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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Dying Is Not Death.....	1017
Parasite and Host.....	1017
Cardinal Gibbons and American Politics.....	1017
Secretary Fisher	1018
Why the Decrease? (Levi S. Lewis).....	1018
Lakes-to-Gulf Deep Waterway.....	1019
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Political Signboards (W. G. Eggleston).....	1025
Explanation of the Canadian Elections (Robert L. Scott)	1027
INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:	
Canadian "Reciprocity" (Whidden Graham).....	1028
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
Italy's War of Aggression.....	1028
Madero Elected President of Mexico.....	1029
Beginning of a Great Railroad Strike.....	1029
Judge Hanford's Impeachment.....	1029
Land Values Taxation in Missouri.....	1030
The British Conference on Land Values Taxation.....	1030
Pennsylvania Dam Disaster.....	1030
News Notes	1031
Press Opinions	1032
RELATED THINGS:	
A Heritage—A Task (Flora Bullock).....	1033
The Miser (G. K. Chesterton).....	1033
BOOKS:	
Tom L. Johnson's Autobiography.....	1035
For Intelligent Politicians.....	1035
Books Received	1035
Pamphlets	1035
Periodicals	1035

EDITORIAL

Dying Is Not Death.

A dying man is not dead until he dies. He isn't very dead even then, if in life he has done his best for the best he knows—provided he *tries to know*.

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Parasite and Host.

Mr. Taft's plea for Big Business amounts to this, that all it asks is to be let alone. Other parasites ask no more. But why should business interests that are not parasitical tolerate business interests that are?

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Cardinal Gibbons and American Politics.

Cardinal Gibbons's sermon of last Sunday might be regarded as the mere personal opinion of a medieval churchman, expressed freely as a citizen in a country of free speech, had it not been delivered by an ecclesiastic of the highest authority this side of Rome, in the exercise of his ecclesiastical office, from the pulpit of his cathedral, and to obedient religionists, large numbers of whom may accept it as a priestly command instead of an individual opinion.

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As it is, the Cardinal's sermon may well disturb non-Catholic American citizens who, in the interest of free worship and free speech, have stood as a bulwark against what has seemed to them to be an irrational fear of Catholic ecclesiasticism in

American politics. If resistance to the Socialist party by Catholic ecclesiastics has not been generally resented, it is probably because the more bitter anti-Catholics in the general mass have perhaps feared Socialism more than they have feared Catholicism. There has, therefore, been little or no occasion for excitement among those who stand for religious freedom. But Cardinal Gibbons appears now in the role of a Prince of the Church dictating as such to its communicants in the United States with reference to their action in matters purely political. He denounces not only the judicial Recall, but also the Initiative, the Referendum, and the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. All these are live political issues in many States; and two of them, the Initiative and the Referendum, are political issues before the Supreme Court of the United States. May non-Catholic American citizens who believe in the democratic side of those issues, be trusted to consider with patience this apparent effort at ecclesiastical dictation?

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Nor is this an isolated instance. The political dickering of President Roosevelt with Catholic ecclesiastics of high degree, both here and at Rome, in which Mr. Taft participated and of which Cardinal Gibbons could not have been wholly ignorant, whereby the Republican party was both influenced and hugely strengthened in voting power and Mr. Taft's election as President secured in the end; the ecclesiastical campaign against the Socialist party in the United States; the appointment by Mr. Taft of Senator White to the Chief Justiceship at a time when political questions such as those against which the Cardinal is now preaching, are coming before that tribunal; the recent extraordinary speech of the Catholic Archbishop at Chicago implying resistance to the political authority of the people if need be,—these are among the larger historical factors in a possible popular movement which a sermon like that by Cardinal Gibbons is not unlikely to provoke and which it would not be so easy as heretofore for the average American citizen to oppose.

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The sermon itself was pretty weak. "If you cannot trust the members of the legislature how can you trust their constituents from whom they spring?" reads like advice to some third interest instead of an appeal to the common sense of the community; and the Cardinal's climax, "What has been good enough for our fathers ought to be good enough for us," is a decided anti-climax. There is nothing in the sermon as reported to appeal to the

judgment of good citizenship. But there's the rub. Under the circumstances it is likely to be regarded not as an appeal to good citizenship but as an ecclesiastical command. And this cuts two ways. Cutting one way, it tends to exert ecclesiastical authority on purely political questions over the votes of citizens of Cardinal Gibbons's communion; cutting the other, it tends to let loose a flood of anti-Catholic prejudice in American politics.

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Secretary Fisher.

Walter L. Fisher's announcement at Hutchinson, Kansas, that he counts himself a progressive, *but* "a true progressive" and "not a hypocritical or demagogical progressive," was coupled with a suggestion for a test. "You should judge men," he advised, "not by what they say but by what they do." It is a good test, though a risky one for the Administration up to date. Mr. Fisher himself has not yet been put to this test in national affairs; but he soon will be, and his friends are hoping that in his efforts to avoid the demagogical in progressivism he may not tumble over into the plutogical.

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WHY THE DECREASE?

There has been no period of five years since 1870 when railway stockholders had less reason to expect fat dividends, or more reason to be satisfied with lean dividends, than during the five years ending September 30, 1875. During the following 31 years from September 30, 1875, to June 30, 1906, the wealth and population of the country much more than doubled. Nor in any section of the country in those fat years were more millions of thrifty people added to the population, or a greater increase of merchandise produced for transportation by steam, than in the section where the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad operates, and where the major portion of the people who supply its traffic and enrich its stockholders live.

Bearing in mind those indisputable facts, a comparison of the stockholders' profits of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad for the five years ending June 30, 1906 (the last of the five fat years), with the five years ending September 30, 1875 (the leanest five for forty years), furnishes food for reflection.

The capital of that railroad had been increased 11.82 per cent. There was an increase of 324 per cent in the number of passengers carried one mile: 520 per cent in the tons of freight moved one mile: 212.95 per cent in the total income from all sources

dividends for the five fat years, 1906, were \$4,871,334.37 less than distributed during the five lean years over 30, 1875.

holders during the more recent period in dividends the same proportion from all sources (27.445 per cent) as distributed in the earlier period, we received \$85,147,858 more than did receive according to the official

years back it was said of this course of its official reports "were made to deceive both the public and us, while others were drawn so loosely only ridicule and disgust." And for to this it was officially declared railway reports in general that they are *incorrect*, and in many cases made so for the purpose of concealing public violations of law and want of fiduciary trusts."

LEVI STEVENS LEWIS.

* * *

LAKES-TO-THE-GULF DEEP WATERWAY. I.

navigation with incidental water power regardless of deep water ways to be the issue at the core of what is now profoundly agitating the country—a deep waterway through the Mississippi from the Great Lakes to the Gulf

ways affect every interest and every citizen of the United States. Whether for good or ill they can escape their influence; and in ignorance, indolence, indifference or inaction, for no other reason, none can safely ignore them. They demand for consideration. They raise questions which, like everything else, nobody can let alone because they are there alone. Yet the controversies through a nation-wide in interest and in geographicality about the upper Mississippi River and concentrate government of the lower valleys of Illinois

that they may ruffle the temper of the convention of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterway Association are strong, but no score can be definitely made.

Deep Waterway Movement.

of that convention are to be held in the Grand Theater at Chicago on the 12th,

13th and 14th of October. They will be under the local management of the city of Chicago, assisted by the Association of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

The permanent headquarters of the deep waterway Association which calls the convention, are in the New Bank of Commerce Building at St. Louis, where the president, W. K. Kavanagh, or the secretary, Thomas H. Lovelace, may be addressed or called upon for information by any person or organization interested in the deep waterway project, whether for it or against it.

A map of northern Illinois will be enough to make the details of this explanatory editorial clear.

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Although the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association is only six years old, it developed out of earlier deep waterway movements.

Its immediate progenitor was organized early in 1906 by a few Congressmen at Washington under the lead of the present Senator Lorimer. Of that, however, we shall tell farther on, for claims may be fairly made by still earlier organizations and persons to a share in its parentage.

Some of these claims are enumerated in one of his official messages* by Governor Deneen of Illinois. He dates the movement back to 1674, and credits its origin to Joliet, the explorer. Joliet pointed out the feasibility of a waterway—not a deep waterway, of course, but a navigable waterway—from the Lakes to the Gulf, as early as that year. The idea was contemplated also, as Governor Deneen intimates, by the following clause in the famous Ordinance of 1787, under which the area now known as the State of Illinois became part of the great Northwest Territory: "The *navigable waters*† leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said Territory as to the citizens of the United States and those of any other State that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty therefor."

In the same message Governor Deneen refers also to commendations of a waterway by Albert Gallatin, through his report on "Means of Inland Communication," made as Secretary of the Treas-

*Special message of Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois, to the Forty-Seventh General Assembly of Illinois, April 25, 1911, reproduced in full in his message to the same General Assembly in special session under his call, June 14, 1911.

†It may be well to bear in mind the italicized words, "navigable waters;" for upon the question of whether one of the natural water courses connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi is legally a navigable stream hinges an important factor in the controversy.

ury to Congress in 1808; and to the coupling of this Illinois waterway in a Congressional bill in 1811 with projects for the Erie and other canals. President Madison, too, is cited by Governor Deneen, along with Clinton, Morris and others, as favoring a waterway across Illinois for the purpose of connecting the Erie Canal with the Mississippi River.

In 1822, as Governor Deneen further explains, Congress authorized the then infant State of Illinois to cut a canal through the public lands from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, and in 1827 made a land grant in aid of its construction. State legislation in Illinois regarding this canal began the same year, as narrated in Governor Deneen's message; and several State laws on the subject were enacted at different sessions of the legislature from that year down to 1836, when the canal was begun, and thereafter upon its completion in 1848 until the present time.

The Illinois canal mentioned by Governor Deneen was of the canal-boat species, with a depth of less than five feet; and Joliet's conception could hardly have anticipated present notions of deep water navigation. Indeed, no waterway deeper than ten feet appears to have been proposed, even for "large vessels," in any of the periods referred to by Governor Deneen. His citations must therefore be regarded as indicating an ancient spirit rather than the modern purpose of deep waterway demands.

In the older conception of deep water navigation a deep waterway convention was held at Memphis in 1845. There were 550 delegates in attendance, John C. Calhoun presided, and the resolutions declared a deep waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf to be a proper subject for public expenditure. This convention might be recorded as the first to demand a deep waterway, were it not that "deep" couldn't have meant in the water commerce of 1845 what it means now. A similar observation would probably apply to the Congressional speech of Abraham Lincoln in the '40's, wherein, as Congressman Henry T. Rainey summarizes him, "he advocated the same route over the same valley, connecting the Lakes with the Illinois River, and the same route down the Illinois and down the Mississippi to the Southern Gulf, that is advocated today by the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association." Probably we may assign to the same category the national Ship-Canal convention at Chicago in the early summer of 1863, of which Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin was the permanent chairman.

No doubt the spirit of all those early waterway

promoters was identical with that which animates present day deep waterway advocates; but developments in water carriage have in our time brought to the fore a definite issue.

What is a deep waterway? This is the burning question that will agitate the deep waterway convention at Chicago next week, unless the advocates of a depth of less than 14 feet remain silent or stay away.

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On that crucial question sides have formed and the partisanship is bitter. One side advocates a minimum depth of 8 feet; the other a minimum depth of 14 feet, with locks, rock-cuts, bridges and all other permanent construction adapted *now* to a depth of 24 feet in the future.

On the 8-foot side of this depth controversy it is urged that a fund of \$20,000,000 authorized by the people of Illinois on referendum in 1908 be immediately used, in whole or part, for construction by the State of Illinois, with such Federal co-operation as the government at Washington may be willing to give. The construction proposed is through the Des Plaines River to the Illinois River at Utica, from the Lockport end of the sanitary canal which already extends, with a 24-foot depth, from Chicago to Lockport. On the other side of the controversy it is urged that Illinois should first secure from the Federal government guarantees of co-operation in the making of a 14-foot channel as the minimum from the Chicago sanitary canal to the deep waters of the Mississippi, and that Illinois expenditures for construction shall not proceed until that policy as to depth is adopted.

Each side accuses the other of playing into the hands of the electric monopoly interests of Illinois with reference to water-power sites.

The followers of Senator Lorimer, who stands out for the 14-foot minimum, accuse Governor Deneen, who accepts the 8-foot minimum, of playing spoils politics for renomination; while the followers of the Governor accuse the Senator of playing deep water politics to "down" Deneen.

Of course railway interests come in to confuse the controversy. Fearing effective waterway competition, they seize upon this possible opportunity of making the deep waterway project miscarry.

On the other hand, landed interests all through the Mississippi Valley are sincerely promoting the 14-foot project—from public spirited motives no doubt, but none the less with a consciousness that it will increase the value of their coal deposits, their stone and cement quarries, their farm sites and their building lots. They are supported from

motives by general business interests at all centers and elsewhere along the route.

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Such as those confusing factors enter convey into the plans and purposes of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association, the success of its forthcoming sixth convention will be appreciated if the origin and program of the Association be understood in advance.

The Deep Waterway Association.

More directly due to Senator Lorimer, Senator Rainey, Congressman Madden, and a number of Congressional associates, together with various business groups which they organized in various cities and towns of the Mississippi River region, the origin of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association may be traced to earlier bodies and to organizations longer

than the earlier bodies out of which it has grown. The Mississippi River Improvement Association, organized about fifteen years ago along the banks of the Mississippi in the Delta. Although its primary object was to maintain a durable levee line in defense of the lands of the Delta, this association consolidated into a permanent deep water channel. Another is The Western Waterway Association, organized at about the same time, the object being to improve navigation on the Mississippi river and some of its tributaries. Among the others are The Ohio River Improvement Association and The Upper Mississippi Improvement Association. The object of the latter is fully indicated by its name; the latter is organized to improve the Mississippi north

of the influence of those organizations covers practically the entire field of proposed geographical and political. Within the region of the Upper Mississippi Improvement Association may be considered all the region that extends westward from St. Louis to the mouth of the Mississippi River and thence to Lake Michigan. The Mississippi River Improvement Association is the region from St. Louis to the Gulf. The collateral interests of the Missouri River organizations and so is the common interest of all in the navigation project. And inasmuch as support from the Federal government is a factor in the deep waterway campaign, agitation for Federal assistance for their own localized objects respect-

ively, emphasizes the utility of their affiliation for general purposes.

Probably the earliest leader in the general movement was Charles Scott, the distinguished lawyer of Mississippi, still living, who cut a large figure in the reform politics of that State a few years ago with his horseback campaign for Governor. Mr. Scott is president of The Mississippi River Improvement Association, and has been from its organization; and about ten years ago he was permanent chairman of a convention of The Western Waterway Association at Memphis. As those organizations were even then respectively promoting the navigable possibilities of the Mississippi as far north as St. Louis and of the Missouri from St. Louis westward, Mr. Scott was brought into official relationship with so much of the field of the unified movement which the Lakes-to-the-Gulf association now represents, as lies south of St. Louis, and consequently into sympathy with the whole project as it has since developed. In his speech on taking the chair at the Memphis waterways convention he gave full expression to that sympathy. His theme was the importance to the entire country of a deep channel from the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi River to Lake Michigan; and he made it plain that by "deep" he meant not merely deep enough for canoes, canal boats, barges and light-draught ships, but for ocean-going vessels, so that the commerce of the world might penetrate the American continent without breaking bulk.

Mr. Scott's suggestion was somewhat lightly regarded at the time as the impracticable dream of a waterway enthusiast. But within a few years this dream of his became the declared purpose of a business organization representing the whole Mississippi Valley—the identical Association, that is, which is to hold the deep waterway convention at Chicago next month.

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Like so many practical movements for realizing the dreams of economic enthusiasts, that Association got its strength directly from business discontent.

Business men down the Mississippi from St. Louis, found themselves hampered by insufficient transportation facilities. Railroads having paralleled the river, its constantly changing channel, caused by caving banks and the formation of bars which added irregular uncertainties of carriage at all places to the regular ones at low-water stages, diverted custom from the old river boats to the railroads and drove the boats out of

service. This was at first not noticed with any concern by shippers, for the railroads transported freight with reasonable dispatch. But when the traffic outgrew railroad facilities, shippers were startled at their loss of river-transportation.

A spectacular illustration is afforded by the experience of Memphis during a cotton season. So much cotton had been brought into that city by the railroads, and they took out relatively so little, that warehouse accommodations were exhausted and the open streets had to be used for storage. Enormous financial damage resulted. Thereupon the business interests—touched upon the pocket nerve till it stung again—denounced the railroads for bad management, and the answer they got was an admission of incapacity to handle the traffic.

Similar indications of railroad inefficiency put business men along the lower Mississippi upon inquiry, and it happened that their inquiries coincided in time and purpose with the efforts of Senator Lorimer, then a member of the lower house of Congress, to bring Mr. Scott's Gulf-to-Lakes-deep-waterway dream to a practical realization.

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Mr. Lorimer, a Republican, had invited Congressman Henry T. Rainey, a Democrat, Congressman Martin B. Madden, a Republican, and other members of Congress of both parties, to make a voyage as his guests in a small launch from Lake Michigan to the Gulf along the route of the deep waterway, for which he had long been a vigorous advocate. From the Lake at Chicago Mr. Lorimer's party proceeded through the Chicago and the Des Plaines rivers, the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the Illinois River to the Mississippi and down the Mississippi to the Gulf. Their object was to qualify themselves by observation and strengthen themselves with organizations, to promote in Congress the project of connecting the Lakes with the Gulf by a deep waterway for modern navigation. At every stop of the launch, its Congressional passengers made deep waterway speeches and organized a local group under the name of "From-the-Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterways Association." Subsequently they organized at Washington the "Mississippi Valley Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterways Association," and this temporary national body called the first of the series of conventions of which the sixth is to be held at Chicago next week.*

*While Mr. Lorimer's party were making their voyage of observation and organization, a committee of the Chicago Commercial Association was engaged in an inquiry into the subject of water transportation, and in June, 1906, this committee, of which E. S. Conway afterwards permanent chairman of the first Deep Wa-

III. Early Conventions of the Deep Waterway Association.

The first convention of the deep waterway organization sat at St. Louis, November 15th and 16th, 1906. The call had been addressed to "all mayors, organizations and individuals interested in the permanent improvement of the Mississippi River." Although formally convened by the Mississippi Valley Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterways Association, the convention was locally managed and all responsibilities for it assumed by the Business Men's League of St. Louis. The Business Men's League of Memphis co-operated. It was called to order by Congressman Lorimer, then a member of the House committee on rivers and harbors, and at his suggestion C. P. Walbridge was made temporary chairman. By appointment of the temporary chairman, Congressman Martin B. Madden became chairman of the committee on resolutions.

Prominent among the speakers, in addition to Mr. Lorimer, Mr. Walbridge and the permanent chairman, E. S. Conway, were David R. Francis, Congressman Henry T. Rainey, and Congressman Champ Clark. Mr. Lorimer advocated a permanent central organization to bring pressure upon Congress for the construction and maintenance of a channel deep enough to float lake vessels drawing 21 feet of water. Mr. Walbridge spoke to the same effect. So did Mr. Clark and Mr. Rainey; and Mr. Rainey touched the point now in controversy by saying: "When our waterway of 14 feet is built it ought to be built with sills on the locks below Joliet at least 20 feet deep, in order that when the time comes we shall be able to build a 20-foot waterway from the Lakes to the seas."

The resolutions, adopted unanimously, declared that—

it is the object of this convention to direct public attention especially to the project for a deep waterways channel to extend from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

They also declared that—

the proposed deep waterway is to extend from the Chicago Drainage Canal through the valleys of the Desplaines and Illinois Rivers to the Mississippi River at Grafton, Illinois, and thence down the Mississippi to St. Louis, and is to have a minimum depth of 14 feet throughout. We recommend for the purpose of meeting the probable future needs of navigation that the minimum depth over the miter

(terway convention), was chairman, made its report: "From the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico." Though restricted pretty closely to a general presentation of facts bearing upon the commercial utility of canals and improved streams, this report apparently favors the "proposed deep waterway connecting the mouth of the Chicago River with the Mississippi via the Chicago Sanitary Canal, the Desplaines, the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers."

locks should be 21 feet in the initial
 resolutions declared that—
 recommends to its Representatives
 diligent, assiduous and untiring efforts
 necessary means with which to develop
 way.

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icles of permanent association formu-
 first convention, the name adopted
 one—"The Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep
 Association"—and its declared objects

the building of a deep waterway from the
 Gulf by urging upon the national and
 presents the necessity for legislation and
 adequate for the purpose.

was—

zens residing in the Lake and Gulf
 States within the Mississippi Valley;
 to be appointed by the Governor from
 tional district, one by the Mayor from
 1,000 and less than 2,500 population,
 or of each city of 2,500 and less than
 the Mayor of each city of 5,000 and
 10,000, five by the Mayor of each city
 less than 20,000, ten by the Mayor
 of 20,000 and less than 50,000 twenty
 of each city of 50,000 and less than
 by the Mayor of each city of 100,000
 250,000, fifty by the Mayor of each
 and over, one from each river im-
 commercial association and one more
 members thereof.

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convention was held at Memphis in
 attended by 2,300 delegates, includ-
 ors of States and 64 members of
 there was extraordinary enthusiasm
 Roosevelt's water trip down the
 in St. Louis to Memphis and his
 ch in forceful superlatives for the
 ect. Beneath this enthusiasm there
 however, for in the interval between
 ond conventions and at the request
 ion, President Roosevelt had ap-
 ad Waterways Commission.

s of the deep waterway organiza-
 successfully busy also in carrying
 ucational campaign by means of
 nal correspondence with manufac-
 s and traveling salesmen. Their
 every State in the Union; and
 ndence, arguments from the prin-
 Association found their way into
 n. An impressive feature of this
 was the comprehensiveness of its
 nagers of the Association did not

confine their arguments to the importance of a
 deep waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf. That
 project might not have been attractive to Con-
 gressional constituencies beyond the sphere of its
 commercial influence. The arguments were there-
 fore so expanded as to impress upon *all* Congres-
 sional constituencies "the necessity," as one of the
 documents* of the Association expresses it, "for
 the improvement of *all* the waterways of the
 country."

One result of this work was shown in the fact
 that the regular rivers and harbors bill in Con-
 gress, adopted before the assembling of the second
 convention and after the first, carried the largest
 appropriation for river improvement that had ever
 been made; and in that appropriation there was
 a clause providing for an official Federal survey
 of the then unsurveyed part of the proposed deep
 waterway, namely, from St. Louis to New Orleans.

Another move of the Association had not been
 so successful. At its request Congressman Rich-
 ard Bartholdt of Missouri introduced in Congress
 a bill providing that the Federal government issue
 bonds to the amount of \$500,000,000 for water-
 ways. But Congress had received this bill with
 coolness. President Roosevelt, however, on his
 way down the river, declared himself in its favor.
 So the only lack of success in the Association's
 program up to its second convention was more
 than compensated by the President's declaration,
 and this he afterwards confirmed officially in a
 message to Congress.

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Chicago was the place of the third of these deep
 waterway conventions. Meeting in 1908, it was
 addressed by William J. Bryan and William Taft,
 the candidates respectively of the Democratic and
 the Republican parties for President of the United
 States. Both declared for a deep channel.

The advance of the movement and the growth
 in strength of the Association were indicated by
 the attendance at this convention. In number the
 delegates had increased from 1,100 at the first and
 2,300 at the second to 3,517. Every State in the
 Union was represented, and among the official
 guests were 7 Governors and 70 members of Con-
 gress.

Further encouragement from influential polit-
 ical sources was noted. Both the Republican and
 the Democratic national conventions had made
 platform pledges, and through the urgency of
 Alexander Y. Scott (son of the Charles Scott

*Report of William F. Saunders, Secretary of the Asso-
 ciation, to the Fourth Convention, in the official proceed-
 ings of the Convention of 1909 at page 21.

mentioned above), a Mississippi delegate to the Democratic convention at Denver, and with the co-operation of Mr. Bryan, the pledge of the Democratic platform had committed the party to a deep channel.

The younger Mr. Scott, who served as chairman of the committee on resolutions at the third deep waterway convention, felt the influence, already concentrating and gathering force, of the controversy which has now assumed definite shape and may possibly find bitter expression at the sixth convention. Questions of route and of minor detail in construction were raised in such manner as vaguely to indicate serious divergences; but, although they made the meeting of the resolutions committee somewhat strenuous, these questions did not discolor its report. The deep water policy already declared for was reported by the committee and adopted by the convention.

IV. The Fight Begins.

It was at the fourth convention, held at New Orleans October 30th and November 1st and 2nd, 1909, that the divergences began to take on definite shape and to develop vigorous partisanship.

This convention was composed of 4,902 delegates. Every State was represented, and the gubernatorial and Congressional guests numbered respectively 29 and 185. It was addressed by President Taft, Secretary-of-War Dickinson, Gifford Pinchot, Congressman Lorimer, and several Governors of States, including Hadley of Missouri, Donaghey of Arkansas, Stubbs of Kansas, Carroll of Iowa, Davidson of Wisconsin, Noel of Mississippi, and Deneen of Illinois.

President Taft gave characteristic evidence of his sense of trouble a-brewing. As Mr. Lorimer intimated, the President spoke like "a man about to step on eggs he didn't want to crush." From enthusiasm at Chicago the year before, he had become lukewarm. Saying much in general phrase of gradual changes, of difficulties to be overcome, of caution before going ahead, of knowing the cost before you spend your money, of his delight at learning of improvements made in the lower Mississippi, of their making progress "in spite of the fact that the progress is not what it ought to be," of getting "what you desire in a measurable time," and so on, with jokes thrown in, his speech was of the kind that anyone who has had the responsibility of a ticklish speech to make, and every shrewd observer of public speaking, will recognize as appropriate for the President on such an occasion. Mr. Taft's prudence since his campaign speech at the third of these conventions may have been from sen-

sitiveness to official responsibilities; or it may have been influenced by considerations suggested by his allusion to "railroad transportation and the building up of the country by that means." At any rate he had doubtless heard a bell ring, whether he knew where the clapper was or not.

In this connection it should be noted that sincere promoters of the movement had already observed that whereas in its early stages it had received hearty assistance from railroads—that is, apparently hearty assistance,—yet as it grew into fighting shape there was an apparent disposition by railroad interests to discourage it quietly. Observers such as these thought they detected in President Taft's bunshyistic speech at New Orleans a sinister significance, and this impression the hostile speech of his Secretary of War—a noted railroad lawyer—did not by any means modify.*

Governor Deneen followed President Taft with a non-committal speech. His only allusion to water depth was a statement to the effect that in building the Sanitary Canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River the State of Illinois had built it of such dimensions as to accommodate Lake, Gulf and ocean traffic; and in harmony with that purpose had expended \$53,000,000 and authorized the expenditure of \$20,000,000 more.

Congressman Lorimer spoke at this convention also, presenting specifically in much detail and with effect the case for a waterway with a minimum depth of 14 feet.

He was followed by Gifford Pinchot, at that time Chief of the United States Forest Service, in a compact argument not alone against weakening plans by excessive haste, but also against their being "drowned in excessive deliberation."[†] His speech was so clear, compact and fair that we know no better means of aiding in the elucidation of the then gathering controversy than by quoting that part of it which dealt with the questions of necessity, cost and depth:

Whether 14 or 24 feet is the depth of channel we need in the end, there is a vast amount of work which must be done in each case, which must be done in exactly the same way in each case, and about which there are no contentions among the engineers. It is not necessary to decide on the ultimate depth before beginning the work of improvement. Since there will be no locks between St. Louis and the Gulf, the depth may be increased from time to time as the needs of commerce require.

*These speeches are reported in the *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association*, the President's at page 29, and the Secretary-of-War's at page 61.

†Mr. Pinchot's speech appears in the *official report of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association (1909)*, pp. 87 to 95.

we shall want fourteen feet. If later we later depth, none of the work expended on channel will have been wasted. The advantage of constructing the waterway is the only matter in dispute. On this we have the united belief of the business men of the Mississippi Valley, that it is not only commercially advantageous but commercially indispensable. The opinion of these men on this subject must be final. The question of cost remains. The 14-Foot Waterway Board estimates that it will cost about \$159,000,000 for the 14-foot waterway from the Gulf to the end of the Chicago Drainage Canal. The State of Illinois has already authorized an expenditure of \$20,000,000. About \$90,000,000 more is needed for the river below Cairo. This covers the work of the Mississippi River Commission. It will be required to protect the banks of the river. It will have the 14-foot channel or not. There is more than \$50,000,000 as the total estimated cost between the cost to the United States if we build the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway and the cost if we do not build it. The 14-foot project, if built, estimates, will cost in money that would be spent, a little more than half what the State of Illinois has devoted to deep waterways and less than half what the State of New York has devoted to spend on deepening the Erie Canal. To sum up, the physical facts about the project are known. The engineers are agreed upon the estimated cost, the best methods for building it and the practicability of doing it. The business men are agreed that the deep waterway is commercially necessary. The additional estimated cost is less than one-seventh the present cost of freight by water transportation on the Mississippi. The Mississippi River Commission is ready to proceed with the work. The business men are better now than they will be if we do not build it. The money is lacking but the money.

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resolutions presented by Charles Scott as chairman of the resolutions committee and adopted at the convention, were in harmony with the views of Mr. Lorimer and Mr. Pinchot. At the convention of depth they declared that—

Government should, and shall without delay, enter on a definite policy and plan for the development, beginning with the immediate improvement of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, as a part of a great water system in such a way as to make an effective navigation between the Gulf of Mexico on the south and the Great Lakes on the north. The main trunk to be developed without delay and with constant reference to the future effective development of the tributaries of the great rivers of the country and the lakes, bays, bayous and sounds of the country, and the canals and locks required in and for a complete inland navigation adapted to our growing commercial needs. . . . In endorsing those portions of a recent report of the National Board of Survey composed of engineers, which demonstrate the

complete practicability of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway, we repudiate and condemn that portion of the report declaring against the commercial expediency and necessity for the project, and reaffirm our fixed conviction that the vast and rapidly advancing commerce of our interior, already reaching an annual freight charges of 40 billion dollars, absolutely demands the opening of a waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea, not less than 14 feet deep and adapted to modern terminal and transfer facilities. . . . We affirm our conviction that it is the duty and is within the Constitutional powers of the Federal government, to exercise jurisdiction over terminals and over the connections with other transportation agencies required for the development and maintenance of water transportation; and we hold that the regulation of terminal and transfer facilities is not only essential to, but is an integral part of, any practical system of commercial navigation.

These declarations were full in the face of an attempt, the first yet made, to commit the Association to an endorsement of any depth of channel that the Federal Government might offer—an 8-foot channel being suggested in place of the 14-foot channel demanded.

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Meanwhile a fight over the 14-foot versus the 8-foot issue had begun to concentrate in Illinois. But that is a further story, the particulars of which and its relations to the general subject must be reserved for the next issue of *The Public*.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

POLITICAL SIGN BOARDS

Portland, Ore., Sept. 24.

If this generation is of the perverse and wicked kind that seeketh after a sign it needn't advertise in the "lost and found" columns, for the signs are visible to the naked eye. But sign hunters are not always wicked and perverse; you'll notice that all kinds of saints have their eyes peeled for signs.

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When a State press association is opened with a talk on Singletax by W. S. U'Ren, that's a sign, writ in large letters and posted in a conspicuous place. That's what happened Thursday, September 21, when the newspaper men of Oregon met in annual session in Portland. Some men would have made an address; U'Ren didn't. Others would have "talked editorials" to those newspaper men; U'Ren didn't. It was more like an interview, with eight or ten inquisitive newspaper men as interviewers and U'Ren as the interviewee; and that made it interesting.

Naturally, "in those circumstances," as the *London Times* would say, there was no continuity; but what those newspaper men wanted was information rather than continuity. They didn't want to be preached at, for they do some preaching themselves. U'Ren hadn't talked more than three minutes before

the questions began, and the questions kept coming until it was past the time to quit. As I remember, not a silly question was asked; every one was pertinent and well stated. As a rule, you know, the question framed in words is often not the question in the back of the questioner's head, but the questions asked U'Ren were exceptions to that rule.

The unsolicited invitation to U'Ren to talk to the newspaper men on the Singletax, and the business-like, matter-of-course manner in which the fire and cross-fire of questions was begun and kept up, is a sign that Oregon newspaper men are interested in the question of taxation and that they know the Singletax is now a "question before the house" in Oregon. But if U'Ren had pushed the first questioner back into his seat with the statement that he would answer questions after concluding his "formal" address, the audience would have become a disappearing quantity. Sometimes it is best not to ask a man to put his question into brine or cold storage; he feels better if he can get it out of his system before it spoils.

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Now let's go back a little to get at what some of our dictionary friends would call the "psychology" of that invitation to U'Ren to talk about Singletax to the State Press Association. Of course, "the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns," and the spirit of democracy grows with the widening of thought—and the spirit of democracy is the germination in man of the full and complete life. But that is only part of the explanation of the invitation to U'Ren. Every man desires to live a full and complete life, as he sees it; but the individual life is the resultant of the forces acting upon the individual.

One of the strongest forces acting upon the individual is the force of taxation; and the tax force often acts most strongly when its nature is not recognized. It touches and affects industrial and individual life at every point, even though the individual be without property and unaware that he is taxed. The individual may be as ignorant of the tax force acting upon him as the ocean is of the sun-and-moon force that causes its water to flow and ebb in the tides, and he has no more power to resist than have the waters. And now the thoughts of men have widened to the fact that private confiscation of ground rent is an irresistible tax force that pulls them hither and thither, making a swollen fortune here and balancing the iniquity by submerging some and casting others, like seaweed, upon the beach.

The idea is "in the air," we say; but it's in men's minds—not full-grown as yet, but growing; and no plant grows more luxuriantly in tropical jungle than does a democratic idea in the human mind. But that doesn't explain the invitation to U'Ren, for there is as much of the democratic spirit in California as in Oregon, and California newspaper men have not invited anyone to talk to them about Singletax—not yet.

The people of Oregon have, through the Initiative and Referendum, political power that acts with great force upon the minds of the people of Oregon. The force is so strong that it causes the people to do some hard and efficient thinking about "the ques-

tion before the house." It is a different kind of thinking from that used to elect men delegated to act for the people. The element of personal responsibility is dominant. The individual citizen feels that he is a part of the composite citizen, rather than a separate voter who casts a vote for a delegated law-maker and then throws all the responsibility (and irresponsibility) upon the law-maker elected. The question before the house is stated; it is put directly to the individual voter, and to each voter. If he understands the question, and is interested, his right to answer that question becomes a duty. There is no coercive force save his conscience; and here it is not true that conscience makes men cowards. It never is true unless a man has burglarized his conscience.

In a State where the people have not the Initiative and Referendum, the common idea in regard to a public question is that the legislature may do something for the people or it may do something to the people; but where the people have the power of Direct Legislation the thought is that the people are going to do something for themselves, with the legislature sitting on the bleachers. In Oregon, the legislature may or may not be interested in Singletax, may coo softly or may split the ears of groundlings, may vote or refuse to vote; but the people are going to vote regardless of the legislature. The people will vote on that particular question because 8 per cent of the voters have the power to "put the motion" on the ballot; and one of the motions next year will be land value taxation—taxation of privilege and exemption of industry from taxation.

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So, in regard to that invitation to U'Ren—haven't we traced its psychology back to its lair? Would that invitation have been given if the people of Oregon lacked the Initiative power in legislation, even if it were certain that the Governor would recommend the Singletax to the legislature, or that 45 per cent of the members of the legislature would introduce and back a Singletax bill in 1913? Certainly not. Nor would it have been given if all the Granges and Labor Unions in Oregon had already announced their intention to have a Singletax bill introduced in the legislature of 1913; nor if 35,000 voters had already signed a petition to the next legislature asking it to act favorably on the Singletax.

With direct legislation the people can settle for themselves—or "experiment with," if you please—problems that delegated legislators won't settle because Privilege doesn't want them settled. Hence the tears that skate down the hardened cheek of Privilege. Yet—since Momus must thrust his ridiculous face into serious matters—we find men who call themselves Democrats opposing the Initiative and Referendum! That fact deserves a conspicuous place in any catalogue of mysteries—a mystery being "that which is beyond human comprehension."

Political bill posters don't put academic questions on the political billboard, and the political wind gauge doesn't register the current from a hot-air furnace. But when some of the voters have the power to put a question to all the voters, on the ballot and regardless of the legislature, it's a new

new rules and a new deck—and no deal—
the bottom of the pack. That upsets all
relations of the professional political
and they kick; but they don't call them-
"democrats." Which seems to prove that
some sense of humor.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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DEFEAT OF THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

Winnipeg, Sept. 24, 1911.

on is past. The Tory party after 15
position has been returned to power.
surprise has ever been sprung upon
of Canada. Tories agreed with Lib-
Laurier administration would be sus-
when the news of disaster came it
ernation among party Liberals. Sym-
icals also experienced keen regret in
overnment defeated upon such an issue.
felt that the Liberal party was coming
historical position on behalf of freer

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of defeat may be briefly stated as

Canadian Manufacturing Association.

banks and money power.

Railway interests.

ty cry and imperialism.

e paid during past 15 years to protect
e Liberal party and the consequent cessa-
y to educate the electorate to expect and
freedom.

nd the last clause it will be necessary
fly the economic history of Canada.

period 1854-66 Canada enjoyed great
trading with the United States under
reaty of that time. In 1866 this was
ne United States in retaliation upon
for her sympathy with the Confeder-
ing the Civil War.

o 1878 a tariff of from 10% to 17½%

Fiscal depression during this period
versal. In 1878 Sir John A. MacDon-
ory party overwhelmed the Liberal

Hon. Alexander MacKenzie on a
protection which afterward came to
ie "N. P." or National Policy. Dur-
opposition the Liberals under Laur-
hard Cartwright gave Protection un-
position. The classical speeches of
denouncing "legalized robbery" are
Freetrade Canadians.

ession of the Laurier Government

6 a preference of 25% (latterly in-
%) was put upon British goods. This

forgot its Freetrade policy and be-
the Interests. Many Liberals re-
movement came to a head in the

demand for tariff reduction and ul-
s. The early speeches of Liberal

oted against them with great effect.

reciprocity pact was the first result.

tforms we heard the same ringing
against the mighty which character-

ized Liberal utterances in opposition days. The
farmers' leaders stated clearly that they wanted
Reciprocity to demonstrate their willingness to dis-
pense with the last vestige of tariff which was os-
tensibly for their benefit. This, they asserted,
would be followed by a general campaign against
all tariffs. The farmers were also denouncing the
railway monopolies and the banks. These interests
all took alarm and made common cause in fighting
the Government. They argued that if the farmers
could force the hand of the Government in this one
thing, their organization was dangerous; hence the
government had arrayed against it all the forces
money and privilege could unite.

Money was spent like water. The "old flag" was
waved, the annexation bogey resuscitated, the ha-
tred of Yankees innate in the breast of provincials
invoked, and a special appeal to the English or
British-born voter was made. Empire, flag, king,
country and that high-sounding phrase "fiscal inde-
pendence" were emphasized by the exhorters for
special privilege. The people did not know that
Robinson Crusoe was the true type of man fiscally
independent. This was the fault of the Liberal
party. Years ago it had given up its campaign
of education on behalf of fiscal freedom, and the
campaign addressed to narrowness, provincialism,
passion and prejudice swept the Government away.
In defeat Laurier suffered merited retribution for
the fifteen years he had permitted the Interests to
urge their campaign while he made no counter cam-
paign—indeed, in many cases became their well-
intentioned but misguided tool.

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Only a few things are plain. The Tory party is
inevitably to be the hand-maiden of the Interests;
the alliance is irrevocable. It was made by the
Interests, and the party must now stand and deliver
the goods.

Governments in Canada when once seated in power
are hard to dislodge. Nothing is more tenacious
than the politician's grip of office. Fifteen or twenty
years will no doubt elapse before the Tories are
driven from power.

Many of us in the meantime look for a distinct
line of cleavage between the East and the West.
Ontario returned only 13 Liberal members out of
86 seats. The farmers say the manufacturers of
that Province regard the farmers and consumers
of the West as a special preserve where they may
fatten. This campaign of restriction dictates to the
farmer both where he shall sell and buy. If I judge
aright the temper of the people of the West, they
will not long consent to be driven into a stock-
ade and corralled for the benefit of Interests.

The hope of the West is in its increase of popu-
lation and representation in the House of Com-
mons at Ottawa. The Decennial census has just
been taken. This will give the West an increased
representation of 20 or 25 members. The American
population, too, will flock to the standard of de-
mocracy and freer trade. But at best it will be a
long, slow battle. The war between democracy
and privilege will, however, be carried on; and
though the road be long those who have the cour-
age to tread it shall reach the goal.

The reverse will not deter our peculiarly Western movement toward democracy. The farmers are determined. Many young men in the cities are at one with them. We believe the tendency of the East toward dictation will accentuate Western radicalism. The movement for Freetrade, Singletax and Direct Legislation will go on with unabated vigor.

If the East is domineering, a few years will witness the growth of tremendous annexation sentiment in the West. Already I have heard expressions of it. The growth of a distinctively Western community supplemented by American immigration may in a few years reverse the complexion of affairs. This anti-annexation campaign with its momentary success may at last defeat its own purpose; it may drive those who scorned and laughed at the idea into advocating it.

ROBERT L. SCOTT.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

CANADIAN "RECIPROCITY."

New York, October 2, 1911.

In your editorial article on Canadian Reciprocity in the issue of *The Public* for September 29th, at pages 993 and 994 there is reference to an alleged increase of price for print-paper in consequence of the defeat of the Reciprocity arrangement. This is a mistake. The print-paper clauses of the Reciprocity scheme did not depend upon the acceptance of that agreement by Canada, but took effect as soon as the President signed the Reciprocity bill. Print paper from Canada now comes in free, except such paper as is manufactured from wood cut on the Crown lands of several Canadian Provinces.

The newspaper publishers who, as you state, were the chief influence behind the Reciprocity movement, working for their own pockets in order to escape payment of the very low tariff tax of 9½ per cent formerly imposed on print-paper, were not satisfied to have their particular interest depend on the action of Canada. They took good care to have the Reciprocity bill so worded that they would get free paper in any event.

So the net result of the great Reciprocity agitation is—free print-paper for the newspapers, and no relief in tariff burdens for the 90,000,000 American consumers.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM.

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, October 3, 1911.

Italy's War of Aggression.

Italy's covetous intentions toward Tripoli, the ill-governed, barbarous dependency of Turkey on the north coast of Africa between Tunis and Egypt,

have suddenly taken expression in what may be called a national marauding expedition, as was reported last week, at which time Italian warships were arriving off the coast of Tripoli. On the 28th Italy presented to the Turkish government at Constantinople a final ultimatum, two previous ones having been sent on the 13th and the 25th. In the final document it was set forth that "during a long series of years the government of Italy never ceased to make representations to the Porte upon the absolute necessity of correcting the state of disorder to which the government of Turkey had abandoned Tripoli and Cyrene," and demanded that these regions should be admitted to the benefits of the progress realized by other parts of the Mediterranean and Africa. The ultimatum then proceeded to the declaration that—

The Italian government, having the intention henceforth to protect its interests and its dignity, has decided to proceed to the military occupation of Tripoli and Cyrene. This solution is the only one that will give Italy power to itself decide and itself attend to that which the Imperial government does not do. The royal embassy at Constantinople is ordered to demand a decisive response on this subject from the Ottoman government within twenty-four hours of the presentation to the Porte of the present document, in default of which the Italian government will consider itself as being obliged to proceed immediately with measures destined to assure the occupation.

Efforts at obtaining intervention of the Powers on the part of the Turkish government and conciliatory requests for delay, availed nothing, and at the expiration of the twenty-four hour limit on the 29th, Italy declared war. The Turkish cabinet resigned as soon as war was declared, and a new ministry was formed under Said Pasha, with Mahmoud Sheffet Pasha retained as minister of war. How much fighting has since taken place seems very uncertain as most contradictory reports have come over the wires. It seems probable that the Italian fleet has bombarded the forts of the city of Tripoli early this week. The Italian navy, which is greatly superior to the Turkish, is reported to have cleared the Mediterranean of Turkish ships. Naval fighting off the coast of European Turkey, at Prevesa, with an occupation by the Italians of the custom-house of Prevesa, has been reported and denied. Dispatches of the 4th stated that the Italian naval commander, the Duke of the Abruzzi, had sent an ultimatum to the authorities in command at Prevesa, threatening bombardment unless the Turkish warships which had taken refuge in the harbor, should be delivered up.

The Great Powers are declared to be greatly dissatisfied with a war for which there is so little pretense of excuse; and one, moreover, which threatens to upset both the peace and the balance

But with their mouths France, Germany and Spain regard to the international situation. Germany, however, in an embarrassing position of being of the Triple Alliance with and also a special commercial understanding understood to be offering to mediate between two disputant nations. Re-appeal to the Powers for ineffective effect that Turkey must first settle on a settlement closer to Italy's current volume, page 1001.]

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President of Mexico.

Castro was elected President of Mexico on the 1st. The vote on his position is still in doubt, as between the regular candidate of the Francisco Vasquez Gomez, the revolutionary party; and the president, Francisco de la Barra, the Catholic party. The vice-president may be thrown into the contest. The electoral college is to meet on the 15th. The current volume, page 1005.]

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Great Railroad Strike.

Conflicts between railroad managers and railroad workers, scappily reported in the daily newspapers, were followed by a strike on the 26th of clerks employed at Memphis by the Illinois Central. They were reported as numbering 1,100. More were reported to have joined the strike the following day. It was added that groups along the same line were already threatening to quit. The firemen and sheet metal workers employed by this road at New Orleans were reported on the 27th. At that time it was reported by the Associated Press that "practically all the work employed by the Illinois Central on the Ohio river was on strike," and the strike was momentarily imminent. The union in all the trades on the Illinois Central and the Harriman system had voted for a settlement of differences. An ultimatum sent to Julius Kruttschnitt, vice-president of the Harriman lines, was ignored by telegraphic solicitations for a conference were also ignored, the officers of five unions gave notice of their assent to a conference which was called for 10 o'clock on

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through whom this strike was thus arranged for a conference between themselves. President Franklin of the Brotherhood

of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, President Ryan of the International Association of Car Workers, President Kline of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, President Sullivan of the Amalgamated Alliance of Sheet Metal Workers, and President O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists. The latter alone dissented, but his international association in convention at Davenport on the 30th adopted resolutions declaring for a strike on the Harriman railroads unless the demands of the federation of shop employes are recognized. It also elected a new president, William Johnston. The demands were not recognized. James W. Kline, president of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and chairman of the federated committee, explained on the 29th, as reported in the Chicago Tribune of the 30th, that—

a strike on the Harriman lines and the Illinois Central railroad has been called after repeated attempts to bring about an amicable adjustment with the two managements. The managements refused to discuss any phase of the proposition presented except that of federation, and they refused to recognize that. Necessarily a federation of the crafts became the issue. We have instructed our members to preserve perfect order.

Following are the proposals submitted before the strike by the labor organizations, and not as an ultimatum but with the ultimatum (ignored by the companies) that they be made subjects of conference:

Recognition of shop employes' federation, representing machinists, blacksmiths, boilermakers, carmen and sheet metal workers. All present or future employes not members shall join the federation within thirty days. The company to agree that the control and final settlement of differences with employes shall rest with a federated committee made up of representatives of the five crafts instead of committees of individual crafts as heretofore. To restrict the number of apprentices. A flat increase of 7 cents an hour for all mechanics, apprentices and helpers. No employe shall work by the piece, bonus or premium system. No form of physical examination or personal record shall be required. If forces are reduced employes are to indicate who shall be laid off and seniority shall rule. No employe belonging to the federation to be discharged or suspended without a hearing.

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On the 30th the strike became effective. Machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, carmen, clerks and miscellaneous employes to the reported number of 30,000 struck work on the Illinois Central, the Union Pacific, the Southern Pacific, the Oregon Short Line, the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake, and the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley. Strikebreakers have been imported to different points. The railway managers state that lack of employment is so great throughout the country as

to give them no concern about filling the strikers' places.

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Judge Hanford's Impeachment.

Oliver T. Erickson and his associates in Seattle (including the editor and publisher of the Seattle Star and their attorney), who have been urging the impeachment of the Federal Judge Hanford, have been exonerated of the criminal charge of obstructing Federal justice. The United States Commissioner admitted them to bail to await the action of the Federal grand jury; and on the 28th the grand jury, after investigating the case four days, threw out the indictment. [See current volume, page 954.]

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Land Values Taxation in Missouri.

The campaign for land values taxation in Missouri by means of Initiative amendment to the Constitution, began last week upon the basis of the following proposed amendment, which had been carefully drafted under the supervision of Dr. William P. Hill and S. L. Moser and by some of the leading lawyers of Missouri, including F. N. Judson:

Section 1. All property now subject to taxation shall be classified for purposes of taxation and for exemption from taxation as follows: Class One shall include all personal property. In the year 1913 and thereafter no assessment for State or local taxes shall be made on property in Class One. Class Two shall include all improvements in or on land, except improvements in or on lands now exempt from taxation by law. In the years 1914 and 1915 all property in Class Two shall be exempt from taxes to the extent of one-fourth of the assessed value of such property; in the years 1916 and 1917, to the extent of two-fourths; in the years 1918 and 1919, to the extent of three-fourths, and in the year 1920 and thereafter all property in Class Two shall be exempt from taxes; provided, however, that in the year 1914 and thereafter the improvements to the extent of \$3,000 in assessed value on the homestead of every householder or head of a family, shall be exempt from taxes. Class Three shall include all lands, independent of improvements thereon or therein, except lands now exempt from taxation by law, and no property in Class Three shall ever be exempt from taxation. Class Four shall include all franchise values of public service corporations.

Section 2. All property subject to taxation in this State shall be assessed for taxes at its true and actual value.

Section 3. No poll tax shall be levied or collected in Missouri, nor shall any tax whatsoever be levied or imposed on any person, firm, merchant, manufacturer, trade, labor, business, occupation or profession under the form or pretext of a license for revenue after December 31st, 1913, but nothing herein shall be construed as affecting the licensing of any business, occupation, profession, place or thing in the interest of the public peace, health or safety; and nothing herein contained shall be con-

strued as changing the present laws governing the regulation of the manufacture or sale of fermented, vinous and spirituous liquors.

Section 4. The existing Constitutional limitations upon the rates of taxation for State, county, school and municipal purposes shall have no force and effect after January 1st, 1914.

Section 5. The General Assembly shall provide the legislation necessary to secure full and effective compliance with the purposes and intent of this amendment. Nothing in this amendment shall be construed to limit the Initiative and Referendum powers reserved by the people.

[See current volume, page 777.]

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The British Conference on Land Values Taxation.

At the conference on land values taxation held at Glasgow September 11 and 12, all the official resolutions were carried except the second, for which a stronger substitute was proposed by R. L. Outhwaite and unanimously adopted. Following is the substitute:

That this conference views with grave concern the statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the valuation will not be completed until 1914, and refuses to assent to the long delay which this would entail upon urgent reforms. This conference, in view of the pledge of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to deal with the question of the relation of imperial and local finances during the present Parliament, declares emphatically that this can only be satisfactorily carried out on the lines outlined in the preceding resolutions. It therefore urges the Land Values Group in the House of Commons to take an early opportunity of again pressing on the Chancellor of the Exchequer the desirability of expediting the Budget valuation, and if this is impracticable on present lines, to consider other methods which will more speedily accomplish the end in view. This conference further pledges itself to resist strenuously and uncompromisingly any attempt to deal with the problem of local and imperial taxation which ignores the rating and taxation of land values.

Georges Darien, editor of "L'Impot Unique," conveyed the greetings of the Single Taxers of Paris to the Conference, and Joseph Fels announced that it had been arranged that an international Single-tax conference be held at the place of and just prior to the next International Free-trade Conference, the meeting place of which was not yet settled. [See current volume, page 956.]

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Pennsylvania Dam Disaster.

The town of Austin in Potter county on the north boundary of Pennsylvania, with the smaller town of Costello below it, were almost entirely swept away by a mighty flood of waters on the afternoon of the 30th, when the great dam of the Bayless Pulp and Paper Company, on Freeman's Run, holding back more than 500,000,000 gallons

The flood rushed in a wall, down the valley in which two below the dam. Houses escaped, and the few brick the shops of the Buffalo & partly withstood the onrush the wooden buildings forming the town were swept away into piled up in vast heaps against the pulp and paper mills. At what came over the tele-rageous girl operators, them- locomotive engineer, Harry to be where he could see the ay, the persons in the houses re swept down to their death, under tons of debris. The vine through the town, break- mains, and in a few moments passed, the town was on fire. dead, eighty-six missing and under the debris, was the offi- 2nd for Austin. The loss of a greater but for the fact that people of both sexes were away Saturday afternoon ball game death list for Costello was two. in the whole valley is put at 1,000. Food, tents, physicians re hastened to the stricken dis-

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is now a wreck was finished in e of concrete, and was 530 feet at the base and 49 feet high. In ar, in a week of severe weather, eakening, and afterwards a sec- t a half a mile farther back, to ty. Heavy rains had been fall- county hills during the week be- and the water was high behind day of the catastrophe the water the top of the dam, it is said, . Finally, with a sharp report, e way; then with another report e out, and with a deafening roar on its terrible journey down the

large number of retailers and their customers in New York City.

—Governor Foss was renominated by the Democrats at the Massachusetts primaries on the 26th, the Republicans nominating Louis A. Frothingham. [See current volume, page 74.]

—George W. Fithian announced his candidacy on the 30th for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Illinois at the spring primaries. [See current volume, pages 563, 830, 953, 1001.]

—The Irish railway strike was ended on the 30th by the return of the strikers in consequence of a settlement between the shippers and their employes whose differences had caused the call for a general strike. [See current volume, page 1004.]

—The Republic of Portugal has now been recog- nized by all the Great Powers except Russia. The United States recognized the Republic in June, France in August, and the other Powers in Septem- ber. [See current volume, pages 584, 784, 979.]

—At the direct non-partisan primaries in San Francisco on the 26th, James Rolph, Jr., was nomi- nated for Mayor over Mayor P. H. McCarthy, by a full majority of all votes cast, which, under the char- ter, makes him the Mayor without further contest. [See volume xiii, page 1137.]

—John J. McNamara, under indictment at Los Angeles for alleged dynamiting of the Times build- ing, was last week re-elected by the International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union in con- vention at Milwaukee, as general secretary-treasurer of that organization. [See current volume, page 932.]

—John E. W. Wayman, States Attorney of Cook County, formally announced on the 27th that he will be a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor of Illinois at the spring primaries. Ex- Governor Richard Yates made a like announcement on the 2nd. [See current volume, pages 830, 953, 1001.]

—William J. Bryan was the principal speaker at the Conservation Conference at Kansas City on the 27th. He was preceded on the same day by Secre- tary-of-the-Interior Fisher. J. B. White was elected president. On the 28th the most notable speaker named in the dispatches was ex-Secretary Ballinger. [See current volume, page 1004.]

—In the Federal court at Guthrie on the 30th, Frank Guinn and J. J. Beall, election officers con- victed of preventing Negroes from voting, pursuant to the "grandfather clause" of the Oklahoma Con- stitution, an amendment, were sentenced on the 30th by Federal Judge Cotteral to imprisonment for one year and one day. [See current volume, page 493.]

—The elections for the second chamber of the Swedish parliament on the 27th, the first held since universal suffrage and proportional representation were introduced, are reported to show a notable ac- cession to the strength of the Socialists. Returns from 204 out of 230 seats gave the following results: Right, 81; Left, 87; Socialists, 56. [See volume xii, p. 1211.]

—Read Admiral Winfield Scott Schley dropped dead on the sidewalk of Forty-fourth street, New York City, on the 2nd, unrecognized by the crowd. The body was first identified through the Greely-

NEWS NOTES

cess of the Illinois legislature in which ended on the 1st, that body the 2nd.

on the 28th of the Supreme Court the workingmen's compensation act s held to be constitutional.

ent for the elimination of middle- tribution is reported to be under way te Grange of Pennsylvania and a

rescue presentation watch found in a pocket of his clothing. Dispatches state that his death was caused by a bursting blood vessel in the brain, from the effects of which he fell and his head striking the curb his skull was fractured.

—The Pine Ridge and the Rosebud Indian reservations were opened for appropriation on the 2nd, by registration from that date to the 21st at Chamberlain, Rapid City, Gregory and Dallas, S. D. The drawings for choice of location will begin at Gregory on the 24th and continue until all these public lands are given over to private ownership. There are 466,562 acres in the area to be thus distributed. [See volume xii, p. 781.]

—President Taft's tour took him to Hutchinson, Kansas, on the 26th—to Topeka and Leavenworth on the 27th, to Waterloo (Iowa) on the 28th, to Ottumwa (Iowa) on the 29th, to Sedalia (Missouri) on the 30th, and to Lincoln (Nebraska) on the 2nd. At Lincoln Mr. Bryan was the second guest of honor and compliments were exchanged upon Mr. Bryan's toast to the President which was drunk with water instead of wine. [See current volume, page 1004.]

—Benjamin C. Marsh, Secretary of the New York committee on congestion of population, addressed the Chicago City Club's committee on public revenues, and the International Municipal Congress, on the 27th, and at Milwaukee on the 28th, in advocacy of the New York plan of progressively decreasing taxes on improvements relatively to those on land. In the evening of the 28th he spoke at the Rotary Club of Chicago on "The City for the People." [See current volume, page 951.]

—Frederick H. Monroe's lecture bureau announces the following appointments for the Hon. Henry George, Jr.: October 7th, Calgary; 8th, Revelstoke, B. C.; 9th, Kamloops, B. C.; 10th, Victoria; 11th, Vancouver; 12th and 13th, Seattle, Wash.; 14th, Everett, Wash.; 15th, Portland, Oregon; 16th, Eugene, Oregon; 17th, Red Bluff, Calif.; 18th, Alameda, Calif.; 19th and 20th, San Francisco, Calif.; 21st, Alameda; 22nd, Los Angeles; 23rd, San Diego; 25th, Houston, Texas; 27th, St. Louis, Mo.

—Nathan Allen, a leather manufacturer of Kenosha, Wis., and John R. Collins of Memphis, Tenn., organizer of the Southern Coal Company, pleaded guilty on the 2d in the United States Circuit Court to smuggling, and were sentenced, Allen to pay a fine of \$12,000 and Collins \$4,000. Allen and Collins were indicted in connection with the smuggling of jewelry valued at \$150,000, which, it is alleged, was given to Mrs. Helen Dwelle Jenkins, who appeared as the principal witness against the men before the grand jury.

—"Keyless" copies of the official report of the Chicago Vice Commission having been held by the Chicago Postmaster for advice as to their mailability under the Comstock obscenity laws, Assistant Attorney General Keyser decided on the 26th that they are not mailable. They had been deposited in the Chicago post office by the Vice Commission for transmission to philanthropic and civic societies and sociologists. If the Attorney General's opinion holds, the books must be destroyed and the persons mailing them are guilty of a penitentiary offense such

as that for which Moses Harman was imprisoned and Dr. Stockham fined. [See volume ix, p. 963.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Checks on the Popular Will.

The Coming Nation (A. M. Simons, Socialist).—July 15.—Because democracy will not put property above persons, the interests that defend property in persons are those that oppose democracy. . . . The whole theory of restrictions and checks and balances upon the popular will belongs to the age of chain armor and stage coaches, and the divine right of kings and other relics of feudalism. It is much safer and entails less suffering for the majority to learn by making mistakes than to be tutored and robbed by an exploiting minority. The only check that should be laid upon the popular will is the results of its actions.

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An Exemplification.

The Pueblo (Colo.) Leader (ind.)—Sept. 15.—The government has proved that it can mine coal more efficiently and more cheaply than can private parties. The government owns a mine at Williston, N. D. Coal is produced there for \$1.60 per ton; coal from private mines sells for \$2.50 per ton. Moreover, the government mine is a model mine. It is equipped with every known safety device. There has never been a man killed in it. The miners work only eight hours a day, six days a week, and earn at the rate of about \$100 per month. In view of these facts, why turn Alaska over to the Morgan-Guggenheim outfit? Why shall not the United States both own and develop Alaska? Why shall not the government build the railroads and mine the coal? It has proved its ability to do both. Not only is labor pleased with government ownership, because it gets better hours and better pay in the government service, but the consumer is pleased also, because he gets better service and lower prices.

+ +

There Is No Middle Ground.

(Charles Edward Russell in) The Coming Nation (Socialist), Sept. 23.—A government is one of two things. Either it is a government of the ruled or it is a government by persons divinely gifted to rule. Or it is a government by the people with no measure nor standard of wisdom except the collective wisdom of the community. There is nothing between these two, whatever pretense we may please to make about it. When a man assumes that because he has succeeded in getting himself elected to office he, therefore, is endowed with superior wisdom and knows what is good for the people, he is merely adopting the good old theory of the divine right to rule. He may not be perfectly conscious of the fact, and he may on the platform prate much about the Republic and popular rule. But if he thinks that the people do not know what is good for them and his mission is to guide them in the way they should go, he is subscribing to the doctrine that has cost many king per- sons their heads.

Change His Mind Overnight?

Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), President Taft broke a promise of Congress on the Statehood explained. In the early days the members of the committee the President and laid before resolution admitting New Mexico as States. The resolution all proposition should be sub-Arizona and that the majority it would be wise to retain it or not. The bill was so Congress nor the President record as to the merits of the Taft gave every Congressman he would sign this bill. The and Democrats alike, left a definite understanding to others made the statement on the that the President had agreed to was passed by both houses of President changed his mind and as not yet explained why.

+ +

Tribune (Rep.) Sept. 28.—The Attorney General by which report of the Vice Commission ought not to close this incidental application of the statute tried and upheld by the court, amended so as to permit all character to be mailed. There Bible that come within the lit-section 211. Is the Bible mailing does not stand by itself. It says by the Post Office Department an un-American bureaucratic, if not worse. It is a serious generation when a people will not cry liberty of expression and punishment. The post office hitherself by ruling out the pamphletists or radical thinkers upon. Because these men were withheld because American public opinion hithersuch obscure oppressions had no recourse. But the refusal should teach us. Here is no obtain an official document, approved voters and citizens of the highest to have censorship in America means, and let us see that intel-not the benighted brain of a poor or the mechanical judgment of all decide what may pass current.

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covering "boy wanted" ad): "Shure, awful he wudn't tell a lie for any- afraid he wouldn't do." Well, sor, Oi hov another bhoy that if ye'd maybe loike to see 'm."—

RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A HERITAGE—A TASK.

Flora Bullock in Nebraska State Journal.

Honor and praise we give them—those of old,
Who clear upon a sacred parchment graved
A world's new creed,—no longer thought enslaved,
No heart's hope crushed, no gleam of freedom sold
For all earth's jeweled treasure. More than gold
Their legacy; more than life they saved.
Aye, glorious, when the new-born banner waved,
A truth upsprang, too great for words to hold.
A race of kings must live it, must proclaim
Its power in action, and its grace in deeds
Of all-world brotherhood. Only so
We guard the trust they gave us, earn the name
They nobly honored, keep the course that leads
Safe past false harbors to the morning glow.

This be the word we leave them—those whose light
Shall yet be kindled in the far-off years—
That Deed of Rights, thrice proved, safe from fears;
Tried in hot battles; by the silent might
Of peace tempered and tested. Still we fight
For justice, hurl our gage at kings and peers;
But know within ourselves the curse that sears
A nation's power, and dims the mounting light
Of Freedom. Patriots, wake! Again declare
That men are free and equal in this land;
Cry "On!" though every flag in peace be furled.
Oh, tell your children's children that they bear
No trivial message, but a high command
To make God's justice regnant in His world!

+ + +

THE MISER.

Gilbert K. Chesterton in the London Daily News.

It is a sign of sharp sickness in a society when it is actually led by some special sort of lunatic. A mild touch of madness may even keep a man sane; for it may keep him modest. So some exaggerations in the State may remind it of its own normal. But it is bad when the head is cracked; when the roof of the commonwealth has a tile loose. . . .

+

The modern miser has changed much from the miser of legend and anecdote; but only because he has grown yet more insane. The old miser had some touch of the human artist about him in so far that he collected gold—a substance that can really be admired for itself, like ivory or old oak. An old man who picked up yellow pieces had something of the simple ardour, something of the mystical materialism, of a child who picks out yellow flowers. Gold is but one kind of colored clay, but colored clay can be very beautiful. The modern idolator of riches is content with far less

genuine things. The glitter of guineas is like the glitter of buttercups, the clink of pelf is like the chime of bells, compared with the dreary papers and dead calculations which make the hobby of the modern miser.

The modern millionaire loves nothing so lovable as a coin. He is content sometimes with the dead crackle of notes; but far more often with the mere repetition of noughts in a ledger, all as like each other as eggs to eggs. And as for comfort, the old miser could be comfortable, as many tramps and savages are, when he was once used to being unclean. A man could find some comfort in an unswept attic or an unwashed shirt. But the Yankee millionaire can find no comfort with five telephones at his bed-head and the financial world changing every five minutes. The round coins in the miser's stocking were safe in some sense. The round noughts in the millionaire's ledger are safe in no sense; the same fluctuation which excites him with their increase depresses him with their diminution. As the miser gathers gold he cannot eat, the millionaire counts figures he cannot buy or sell. The miser at least collects coins; his hobby is numismatics: the man who collects noughts collects nothings.

It may be admitted that the man amassing millions is a bit of an idiot; but it may be asked in what sense does he rule the modern world. The answer to this is very important and rather curious. The evil enigma for us here is not the rich, but the Very Rich. The distinction is important; because this special problem is separate from the old general quarrel about rich and poor that runs through the Bible and all strong books, old and new. The special problem today is that certain powers and privileges have grown so world-wide and unwieldy that they are out of the power of the moderately rich as well as of the moderately poor. They are out of the power of everybody except a few millionaires—that is, misers. In the old normal friction of normal wealth and poverty I am myself on the Radical side. I think that a Berkshire squire has too much power over his tenants; that a Brompton builder has too much power over his workmen; that a West London doctor has too much power over the poor patients in the West London Hospital.

But a Berkshire squire has no power over cosmopolitan finance, for instance. A Brompton builder has not money enough to run a Newspaper Trust. A West End doctor could not make a corner in quinine and freeze everybody out. The merely rich are not rich enough to rule the modern market. The things that change modern history, the big national and international loans, the big educational and philanthropic foundations, the purchase of numberless newspapers, the big prices paid for peerages, the big expenses often

incurred in elections—these are getting too big for everybody except the misers; the men with the largest of earthly fortunes and the smallest of earthly aims.

There are two other odd and rather important things to be said about them. The first is this: that with this aristocracy we do not have the chance of a lucky variety in types which belongs to larger and looser aristocracies. The moderately rich include all kinds of people—even good people. Even priests are sometimes Saints; and even soldiers are sometimes heroes. Some doctors have really grown wealthy by curing their patients and not by flattering them; some brewers have been known to sell beer. But among the Very Rich you will never find a really generous man, even by accident. They may give their money away, but they will never give themselves away; they are egoistic, secretive, dry as old bones. To be smart enough to get all that money, you must be dull enough to want it.

+

Lastly, the most serious point about them is this; that the new miser is flattered for his meanness and the old one never was. It was never called self-denial in the old miser that he lived on bones. It is called self-denial in the new millionaire if he lives on beans. A man like Dancer was never praised as a Christian saint for going in rags. A man like Rockefeller is praised as a sort of pagan stoic for his early rising or his unassuming dress. His "simple" meals, his "simple" clothes, his "simple" funeral, are all extolled as if they were creditable to him. They are disgraceful to him: exactly as disgraceful as the tatters and vermin of the old miser were disgraceful to him. To be in rags for charity would be the condition of a saint; to be in rags for money was that of a filthy old fool. Precisely in the same way, to be "simple" for charity is the state of a saint; to be "simple" for money is that of a filthy old fool. Of the two I have more respect for the old miser gnawing bones in an attic: if he was not nearer to God, he was at least a little nearer to men. His simple life was a little more like the life of the real poor.

+ + +

She was a good servant, was Jennie, and Mrs. Wanderfarr never wished for better. But in the matter of pictures Jennie was weak. There was one in particular, which showed the leaning tower of Pisa. Every day Mrs. W. hung it straight, and every morning Jennie put it crooked.

So Mrs. W. watched.

"Now, look here, Jennie," she said, "you've hung that picture of the tower crooked again! Just look at it?"

"That's just what I say mum," returned the domestic dolefully. "Look at it! The only way you can get that silly tower to hang straight is to hang the picture crooked!"—New York Mail.

BOOKS

JOHNSON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

Announcement has been made by B. W. (Fifth avenue, New York) of the October 15 of the autobiography on, edited by Elizabeth J. Hauser. are being taken now at \$2 net for by mail. Its title is "My Story." pton's Magazine, beginning with ve got a taste of the content and all story of this man whom the e as "dreamer, inventor, monopo-statesman, humanitarian," who n in detail his rise from obscurity e which he occupies in the hearts ." As was characteristic of him in himself, Mr. Johnson subordinated his memoirs to the principles for and therefore the editor, Miss lished an introduction to put him ive. She has also added a final he narrative to its fitting close.

✦ ✦ ✦

WISDOMFUL POLITICIANS.

Analysis of Government Under the State Local Divisions and Rules for Legislation. By Alfred Zantzing Reed, ed for Columbia University by Long-Co., New York, and P. S. King & 11.

Columbia's "Studies in History, Public Law," which are edited by science faculty of the University, es the theory that "our government es if the guiding hand of the pro-n were removed from it." But it e the deficiencies of that class. It e of giving them a wider horizon onfesses to having "picked out a e treated it in a manner calculated her than to veil its essential

Therefore with our political subdivi-Colonial period, he presents with but in luminous detail the whole l subdivisions in the American bjects as the creation of counties, ban districts, judicial and admin- ing, representation in the legisla-ressional representation, with all ounts and diversified peculiarities, States, are expanded with pains- arly care.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Third Report of the Illinois Highway Commission for the Year 1908-1909.

—Human Confessions. By Frank Crane. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, \$1.00.

—Business. The Heart of the Nation. By Charles Edward Russell. Published by the John Lane Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.50, postage, 12 cents.

—American Socialism of the Present Day. By James Wallace Hughan. Published by the John Lane Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.25, postage, 12 cents.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

The A B C of the Land Question. A Handbook for Students and Speakers. By James Dundas White, M. P. Published by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, 20 Tothill St., London. 1911. Price, three-pence.

The Official Bulletin of the Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago. Educational Number, October, 1911. 19 S. La Salle St., Chicago.

PERIODICALS

The Survey.

On the title page of its issue for September, the Survey (New York) reproduces in half-tone a photograph of Miss Buchanan's clarion call of woman to women, an editorial mention of which appears on page 971 of The Public of September 22.

✦ ✦

The Single Tax Review.

James F. Morton, Jr., has in the July-August issue of The Single Tax Review, a contrast of the Singletax with the Socialist method of equalizing opportunity. It summarizes Socialism acutely but fairly, and it compares the two methods with an appreciation of the essentials of both which is quite unusual in these discussions on either side.

✦ ✦ ✦

He was quite evidently from the country and he was also quite evidently a Yankee, and from behind his bowed spectacles he peered inquisitively at the little oily Jew who occupied the other half of the car seat with him.

The little Jew looked at him deprecatingly. "Nice day," he began politely.

"You're a Jew, ain't you?" queried the Yankee.

"Yes, sir, I'm a clothing salesman—" handing him a card.

"But you're a Jew?"

"Yes, yes, I'm a Jew," came the answer.

"Well," continued the Yankee, "I'm a Yankee, and

in the little village in Maine where I come from I'm proud to say there ain't a Jew."

"Dot's why it's a village," replied the little Jew quietly.—Everybody's.

* * *

"Did you read this morning's Evening Journal?"

"I glanced over it last night before I went to bed."—Puck.

* * *

"He seems to be very clever."

"Yes, indeed. He can even do the problems that

his children have to work out at school."—Detroit Free Press.

* * *

An associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pata-gascar was sitting by a river.

"I wish to cross," said a traveler. "Would it be lawful to use this boat?"

"It would," was the reply; "it is my boat."

The traveler thanked him and rowed away, but the boat sank and he was drowned.

"Heartless man!" said an indignant spectator.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF CHICAGO

Public Meeting in Federation Hall, 331 S. La Salle Street
Sunday, Oct. 8, 3 P. M.

Speaker, Miss Mary McDowell. Subject: "Awakening of the Working Women in England."

Vote on the Amendment to National Constitution
Singing by Miss Helen Sullivan.

Refreshments. Union Label Goods for Sale at League Headquarters
MISS EMMA STEGHAGEN, Secretary. MRS. RAYMOND ROBINS, President.

SCHOOL OF ORGANIC EDUCATION, at Fairhope, Ala.

A Boarding School where Boys and Girls Develop Naturally and Really Live.

MARIETTE L. JOHNSON, Principal

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65 acres of land one mile from the town of Austin, Ark., 25 miles north of Little Rock on the St. Louis and Iron Mountain R. R. Most of the tract has been in cultivation, adapted to fruit and truck growing. Markets, St. Louis and Little Rock. Price \$20 per acre. Address: Robt. Heriot, 1511 West 2nd St., Little Rock, Ark. References exchanged. My reference: National Bank and Southern Trust Co., Little Rock, Ark.

A PRIMER OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION

CHAPTER I.—THE REFERENDUM

II.—THE INITIATIVE

III.—SUPPLEMENTARY REMEDIES

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II.—PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

III.—THE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY METHOD

IV.—THE DIRECT PRIMARY

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WING'S TALCUM POWDER

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INGRAM'S SHAVING STICK is put up in an opal jar with a close-fitting screw top that keeps the Stick in fine condition to the very last bit. It is sold by druggists or prepaid by mail, or send in stamps and we will mail you a small sized Stick—enough for a dozen shaves.

Frederick F. Ingram Co.
DETROIT, MICH.

73 Teath Street

you not tell him that your boat had a
atter of the boat's condition," said the
,"was not brought before me."—Success.

* * *

Person, in a Peebles public house, told
man that all the great poets were Scotch.
about Shakespeare?" cried the English—
you say he was Scotch?"
nts," was the reply, "would justify the
"—New York Tribune.

the Great Change

few years ago it was a real task to get
to the Public.

s one of the signs of the times that
real pleasure.

ends will appreciate it as much as

are the only one who can reach
you?

1. 1911

DANIEL KIEFER

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Have you ever stopped to think of how much money that might be saved slips through your fingers every week? On the other hand, have you ever stopped to think of the wonderful interest? Compare money spent with money saved at 4½ per annum semi-annually. Nothing succeeds like success. Success is always, first of all, a saving medium for saving is a savings and investment, organized under carefully restricted subject to efficient supervision. New model savings and loan law and excellent supervision.

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PER CENT

A CITY BUILT ON A GOLD MINE

Owners Will Take Fortunes Out of Lots in Western Canada City.

In the center of one of the most fertile sections of British Columbia there is being laid out the city of Fort Fraser. Every foot of ground there is as valuable as if it covered a gold mine, because of the certain prospects of an enormous rise in value.

In this great booming northwest territory the railroad has continually proved itself an Alladin's Lamp. Wherever it has opened up a new section, gold has jingled in the pockets of those who invested in lots before the driving of the last spike.

People who put their confidence in the town of Fort George, B. C., for instance, found that \$100 to \$150 invested 18 months ago grew to \$1,500 and \$2,000 and more without any effort on their part at all.

The same thing happened in greater measure in Prince Rupert, B. C. Lots there, which two years ago brought a bare \$200 to \$500, have proved a gold mine from which lucky holders have taken out from \$1,000 to \$5,000.

Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver values have jumped from an original \$100 or \$200, to \$5,000, \$10,000 and even the staggering sums of \$30,000 and \$50,000.

The next great strike like this will be in Fort Fraser. It is already called the "Hub City of British Columbia," and a tremendous energy is beginning to hum there. Being directly on the main line of the registered right of way of the great new Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, and, besides, commanding hundreds of miles of navigable river, it is a point of vast importance to commercial Canada. Already railroad grading camps are at work within two miles of Fort Fraser and the advance guard of wise investors are busy locating the best lots in the future city.

As long as the railroad is incomplete prices will remain low. An investment of only \$100 to \$150—10 per cent down and 5 per cent a month—puts you in line for a share of the big profits of this coming boom. Titles guaranteed by the British Columbia Government. No interest or taxes until fully paid.

Write to Spence, Jordan & Co., 312 Marquette Bldg., and ask for detailed plat and full information about Fort Fraser lots and this wonderful opportunity.

'Unearned Increment' For Sale

\$300 Worth for \$100

At CRYSTOLA, Colorado, "The Summer Rendezvous for reformers"—See advertisement in last week's PUBLIC.

The Crystola Co-operative Association authorizes me, as its president, to make a special offer to the friends of this important enterprise by which they can not only make 200 per cent on a \$100 investment but also render thereby a valuable service to the cause. The Company already owns the land, most of the town site of Crystola, a hotel and other buildings, and is to receive financial assistance from the Co-Workers Fraternity, an educational organization. But, to provide accommodation for the hundreds of people who will wish to spend their summers there, the Company requires additional funds and must raise part of the same by sacrificing some of its choicest land.

From an area of more than 700 acres the Company is to select the 100 acres which are the very choicest and most valuable for cottage locations, and lay them out into quarter acre tracts—and these quarter acre tracts, or cottage or camping sites are now offered for \$100 each. They will probably be worth at least \$300 each by the opening of the season next summer.

Make your check or money order for \$100 payable to The Crystola Co-operative Association and mail the same to me. The land will be so carefully selected that there will be but little difference in the values of these quarter acre tracts. But inasmuch as very few investors will find it convenient to go to Crystola before next summer, the Company agrees to make the selections for its investors without partiality, giving any preference in values to the first investors in the order in which they come. The investor will, furthermore, have the right to exchange the location selected for him by the Company FOR ANY ONE OF THESE QUARTER ACRE TRACTS REMAINING UNSOLD AT THE TIME OF HIS VISITING CRYSTOLA WITHIN A YEAR.

If there is anything pertaining to this offer that is not quite plain, write to me for explanation.

If you want complete information regarding Crystola and its plans and purposes before investing, put your name and address on a postal card and mail to me and you will receive at once a copy of the descriptive and illustrated pamphlet issued by the company. You should send for this even though you are not interested in the investment.

Hiram Vrooman

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