileged interests did not want reciprocity, even in the form presented by President Taft, and which to outsiders looked mighty favorable to the manufacturers. The conclusion we came to was that while the treaty appeared to be unfair to the farmer in that it took the tariff off of everything he produced, yet the tariff on agricultural products was and always has been merely a paper tariff, ineffective because we are liberal exporters of farm products, and written on the books merely to keep the farmers quiet, and submissive to the hold-up schedules made for the trusts. We became convinced through a study of prices here and in Canada that this agreement would not appreciably affect prices for farm products on this side of the line, if indeed it lowered them at all. And then we began to see the whole proposition in a different light. We ceased to look at the treaty itself, and began looking at the effect its adoption would have upon our whole protection system that has been so woefully abused. It became plain to us that farmers by allowing this agreement to be passed by Congress stood to gain far more in subsequent tariff revisions that would surely follow than they could possibly lose through the operation of the reciprocity agreement itself. Since that time we have been supporting Canadian reciprocity, and for that support we have no apology to make, and no regret because of the attitude we have assumed.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE PRICE.

I know (because I'm often told
By those who ought to know, I guess),
That far above uncounted gold
Is human life and happiness.

Yet (always "yet")—but (always "but")—
A world of woe must ever be;
To hosts the door of joy is shut—
And who, I wonder, keeps the key?

Their myriads our railroads kill,
But men must take what Fortune sends;
To make things safe, or pay the bill,
Would play the deuce with dividends.

A proless mine-roof broke and fell
And hundreds died—God's will be done!
If galleries were timbered well
Our coal would cost us more per ton.

'Twill never do to check the trade
In crackers, bombs and powder-toys,
For think of those whose means are made
By peddling Death to little boys!

Yes, Wealth will have her toll of men,
And Wealth is scarce to be despised;
But I confess that now and then
I wish we were not civilized!

—Arthur Guiterman, in Puck.

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THE SECOND DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

For The Public.

When in the life of a nation it becomes necessary for humble men to direct that the masters of finance shall cease using that nation's wealth in manners injurious to the other citizens, and shall turn that wealth only into those channels which yield increasing happiness to all the people, a praiseworthy desire for the support of mankind commands that they declare the causes which impel them to the action.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are livelihood, leisure, and the maintenance of honor. That to secure these rights wealth is instituted among men, deriving its just powers from the purposes for which it is produced. That whenever the use of any accumulation of wealth proves destructive of these rights, it is the duty of the citizens to so alter and control the conditions of its use, allowing its organization only in such manner, and its administration only in such principles, as shall provide for them opportunities to attain their wel-

fare. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that systems well established should not be changed for fickle causes. And all experience shows that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to curb a leadership necessary for their development. But when a long continued train of plunder and usurpations evinces a design to ignore their rights, it is the duty of the people to end the abuse and provide new safeguards for their future prosperity. Such has been the patient sufferance of the humble folk of these United States, and such now is the necessity to control the gathering and the use of wealth. The history of the masters of finance is a history of repeated abuses and usurpations, all having in object the construction of power for themselves without regard for the other inhabitants of these States. To prove this let facts be submitted to a candid world.

They have paid for lobbyists who have defeated laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

They have plotted to select executives, who should refuse their assent to laws of immediate and pressing importance.

They have expended vast sums for the election of legislatures, whose tenure of office, being subject to their commands, should produce no laws detrimental to their interests.

They have dictated the appointment and choice of judges, and retained the ablest counsel, who together have bent the law and the statute into decisions adverse to the general welfare.

They have defeated for reelection public officials for opposing with manly firmness their invasions of the rights of the people.

They have nullified, through the extended power of injunction, the effect of measures of relief from their aggressions.

They have granted and accepted secret rebates which have destroyed the trade of others.

They have entered into combinations that have imposed death upon all enterprises which sought a livelihood in competition to themselves.

They have found exemption from punishment in corporate impersonality, for any murders which they have committed upon the toilers within their plants, because of non-protection of dangerous employments and disregard of the laws of physical health.

They have returned plausible answers to our protests against the sacrifice of childhood, and cunningly fought our efforts to prevent the employment of children.

They have denied us the right to leisure, demanding that we toil long and hard; and when we have refused they have attempted to supplant us with the inhabitants of foreign countries, whose low standards of life have obstructed our aspirations for a larger life.

They have constrained us to deal falsely with

our fellow citizens, to break the statutes, to be unjust, to abet and forward dishonorable deeds.

They have seized our bank accounts, played games of chance therewith, and scattered our hoards against old age.

They have plundered our forests, commercialized the wonders of nature, and laid hold of the lands of the people.

Against each of these aggressions we have cried out in no uncertain terms; our repeated warnings have been answered by repeated injury. Masters of finance, whose rule is thus marked by neglect and suppression of the rights of others, are unfit to gather without restrictions, and to use without control, the wealth of a free people.

We, therefore, the common toilers of these United States of America, from desk and lathe and field and ditch, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name of, and by the authority of, all who work with hands or head, for wages or salary or little income, solemnly publish and declare that we are, and of right ought to be, the free and independent rulers of our country's resources; that all corrupt control of our government by the masters of finance, and unlawful appropriation of our resources by them ought to be, and shall be, totally destroyed; and that as free and independent citizens, we will take full measures to so control their actions, expose their greed, punish their law breaking, and do all other acts and things which seem necessary for the common welfare. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance upon the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

WILLIAM J. NORTON.

+ + +

TRUTH AMONG GOD'S TREES.

For The Public.

This Chautauqua idea is fine; to this conclusion I have positively arrived. I turned up at the gate the first day; I then gave up a quarter—well, never mind, it might have been thirty cents and that would have been worse. To recuperate from the shock I sat down under the trees, smoked a pipe, and watched some bare-legged children in scrupulously clean clothes swing upon a home-made swing, while their mother superintended the men, and in my mind I went back to the days of the Farmers' Alliance while they raised the tents.

Presently, after I had soaked in the kind of peace which a man gets from watching children and house-keepers and men close to the soil out on a holiday, I repaired to a wall-less auditorium. I sat down on a two by twelve bench, leant my back against another two by twelve, and listened to verses from several songs, English, Scotch and American, sung by a young lady dressed in cool-

looking white. I do not know whether it was the trees and the open air, or what; anyhow the prima-donna manner and all straining effort were absent. In consequence I seemed to slip away from my own importance, and from my debts and things, and to feel more like the kid that I used to be when first I heard those songs. Then there came forward the gentleman who does the hard work in this peaceful Treadmill. He quietly told us what was going to happen after supper and during the next day; then he told us a little something about the man who was going to speak, just enough to give us a gentle start, and then he introduced him.

Then stepped forward a man of medium height, dressed in grey; his face was smooth-shaven, and as open, kindly and intelligent as any face that I have ever seen. First he told us that he was a preacher in Cincinnati, Ohio; that some of his parishioners said that he mixed too much politics with religion, and some of his political friends said that he mixed too much religion with his politics. That when he ran for office on the Civic reform ticket, the opposition advertised him as the "Reformed Preacher." That he was not sure but that they were right, and had aptly described him; that he was certain of this, that the more any Christian studied his Bible with eyes that saw, the more he would find that it drove him into politics, in this age of wireless telegraphy, flying machines and vast cooperative production—yes, *thrust* him in, to fight for a greater recognition of the natural laws of God among the laws by which our opportunity to live and to grow is governed today.

The next thing which struck me was that this "Reformed Preacher" had been asked to preach to a Bowery mission in New York City. That he found that the parable of the Prodigal Son was cut out of the mission Bible. The reason, he was told, was that every preacher who came to preach took this parable as his text. That the men were getting disheartened by hearing how they had wasted their substance in riotous living; the kind of conditions among the husks was already too apparent to them, without the mission service. Now the men were probably disheartened because only a part of the parable had been dwelt upon—the part in which riotous living and the husks figured prominently. If the whole of the parable were taken it would be found to be like all that the Messiah gave out, an inspiration regarding the natural laws of God the Father. One has but to use eyes that are trying to see, to be aware of this. Said the Prodigal, "I will arise and go to my Father's farm; there I will labor honestly to produce my own living; there if I labor I can satisfy my desires in comfort." And the Father meets him half way, and welcomes him back. The Father's farm, the earth of the God who was and is and ever will be—has it changed, this farm of God the Father? Not to mankind. Prodigal or the reverse, if men apply the labor of mind and heart

and body to it, as it was in the beginning so it is now, they receive wages pressed down and running over. Nineteen hundred years ago the Messiah gave us this parable, this simple lesson to show the road from famine and the husks to abundance and peace. Since that bravest and best of the sons of God capped and illumined the natural laws of the Father by his simple eleventh commandment that we love one another, and do to each other those things only which we would have them do to us, all that has changed is due to that grand philosophy for which He lived and died. By combining, by cooperating today mankind can produce wealth—all those things which satisfy human desires—in such profusion as would have seemed to those who heard that parable a magic dream.

What, then, is the matter? Why is it that today so many of the children upon His earth live in ignorance, poverty, idleness and vice upon this teeming farm of the Father? The Father's farm is not free; the elder owns it or controls it. The laws that govern upon the earth allow the elder brother to take an ever-growing portion of the wages pressed down and running over, for merely owning the bare land which makes up the Father's farm and controls all the natural elements of water and heat and light.

The elder brother owns all the best locations for producing the raw material of food and clothing upon the Father's farm today. The rental he exacts for laboring on these locations which he owns but has never made to produce, grows just as fast as the laboring younger brother improves in industry, and multiplies through God's natural law of reproduction. The elder brother can, and often does, live in foreign lands, and spend his ever-growing income, derived from owning the opportunity to labor, in unproductive luxury or in riotous living.

The elder brother—the lumber frust, the steel trust, the copper trust and their like—own or control all the locations upon the Father's farm that have been stored through his natural laws with metal, coal and timber. The elder brother wastes, if he will, the timber which has grown in past ages upon this land, and which the law of growth cannot replace except by the same process, needing years of time. He holds out of use, or for pasturing cows merely, land full of coal and minerals, from which the labor of the younger brother could produce good wages for himself by mining. His law is to charge all the traffic will bear, for what is taken out of these mines and turned into finished products by the labor of mind and heart and body. In his sight it is creditable to, with subtlety, bring about that society pay him many times over for the value of the machinery with which he assists the labor of the younger brother. His power lies in owning the opportunity to do the mining, to use the locations upon the Father's farm stored by His

natural laws with those necessities, coal and minerals.

The elder brother owns the best sites for cities and towns. He gambles in their rising values, and refuses to the younger brother the opportunity to get wages by building homes and offices and factories, until he either obtains the price which he demands, or a ground rental,—a contract to pay rent for the site every year for 99 years—or for 999 years.

The elder brother owns or controls the natural rights of way, the natural highways over America and through her cities. He charges all the traffic will bear for using them; he has contrived also that society shall pay him four or five times over the capital which has been used in equipping these natural highways, made what they are by the natural laws of the Father, with grading, rails, engines, cars and terminal facilities.

The elder brother declares that the growing poverty, distress, vice and ignorance of the younger brother, are not his business—not so much his business as charging all the traffic will bear. What of landlord-wrung, and monopoly-wrung, and water, and tariff-contrived income he does not need, he throws or gives to the most wretched of the younger brother. For this he is usually called a “lover of men.” The elder brother’s methods have turned the philosophy of love for which the Messiah lived and died, into—well, into pretty neckties, to be worn, as it were, on Sundays and Saints’ days.

In Christ’s parable the Father welcomes the son to labor upon His farm because under divine law he may thus fully satisfy his needs. Now if this parable is read—all of it—today, does it not drive the reader into politics? Yes, for to every real Christian who has read it right, it is a bugle call to rise up and to free the Father’s farm for the equal use of all of His children who will labor—prodigals and all. It is also a brooding song of hope to the burdened younger brother. If he reads it with eyes that see past the laws of man, he sees in this wonderful production and progress of today that the Father is welcoming *all* His children now, as it was in the beginning.

The “Reformed Preacher” paused a minute; the rustling of the leaves in the stillness, I remember, seemed doubly good to me. Then he recommenced again, and in his quiet clear voice there seemed to be an added note of triumphant faith: An American—we who have studied his work and understand its truth, love to call him the Prophet of San Francisco—has set forth fully a simple plan by which the Father’s farm can be opened for the equal use of all his children, that they may produce therefrom, and satisfy all their physical desires. In England, in Germany, in Denmark, in Australia, New Zealand and in Canada, this plan of that Prophet is slowly being introduced into the laws which govern their social relations. The

books in which he has set forth this plan are printed today in many languages; it is slowly but surely gaining the attention of all the world.

The political economy upon which this plan is based, conforms in every item to the natural laws of God. We have recognized at great cost that every man has the possession of his own body, that no man can own another man’s body; to abolish chattel slavery Americans have died and suffered. This new plan aims to free the Father’s farm. It recognizes that if individual men may own the value in the location of land which mankind must use, then those who own the land—the site merely—have virtually enslaved those who do not, those who must either pay them in order to use the mere location, or starve in idleness. To those of us who understand this truth and all its significance, it has become a religion, binding us to all our fellow-men and to God the Father. It looks to us as if the Father must in the beginning have seen this value which in our greater and more complex civilization would attach itself to bare land. It looks to us as if He must in the beginning have seen the need which we would have for a fund of wealth with which to pay for government, our common business, and allowed thus for its provision.

The plan is to take by taxation this growing value which every day is added to bare land—the site value. It is not to take the land, nor any improvement which the labor of mind and heart and body has added to the land; it is to take the value which all land in the civilized world gets from the increase of mankind, and the growing progress in producing wealth—things which satisfy human desires; and then to use this fund for the purposes of government, and for education, and for maintaining those who by disease, accident or old age are prevented from laboring to produce. To take for society all the rights of way, the natural highways, over which man and his products must travel today, and those highways by which if he lives in cities he is forced to get his water, light and heat. And then to abolish all other taxes and tariffs which today lie upon the products of labor and make it more difficult to obtain in consequence these necessities of life. By this plan it would be unprofitable to hold land idle; the elder brother’s cry of over-production would be recognized for the lie that it is, for there would be an impetus added to producing wealth which would only stop when everybody who worked either with mind and heart or body and heart had satisfied their desires to the full.

Here the “Reformed Preacher” gave us many practical illustrations, well authenticated, showing the burden upon industry and the premium upon dishonesty which the present taxation of labor products and of capital and mortgages and bonds and shares, brings about. He showed us how many times a set of harness is taxed, from the time that

it covers the live animal until it hangs in the barn, and if he is honest increases its owner's personal tax. He showed us who pays these taxes;—it is the younger brother, the consumer, upon whom this multiple tax bears down. He gave an illustration of peculiar value to show how the single tax would provide sufficient revenue. At one time the city of Chicago owned a school section, granted to it for educational purposes. Chicago sold most of it for what would today be a song. It did not sell all of it, however; Chicago still owns the site upon which the Chicago Tribune has built a magnificent newspaper building, with its own capital. The Chicago Tribune holds, by right of contract, undisputed possession to this site upon which its building stands, for 75 years. This site has a 200 feet front on Dearborn Street, and extends 120 feet on Madison Street; this is a location which for use in trading and manufacturing is unsurpassed in value as a location. The Chicago Tribune pays to the city for using this site \$47,000 a year, during the lease. While, probably, the Tribune would prefer to own this site, no one has been heard to say it is being ruined by paying rent. Now if Chicago had all that section, of which this site is a small part, and if the ground rentals were used to pay for education, it is not unfair or foolish to say that Chicago would be able to educate its children as no other city does today, and to do this without raising a cent for that purpose by taxing the products of labor.

Up to this point our Brother in Grey had been very still; his eloquence—and he had been eloquent—had consisted of simplicity, earnestness and perfect assurance. But now he moved a little closer, and though my ears could perceive no alteration in his clear voice, my heart seemed to be listening to a passionate appeal.

"The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But it shall not be so with you; but he that is greatest among you let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve."

It is nineteen hundred years since the Messiah gave this command in regard to government. Today the highest ideal which mankind has reached in government is the American ideal of equal opportunity for all, to be maintained by elected representatives and rulers. The ideal of America seems to carry out the command in those two beautiful verses from Luke's gospel. Now, the people in America are called the sovereign; by the American ideal the sovereign people are to be served by the best among them, their representatives, their governors. Do the representatives serve the people? Are the representatives and governors of our nation and States, as younger brothers? No, they are not like younger brothers, nor do they serve the sovereign people, except occasionally. The senators, congressmen, and state legislators; the

governors, presidents and other rulers, are too often called benefactors, and many of them believe in their own minds that the sovereignty of the people is a farce, and that "the world will go right, if they holler out Gee," only. It is impracticable and demagogic in the minds of many of these "rulers" to say that land values created by the industry and growth of the people can and ought to be preserved for all the people; that the natural highways, which the enterprise and growth of the people make more valuable every day, should be owned by all the people; that taxes and tariffs upon the products of labor are paid from what the labor of the people produce, and do not add to wealth nor assist labor, but do add to what is paid to those who own the opportunities, the locations, which must be used before any wealth can be produced. Yes, quite a number of the "rulers" in America today are blind to this American ideal of government which carries out the command of the Messiah; they are either blind to it, or have sold themselves for a mess of pottage, to betray, as did Judas, the object of the Messiah's whole teaching.

What has brought this about? why is it that, thank God, the magazines and newspapers are full of undenied instances of "rulers" who have betrayed the interests of the sovereign people? It is because the elder brother who owns the Father's farm and the rights of way, and whose monopolies are protected by law today, have bought or coerced or cajoled these representatives of the people. They have the money, they have the leisure, and as their god is the law of commercial greed, they have the inspiration. They make their outlay in time and in money profitable; in their language they "make it pay dividends upon the investment." Their own minds, like the king at whom they laugh as an "exploded idee," say, "The nation—we are the nation; cease to protect us, deprive us of the ownership of opportunities, and the name of this nation will be bracketted with the names of Sodom and Gomorrah."

Today the younger brother is dissatisfied; he is asking why it is that amidst such progress in the art of producing, there is a growing poverty and dread among those who labor upon the Father's farm. He is asking this with a greater and more unturning strength than he has asked anything for many years. What is the remedy?

Like the refrain in music, which occurs in different cadences throughout the piece, the remedy is the same one which our fathers used over one hundred years ago, and again fifty years ago. The only difference today is that the desired result can be attained by less bloody efforts than in those days. It is to read literally the beautiful command, that the greatest among us shall serve, and shall have and consider the interests of the younger with all their hearts. Christ was not talking foolishly when he gave this command. The lives and the deeds

and the condition of the world today as compared with the day he spoke, are the evidence of this fact.

An instrument adapted to bring about the conditions of this command, lies ready for use today. Switzerland has been using it for over twenty years, and has in consequence become the most advanced and the freest nation in Europe. Seven of the sovereign States in America use this plan today to control their public business. Twenty or more of the cities of your State of Kansas have written it into their city charters. This instrument provides that the sovereign people shall directly control the laws which control their opportunity to produce and to satisfy their desires. That they shall directly control through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, just as their fathers did through the New England town councils. By this instrument 8 per cent of the voting citizens of Kansas could propose a law, and at the next election the whole of Kansas could determine if it should become the law for Kansas, by voting upon it. If Kansas wanted it, they would by this means have it; no ruler, either legislative or administrative, could prevent. If a law seemed to be injurious or unjust to 8% of the voters of Kansas, they could by petition lay it before all the voters of Kansas for their decision. No ruler, legislature or political leader could prevent its repeal, if Kansas wanted it repealed. If 12 to 18% of the voters in Kansas deemed any public ruler, elected to office by their votes, corrupt, incompetent or despotically stubborn, they could by petition call for a special election. At this election this public ruler would be opposed by a man whom they chose to replace him in his office. The result in votes at this especial election, would determine whether the ruler should continue to serve, or be replaced by the one whom the 12 or 18% had chosen to replace him. This instrument, Direct Legislation it is called today, makes the Redeemer's statement of what were to be the conditions of a Christian government, possible in the crowded and complex conditions of today. Place it upon the statutes which govern Kansas today—that the people of Kansas shall directly control the laws under which they are to live—and a great step will have been taken towards that condition of the rule of love, to bring about which He lived and died.

Here our Brother in Grey gave a number of authenticated facts taken from events which have happened in Switzerland, in Oregon, and elsewhere where Direct Legislation is the law. One of peculiarly illustrative value was this: The Cincinnati Street Railway desired to obtain a twenty year extension to its franchises, seven years before the franchise expired. The people did not want it granted; the newspapers fought it, and some of the public leaders spoke against this extension of the franchise. But the city council granted that extension, and it is in force today. Did the peo-

ple of Cincinnati rule? The Street Railway of Toledo also needed an extension of their franchise; they also applied to the city council. Now the people of Toledo were no better off than the people of Cincinnati, except that they had a ruler for mayor who served them. He had told them what a franchise was, and the power that it gave. When the city council seemed about to grant the extension, a crowd formed, flowed into the city hall, and said—brandishing ropes the while—that if the franchise was extended some of the rulers would decorate lamp-posts. Did the people rule? Yes, through mob-violence, and that was never advocated by Christ. Up in a Michigan town, larger than Topeka is, the council granted a twenty-five year franchise to a Standard Oil corporation. In the charter of this city there was a provision that no franchise could become binding on the city until thirty days had elapsed from the time that the council granted it. During that thirty days, the people could, by petition signed by 12% of the legal voters, have the franchise submitted at a special election, to be approved or rejected by all the citizens. Now the people of this city got busy circulating petitions, shortly after its rulers—the council—had granted this franchise. Then the rulers, the city council, called a special session of the council; at that special session they rescinded that franchise. Did the people rule? Yes, the people of that city ruled by right of the law under which they lived.

Oh, my Brother in Grey, have I damaged thy beautiful expression of truth, so full of practical illustrations and working value as well as of inspired religion? I cannot touch thy simple earnest eloquence; can hardly follow thy perfect and practical faith. My only object is to spread among my brothers who never heard it, some of its simple and practical illustrations of religious texts.

As I walked out among the trees, and the children playing under them, there fitted before my eyes that scene of old. I saw that glorious Man take a little child and hold it up in front of those disciples of His who were to spread through the world His never-dying philosophy. I seemed to hear him bid them to learn from the little children to express His philosophy of the redemption of the world, with simplicity, earnestness and faith, as the little children express things. As I walked back to the dust and heat and the rush of the work-a-day world, I saw more clearly than ever before, the first step which must be taken to lessen the ignorance, waste, hatred and vengeance which are in the machinery by which today we control our social relations in Kansas. And I saw too that men like this Brother in Grey, this eloquent teacher, and like Senator Bourne of Oregon, and many more, were prevailing against our ignorance; that this is certain—that the laws of the Messiah will some day prevail, and His prayer be fulfilled. My Brother in Grey, your quiet and eloquent appeal,

made nineteen hundred years after He left, is my best evidence.

GEORGE HUGHES.

* * *

ACCEPTED AFTER TRIAL BY FIRE.

Hon. James G. Maguire in San Francisco Star.

A few days ago I stood and watched one of the linotype assistants filling the crucible or melting pot with discarded type and blocks of type-metal for reduction to the liquid form. The process was simple and the purpose obvious. I had watched it with more or less of curiosity, at different times before, until familiarity had deprived it of interest.

On this occasion, however, as I stood observing the gradual effect of the furnace heat upon the metal, it occurred to me that the process bore a striking resemblance to the formation of public opinion on social and economic questions.

For some time no effect was observable on the metal at the top; then, occasionally (and later frequently) a slight movement of some pieces of metal indicated that something was happening below; then molten metal made its appearance, gradually rising and swallowing and melting all of the solid pieces.

So it is that public opinion is molded. The crystallized minds of men (great and small) must be reduced to harmonious consistency, through the crucible of reason or of some equally controlling agency. The burden is upon the proponents of a new idea, which they seek to have incorporated in our laws, to show, with reasonable certainty that the existing law or condition is wrong and of evil effect; for, if the existing law or condition be right, the reformer should receive scant consideration. The burden is also upon the promoters of the new idea to prove at least that their proposed remedy is apparently right and that it will probably be of good effect. Too many reformers, disregarding these obligations, lead their followers into deadly swamps and quicksands, in pursuit of Jack-o'-lantern lights, which a little unbiased study on their part would have shown to be hopelessly elusive and, probably, false.

It is, therefore, best for all that every new idea should pass through the crucible test; that it should be received, at first, with hostility or indifference and accepted only after its trial by fire. This is the trial through which the single tax movement is now passing. That the furnace heat is reducing the solid and crystallized and hostile and indifferent minds to a harmonious and consistent mass of molten thought, is indicated by the movements here and there upon the surface, as in the type-metal crucible.

* * *

"You say he has untold wealth?"

"Hasn't filed a tax statement for years."—Washington Herald.

PERIODICALS

The Voter.

Henry Barrett Chamberlain has brought *The Voter* (Chicago) forward, in its life of something more than eight years, to a point of more than ordinary efficiency as a political review. Such a publication cannot in the nature of things venture very far ahead of the political procession, but Mr. Chamberlain's instincts are essentially so democratic and his historical sense so loyal, that *The Voter* does not lag behind when the procession moves in the right direction. In the issue for June there is a consideration by William J. Hagenah, of the subject of public utilities. Mr. Chamberlain's "Observations of a Straggler" throws light on the waterway row in Illinois in which Gov. Deneen is conspicuous on one side and Speaker Adkins is autocratic on the other.

* * *

McClure's.

With an extraordinarily faithful portrait of William S. U'Ren in action, for its frontispiece, McClure's for July tells the story of the Oregon movement for People's Power, of which U'Ren has been the leader. Burton J. Hendrick writes this story, under the title of "The Initiative and Referendum and How Oregon Got Them," and with such simple style yet dramatic spirit and loyalty to historic truth as to make it a landmark in the people's movement which, coming up out of the West, is spreading over the country despite all the opposition of civic ignorance and plutocratic conspiracies.—The attachment of Canadians to their responsible system of government, which they rightly regard as superior to our rigid system, is told in the same issue of McClure's by ex-Senator Beveridge.

* * *

The Fathers renounced the King George who taxed them on their tea without their consent. What would they do today when they found that there was a King George in every important industry, taxing the people without representation or consent? A sugar King George, whose sugar puckers a free man's mouth; an oil King George, a very slippery monarch; a coal King George, quite a different fellow from old King Cole, who was a merry old soul; and a whiskey King George, who does not distill the spirit of freedom; and a steel King George, who is a great thief; and a twine King George, who will have rope enough left on hand some day to hang himself with; and so many other King Georges that we begin to understand the ancient fable of the Hydra which got two new heads whenever one was cut off. Washington cut off one head, but King George will not stay killed until it is finally settled in all industry as well as in the industry of government that no human being has a right to share in the product of another's life and labor without his consent, and that there is no consent where there is not a perfect understanding and as perfect freedom to say No as to say Yes, as perfect freedom to withhold as to give.—Henry Demarest Lloyd.

We say metaphorically that every Englishman's house is his castle. We may say it literally about every Frenchman's house—in the town of Yf. Every Frenchman's house is his castle; it has castellations, turrets, loopholes, and probably, in some desperate cases, drawbridges. And I attribute this to the equality and civic dignity of the French; seeing that no Frenchman feels himself less free or proud merely because he is a cheesemonger or an ironmonger. No English tradesman dares to be vulgar in this style; for no English tradesman wishes to be emblazoned with the emphatic and final heraldry of a tradesman.

The French grocer wishes to groce and have done with it; and retire into a monstrous house, a house that could only have been built by a grocer gone mad. The American grocer wishes to groce and groce until he dies, struggling in vain with his own millions of groceries. The peculiar distinction of the English grocer (whom I love) among all the grocers of the world is that he wants to groce till he is rich enough to pretend that he has never groced. The Frenchman works in order to retire. The Yankee works for the sake of working, till he dies in convulsions; and serve him right. But the Englishman works in the

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+ + +

Capt. Pierre Drouillard of New York looked from
the Plaza at the rain falling drearily the other day.
It reminded him, he said, of the time that a one-
ring circus was tornadoed down in Georgia. The
rain top was blown down, the menageries tent was

destroyed, all the cages were upset and the animals
escaped. The management huddled about a stove
in a crossroads store and peered pessimistically into
a dismal future. The chances were they would never
get the animals back. The chances were better that
some one would be injured by the savage and fero-
cious beasts, which were exhibited at one price of
admission. By and by a Negro approached. "Did

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you all lose a giraffe?" he asked. Type fails to convey the peculiar darkey tenor that Drouillard manages to get in.

"We lost everything," said the manager shortly. "But we'll pay you if you get the giraffe back."

"It oughter be worf two dollah to git dat gi-raffe back," said the darky. "Pear lak he a powahful bad-tempehed gi-raffe. If Ah hadn' walloped him wif a club, dat gi-raffe would done bitten me."

"Giraffes don't bite, you fool," said the manager,

head in hand. "Giraffes kick. But you bring him back and we'll give you two dollars."

"Dis gi-raffe bites," insisted the colored man. In a few moments he reappeared, leading by a rope around his neck Nero, the most ferocious man-eating lion in captivity. "Wo'a," said he, jerking at the rope. Nero stopped obediently in the rain. "Gimme mah two dollahs, wite man," said he. "Heah's youah gi-raffe. An' he DO bite."—Cincinnati Times-Star.

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