The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making**

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EDITORIAL

Presidential Politics.

Military metaphors are neither perfect nor agreeable for political purposes, but they are the usual ones and the handiest. Let us not be too critical of their use.

The quadrennial fight in American politics is about to begin; its primary object the election of another temporary king for another term, its larger effect a stimulation of public opinion—in the direction of fundamental democracy, let us hope.

After long and busy preparations, American citizenship is just now in the summer lull before the autumn clash and crash. It is as the dreamy night before tomorrow's battle. Five armies are in bivouac on the field, officered, equipped and eager for the fight. This is the hour, then, for conscientious voters to inspect those various groups, to scrutinize their banners, to note the direction of their battle front, to consider their fighting possibilities. It is a time for emotion, but it is also a time for thought.

The Prohibition Party.

Permanent side-parties are of little or no political value,* and the Prohibition Party is distinctly

*See Publics of November 5, 1898, page 6; April 13, 1901, page 3; December 28, 1907, page 917; November 13, 1908, page 775, and December 25, 1908, page 915.

a permanent side-party. For almost forty years its candidates and committees have gone through political maneuvers without voting strength, always expectant but always lost to sight and sound in the smoke and noise of political battle.

The object of the Prohibition Party, obliteration of a destructive and despicable traffic, is of the worthiest; however menacing to legitimate liberties its policy of arbitrary coercion may be, and however futile its tactics.

As an educational force, this party has doubtless served a useful purpose, though meagerly in comparison with other influences. But the principal purpose of political parties is not general education; it is immediate or progressive realization. As an educational device a permanent side-party in politics is uneconomical. More can be done with less energy for civic education by non-political methods, or by political methods that are occasional or local.

Worse than uneconomical for educational purposes, permanent side-parties tend to become obstructive of their own ends. When education begins to ripen in public opinion, the narrow partisanship which such parties foster thrusts itself as an obstruction in the way of political realization.

But the Prohibition Party offers itself for inspection. Its banners are sincere; its titular leader, Eugene W. Chafin, is both sincere and able; its battle front is toward higher levels. Its fighting possibilities, however, must be put at zero for the coming battle. Yet its tents offer a clean refuge for any who in their politics may be hopelessly sick and sore of heart.

The Socialist Party.

By its name the Socialist Party invites inspection by American citizenship on the eve of this year's Presidential battle.

Considered as a party in American politics, the Socialist Party is open to the criticisms and entitled to the commendations that apply to the Prohibition Party. So considered, it also is a permanent side-party; though it has a larger and more tenacious voting strength. With a steadily increasing vote nationally, and temporary victories locally, it offers unusual reasons for its political hopes. Its largest national vote, however, is prophetic of its impotence in the Presidential battle of the present fall. Yet its tents offer another clean refuge to the politically sick and sore of heart—irksome though the discipline of its camp may be.

But it is not fair—neither to the inspecting voter of conscience and thought nor to Socialists—to consider the Socialist Party as a party like other parties in American politics. Its primary object is to develop a world-wide industrial republic. To this object all its political and economic demands are subordinated. Not, then, as a political party is the Socialist Party to be considered, but as an American branch of the inchoate world-state which its members think of as yet to be.

The Republican Party.

With President Taft as its candidate, the regular Republican Party has the historical significance of the Democratic Party of those four years that ended when President Lincoln's first term began. The Republican candidate is of the Buchanan type personally; his party is of the bourbon type organically.

Whether Mr. Taft will be second or third when the votes are counted, no one dares to predict with any sense of responsibility. Though there be many whose hopes boldly garb themselves in prophecy, it is utterly impossible, in this lull before the battle, to more than guess what the result will be. It is the best guess by far that Mr. Taft will be badly beaten, but this early guess is subject to battle tides. Also to political and business diplomacy. McKinley's first election, a manifest impossibility in August, 1896, was an accomplished fact the next November; and although Buchanan's party got its death blow in 1856, it lingered until its defeat in 1860.

That the standpat Republican party is disintegrating is plain enough; that its candidate will be defeated in November is highly probable; that he will be a bad third may be anticipated reasonably. But there is no enduring certainty that he may not squeeze through, nor that his party may not survive yet a little while. Worshipers of success need not abandon Mr. Taft's party before the

battle, merely from fear of its weakness at the polls. He who likes the bedraggled banner it carries and the plutocratic morass in which it makes its desperate stand, may possibly find a comfortable political home in the "Grand Old Party" this fall. More than a transient refuge, too, it may be, notwithstanding the present great probability of irretrievable defeat in November.

The Progressive Party.

This is not yet a new party; it is a Republican "bolt." So far as prognostications are at present possible it will never be anything but a Republican "bolt" unless it becomes *the* Republican Party. Were it to win the election, it would probably take the place of the Republican Party in American politics; and not as a new party, but as the Republican Party reformed. Should it be second at the election, the same thing would probably result, unless the Democratic Party proved reactionary under Wilson's leadership, as it did under Cleveland's. Should the Progressive Party come in a good third, it may form the inviting nucleus or the obstructive agency (according to circumstances) for a genuine new party, provided Taft is re-elected, or if Wilson, being elected, proves recreant to his democratic professions. Much of this is conjecture, to be sure, but the solid fact remains that the Progressive Party is as yet only a Republican "bolt" and not a new party.

The platform of the Progressive Party is very like that religious creed of a new sect, into which every one who joined the sect was allowed to insert a declaration of his own most cherished faith. From direct legislation and woman suffrage, to Southern State-pensions for Confederate veterans, if anything is omitted it must be because its friends were collectively and individually overlooked. Except, of course, a demand for enforcement of the Constitutional guarantees of Negro suffrage, and a declaration for the Singletax—both of which were urged, perhaps injudiciously, and both of which were ruled out with deliberate prudence. Yet most of the platform demands are good ones. Either in practical execution of the democratic principle, such as direct legislation and woman suffrage, or for special ameliorations pending greater progress in democracy, as the industrial demands, they make a strong appeal to democratic emotions. But they are like a bundle of sticks unbundled. There doesn't seem to be in the whole platform a clear declaration of any unifying political or economic principle with which to hold them together consistently.

Of the leading candidate—but let him pass for the present. The principal consideration now is not the leading candidate but the party; and the party not alone in respect of what it promises, but also of its possibilities of performance.

The Democratic Party.

Notwithstanding the uncertainties of the battle before him, Wilson's election seems now assured. It seems, too, that Roosevelt will be second to him in the order of the popular vote, and Taft third. Whichever the result in that respect, however, the election of Wilson promises a new era in the politics of this country, and a better one than it has experienced since the issue of chattel slavery submerged the old parties of the '50's.

If Wilson is elected and proves courageously true to the democratic principles and policies he professes, the old Democratic Party, regenerated, will probably be the new party on the side of fundamental democracy,—driving out of it its plutocrats and spoilsmen, and attracting to it the mass of men and women of democratic impulses and purposes regardless of race or class. Its adversary will then most likely be the *plutocratic* Republican party of Taft, if Roosevelt's party "flukes" in this campaign; the *paternalistic* Republican party of Roosevelt, should Roosevelt drive Taft from the field. The latter possibility is to be preferred, for it would tend to align aggressive paternalism against aggressive democracy in the campaigns of the future.

In Wilson's acceptance speech the democratic principle shines like a star. It is especially luminous for interpretative purposes in connection with what he says of bounties for American ships. Restrictions upon American shipping are by Roosevelt's policy to be perpetuated, their deadening effects to be overcome with bounties. But in Wilson's view, bounties will not be needed if restrictions are removed. This comparison illustrates the contrast between Roosevelt's paternalism and Wilson's democracy in almost every other respect also. On the point of principle, it is the key to the whole situation.

Wilson or Roosevelt?

With the progressive purpose and present appearance of political vitality of the Progressive Party, a strong disposition to rush into it is nat-

urally felt on all sides. This feeling in Republican circles is a hopeful sign. Abandonment of the Republican Party by its rank and file shows that the regenerative processes which the Democratic Party has experienced for sixteen years, have at last struck deep into the Republican Party; and by the same token, that though the Progressive Party continue to be only a Republican "bolt," the conditions for a new party are nevertheless ripe in both the old parties, if the necessity for one arises.

But the wholesomeness of any precipitate rush from the Democratic Party to the Progressive Party is not so obvious. Had Harmon been nominated by the Democrats to contest the election of Taft, a new party would have sprung spontaneously out of both the old ones. But Bryan's defeat of the Interests and their political henchmen at Baltimore, and the consequent nomination of Wilson, postponed if it did not altogether remove all necessity for a new party at this time.

In some localities it may well be wise for democratic Democrats to go with the Progressives. This is probably true of a State like Rhode Island, a rotten borough of plutocratic Republicanism, with no Democratic Party to speak of. It is doubtless true where Democratic oligarchies rule with reckless indifference to human rights, as in the South. But in States where progressive sentiment can fairly hope to dominate the Democratic Party, it would hardly seem the best of judgment for democratic Democrats to go hunting with Theodore Roosevelt at the moment when they are needed to secure final control of the Democratic Party for fundamental democracy—at a time, moreover, when this party and its leadership offer high and reasonable hopes of realizing all that the Progressive Party could give, and more than it probably would give, if it happened to be triumphant.

Emotion might account for such a course, but where would be the wisdom of it? Mr. Taft's managers could hardly wish for better luck than a rush of progressive Democrats in doubtful States over into the Progressive Party to offset the rush of progressive Republicans away from himself. It could not by reasonable possibility elect Roosevelt, even if that were desirable. It would *tend* at least to defeat Wilson, which is not desirable.

But these are transition times. Men are scattering in all directions, politically, and it is best that each should act upon his own rational impulses. After the election, an account of stock may be taken. If the Progressive Party, now only a Republican faction, shall then have proved its mettle as a political pioneer and demonstrated its right to be the new party should a new party be needed, the time will have arrived for democratic Democrats to consider whether or not this is the new party they long for. That time may come before the election. Much depends upon Governor Wilson. But if it is yet here, we at least are bound to plead inability to see it. Meanwhile let no one overlook the great value of the upheaval that is taking place. The scattering mentioned above is evidence of independent thinking. Said a Negro leader after Roosevelt's nomination, "Until now I could look in a black man's face and know what he was thinking, but not any longer. We are all thinking for ourselves now, and breaking the ranks of race." That observation applies more widely than to any race, to any interest, to any cult.

Democratic Nominations in Michigan.

Woodbridge N. Ferris and J. W. Helme, democratic Democrats by the acid test, are unopposed candidates at the Michigan primaries on the 27th for the Democratic nomination for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Michigan. Their election in November is greatly to be desired. Another Democrat of the democratic kind, also by the acid test, is George P. Hummer of Grand Rapids, who is a candidate at the primaries for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator. As he is opposed, a vote for him at the primaries is as important now as one for any of the three may be in November.

The Whiskey Ring in Ohio.

The efforts of the whiskey ring—both overhand and underhand—to defeat woman suffrage at the special election on September 3d in Ohio, ought to bring support to that amendment from every decent town and every clean home in the State. About woman suffrage as an abstract question, men and women may fairly disagree; but the active opposition of so debauching an agency as the whiskey ring is too significant and sinister to leave any leeway for debate over abstractions.

The Waterbury Republican has a keen and nimble wit, coupled with admirable foresight. It advises its readers to vote for Taft, pray for Roosevelt, and bet on Wilson.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

NEW PARTIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

Political partisanship in the United States began about four years after the formation of the Federal government.

Prior to that time, such Whigs of the Revolutionary era as subsequently came out for a strong central government of general powers, constituted a faction in opposition to those who demanded strict limitations upon Federal authority. There was only one party. Out of the former of those factions, however, there came the Federal Party, and out of the latter the Democratic-Republican Party.

It was not until the Democratic-Republican Party had wholly absorbed the Federalists in the "era of good feeling" during the '20's of the Nineteenth Century, that new parties again appeared; and when they appeared, they had developed out of one-party factionalism.

The first of those new parties was the Anti-Mason Party. It was organized about 1827, its attitude toward Free Masonry being somewhat similar to that of the "A. P. A." against Roman Catholicism at a long subsequent date. It secured seven electoral votes in 1832, but had no permanency.

Soon afterwards the present Democratic Party took form under Andrew Jackson's leadership. Coincidently, Clay and Adams set up the National Republican Party, which, with accessions from the Democrats, soon became the Whig Party. The Whigs survived as one of the two principal parties until the Republican Party came some twenty years later.

Although the Democrats and the Whigs were the principal parties in American politics until 1856, there were meanwhile several Whig factions such as the Silver Gray Whigs, several Democratic factions such as the Hunkers and the Barnburners, and a side party or two, such as the Liberty Party. The Liberty Party was an almost voteless side party, bearing somewhat the same political relation to the slavery question of the '40's that independent Labor parties have borne to industrial questions since.

By 1848, the aggressions of pro-slavery leaders had so disturbed political partisanship at the North as to provoke the organization there of the Free Soil Party. From the fact that this was the first serious sign of political realignments at that time, that it sprang "bolt"-like out of the dominant party, and that its candidate for the Presidency was an ex-President of great political genius, the Free Soil Party, more suggestively than any other new party in American history, is like the Progressive Party of the present campaign.

The burning question of Van Buren's time, generated by the annexation of Texas, was whether slavery should go into free territory; and both parties were divided on the question to the extreme point of delicacy in the matter of political adjustment. The Whigs nominated a slaveholder in General Taylor, and voting down a declaration against the extension of slavery made no platform at all. The Democrats, then in power, voted down a resolution that Congress had no authority to interfere with slavery either in the States or Territories, and nominated Lewis Cass. At this point the Free Soil Party threw ex-President Van Buren's hat into the ring.

Mr. Van Buren had been the Vice-President of Jackson's second term, and Jackson's immediate successor in the Presidency. Renominated by the Democrats in 1840, he was defeated by Harrison at the election. At the Democratic convention four years later he had a majority of the delegates, but was tricked out of the nomination by the adoption at that convention, and for the purpose of defeating him, of the two-thirds rule which still persists in Democratic conventions. These were the personal circumstances under which he became the Free Soil candidate for President in 1848.

The Free Soil Party was pretty distinctly a Democratic "bolt." It declared that Congress had no more power to make a slave than to make a king; and although it sought the co-operation of anti-slavery men of all parties, and the Liberty Party did merge in it, its appeal to anti-slavery Whigs availed but little. As their party had nominated a slaveholder, the leading anti-slavery Whigs hesitated for a time, somewhat inclined to support the Democratic "bolt," but such men as Horace Greeley finally led the way to Taylor, rather than engage, as Seward expressed it, in "guerrilla warfare" under Van Buren.

When the late Edward M. Sheppard wrote his friendly but critical biography of Van Buren, published by Houghton-Mifflin in 1897, he made some interesting observations about Van Buren and his Free Soil candidacy. They are not without political value at the present juncture. This, for example:

> It is mere speculation whether he had thought his election a possible thing. That he should think so was very unlikely. Few men had a cooler judg-

ment of political probabilities; few knew better how powerful was party discipline in the Democratic ranks, for no one had done more to create it; few could have appreciated more truly the Whig hatred of himself. Still the wakening rush of moral sentiment was so strong, the bitterness of Van Buren's Ohio and New York supporters had been so great at his defeat in 1844, that it seemed not utterly absurd that those two States might vote for him. If they did, that dream of every third party in America might come true—the failure of either of the two great parties to obtain a majority in the Electoral College, and the consequent choice of President in the House, where each of them might prefer the third party to its greater rival. Ambition to reënter the White House could indeed have had but the slightest influence with him when he accepted the Free Soil nomination. Nor was his acceptance an act of revenge, as has very commonly been said. The motives of a public man in such a case are subtle and recondite even to himself. No distinguished political leader with strong and publicly declared opinions, however exalted his temper, can help uniting in his mind the cause for which he has fought with his own political fortunes. If he be attacked, he is certain to honestly believe the attack made upon the cause as well as upon himself. When his party drives him from a leadership already occupied by him, he may submit without a murmur; but he will surely harbor the belief that his party is playing false with its principles. In 1848 there was a great and new cause for which Van Buren stood, and upon which his party took the wrong side; but doubtless his zeal burned somewhat hotter, the edge of his temper was somewhat keener, for what he thought the indignities to himself and his immediate political friends. To say this is simply to pronounce him human. His acceptance of the nomination was given largely out of loyalty to those friends whose advice was strong and urgent. It was the mistake which any old leader of a political party, who has enjoyed its honors, makes in the seeming effort—and every such political candidacy at least seems to be such an effort—to gratify his personal ambition at its expense. Van Buren and his friends should have made another take the nomination, to which his support, however vigorous, should have gone sorrowfully and reluctantly; and the form as well as the substance of his relations to the canvass should have been without personal interest.

The Free Soil Party, big with promise in August, 1848, polled barely 10 per cent of the popular vote at the election, and got not a single vote in the Electoral College. Four years later its popular vote fell off nearly 50 per cent, and as a distinct party it then vanished from politics.

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The sentiment against slavery extension, which the Liberty Party at first, the Free Soil Party later, had represented by independent political organization, and which was strong in both the Whig and the Democratic parties, grew under continued aggressions of the slave oligarchy, the prototype of our plutocracy, until it gave birth in 1856 to the Republican party—the same Republican party against which the Progressive Party of today is in revolt.

The Republican Party was distinctly a new party. It formed itself. That is to say, such Whigs, Democrats and independents as were opposed to the extension of slavery sprang into and organized the movement as by a common impulse. It was neither Whig nor Democrat in leadership, nor in political color.

Instantly there was no other party except the Knownothing Party, organized out of a secret society and figuring only in that campaign, and the Democratic Party. Into the latter all the pro-slavery elements were thus driven, other than those that joined the Knownothings; and as the Whig Party dropped out, the Democratic Party became distinctively the champion of property rights in men, the Republican Party the new party of democracy.

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From that time until the present, no party has displaced either the Republican Party or the Democratic. New parties there have been since then, and in considerable numbers, but none have achieved permanency.

The Liberal Republican Party, a "bolt" from the regular Republicans in 1872, nominated Horace Greeley and was endorsed by the Democrats, but passed back into the Republican Party after a single campaign.

A temperance party formed in 1872 became in 1876 the Prohibition Party, which is still a side party.

The Independent National Party of 1876, growing out of a Labor Reform Party of 1872, became the Greenback-Labor National Party in 1880. Peter Cooper was its Presidential candidate in 1876, James B. Weaver in 1880, and Benjamin F. Butler in 1884. It then died, leaving its doctrines and general characteristics as a legacy to the People's Party, commonly called Populists. Neither of these parties was ever a new party in any such necessary sense as implies permanent national displacement of an existng principal party. Although the Greenbackers sent Representatives to Congress, and the Populists carried States as well as Congressional districts, the Republican and the Democratic parties remained respectively either first or second in the national field. The Greenbackers of the earlier period and the Populists of the later, were always an extremely bad third in national elections. Inevitably, therefore, these revolts

dwindled to a permanent side party which exists now only as a dilapidated skeleton.

In 1896 there might have been a new party of magnitude, a "bolt" from the Democratic Party, if those Democrats whose attitude was then that of the bolting Republicans now, had not captured their party. Bryan accomplished that year what Roosevelt failed in this year. By this capture they drove plutocratic Democrats over to the Republicans in mass, except for a few who formed a side party for that campaign alone.

In 1900 the Democratic Party was again held by the democratic elements in it, but in 1904 it was recaptured by the plutocrats. Recovered by democratic Democrats in 1908, it was defeated at the election of that year by the Roosevelt-Taft-Hearst coalition, a side party having been organized by Hearst for the purpose. During those twelve eventful years the spirit that makes new parties was struggling inside the Democratic Party with varying success, upon the theory that it is better to gain control of an established party if possible than to try to manufacture a new one, which is usually not possible.

In all that time until the present year, vast numbers of democratic Republicans, party bound, made no vigorous move to control their own party against plutocracy, or to defeat it by supporting the Democratic Party at the polls when its democratic elements dominated it. But the sheep-and-goat separation process, which began in the Democratic Party sixteen years ago, has now begun in the Republican Party.

In consequence, the Democratic Party, still held by its progressives, though "by the skin of their teeth," and with a genuinely progressive Presidential candidate in Governor Wilson, is confronted on the one hand with a Republican "bolt" under Roosevelt, appealing to progressives of all parties, and on the other hand, under the leadership of Taft, by the same political lodging-house for plutocracy which the Republican Party has been these twenty years past.

What will the outcome be? Read "The Lady and the Tiger." What is it likely to be? Reflect upon the history of new parties in American politics.

He who wanders widest lifts
No more of beauty's jealous veils
Than he who from his doorway sees
The miracle of flowers and trees.
—Whittier.

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, August 13, 1912.

The Roosevelt Party.

Continuing its sessions on the 7th the Roosevelt convention at Chicago adopted a platform, nominated candidates, and adjourned, having been in session on the 5th, 6th and 7th. The official name is "The Progressive Party," the word "National" preceding the word "Progressive," as proposed by the platform when reported, having been struck out in the convention. [See current volume, page 751.]

The platform declares for—

the "principle of government by a self-controlled democracy, expressing its will through representatives;" direct primaries for nominating State and national officers; nation-wide preferential primaries for Presidential nominations; direct election of United States Senators; the short ballot; the Initiative, Referendum and Recall; "a more easy and expeditious method of amending the Federal Constitution;" national jurisdiction over "those problems which have expanded beyond the reach of the individual States;" "equal suffrage to men and women alike;" limitation of campaign funds and detailed publicity both before and after primaries and elections; registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings except on foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; exclusion of Federal appointees from political activities; referendum on court decisions nullifying State legislation; reforms in legal procedure and methods, with particular reference to injunctions; "an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice," including legislation regarding industrial health and accidents, child labor, wage standards, women's labor, hours and days of labor, convict labor, industrial education, and industrial research; "the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress;" a Labor seat in the President's cabinet; "the development of agricultural credit and co-operation," and agricultural education; information about and correction of high costs of living; consolidated Federal health service without discrimination as to conflicting curative schools; national regulation of inter-State corporations through a permanent Federal commission; reform of the patent laws; physical valuation of railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission and abolition of the Commerce Court; currency reform and opposition to the Aldrich bill; extension of foreign commerce by subsidies; conservation of natural resources; extension of good roads and rural postal delivery; opening

of Alaskan resources, not through sale or gift but "upon liberal terms requiring immediate development;" Territorial self-government for Alaska; development of rivers, especially the Mississippi; American ships engaged in coastwise trade to pay no tolls for use of the Panama Canal; "a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, and which shall maintain for labor an adequate standard of living;" immediate downward revision of those tariff "schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive;" a "non-partisan scientific tariff commission" to report "as to the costs of production, efficiency of labor, capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency, and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress," as well as to revenue-producing power and the effect on prices and purchasing power; against the Payne-Aldrich bill; immediate repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act; a national inheritance tax; the national income tax; international arbitration in place of war; international agreement for limiting naval forces, and meantime two battleships a year "as the best means of preserving peace;" protection of "the rights of American citizenship at home and abroad;" larger opportunities for "the able bodied immigrant" and "his native fellow workers" through "the establishment of industrial standards;" supervision of immigration; Federal pensions for soldiers and sailors; pensions by the Southern States for ex-Confederates and their widows and children; a zone system of parcels post; enforcement of the civil service law in letter and spirit; coordination of Federal bureaus; protection of the people by the government from deceptive investment schemes.

The foregoing resume comprises every specific demand of the platform, as it was printed in the Chicago Daily Tribune (the principal newspaper representative of the Roosevelt party) in its issue of the 8th.

Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for President by William A. Prendergast of New York, the nomination being seconded by Judge Lindsey of Colorado, Jane Addams of Illinois, Horatio King of New York, Gen. McDowell of Tennessee, Henry Allen of Kansas, P. V. Collins of Minnesota, Alexander T. Hamilton of Georgia, T. P. Lloyd of Florida, John J. Sullivan of Ohio, Robert S. Fisher of Oklahoma, ex-Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island and Governor Carey of Wyoming. Hiram W. Johnson (Governor of California) was nominated for Vice President by John M. Parker of Louisiana, the nomination being seconded by Judge Lindsey of Colorado, C. S. Wheeler of California, James R. Garfield of Ohio, Bainbridge Colby of New York, Fred Landis of Indiana, Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania, Governor Vessey of South Dakota, William Flinn of Pennsylvania, John R. Gleed (a Negro) of New York, and Raymond Robins of Illinois. Both nominations were adopted by acclamation and both candidates accepted immediately after Governor Johnson's nomination.

Senator Dixon is chairman of the national committee, and as members at large are four women—one of them from a State in which women have the voting right. They are Jane Addams of Illinois, Frances Kellor of New York, Mrs. Charles Blaney of California, and Jean Gordon of Louisiana.

Woodrow Wilson's Acceptance.

Woodrow Wilson was formally notified on the 7th of his nomination by the Democratic party for President of the United States, the address in behalf of the party being made by Senator James as chairman of the national convention. Governor Wilson read his speech of acceptance from manuscript. In the course of it he said:

There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the varied uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labor in our factories and mines and throughout all our great industrial and commercial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust, for their service, not our own. The other, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole people the doors of opportunity. . . .Tariff duties have not been a means of setting up an equitable system of protection. They have been, on the contrary, a method of fostering special privilege. . . . The changes we make should be made only at such a rate and in such a way as will least interfere with the normal and healthful course of commerce and manufacture. But we shall not on that account act with timidity, as if we did not know our own minds, for we are certain of our ground and of our object. There should be an immediate revision, and it should be downward, unhesitatingly and steadily downward . . . until special favors of every sort shall have been absolutely withdrawn and every part of our laws of taxation shall have been transformed from a system of governmental patronage into a system of just and reasonable charges which shall fall where they will create the least burden. . . . Big business is not dangerous because it is big, but because its bigness is an unwholesome inflation created by privileges and exemptions which it ought not to enjoy. . . . There are vast confederacies (as I may perhaps call them for the sake of convenience) of banks, railways, express companies, insurance companies, manufacturing corporations, mining corporations, power and development companies and all the rest of the circle, bound together by the fact that the ownership of their stock and the members of their boards of directors are controlled and determined by comparatively small and closely inter-related groups of persons who, by their

informal confederacy, may control, if they please and when they will, both credit and enterprise. . . . Their very existence gives rise to the suspicion of a "money trust," a concentration of the control of credit which may at any time become infinitely dangerous to free enterprise. If such a concentration and control does not actually exist, it is evident that it can easily be set up and used at will. Laws must be devised which will prevent this, if laws can be worked out by fair and free counsel that will accomplish that result without destroying or seriously embarrassing any sound or legitimate business. . . . What we are seeking is not destruction of any kind, nor the disruption of any sound or honest thing, but merely the rule of right and of the common advantage. . . . The so-called labor question is a question only because we have not yet found the rule of right in adjusting the interests of labor and capital. The welfare, the happiness, the energy and spirit of the men and women who do the daily work in our mines and factories, on our railroads, in our offices and marts of trade, on our farms and on the sea, is of the essence of our national life. There can be nothing wholesome unless their life is wholesome; there can be no contentment unless they are contented. Their physical welfare affects the soundness of the whole nation. We shall never get very far in the settlement of these vital matters so long as we regard everything done for the workingman, by law or by private agreement, as a concession yielded to keep him from agitation and a disturbance of our peace. The sense of universal partnership must come into play if we are to act like statesmen, as those who serve, not a class, but a nation. The working people of America—if they must be distinguished from the minority that constitutes the rest of it—are, of course, the backbone of the nation. No law that safeguards their life, that improves the physical and moral conditions under which they live, that makes their hours of labor rational and tolerable, that gives them freedom to act in their own interest, and that protects them where they cannot protect themselves, can properly be regarded as class legislation or as anything but as a measure taken in the interest of the whole people, whose partnership in right action we are trying to establish and make real and practical. It is in this spirit that we shall act if we are genuine spokesmen of the whole country. . . . The rule of the people is no idle phrase. Those who believe in it (as who does not that has caught the real spirit of America?) believe that there can be no rule of right without it: that right in politics is made up of the interests of everybody, and everybody should take part in the action that is to determine it. . . . We must develop, as well as preserve, our water powers. . . . We must revive our merchant marine, too, and fill the seas again with our own fleets. We must add to our present postoffice service a parcel post as complete as that of any other nation. We must look to the health of our people upon every hand, as well as hearten them with justice and opportunity. This is the constructive work of government. This is the policy that has a vision and a hope and that looks to serve mankind. . . . The question of a merchant marine turns back to the tariff again, to which all roads seem to lead, and to our registry laws, which, if coupled with the tariff, might almost be supposed to have been intended to take the American flag off the seas. Bounties are not necessary if you will but undo some of the things that have been done. . . . We have set ourselves a great programme, and it will be a great party that carries it out. It must be a party without entangling alliances with any special interest whatever. It must have the spirit and the point of view of the new age.

[See current volume, pages 656, 706.]

Democracy in New York.

At a meeting of the Progressive Democrats of New York at Albany on the 4th, Wilson and Marshall were indorsed for President and Vice-President of the United States and demands upon the Democratic party of the State were made for progressive policies and progressive candidates. "If the right type of candidate is not nominated," say the resolutions, "we shall have no alternative but to support an independent nomination." A committee consisting of Raymond V. Ingersoll, A. J. Elias, Dr. C. M. Culver, Charles J. Miller, F. C. Leubuscher, and J. S. Corbin was appointed to confer with all Democratic and independent organizations, or any other organization opposed to Tammany, as to platform and ticket. It is to report to a meeting of Progressive Democrats at Syracuse on Sept. 30. The platform, formulated by ex-Congressman Robert Baker, demands that—

the Declaration of Independence be given full force and effect through: The initiative, referendum, and recall; direct election of United States Senators; direct primaries for all elective officers, with minimum nominating signatures; the short ballot; commission government for cities; complete home rule; municipalities to enact their own charters, having entire control over all municipal affairs, including local taxation and the acquirement and operation of public utilities; abolition of all taxes on industry and thrift; free the Erie Canal from railroad control of either boats or terminals; rigid control over railroads and other public utilities, with absolute prohibition, under forfeiture of franchise, of any discrimination against cities or shippers; abrogation of all unused railroad and other franchises; conservation of the State's natural resources through State ownership and control of all water powers under leases with short-term reappraisals; adult suffrage, and Constitutional amendment for workingmen's compensation.

[See vol. xiii, pp. 658, 733.]

Another meeting of Democrats, held in Rochester on the 12th, and reported as representing forty counties of New York, is reported by the dispatches to have appointed—

an executive committee to conduct the affairs of the organization until it meets in Syracuse, October 1, to select a progressive candidate for Governor and progressive platform principles which will be supported in the Democratic convention.

The executive committee includes Jacob L. Ten Eyck of Albany County.

President Taft's Vetoes.

President Taft has vetoed the bill to revise the tariff on wool downward, sending his veto message to Congress on the 9th. In his message the President says:

I appeal to Congress to reconsider the measure which I now return without my approval, and to adopt a substitute therefor, making substantial reductions below the rates of the present act, which the Tariff Board shows possible without destroying any established industry or throwing any wage earners out of employment and which I will promptly approve.

[See current volume, page 754.]

Panama Canal Tolls.

By a vote of 47 to 15, the United States Senate passed the Panama Canal bill on the 9th with a provision exempting American ships from tolls, but denying the use of the canal to ships owned by competitive railroads. Under Senator Bourne's amendment, the Interstate Commerce Commission may compel divorce of railroad and water carriers in every case in which it decides that their union is prejudicial to public interests. Between American coastwise vessels and those engaged in foreign trade, the bill distinguishes. It permits the former to go through the canal free and unconditionally, but allows the latter to go through free only if their owners agree to sell to the government at a fair price in time of war or other emergency. [See current volume, pages 269, 674, 699, 722.]

Municipal Operation of Government Coal Mines.

Washington dispatches of the 9th reported that the Secretary of the Interior, Walter L. Fisher, officially proposes

a plan to allot government coal lands to cities, which in turn may operate them under certain regulations to supply municipal needs as well as those of citizens. As a first step in the plan he has recommended that Congress pass a bill granting 640 acres of coal land in the city of Grand Junction, Colo., and meanwhile the Interior Department has withdrawn from entry the land the city desires. Cities in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Idaho, and other public land States west of the Missouri river would be vitally affected by the plan. The bill offered would authorize the Secretary of the Interior in his discretion to patent 640 acres of government coal land for each city and 160 for each town under conditions providing for prompt and continuous development of the coal, the prevention of any assignment or transfer of the land. It provides also for the safeguarding of the health and safety of men mining or handling the coal, the prevention of undue waste of mineral resources. The Secretary believes any such patent should be safeguarded by the provision that the title of the land patented shall revert to the government if any city or town to which coal land shall be patented shall at any time fail to perform any of the conditions of the patent.

Freedom for Seamen.

A bill abolishing the involuntary servitude of American sailors passed the lower house of Congress on the 3rd. In co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, the seamen's union had for twenty years unsuccessfully tried to get this legislation. The "Wilson bill" (it was introduced by Congressman W. B. Wilson of Pennsylvania) finally gives them a victory which awaits favorable action by the Senate and the signature of the President to make it effective. In reporting this bill the House committee described it as calculated to—

accomplish three very important things: First, it will give freedom to the sailors; second, it will permit safety at sea; third, it will equalize the operating expenses of foreign and domestic vessels engaged in their sea trade, and tend to build up our merchant marine.

The President of Hayti Loses Life in Explosion.

The national palace at Port au Prince, the capital of the Negro-French Republic of Hayti in the West Indies, was blown up by powder explosions preceded and followed by fire, on the 8th, and President Leconte, with most of the attendants and palace habitués, perished. It is believed that more than 400 persons lost their lives or were seriously injured. It is known that great quantities of ammunition and explosives were kept in the cellars of the palace, by order of President Leconte, to be used in case of an uprising. Whether these exploded through some accident, or whether the President was the victim of a plot, does not seem to have been determined, but evidence pointing to a plot has not as yet come to hand. [See current volume, page 255.]

General Cincinnatus Leconte won the Presidency of Hayti by intrigue and revolt, finally overthrowing President Antoine Simon last year, and getting himself unanimously elected by the Haytian National Assembly, August 14, 1911, while 20,000 of his soldiers encircled the building in which the session was being held. He was a mulatto of middle age, a lawyer by profession. [See vol. xiv, pp. 854, 877, 1004.]

At a joint session of the senate and chamber of deputies, hastily called together on the day of

the catastrophe, General Tancrede Auguste, senator and ex-minister of public works, was named provisional President.

The death of President Leconte came just as the relations between Hayti and her sister government on the same island—the Negro-Spanish Republic of Santo Domingo—had become strained almost to the breaking point, the Dominicans regarding Leconte as the inciting cause of the revolutionary movement now in progress in their own country—a situation which has created a suspicion of Dominican connivance in the fatal explosion.

The unhappy Haytians have further to reckon with threatened expeditions of Haytian exiles and their followers, chiefly colonized at Kingston, Jamaica, who are excitedly trying to charter steamers to carry them to their old home, with the purpose of putting back into the Presidency either Antoine Simon, who was turned out by Leconte, or Simon Sam who was at a still earlier day turned out by the late Nord Alexis, the predecessor of Antoine Simon. [See vol. xi, p. 878; vol. xiii, p. 421.]

New Zealand Politics.

The political unrest that has been fomenting in New Zealand for sometime came to a head on July 6th by the defeat (by 42 votes to 34) of the Liberal Government, which has been in power since 1891, and which, since the resignation of Sir Joseph Ward, has been under the leadership of the Hon. Thomas Mackenzie. [See current volume, pages 639, 726.]

After the November elections last year, the Ward Government defeated a no-confidence motion only by the casting vote of the Speaker. Parliament dissolved almost immediately and a few days later Sir Joseph Ward resigned and the Liberal Ministry was reconstructed by Mr. Mackenzie, who had been chosen leader at a caucus of the party. Parliament did not meet again until June 27. A vote of no-confidence was again moved by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. W. F. Massey). The result was not a surprise. It was generally recognized that the Mackenzie Ministry was merely a stop-gap and that defeat in the near future was inevitable.

Mr. Massey, who has now been called upon to form a new ministry, is a farmer from Maugere, Auckland Province. He has been leader of the Opposition in the New Zealand Parliament since the retirement of Sir William Russell, and is a thorough-going conservative, fearful of further "socialistic" tendencies. It is reported that the only chance of his ministry living any length of time is by a coalition. The possibility of Mr. Massey's being able to effect a powerful coalition is, however, thought to be exceedingly doubtful.

NEWS NOTES

—Chicago's eight days' water carnival opened in stormy weather on the 10th. [See current volume, page 640.]

—The British Parliament suspended its sessions on the 10th until October. [See current volume, page 491.]

—Seven men were killed by electricity in Sing Sing prison, New York, on the 12th, in accordance with New York law.

—The fifty-eighth annual convention of the International Typographical Union opened at Cleveland on the 12th, with James M. Lynch presiding.

—Action regarding the pending street car strike in Chicago was suspended by mutual agreement on the 9th until the 15th. [See current volume, page 756.]

—Further arrests of Detroit aldermen were made on the 9th in connection with alleged bribery by the Wabash Railroad. [See current volume, page 734.]

—Senator Robert L. Owen was renominated for United States Senator on the 6th at the Oklahoma primaries, by 30,000, over ex-Gov. Charles N. Haskell.

—By an explosion of "black damp" and coal dust in a coal mine near Bochum in Germany on the 8th, 650 miners were entombed, 103 of whom lost their lives.

—At Waukesha, Wis., on the 10th, Eugene W. Chafin was formally notified of his nomination for President by the Prohibition Party, the notification address being delivered by the Rev. Charles H. Mead of New York. [See current volume, page 682.]

—An earthquake in both Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, in the region of the Dardanelles, on the night of the 8th, caused great destruction of property, and a loss of life which was unofficially estimated on the 11th to reach 1,000, with 5,000 more seriously injured, and 15,000 left homeless. [See current volume, page 757.]

—At the Kansas primaries on the 6th Governor Stubbs (Progressive) was supported by a majority of the districts as Republican candidate for United States Senator, which makes him the regular candidate notwithstanding that Senator Curtis (reactionary) got a majority in the total vote of the State. [See current volume, page 757.]

—When the State Republican committee of Ohio met on the 10th to name a candidate for Governor in place of the candidate who resigned, the Taft men in the committee proposed General R. B. Brown, the candidate for Lieutenant Governor. The Roosevelt men named U. G. Denman of Cleveland, United States District Attorney and a Taft appointee. Upon a vote General Brown was nominated by 11 to 8. whereupon Chairman Walter F. Brown resigned

from the committee, as did seven other members. [See current volume, page 733.]

—The Italian naval and military forces in Tripoli took possession on the 6th of the town of Zuara and its surrounding oasis. Zuara is reported as having been the last point of importance on the Tripolitan coast held by the Turks. Upon loss of the town the Turks withdrew, with their Arab allies, to the desert. [See current volume, page 757.]

—The threatened abdication of the Sultan of Morocco, Mulai Hafid, who had become more and more of a figurehead under the advancing French occupation, was finally accomplished on the 12th. Mulai has gone to France, and it is announced that his brother, Mulai Youssef, is to be proclaimed Sultan in his place. [See current volume, page 542.]

—Three Chinamen aided in propaganda at a woman suffrage picnic held in Cleveland on July 30. According to the Woman's Journal they enjoyed things as much as anybody. With benevolent smiles upon their faces they said, again and again: "We watch the American woman trying hard to get what the Chinese women have, and we talk to help all we can."

—At the British election in Crewe last week, both the radical Liberal candidate and the Labor candidate were defeated by the Unionist candidate whose vote, however, was less than the aggregate vote of the other two. The Unionist got 6,260, the Liberal 5,294 and the Labor 2,485. This is the fourth of the recent series of radical land tax contests, and the only one to fail. [See current volume, pages 678, 701.]

—The funeral services of the late Emperor of Japan, who died on July 30, are to begin on the 13th of September, and be concluded on the 15th. President Taft has deputed his Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, to represent the United States at the funeral ceremonies. Mr. Knox and his party will be conveyed from Seattle to Japan and back on the armored cruiser Pennsylvania. [See current volume, page 733.]

—The Zapatista group of Mexican insurrectos attacked another passenger train on the 11th, slaughtering 36 soldiers and more than 20 passengers. The train was passing through a canyon about 110 miles southeast of the City of Mexico. On the 12th Zapatistas fought with Rurales and townspeople at Ixtapa, 15 miles from Toluca, the capital of the province of Mexico, leaving 200 dead in the streets, including all the Rurales posted in the town. [See current volume, pages 706, 734, 757.]

—Julius Rosenwald, one of the partners in the Chicago mail-order house of Sears-Roebuck, celebrated his fiftieth birthday on the 12th with the following philanthropic gifts: University of Chicago, $250,000, for a woman's gymnasium and other buildings; Associated Jewish Charities, $250,000, for centralization of Jewish charity work and its general improvement; Chicago Hebrew Institute, $50,000, for erection and equipment of a gymnasium; endowment of a country club for social workers, $50,000; Dr. Booker T. Washington, $25,000, for schools for Negroes; Marks Nathan Home for Jewish Orphans, $25,000, for completion of building; Chicago-Winfield Tuberculosis Sanatorium, $25,000, for new building; Glenwood Manual Training School for Boys, $12,500, for the purchase of Meister farm.

—Gladys Evans, found guilty at Dublin, Ireland, on the 6th, of setting fire on July 18 to the Theater Royal, where Mr. Asquith was scheduled to speak the following day, was sentenced on the 7th to five years' imprisonment. Lizzie Baker, charged with being an accomplice of Gladys Evans, pleaded guilty and was on the same day sentenced to seven months' imprisonment. Also on the 7th Mary Leigh, convicted of wounding John E. Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, with a hatchet she had thrown at Mr. Asquith's carriage on July 19, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. [See current volume, pages 702, 712.]

—The revolution in Nicaragua is in full blast. Despite the presence of American marines sent to the capital city of Managua to protect foreigners, and in violation of a three days' armistice granted on the 10th to the revolutionary leader, General Mena, General Zeladon, another revolutionist, began to bombard Managua on the 11th. Protests against this action were entered by the diplomatic corps, and the American Minister, Mr. Weitzel, notified General Zeladon that he would be held personally responsible for whatever might happen. No damage to foreign property or persons had occurred during the first nine hours of the bombardment. [See current volume, page 756.]

—The Parliament of the Republic of Portugal during the session just closed handled 350 bills, enacting into laws 187 of them. Among these were creation of a fund for disabled workmen, payment of deputies and senators, and concession of stipends to the officiating clergy of the Catholic Church (who had suffered from the Separation decrees of the Provisional government preceding the full establishment of the Republican Constitution). During the next session, which will open in November, among matters to be considered are further revision of the Church Separation decrees, and the question of granting votes to women under educational qualification. [See current volume, page 684.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Roosevelt and the Negro.

The New Haven (Conn.) Union (progressive Dem.), Aug. 10.—Nothing has unmasked Theodore Roosevelt like the Negro delegate episode at the Progressive party convention. The whole affair is typical of the man. "My" party in the South is to be exclusively "a white man's party." In the North, is is to be both a black and white man's party. Thus both ends are to be played from the middle by the man who "stands at Armageddon and battles for the Lord."

The Richmond (Va.) Planet (Negro), August 10.—Col. Roosevelt's position is a long step towards the complete disfranchisement of the colored man in this country. Any man who cannot realize this has a dull conception and a blunt intellect. . . .

From a standpoint of consistency, the most ridiculous part of the whole affair was the admission into the National Progressive Convention as delegates of white women from New York and other Northern States, where, under the laws of their respective States they have not the right to vote, and barring out as delegates to the National Progressive Convention colored citizens from Mississippi and other Southern States, in which States these representative colored men have the right to vote.

Roosevelt on Tariff Protection.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), Aug. 6.—Mr. Roosevelt reaffirms his belief in protection, but he believes in it "as a principle approached from a standpoint of the interests of the whole people and not as a bundle of preferences." Just how he would frame a protective tariff on these lines he does not clearly indicate and we are inclined to think that if he were obliged to produce a working model of such a tariff the result would be disappointing to the "whole people" rather than otherwise, for it is just as impossible in framing a tariff which has any other object than that of revenue to be anything but a "bundle of preferences" as it is to confer a privilege that does not mean privation for some one.

Wilson's Words of Acceptance.

The South Bend (Ind.) New Era (dem. Dem.), Aug. 10.—The speech of acceptance is worthy the careful study of every citizen interested in the welfare of his country, and the student who is searching for political truth will find in it a wisdom, sanity and wide sweep of knowledge that sets it apart from the usual political clap-trap issued in the usual course of political campaigns.

The (Dubuque) Telegraph-Herald (dem. Dem.), Aug. 8.—In his speech accepting the Democratic nomination for President Governor Wilson gives paramountcy to no one issue. He engages in no personalities, he indulges in no partisan harangue. He points as the duty of the nation, of parties, of individual citizens to be guided by the rule of justice and right.

Portland (Oregon) Daily Journal (progressive independent), Aug. 8.—No American state paper has been more radical while remaining sane. No paper has thrown the light so clearly upon the scheme of our national life and national abuses. No paper has more profoundly visualized the causes of inequity and so clearly pointed out a definite plan of solution.

Tainted News.

The Woman's Journal (equal suffrage), Aug. 10.—At the recent newspaper conference in Madison, Wis., a number of editors of progressive papers declared that the news in the daily press is often so presented as intentionally to convey a false impression. Many examples of this were given, and many examples also of the suppression of news in deference to the wishes of advertisers. Even when the news itself is correctly told, the paper receiving it often caps it with such headlines as will mislead the reader, in the interests of prejudice. A late and flagrant example was the presentation of the action (or rather non-action) of the biennial of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in regard to suffrage. That large class of persons who read only the headlines were led to believe, by the captions in many papers, that the biennial had gone on record against suffrage, when the truth was that the president had refused to let a suffrage resolution be put to vote.

Progress in British Politics.

Land Values (Singletax) August.—The taxation of land values has become the dominant issue in politics and holds in itself the promise of the future. This is proved by the panic which has broken out in the party of privilege and reaction. Tory lords are anxiously questioning the Liberal Lord Chancellor as to whether the Liberal party has adopted the Singletax. At a few minutes' notice Lord Lansdowne was trotted out to do lip service to the Rural League's stale policy of land purchase which has proved so unconvincing. It has become apparent that politicians in all camps can no longer close their eyes to the fact that when the land question is raised the people will listen to no other, and that our solution is the only one which holds the field. Among true Liberals this position is welcomed, and the new campaign which Mr. Lloyd George is to inaugurate in the autumn is looked forward to as likely to eclipse the budget campaign of 1909, and to do more for the relief and well-being of the people than anything since the free trade campaign of Cobden and Bright.

Land and Labour (land nationalization), August.—The government is evidently seriously contemplating further land legislation, and the inquiry committee appointed by Mr. Lloyd George is apparently intended to provide information that should guide the coming proposals in the best direction. Mr. Hemmerde and Mr. Outhwaite have been speaking at Hanley and Crewe as if the so-called "new" land policy of the government were certain to be a strong move on Singletax lines. There are abundant signs that the confident claim referred to has no justification in fact. That the government proposals will include some development of land taxation is quite likely, but this is a very different thing from the Singletax. The Singletax theory finds extremely scant support in Parliament and it has no friend in the cabinet. Its Parliamentary advocates are very able and zealous, but they can be easily numbered on the fingers of one hand. The utterances above referred to have stirred the opposition to question the government as to their intentions. Lord Crewe told them very sensibly that they need not pay much attention to sensation-mongering in the press, and every member of the

government who has spoken on the subject has been very emphatic in repudiating the Singletax. It would be a good day for the oppositon if the Singletaxers had really succeeded, as they wished people to infer that they had (the inference being supported by the Daily News and Leader) in diverting the Liberal land reform movement on to Singletax lines, for it would have split and weakened the Liberal party and resulted in their defeat. When the government policy comes to be revealed it is much more likely to be a development of the public ownership of land than will be palatable to the strict disciples of Henry George.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO A CLOUD.

For The Public.

O Cloud, thou dreary omen of a weeping world,
Containing tears from lovely goddess' eyes,
And moving with the fearful bolts by dread Zeus hurled,
Hast thou no pity in thine ugly guise?

Must tears alone be what thou bringst to earth,
No charming gift on mortals to bestow?
Of happiness must thou confess a pauper's dearth,
Possessed of only threnody and woe?

Nay, Cloud, an omen art thou of tears, but, also life;
Thy charming gift is refreshment to the weak;
With happy growth is thy "discordance" rife,
Possessed of all the blessedness we seek.

The rain concealed in blackness, restlessness and broil,
Potential in its enervating force,
Descending while the fearsome bolts of Zeus despoil
The peace, doth leave vitality within its course.

O ye, who rant of peace and drink nepenthe's bliss,
Deploring truthful pessimistic shrouds;
Ye gain the world, stagnated joy, but these ye miss—
A Hope, an Aim, Electrifying Clouds.

PAUL MAY.

THE DRAMA OF THE LITTORAL.

For The Public.

In Matthew Arnold's "Epilogue to Lessing's Laocoon," a discussion is conducted by the author and a friend, with picturesque adjuncts, on the comparative merits of painting, music and writing, and the importance of their respective "spheres."

The outcome of the debate, as might have been anticipated with an author at the helm, is that although painting most vividly portrays a single instant of life, and music best conveys the sense of its fathomless depth, yet writing must finally be accorded pre-eminence over them both because it alone can adequately report action and trace a manifestation of life through all its shifting phases. Movement is adjudged to be in the final analysis of more importance than vividness or inarticulate depth alone.

If this generalization hold true of Nature's more dramatic aspects, there should be no region wherein the writer could more freely rejoice in his privilege of portraying action, than the sea-coast. Painters of our own and foreign schools have of late been dealing, with especial sympathy and vigor, with the dynamic material furnished by assaults of the plumed surf against reef, cliff or dune, the rush of foaming whirlpools between weed-bearded forelands of granite, and all the majestic turbulence of winds and waters under skies radiant with sun or moon, or hung with ominous palls of storm. Modern musicians too have recognized the epic quality of the littoral, and introduced into their compositions with convincing effect the voice of the sea against its boundaries. Shall the writer then lag behind when such wealth of material lies at his disposal, and when, if Matthew Arnold's dialog reaches the correct conclusion, he has the best hope of all the artists to do justice to his themes?

The following descriptions from the Maine coast, are offered to the reader in the spirit in which a painter would show to a friend, in his seashore studio, the records he had committed to canvas from patient and enthusiastic observation of his mighty neighbor, the ocean, in the manifold changes of its moods and aspects. Inadequate in one way or another though each of them is, yet faithfulness to the august reality and the details of the Thing Seen, they all dare claim.

I. The Scourge of the Surf.

The scant morning sunshine is soon overwhelmed before a wind laden with autumnal vapor, and all day the assault of the breakers along the cliffs increases in vehemence.

Rearing ridges poise with the apparent deliberation of a cataract's curve to its full descent, before shattering against the granite bulwarks, where their dissolution conveys a sense of grating wrath under the hiss and booming shock.

Truly there is warning enough of the sternness of universal law, in this visible indignation churning livid in the gloom down the long coast-line.

II. The Coves of Low Tide.

Resting this afternoon on a rock uncovered by low tide, I can scarcely believe that only yesterday all this blue of sea and sky was gray, and these gently breaking waves were ever that leaping, seething confusion.

My boulder couch is so thickly padded with seaweed that it is as comfortable to recline on as if upholstered, and into the coves of its base, and those of the neighboring rocks, enter gurgling little floods from the outer swinging swells, that feel to the farthest crannies.

Streamers of brown weed, scallop-edged or beaded with tiny bladders, sway and exult in the movement, and thick masses of spongy growth soak up the glitteringly clear flow and then squeeze it in trickling streamlets down the hirsute granite flanks.

The dripping coves with the promise of strange discoveries in their dim and odorous depths invite exploration with liquidly loquacious appeal.

Their roofs are covered with tenacious mussels, whose gray-blue shells are clustered close as slate shingles on a mansard. Here in one of the most secluded and richly tapestried chambers starfish cling to the dangling weed with two or three of their five arms, and as the languid wave enters to engulf them again their delicate pink hue is reflected through it like wildrose petals fallen into a mountain brook.

Another of the rocky niches is so thickly strewn with the starfish that it has become a little firmament, sown with constellated points of varying magnitudes and rich gamut of colors, from flesh pink and raspberry red to the mauve of sunset clouds, and opulent Tyrian purple.

In nearly every cove lurk carmine and gray shelled crabs, with beady eyes staring at the explorer from behind their powerful crookt claws in the gloom of their crannies, until they inspire a kind of chill, half hypnotic dread and a longing to seek the sunlight and wholesome breeze on the dry granite ledges above the tide-line.

But before I withdraw, let me inhale again for remembrance the full salt aroma of these dank pools and their drenched tassels and sponges, where the drip from roof and eaves catches momentary jewel-glints from sunrays that peer into the darkling recesses.

III. Neptune's Unbridled Steeds.

Potent sunshine on the surf that the rocky headland repulses, kindles in citron and menthe-liquere green lights in the translucent hollows of the waves as they rear to the plunge.

And as a flagon of the cordial reveals a mystic purple radiance at the heart of its emerald, so just beyond these hues of the burnished arches glows a core of rich amethystine luster.

Spray leaps in jutting curtains from flat nether surfaces of the cliff, and the deep drum of the assault continually sounds beneath the ponderous cornices, like muffled discharges of dynamite, or the distant roar of a mob that sacks a palace.

In some depressions in the vast slabs of the upper terraces, water surviving from the highest tides has bred a thick, kelpy scum in the sunlight, brilliant as the metallic green of an acid bath; in others from which the water has quite evaporated it has left crystals and scurf of salt, and sometimes a complete cover of it spanning the bowl like some warm ice or the abstrich on a plumber's crucible.

And here what seems at first glance a pile of jewels on the rock, reflecting manifold spectrum colors in the sunshine, proves on approach to be a cluster of bubbles such as a child blows in a bowl of suds, formed by a crab who is almost hidden under his gorgeous and fragile edifice.

Sandpipers run over the ledges, undulantly graceful as squirrels, their progress on level places suggesting the smooth dip and glide of roller skating; they are sea-smitten—always tiptoeing, or scudding on wings slender as elm twigs, close to the mighty turmoil of waters that seems in danger of shattering their fragile forms with its vibrations.

The wonder of all this movement is borne in ever deeper upon the watcher of the endless cavalcade of coursing billows, with milk-white manes and tails streaming from their mettled necks and haunches of Arab leanness, as they unremittingly scale the weedy ramparts and retreat again with clamorous neighings.

Waves and birds, men in their precipitate ways, stars and comets in their stupendous obediences, proclaim as subordinate only to the primal marvel of existence itself, the mystery of Motion, manifesting its incalculable power in all the ceaseless action of the cosmic drama and shifting of its scenic splendors.

IV. The Moors of the Sea Marge.

A report of the aspect of the breezy moors above the sea, in mid-August, seems worth attempting.

Cinquefoil leaves form a closely-woven carpet that crackles softly underfoot, and milkwort, bluets, gerardia and pimpernel set their tiny flags in fresh hues below the loftier staffs of goldenrod and trumpet-weed, and the already browning tops of meadowsweet and hardhack.

In marshy clefts cranberries are reddening like cherries, and clumps of sweet fern, bay, tough-limbed juniper bearing its bluish-gray "capers," and wild rose crimsoned with its "apples," sift the thinly whistling wind that courses the basking slopes.

Long drought seems powerless to parch these shaggy meads, that suggest the humped and patient backs of dromedaries fitted to traverse deserts with only the support of inner stores of nourishment.

To summon to memory the very atmosphere and temperament of the moors, one should smell a sprig each of pennyroyal and fragrant life-everlasting, such as I pluck here today, and then crush wisps of the sweet fern and bay between the fingers, for their wild and delicious perfumes.

Then the boom and rush of the surf against the cliffs that palisade the lazulin arc of sea must be recalled, as it mingles solemnly with the dry clicking of grasshoppers near by and the tinkling chirr of crickets in the scented copses, where the sun of waning summer hotly pours.

So might the moor mood be revived, and even amid the uproar of harsh city streets, the inward sense hear faint pipings of the snowy gulls as they dart like shuttles from their foam-selvaged blue of ocean across the uplands' fragrant green.

V. The Boon of Color.

The wide-bosomed calm of the sea before sunset, with direct light screened by clouds, becomes a palette of reflected hues.

Along the cliffs the smooth eddies mound in raw turquoise, the farther spaces shimmer in delicate greenish-gilt, and out beneath the superb eminences of purplish-rose cumulus that dominate the eastern sky, the burnished water realm is transformed to violet enamel.

(*To be concluded.*)

ELIOT WHITE.

A PLAN FOR AN ENDOWED JOURNAL.

A Paper Read August 1 at Madison, Wis., Before the First National Newspaper Conference,* by Hamilton Holt, Managing Editor of The Independent. Republished from The Independent of August 8, by Courteous Permission of the Editor.

The subject upon which I am invited to address you this morning is, "Can Commercial Journalism Make Good or Must We Look for the Endowed Paper?" As stated this seems to imply that endowed journalism is antagonistic to commercial journalism, and that one who favors the establishment of an endowed periodical must have a low opinion of the press as it exists.

Having served all my professional life on a periodical that some of our readers are kind enough to believe has ideas and ideals, but which notwithstanding is run for a profit, I hasten to say that commercial journalism not only can but often does make good. Nevertheless, I am here today to make a plea for the establishment of an endowed paper and to tell you why I think it is desirable and opportune at the present moment.

Journalism of the highest order—and this conference is concerned with no other—is really a part of public education, an extension of university extension. It has the same triple function as the university—research, teaching and public service; the discovery of truth, the dissemination of knowledge and the championship of worthy causes.

The parallel between the university and the journal as purveyors of civilization becomes closer the more it is studied. There are three main types of a university—private, endowed and public. Valparaiso University, at Valparaiso, Ind., is perhaps the best type of a privately owned university run for profit. The majority of the colleges and universities in the East come under the endowed class, though the students add to the income by tuition fees. The great State institutions here in the Middle West are the typical public universities. The private institutions are the oldest, the endowed naturally develop out of them, and last and best come the State universities. In the main the private universities devote themselves to teaching, the endowed universities to teaching and research, the public universities to teaching, research and public service. In journalism we have a somewhat similar situation. We are now living in the age of privately owned journals run for profit. But these have now almost reached perfection from a technical standpoint and it seems that we are on the threshold of the era of the endowed paper. If the university analogy holds good we may expect the endowed journals to be followed by the great municipal, State, national and even international journals, and that they will be the final and crowning products of printers' ink.

But although the commercial journals largely predominate today, there are already in existence a surprising number of endowed and public journals. There is no ground whatever for the common idea that journalism is necessarily commercial. My colleague, Dr. E. E. Slosson, has brought this fact out very clearly in an article in The Independent of February 15, 1912, and I am indebted to him for the following brief summary of the endowed and public papers, as well as for many other ideas embodied in this paper. The journals endowed or boosted by propaganda organizations are legion. Almost every association, whether political, religious, scientific, educational, or what not, has its special organ. The Socialist Call of New York, the Christian Register of Boston and the Monist of Chicago are examples of endowed or subsidized periodicals of propaganda.

The public papers are not so well known, but they are equally important. The National Government publishes thirty-nine varieties. The Congressional Record, The Crop Reporter, The Labor Bulletin, The Monthly Weather Bulletin, The Naval Medical Bulletin, Public Health Report, Consular and Trade Reports and The Experiment Station Record are the best known. Other examples of public journals are The Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, published at Washington by the twenty-one American republics, and The Canal Record, a weekly compendium of current events furnished free to all Government employes on the Isthmus. Among municipal organs, the colorless City Record of New York and the recently authorized Los Angeles Municipal News are perhaps most worthy of attention. It is only proper to add that on the authority of the President of the United States, every periodical in the land may be regarded as being subsidized by the Government

*See Public of August 9, pages 747, 755, 758.

because of inadequate payment for postal facilities. The country papers are carried entirely free within their counties, while, according to the Postmaster-General, the cent a pound rate far from compensates the Government for carrying second-class matter.

But the endowed paper needed at the present time is far different from any now in existence. What can it be expected to do that they cannot?

The two most important services of the press are:

First, to give reliable and complete information about any event *at the time when such information is needed* as a basis of opinion and action.

Second, to present to every reader *competent discussion of pending questions from different points of view.*

The ordinary commercial press does not perform adequately either of these social functions and it never can, because it does not "pay" to be as thorough or impartial as the ideal paper should be. A self-supporting journal must be to some extent sensational; that is, it must give undue prominence to spectacular events and crowd out quieter but more important movements. It represents the point of view of some particular party, interest or individual, and does not give equal opportunity for the presentation of opposing views.

The editor of the commercial paper being obliged to make both ends meet, must ever be under the conscious or subconscious fear of subscribers and advertisers, for manifestly such a paper cannot be published without their support. The readers when offended stop their subscriptions, the advertisers their advertisements. No wonder the aim of some papers is to discuss only those things about which everybody agrees or nobody cares.

A glance at the newspaper and magazine field indicates furthermore that those journals which speak their minds sincerely and frankly and under a proper sense of responsibility are with some exceptions hardly more than paying expenses. Few can employ more than two or three high-priced men or pay their contributors properly. The majority of the editorial staff are composed of young, inexperienced men or older hack writers, whose salaries approximate that of the average college professor. You have heard of the college professor about to go to Europe on his sabbatical year. When the bursar asked him how he would have his salary sent, he replied, "In postage stamps." These papers with a moral character are consequently estopped from carrying out many of their best ideals. And all the while their sensational rivals, being able to offer larger salaries, entice away their best editors, artists and contributors, whose talents are soon prostituted to the lower level of the new employment.

But if a journal is to have an eminent, enterprising and trustworthy staff, capable of *finding out the facts about current events with accuracy and despatch,* it cannot be expected to be self-supporting any more than a university engaged in fostering all the arts and sciences and maintaining a faculty of nation-wide repute. If a journal is to perform the two essential duties of careful newsgathering and competent comment it must have an assured income of sufficient amount at the start to enable it to stand the stress of sensational and commercialized competitors and to demonstrate its usefulness to a large circle of readers all over the country. Once established and recognized as a truthful and impartial medium it would have an enormous educational value. Though it might not be read by the millions it would be indispensable to all libraries, journalists, preachers, teachers, the most intelligent professional and business men and the leaders at least of the wage-earning class. It would also exert a great influence for good on other papers by forcing them to raise their standards of accuracy and fairness. Some think, however, that the endowed paper would not be responsible to public opinion, that it would be in danger of falling into what is supposed to be the frame of mind of a judge who holds his office for life and feels independent of the popular will. Without arguing the point as to whether our Federal judiciary make better or worse public servants than judges elected for short periods, it seems to me that there would be no danger of the endowed journal becoming reactionary if the right type of men were chosen to manage it. The editors and publishers of the endowed journal should be recruited not from the sanctums and counting-rooms of the great commercial journals, but from the journals with ideals or even from the universities themselves. There is many a college president today who would conduct an endowed journal better than any fifteen-thousand dollar commercialized editor now at the head of some sensational success.

Another guarantee that the endowed paper would not settle down to otiose stagnation and self-complacency is the rivalry that would exist between it and its commercial competitors. The commercial press with its boundless enterprise would make life intolerable for a board of trustees of an endowed journal that did not live up to their very highest opportunities.

But how shall the endowed journal be organized? First, shall it be a daily, weekly or monthly? I can see no reason why all three types should not be endowed. But if some great capitalist, or some group of public-spirited citizens want to endow a paper that will have the greatest influence throughout the entire nation, it cannot be a daily. The country is too large. A daily will not be read

more than a few hundred miles from its seat of publication. No man in Chicago, for instance, will read a New York daily, no matter how good, if he can get substantially the same news twenty-four hours ahead in a Chicago paper. In a small country like England or Holland of course the case is different. Nor can a national paper in the United States be a monthly. The intervals at which a monthly comes out are too great to permit it to have much influence on pending events. The national American paper then must be a weekly. A weekly alone can circulate all over the land and exert a maximum influence on current events.

The money to endow such a great national weekly should be given outright to a board of trustees composed of the most eminent men of different political parties and social classes, whose duties should consist in supervising the finances and selecting the managing editor and seeing that the journal lives up to its principles. The functions of the board should correspond to those of the trustees of a university. Personally I am opposed to endowments in perpetuity and to self-perpetuating boards of trustees. Any vast endowment ought to be expended, both principal and interest within fifty or one hundred years. Conditions at the end of fifty years may or may not make the endowed journal desirable. If it is desirable, then that generation should be able to provide for its own endowment. A more permanent influence will be exerted on human civilization by the rapid expenditure of both principal and interest, even though at the end of the period in question nothing of the original gift remains. Instead of a self-perpetuating board of trustees, I should hope to see some plan adopted by which each year the subscribers of the journal, or some other appropriate body would select one or two members of a slowly changing board. This would obviate the improbable, though not impossible, danger of the endowed journal becoming in a few years a deterrent to social progress, a stronghold of conservation or, to imagine the worst possible outcome, a shelter for exploiting interests.

The real responsibility of running the endowed paper would of course fall upon the managing editor. In general his duties would be analogous to that of a university president, i. e., he would be the executive head of the institution, the connecting link between the trustees on the one hand and the editorial board or faculty on the other.

The managing editor should select, subject to ratification by the trustees a salaried staff of about half a dozen editors, of similar views but diverse talents, each to be in charge of a particular department, such as politics, finance, industry, literature, religion, science, art, education, etc.

The managing editor should also engage a large corps of regular editorial contributors, from various parts of the United States and foreign countries, specialists in their respective subjects to be paid at space rates.

The leading political parties, reform organizations, labor federations, religious denominations, etc., would be asked to designate authorized representatives who would be given a definite space in which to discuss the topics of the time and advocate their ideas.

In the advertising department I should like to see an innovation tried. Beside the ordinary commercial or display advertisements, space should be given to reading matter not published in the news columns of the journal, such as political platforms and pleas, personal views, poems and stories published at the author's expense, complaints and controversial communications. This department, edited by the people, would be lively, informing and profitable, for there are thousands of people who would be glad of a chance to bring opinions and literary efforts before the public in a periodical of wide circulation.

If this idea should prove popular it might conceivably happen that many propaganda societies would abandon their separate organs and take space each week in the endowed journal. In this way they would be sure to get their ideas before important people with less cost of time, effort and money.

As the board of trustees would be non-partisan, or rather poly-partisan, in character, so the journal should not be the organ of any party, sect or individual. It would have no policy of its own except to publish reliable news and competent discussion of the events and questions of the times. Its motto would be "Comprehensiveness, Impartiality and Accuracy." It would not, however, be a dry and colorless sheet, but more readable and interesting than any now published because of the diversity of views and the ability with which they are discussed. The editors would have it in their power by their choice of topics and authors to direct public attention to what they regard as most important, while at the same time they would afford an opportunity to any one to voice any view he wishes, provided it is done with due regard for the decorum of debate. Some may not agree to this neutral policy, but will hold that a paper to exert any influence must have a creed or platform. It must be, they say, progressive or conservative, partisan or independent, entertaining or instructive, yellow or gray. It cannot be all things to all men. But if the paper gave all sides an equal hearing it is difficult to see how any subscriber could find fault, inasmuch as he would get what he wanted, while on the other hand, such a policy would multiply the paper's appeal. The weakness of the objection is more clearly seen when it is remembered that the most important things in life and therefore the most important things to write about are not controversial in character. Nine-

tenths of the things that an endowed paper ought to present to its readers are non-controversial, and only when certain aspects of politics, economics, ethics and religion are treated would it be necessary that the champions of two or more sides be given a hearing.

Assuming, then, the existence of such an endowed weekly, what are some of the things it might reasonably be expected to do? I mention only a few of many that will occur to you all.

It would present a more complete report than is now possible of the important happenings in all countries.

It would not exaggerate the importance of violence and war by making them conspicuous and sensational. It would direct the attention of the people to the triumphs of peace by giving proper prominence to industrial and scientific progress which is generally ignored by the newspapers of today. Nothing contributes so much to the promotion of peace and good will, in international and industrial relations, as first-hand acquaintance with the views and feelings of other classes and parties.

Whenever there was a disturbance in any part of the country, such as a race riot, election outbreak or strike, it would send into the field a corps of trained investigators whose sole purpose would be to discover the truth and to tell it, not to foment discord or to create a sensation. For instance, instead of sending one man to tell the people about the Lawrence strike, the endowed journal could have afforded to send three, representing the employers, the employed and the public, and make them sign a joint report. I myself happen to be one of a board of three judges appointed to settle all disputes between employers and employed in the great garment trade in New York City, and I know by experience that the joint opinion of three men is more than three times as valuable as the individual opinion of any one. Now few publications can afford to send an expert commission to report facts, or even a special correspondent.

The endowed journal would secure opinions upon pending questions of the day, such as the tariff, high cost of living and patent laws, from the best informed authorities, sociologists, economists, financiers, statisticians, historians and business men.

It would not only have competent criticism of art and literature from diverse standpoints, but could also establish *a new department much more valuable to the people* which has hitherto been impossible because of fear of the advertisers, namely, *criticism of commodities*. In this department experts would treat other things in the same way as books and pictures are now treated. All the automobiles, typewriters, soaps, safety razors or pianoplayers on the market would be impartially compared, pointing out frankly their comparative merits and specific defects. Being endowed it could afford to defend itself from the libel suits which might be expected to follow until the public got used to this novel kind of criticism.

To conduct such a journal as to make it of real value would be expensive because the endowed journal would set the highest standard of typography, literary style and pictorial illustration, and because it would be necessary to pay well for the gathering of authentic news and for articles by specialists. While it was winning its way and working out its methods and before its unique character and value became generally recognized, the expense would have to be largely borne by the endowment. After a few years there should be a large income from subscriptions and advertisements, and this could then be put either into the improvement of the journal or the reduction of subscription rates so as to in either case extend its influence. If the endowed journal did not in due time secure a wide circle of readers it would indicate that it was not succeeding in what it aimed to do.

An endowment of $5,000,000 would provide sufficient funds to carry out this plan. Who will give it?

"SEARCH ME."

As Reprinted from the Atlanta Constitution in The Public of November 8, 1902.

The people by thousands were crowded about
And the President spoke, with intent to give out
His position on trusts—and the things that he said
Caused every old codger to doddle his head
And remark:
"Well, whar does he stand? D'ye see?"
And I said:
"Search me!"

The newspaper fellows were writing like smoke,
Shorthanding every darn'd word that he spoke,
But when all the pothooks and curves were unspun
I heard each a-asking the next other one
This remark:
"Where did he land? Could you see?"
And he said:
"Search me!"

The folks read the papers, all anxious to see
How dead right on trusts our Teddy must be,
But when they had scanned all thorough and clean
Each turned to his neighbor with questioning mien
And remarked:
"Well, whar in this d—d trust business is he?"
But t'other un said:
"Search me!"

Most of our politicians have the courage of other people's convictions.—Chicago Record-Herald.

BOOKS

"THE INFINITE MEADOWS OF HEAVEN."

Half-Hours with the Summer Stars. By Mary Procter. Published by A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago, 1911. Price, $.75, net.

The well-known daughter of a famous American astronomer, Richard A. Procter, has published her papers written for the Chicago Tribune in the summer of 1910. The little book is most informal, almost too sketchy, not in the least technical, and evidently written with those in mind who are unacquainted with the sky, by one who knows and, in her own word, "loves" the stars. Glimpses of the geography of the sky with simple maps for aid in finding the constellations described, are followed by some simple facts of astronomical science, with a look at one of its giant handmaidens, the Yerkes telescope; and all interspersed are stories from the mythology of the heavens—those familiar old sky-myths that, as Lafcadio Hearn says, make one "forget the monstrous facts of science and the stupendous horror of space."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

FOR AND AGAINST SOCIALISM.

Elements of Socialism: A Text-Book. By John Spargo and George Louis Arner. The Macmillan Co. Price, $1.50 net.

The Essentials of Socialism. By Ira B. Cross, Ph. D. The Macmillan Co. $1.00 net.

If those who are not for are against, then the first of these books is for, and the second is against Socialism. For the first is written from the Socialist standpoint, and the second is written from an impartial standpoint which grants all that is grantable to Socialism, but which also points out the weak spots in the collectivists' constructive program.

The work of Mr. Spargo and Dr. Arner is a new departure in Socialist literature, as it is written in the form of a college text-book with summaries and lists of questions at the end of each chapter. If it ever turns out that this book is actually used for its ostensible purpose—as a college text-book—it will be an interesting commentary on the growth of academic freedom. But just for that purpose a better book could not be imagined, for Mr. Spargo is perhaps the fairest and most able exponent of Socialism we have, and his co-author is an instructor in economics. Proofs of Mr. Spargo's non-dogmatic attitude are seen in the way in which he admits the fallacy of the old Socialist battle cry of "the iron law of wages," and in the way in which he dismisses the materialistic implications of Socialism. The book covers not only Socialist theory but Socialist history, and the criticism of contemporary life upon which Socialism is based.

Dr. Cross's book is perhaps most valuable for its extended bibliographies which cover every phase of Socialism the world over. The author classifies the various schools of Socialism, outlines the proposed methods of obtaining collective ownership, and briefly sketches the proposed Socialist commonwealth. Unfortunately his chapters are in many cases far too short for the necessary qualifications which alone can insure accuracy in such discussions. Thus, in a page and a half he contrasts Socialism and the Single Tax, and throughout he tells us that "the Single Taxers" think thus and so. But, unfortunately for such a treatment, some of them think differently, and would thus consider their cause misrepresented here.

LLEWELLYN JONES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Story of Old Fort Dearborn. By J. Seymour Currey. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1912.

—My Life in Prison. By Donald Lowrie. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York and London. 1912. Price, $1.25 net.

—Lame and Lovely: Essays on Religion for Modern Minds. By Frank Crane. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago. 1812. Price, $1.00.

—The Four Evangelists in Classic Art. Edited by Rachel A. La Fontaine. Second edition. Published by Thomas Whittaker, New York. 1910. Price, $2.00.

—A Practical Solution of the Trust Problem and High Cost of Living. By Charles H. Davies. Published by the Aggressive Press, Chicago. Price, 25 cents.

—The Child in the City: Papers presented at the Conferences held during the Chicago Child Welfare Exhibit in May, 1911. Edited by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge. Published by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. 1912.

—The Delinquent Child and the Home. By Sophonisba P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott. Published for the Russell Sage Foundation by the Charities Publication Committee, 105 East 22d street, New York. 1912. Price, postpaid, $2.

PAMPHLETS

A Pioneer Singletax Publication.

Edwin Burgess's "Letters on Taxation" is an extraordinary pamphlet. It contains (besides labor verses by the author of the letters) eleven letters which read almost as if they had been written by a Singletaxer of today. In fact, they were written

for and published in "The Racine Advocate," of Racine, Wisconsin, in 1859-60. No history of the Singletax can now be complete without them; yet neither the letters nor their author have figured in all in that movement. He is not even in the line of succession from the physiocrats to Henry George as an economic writer. These letters are simply a "find," coming to light years after the writer's death, which occurred in 1869. Mr. Burgess was not a political economist, but an unpretentious working man. His letters read as if his mind had seen a great flash of truth, and his pen had briefly mentioned it; and that then both he and his thought had passed away unnoticed. It is wholly improbable that Henry George was influenced by these letters, printed ten years before he had thought of the problem, and in a local weekly paper published two thousand miles away. If that were probable, or even possible, the internal evidence is overwhelming that these brief letters could at most have done no more than set going the train of thought that worked out "Progress and Poverty." The pamphlet, published now by Hyland Raymond and Wm. S. Buffham, 403 Main St., Racine, Wisconsin, is additional testimony to the curious fact, observed in many other connections, that no truth is created by any person, but that all truths somehow force their way into the world by revelations through receptive minds, their expression depending, however, not upon the revelation but upon the workmanship.

PERIODICALS

The Single Tax Review.

Edward R. Taylor, formerly Mayor of San Francisco, contributes a delightful article on "Henry George, the Man," to the Single Tax Review (New York) for July-August; and Dr. W. Schrameier writes the second and concluding part of his review of "Land Reform in Germany"—a brief and very able survey of the movement today, with an explanation for outsiders of why Singletaxers in Germany esteem the increment tax and mortgage law reform as prerequisites to land value taxation in their country. This number of the Review contains also a history of the Women's National Single Tax League, with personal stories and portraits of its official board; and there is from Alfred D. Cridge an excellent account of the opening of the tax fight in Oregon.

A. L. G.

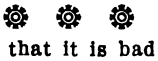
Visitor—"You think your paper is far superior to that of your rival?"

Country Editor—"We are away ahead of them. Our boiler-plate last week was 'Peary Ought to Discover the Pole This Year,' and the best they could do was 'Dewey's Home-Coming to Be a Big Success.'"—Puck.

It is August the third
And, though soft be the skies,
Let it not be inferred
That T. R. is likewise.
He proposes to play it on William
In a way that "Will" will despise.

Which is why we remark,
And our language is plain,
That in hunting the snark
One is sure to cause pain,
And the bull moose is often peculiar,
Which the same we are free to maintain.

—Chicago Record-Herald.



Mr. Lorimer feels that it is bad enough to be expelled from the Senate, but to be expelled and leave

no vacancy behind comes under the head of cruel and unusual punishment.—New York Evening Post.

"Have you read the platforms of the different political parties?"

"What's the use wastin' time doin' that?"

"I should think you would want to find out how to vote intelligently."

"How to vote intelligently? My grandfather found that out years ago, so what's the use of my botherin' about it?"—Chicago Record-Herald.

The Public

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