

The Public

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EDITORIAL

Governor Johnson's Friends.

The plutocratic press are quite enthusiastic for the nomination of Governor Johnson instead of Bryan. Naturally. They hate Bryan for the enemies he has made, and they love Johnson for the friends that surround him.

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Our National Strength.

Those were inspiring words and true, which Congressman Burton uttered in the House last week in opposing the expenditure of more money for battleships. "Let us continue our traditional policy," he said, "not of non-resistance, but of confidence in our strength as a nation; our military strength, our material strength, but most of all in the great moral and political ideals that have made our country great—our ideals of justice and the equality of man. Those great ideals are stronger than battleships. Along this line lies our destiny and our glory." Nothing better was ever said on the floor of Congress. Would that every member of the House were a Burton when battleships are asked for.

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Raymond Robins and the Campaign Issue.

In his dramatic and convincing speech before the Federation of Labor at Chicago on the 19th, Raymond Robins sounded what is not unlikely to be the keynote of the approaching Presidential and Congressional campaign. The analogy he

drew between the Dred Scott slave decision of fifty years ago and the Danbury labor decision of the present year, was impressively exact; and his quotations from Lincoln's criticisms of that decision were almost as if they had been framed especially for criticising this one.

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If it was necessary to convince that audience, representing hundreds of thousands of Chicago workingmen, that the Danbury decision is the forerunner of Supreme Court decisions which will condemn all effective labor unionism as conspiracies under the Sherman anti-trust law, just as Lincoln saw in the Dred Scott decision the forerunner of Supreme Court decisions making slavery a national institution, Mr. Robins did it. If it was necessary to convince them that nothing will stop this tendency to strangle labor unionism, short of an emphatic labor demonstration at the polls next Fall, Mr. Robins did that also. His speech, both in form and substance, was one of the kind that become historical landmarks of political revolution. And his audience rose to the supreme importance of the situation.

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It will not take many such speeches before labor audiences—or indeed before audiences of any other class of fair-minded men—to change the face of the political situation. Let it once be generally felt, as Mr. Robins argued, and as the fact seems to be, that the Supreme Court of to-day is to our plutocracy what the Supreme Court of fifty years ago was to the slavocracy, and startling events would occur. A vote of decisive magnitude from all parties would come over to those Presidential and Congressional candidates, and only to those who, being within the possibilities of election, are of such character personally and stand upon such platforms politically, as to leave no room for distrust. It begins to look as if organized workingmen had been forced into a realization of their danger from plutocracy; nor of their own danger alone, but of the danger to all whose prosperity depends upon a fair distribution of the products of labor.

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Bryan at Peoria.

On the occasion of his speech at Peoria last week (p. 60), William J. Bryan was placed in an embarrassing position by Frank J. Quinn, Roger C. Sullivan's lieutenant, who, as chairman of the Springfield convention four years ago (vol. vii, pp. 161, 170), gaveled through the Sullivan-Hopkins program. But Mr. Bryan's spontane-

ous sincerity saves him many an embarrassment which a less ingenuous public man would suffer from. The embarrassment prepared for him on this occasion consisted in the selection of the Sullivanic Mr. Quinn himself to preside at the Bryan meeting. Mr. Bryan met the embarrassment. Upon his arrival at Peoria, as told by the best paper of Peoria and one of the best in the State, the Peoria Star, of the 15th, he—

took a carriage to the Creve Coeur club. On the steps stood Mr. Quinn and Judge Worthington. No time was lost in preliminaries. Dismounting from the carriage Mr. Bryan greeted Judge Worthington and then turned to Quinn. The latter said something about an "embarrassing position." Bryan was quick to interrupt. In cold, even tones he acknowledged that the position was embarrassing. "There are some things that cannot be forgotten," he said. "If Mr. Quinn presides at the meeting to-night I shall be compelled to give voice to sentiments that will prove embarrassing to him and to me. I shall be compelled to speak of the events that transpired at the Springfield convention four years ago. There can be no doubt as to the position I will take." There was an awkward silence for a moment. The line had been drawn. Mr. Bryan had given the chairman the opportunity to withdraw or to engage in a controversy on the platform wherein he could hope for nothing but defeat and humiliation. It had been stated that Quinn had declared he would not withdraw; that in view of the fight made on him by Robert Cumming and others of the radical wing of the Democracy he had determined to stand by his guns. If Quinn did make this statement he suffered a change of heart in a very short time. With the two alternatives facing him, Quinn chose to accept the one where the least danger was involved. He offered to withdraw in favor of Judge Worthington. "That is satisfactory to me," declared Mr. Bryan. He had won his fight, and, more than that, he had preserved his record for consistency, refusing to accept at the hands of those who had betrayed him in the past anything that might have been construed into a truce that would have wronged the men who had been faithful to him. So it was in no peaceable mood that the Great Commoner entered the Coliseum last night and faced an audience of 5,000 persons. He had gained his point, but he was not sure that the pledge would be kept. Stephen Wolschlag opened the meeting and introduced Mr. Quinn as the man "selected by the Mandan club to act as chairman." Bryan's lips tightened and his eyes narrowed to two slits. He leaned forward in his chair, the attitude of a prize fighter awaiting the gong. Quinn rose and launched into a speech of praise for the orator of the evening. "The gentleman who is our guest has been my ideal as a statesman and a citizen since the first time I laid my eyes on him." The Nebraskan wore the same grim smile. "My selection as chairman of this meeting was a mistake," continued the speaker. Bryan's smile was inscrutable. "My friend, Judge Worthington, should have been selected, and I now take pleasure in formally turning over the position I now occupy." Then tension relaxed. Judge Worthington's introductory speech was of a happy nature.

Sympathy was expressed for the ideas represented by the orator of the evening, admiration for his manhood, his courage and his ability. Amid a burst of applause Bryan stepped forward and began his address. His only reference to Quinn was to thank him for his courtesy in refraining from doing anything that would leave unpleasant memories attached to the meeting.

This single incident ought to be enough to convince any fair minded man of the malice of the Hearst papers and their Republican coadjutors in their efforts to make it appear that Mr. Bryan has compromised with Roger Sullivan.

* * *

Garrison's Free Trade Fight.

The Free Trade Broadside, published at Boston and of which William Lloyd Garrison is editor, begins its second volume with the April number. This number is the best that has yet appeared, which is no reflection upon its predecessors, for the publication has steadily improved. There is no side-stepping of the tariff issue, no compromise with protection, on the part of the Broadside. Protection is either right and good, or it is wrong and bad; and if wrong and bad, a little of it is not only a little wrong and a little bad, but is a step in the direction of the evil extreme. Trade is a mark of civilization and progress. The larger its volume and the wider its field, the higher the civilization and the greater the possibilities of progress; and inasmuch as it must be free to have its volume largest and its field widest, free trade is the secret of civilization and progress. This is the attitude of the Broadside on the question of expediency. On the question of public morality, it stands for the inherent right of every producer to trade his products without obstruction. And by free trade the Broadside means not tariff freedom alone, but freedom from all industrial burdens. One of the notable features of this issue of the Broadside is the letter of Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, written to a cloakmakers' union among his constituents when he was in Congress. The union had asked him to vote for a higher duty on cloaks. He replied that he would do nothing to keep up duties but everything to cut them down. Mayor Johnson is a free trader, who, like Garrison, is never an Indian "afraid of his horses."

* * *

The Benefits of Protection.

The necessity of correcting an error into which we had fallen regarding the profits of the steel trust (p. 29) has led to further consideration of the recent report of that organization. Its net profits for 1907 amounted to 161 millions. To

this should be added some 6 million dollars, deducted in the statement as "interest on bonds and mortgages of the subsidiary companies," but which was clearly a payment for use of capital and not on operating account, making the total profits of operation of the whole organization about 167 million dollars. The total business done by the trust during the year, including transactions between the subsidiary companies as well as sales to the outside public, is stated in the report at 757 million dollars. No statement seems to be made of the amount of sales to the public as distinguished from the transactions between the subsidiary companies. The production of "finished products for sale" is given as aggregating 10 million tons, and as it seems to have been the policy of the trust not to sell raw materials to the outside public, this will probably indicate approximately its entire business for the year, except as to transactions between the "subsidiary companies." The average profit would thus be from \$15 to \$16 per ton of finished product.

* *

The market value of those "finished products" is rather difficult to estimate accurately, but an inspection of the items would seem to show that the average price for the whole would fall between \$30 and \$35 per ton, and the total value between 300 and 350 millions of dollars. The net profits of the business would therefore approximate very closely to fifty per cent of the total sales. This figure is borne out by the observations of visitors at Homestead who have estimated a total cost for steel rails of about \$15 per ton, as well as by the testimony of a high official of the trust, given some few years ago, to the effect that it could turn out such rails at about \$14 per ton. In the transaction of this business some 210,000 employees were required, to whom wages and salaries aggregating 161 millions of dollars were paid. It is to be noted that this is almost the identical amount of the net profits reported, so that for every dollar paid out in wages and salaries, another dollar went to the trust as net profits.

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Now compare that showing with the manufacture of iron on the foundry side of the business, as disclosed by a certain St. Louis concern, making special castings for customers from their own patterns. This is a business involving a very great deal of detail and a corresponding amount of labor and personal attention—quite unlike in this respect the business of the steel trust, which consists almost wholly in the manufacture of staple

articles in large quantities. Yet much of this business, having the benefit of no monopoly and subject to keen competition, is done, as we are assured, at a margin of net profit not exceeding 5 per cent on gross sales—rising in most prosperous years to barely 10 per cent. The foundry business in question has a product of about 5,000 tons per annum and pays out annually about \$125,000 in wages and salaries. Its proprietors are well satisfied with a net profit of \$25,000 per annum—say \$5 per ton of product, or one-fifth of the amount paid out in wages and salaries.

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Let us see how the comparison works out:

For the highly protected monopoly:

A net profit approximating 50% of goods sold.

A margin of over \$15 per ton in the manufacture of a staple article, involving no risk of loss and salable to all the world.

A net profit equal to practically 100 per cent of all wages and salaries.

For the smaller industry, subject to keen competition:

A net profit barely averaging 10% of sales.

A margin seldom exceeding \$5 per ton of a special product involving great detail and close attention, and practically unsalable except to the special parties for whom made.

A net profit equal to about 20% of wages and salaries.

Under a fair economic system, the profits of manufacture of such a product as that of the steel trust should not exceed 10 per cent of the selling price, or about \$2 per ton; and it is safe to say that with free trade and free land, this level would soon be reached. Everything above this is simply an extortion from the public, made possible only by those two giant evils—Land Monopoly and Tariff Monopoly.

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Intelligent Referendum Voting.

Now that the demand for initiative and referendum laws to protect the people from non-representative representation has assumed the proportions of a popular wave rolling over the country, the plutocratic press and machine politicians are profoundly concerned lest many questions be submitted at one time, and the people become too confused to vote intelligently. In this connection it should be remembered that the issue here is not whether the people would legislate with perfect intelligence by referendum, but whether their legislation would be more intelligent than that which they have been getting from uncontrollable legislatures.

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Could it be less intelligent? Experience indicates that it would be more so. In Oregon, for instance, at an election two years ago (vol ix, p. 227) when eleven questions were be-

fore the people on referendum, every question was intelligently decided. Some may have been decided wrong. That depends upon the point of view of the critic. But all were decided right according to the consensus of opinion of the State. No one doubts this now. Therefore all were decided intelligently. Can as much be said for legislation by representatives upon whose action there is no Referendum veto nor Initiative command? At that election, the members of the faculty of the State university of Oregon appointed one of their number to investigate every question to be voted on and report with recommendations. His report was discussed and adopted by his associates, all of whom voted accordingly. Here was truly an exercise of intelligence. And behold, the people at the election rejected every proposition which these intelligent and deliberate college professors had condemned, and adopted all but one of those that the college professors had approved. The exception was the woman suffrage amendment. It so happened that the college professors favored this, while a small majority of the people did not. In our opinion, as in that of the college professors, the majority of the people were in this instance wrong; but shall we therefore say that they voted unintelligently?

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Oregon is soon to vote again on public questions. This time there are nineteen. That such questions as are most of these—they are described in another column—exist to be put forward at all, is at least suggestive of unrepresentative legislatures in the past. But that apart and how can it be said that those questions will not receive intelligent consideration from the people? The argument on both sides of each is laid before every voter officially, as well as in the usual way. Won't he be better qualified to vote on them himself than under the old system he would be to choose a representative with an irrevocable power of attorney to vote on them for him?

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Queer Americanism.

With no little surprise we learn that the following sentiment has a place in a document of the Ohio State Board of Commerce, put forward as an argument against the initiative and referendum:

The American people have never failed to respond to a call to do military duty whenever the authority or the integrity of their government has been attacked by an armed enemy. An enemy using ballots instead of bullets as a means of overthrowing our system of representative government should be met with an equal display of loyalty, patriotic endeavor and unyielding resistance.

The people using ballots, an enemy of the people! As a satire that would be delicious.

* *

The Demand of Women for Woman Suffrage.

One of the commonest replies to the demand for equal suffrage, by persons who oppose it but "don't like to offend the ladies" by saying so, is the intimation that when a majority of women want to vote they will be allowed to. The polite insincerity here is obvious when it is considered that no means are provided and that there is no proposal for providing any means for officially ascertaining the sentiment of women on the subject.

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On one occasion Massachusetts did make such provision, and the result was quite discouraging to the anti-suffragists. In describing the episode, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe says: "In 1895, the Massachusetts legislature gave all the women opposed to equal suffrage the opportunity to vote No on the question, 'Is it expedient that municipal suffrage should be extended to women?' Of the 575,000 women of voting age in Massachusetts, only 861 voted against it. The opponents covered the walls and fences in every town and village in the State with huge posters urging the women to vote No, yet in 238 out of the 322 towns of Massachusetts not one woman voted in the negative. In every county and in every senatorial and representative district the women's vote was in favor, the majority in the affirmative averaging 25 to 1." The history of suffrage petitions tells the same story. In Maine, Illinois, Iowa, New York, Kansas,—in short, wherever petitions in favor of woman suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the legislature, the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants and generally have outnumbered them 50 or 100 to one. In New York, at the time of the last Constitutional Convention, the suffragists secured 300,000 signatures to their petitions, the "Antis" only 15,000. When Chicago women, led by Jane Addams, lately tried to obtain a municipal woman suffrage clause in the new city charter, 97 organizations with an aggregate membership of 10,000 women, petitioned for suffrage, while only one small organization of women petitioned against it. Most women are indifferent, as the great majority of all classes under civil disabilities, men as well as women, always are; but, of the women who take any interest either way, the large majority are in favor of woman suffrage. This has been shown whenever and wherever the matter has been brought to a test.

"Business Is Booming."

These words, or words to this effect, are bubbling in the newspapers and among business men. They are deceptive. Let us hope they are not so intended, but it is like hoping against hope. Those who tell us persistently that good times have come again must know better, for they suppress as far as possible the evidence that times are in fact getting worse (p. 39). In spite of concerted efforts at suppression, however, the facts keep leaking out. Here for instance is an advertisement in the New York Tribune of the 12th, which is signed by R. Fulton Cutting, president of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The families which that Association has been aiding this year, so the advertisement states, numbered 2,475 on January 1, increased to 2,949 on February 1, increased further to 3,452 on March 1, and still further to 4,066 on April 1. "These figures mean," say the Association, "for many thousands no work to be had, savings gone, health impaired by want and despair, homes broken up." In the face of such evidence, by no means confined to New York, how contemptible it is to insist that we are all prosperous. And how cruel, though thoughtlessly done, to attribute the suffering of these brethren of ours to their own fault. Kipling struck a true note when he told of the "men who, if their own front door is closed, will swear that the whole world's warm."

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Hard Times.

As reported by the newspapers, all the speakers at the recent annual session of the American Academy of Political Science at Philadelphia were optimistic as to the financial and business outlook. But of what value are optimistic expressions when "optimism is the word," and no other may be uttered without rebuke? Over against this perfunctory optimism, we find as a hard fact that mill hands are being discharged by scores of thousands in New England, and that this vocation suffers to such an extent in Philadelphia that the city is trying to turn an honest dollar by tempting disemployed \$2 workers with offers of \$1 a day on city work. The business depression (vol. x, p. 1234; vol. xi, pp. 4, 37) is evidently still here, and honest business men recognize it. For instance, in Erwin & Co.'s Market Letter (54 Broad street, New York), edited by Byron W. Holt, we find these nooptimistic remarks:

The barometers of trade do not indicate the improvement that it is natural to expect nearly six months after the beginning of the panic. As Bradstreet's of April 4 says: "There is perhaps a little more doing, as a whole, in some lines, but the off-

sets are so numerous as to prevent any decided change for the better." Bank clearings are still tending downward, the decrease in March being the heaviest reported this year. The country's clearings for March were 33.4 per cent below those of a year ago, compared with a decrease of 26 per cent in February, and 24.5 in January.

* * *

The Cause of Unemployment.

In recommending a legislative investigation into the causes of the disemployment of labor (p. 39) the Ethical-Social League of New York took the initial step in a movement that ought to be persistently and conscientiously pursued. So far as the League is concerned, this spirit is evident; for it is earnestly urging the passage of a bill for the creation of a State commission to investigate the subject. Persons in sympathy are advised by it to write to Senator Armstrong and Assemblyman Merritt, at Albany, the chairmen respectively of the committees having the bill in charge. The League especially urges clergymen to bring the subject to the attention of their congregations. A fair investigation can hardly fail to be of the utmost use. Its importance is evident. Involuntary unemployment is a condition, a deplorable condition, which no one intelligently disputes. But why should there be such a condition when employment means interchange of work, and the unemployed suffer from slackness in this interchange? Why should anybody be out of work when everybody wants work done? That is the problem which should be systematically, efficiently, courageously and fully investigated.

* * *

Legislative Mechanism.

W. Clyde Jones, of the Illinois Senate, proposes some much needed improvements in the mechanism of legislation. Among them are a bureau of legislative information, a bill-drafting department, and the substitution for the committee on engrossed bills of a committee on printing. Some of these improvements it may not be easy to secure at a very early day, valuable as they would be; but no time ought to be lost in abolishing the antique, cumbersome, expensive and useless custom of engrossing bills. Not only is it useless and expensive, but it offers opportunities, occasionally utilized, for putting in or leaving out words contrary to the action of the legislature. Printed bills in final form would be cheaper and much more serviceable than engrossed bills; and, coming under the scrutiny of every member of the legislature, they would be less subject to error or fraud.

Roy O. West and the McCormicks.

Collier's for the 18th of April publishes a significant exposure of certain business connections between Mr. Roy O. West and the McCormicks of Chicago. Mr. West is chairman of the Board of Review of Cook County, a board having the function of assessing property for taxation. A lawsuit is now pending, as the Collier story runs, to compel him and his official associates to perform their legal duty by assessing the value of the McCormick family's stock in the International Harvester Company, amounting to 90 per cent of the entire capitalization of that company, which, by the way, is a New Jersey corporation. The fair cash value of the stock is stated to be \$84,937,500, which, under the Illinois law at the present rate of taxation, would yield to the public treasury nearly a million a year. Mr. West's relation to the McCormick family in this connection, according to Collier's, is not merely as a public tax official, but also as the head of a firm of lawyers regularly retained by the Harvester Company, which the McCormicks control and the large net profits of which they share among them. An explanation from Mr. West and the managing members of the McCormick family would not come amiss.

* * *

A Dangerous Question.

"Why," asks Andrew Hutton, in the Schenectady Gazette, "should factories be driven from one city to another in search of land, while acres and acres are lying idle beside them, or working men be advised to ride past vast tracts of idle land, when a high tax on the land would be the means of reducing its price, and encouraging building, reducing rent, and at the same time injuring no one?" But what object would there be in buying or holding land for a rise and keeping it out of use until the rise comes, if it were to be taxed so high that it couldn't be held without a loss? Would Mr. Hutton confiscate the land which thrifty men have saved up, and give it to thriftless workingmen to build homes upon? He must be one of those anarchist persons; and maybe the Schenectady Gazette ought to be excluded from the newspaper mails for seditious utterances.

* * *

Mr. Foulke and Free Speech.

The eloquent deliverance at the Chicago City Club last week by William Dudley Foulke was an excellent discussion of free speech, alive with the fire of our national traditions, and all too scarce as an example of American loyalty to American ideals. Mr. Foulke made no compromises.

He scouted the absurdity of the notion that while there should be free speech it should not be too free, claiming for Emma Goldman the same right to express her opinions that he claimed for himself. The only restriction he conceded was criminal responsibility for speeches actually made which advise the commission of crime. He proposed that such utterances should subject the offender to punishment whether the crime advised be committed or not. This is a sound position, provided the law creating that responsibility be so drawn as to prevent its abuse by intolerant officials; and this can easily be done by penalizing only those utterances which, though they may not actually cause the commission of the crime advised, would, if they did so, make the utterer an accessory before the fact.

* *

DIRECT LEGISLATION IN OREGON.

What tremendous political power is in the hands of the people of the State of Oregon! That is the thought which possesses one after looking through the 124 clearly printed pages of a pamphlet which has come across the continent from that State. Here is the title page in full:

State of Oregon. A pamphlet Containing a Copy of All Measures "Referred to the people by the Legislative Assembly," "Referendum Ordered by Petition of the People" and "Proposed by Initiative Petition," to be submitted to the Legal Voters of the State of Oregon for their approval or rejection at the regular general election to be held on the first day of June, 1908. Together with the Arguments Filed, Favoring and Opposing certain of said Measures. Compiled and issued by Frank W. Benson, Secretary of State. (Publication authorized under Chapter 226, Laws of 1907.) Salem, Oregon: Willis S. Duniway, State Printer. 1908.

Truly this Pacific State is a model of political freedom, of real popular government. The pamphlet deals with nineteen different measures which are to be voted on (p. 28) at the June election. Its purpose is to inform the voters on those measures as far as possible. Note these facts in regard to this proposed legislation:

1. There has been entire freedom in the initiation of these proposals. No power can prevent the people of Oregon from legislating on any subject they wish.

2. The State itself provides that every voter in Oregon shall have the opportunity of fully understanding the questions on which he is to vote. High above the flood of ordinary periodical literature this State pamphlet towers with a prominence, an importance, an insistence, a lucidity,

which ensures careful perusal and thoughtful consideration.

3. The issues are clear cut and unmistakable. Each measure is voted for or against on its own merits, totally disentangled from other issues and from the personnel of legislative candidates who may support or oppose it.

4. No interested politician can quietly emasculate any of these measures by the insertion of a "little joker"; nor will any of them be smuggled into law by an interested lobby, or rushed through without consideration at the close of a legislative session. They stand in the bright sunlight of publicity for four months before the voters say Yes or No.

*

What are these nineteen measures which the Oregon voters have to deal with?

Four of them are proposed Constitutional amendments which have been referred to the people by the Legislative Assembly, probably in compliance with State law.

Four others are acts of the legislature which have been challenged by a sufficiently signed Referendum petition, and therefore not one of them can become law until it receives an affirmative popular majority. In each case more than seven thousand voters have so strong an objection to the bill that they have compelled its submission to the people.

The remaining eleven measures are new, and have been proposed by Initiative petitions. Among them are the woman suffrage and the single tax Constitutional amendments.

*

The four measures referred to the people by the legislature relate respectively to the payment of members of the Legislative Assembly, to the location of State institutions, to changes in court procedure, and to the time of holding elections. There are no printed arguments for or against any of them.

*

The four acts on which the Referendum has been invoked by petition of the people, are as follows: (1) Concerning the custody of prisoners, the salaries of guards and jailors, and so on; (2) an act requiring railroads and other common carriers to grant free transportation to State officers and county judges and sheriffs, etc., as a condition precedent to acquiring land for corporate purposes by the exercise of eminent domain, and to prohibit the payment of mileage for such free transportation; (3) an act appropriating \$100,000

to erect armories for the Oregon National Guard; (4) an act appropriating \$125,000 annually for the University of Oregon, instead of \$47,500 now annually appropriated.

The pamphlet contains arguments in relation to the second, third, and fourth of those acts.

The first argument in the book is one submitted by the Oregon State Grange against the pass law and the armory law, jointly. Farmers are availing themselves of this very practical way of exercising specific political influence as farmers. There are no affirmative arguments on these two measures.

An affirmative argument for the \$125,000 appropriation is submitted by the University of Oregon Alumni Association. It covers six pages, and concludes with an earnest appeal for careful and friendly consideration of the university's needs and a conclusive majority in favor of its adequate support. For the negative, a trenchant argument of four pages is submitted by the Linn County organization of the Patrons of Husbandry. These representative farmers accuse the university of extravagance, and point out that it has now a State appropriation of \$150 per student, as against \$8 for the common schools.

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The eleven new measures which have been proposed by Initiative petition are as follows:

(1) For an equal suffrage Constitutional amendment permitting women to vote on equal terms with men.

(2 and 3) Concerning fisheries.

(4) For a Constitutional amendment giving additional and exclusive power to cities and towns within their corporate limits to license, regulate, control and tax, or to suppress or prohibit, theatres, racetracks, poolrooms, bowling alleys, billiard halls, and the sale of liquors: subject to the provisions of the Local Option Law of the State of Oregon.

(5) The Single Tax amendment, which if adopted will make the taxation clause of the Constitution read: "Section 1. The Legislative Assembly shall provide by law for uniform and equal right of assessment and taxation, and shall prescribe such regulations as shall secure a just valuation for taxation of all property, both real and personal; excepting that all dwelling houses, barns, sheds, outhouses, and all other appurtenances thereto, all machinery and buildings used exclusively for manufacturing purposes and the appurtenances thereto, all fences, farm machinery, and appliances used as such, all fruit trees, vines,

shrubs and all other improvements on farms, all live stock, all household furniture in use, and all tools owned by workmen and in use, shall be exempt from taxation; and excepting all such property for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious or charitable purposes as may be specially exempted by law."

(6) A Constitutional amendment giving 25 per cent of the voters power to call a special election at any time to discharge any public officer and elect his successor.

(7) A bill for a law instructing members of the Legislature to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senator who receive the highest number of votes at the general election.

(8) A Constitutional amendment providing for a Single Vote, permitting Proportional Representation, and permitting an Absolute Majority preferential method of electing single officers.

(9) A lengthy bill to regulate the conduct of elections, the expenses of candidates, etc.

(10) Relating to grand juries.

(11) To create a new county.

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There are not arguments upon all of these proposals, but such as do appear are very interesting. They are carefully drawn, terse, vigorous, and to the point.

First come four pages in favor of woman suffrage, signed by twelve women members of the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association, and embellished with eleven small half-tone portraits of prominent men who have expressed themselves in favor of equal suffrage, including President Lincoln and Governor Chamberlain of Oregon. The negative is presented in two pages by the Oregon State Association opposed to extension of suffrage to women, and is signed by twenty women.

There are four arguments on the two fisheries measures, measures which are no doubt of much local interest and importance. These arguments occupy fifteen pages in all, and are respectively presented by H. A. Webster, formerly Deputy Fish Warden, by the secretary of the Columbia River Salmon Protective Association (two arguments), and by packing and canning companies and those in the same interests.

Dr. Reddy submits half a page of argument favorable to the Constitutional amendment giving additional and exclusive powers to cities and towns. Against it the Portland Municipal Association and the Oregon Anti-Saloon League print a page and a half, ending thus: "Therefore we object for five reasons—First, it is a saloon meas-

ure, intended to entrench the saloon and nullify the local option law. Second, it makes the cities principalities independent of the criminal courts and police boards of the county and State. Third, it assumes for the city independence from the county, yet does not propose to provide for the expense of vice and crime to be borne by cities alone. Fourth, because cities and country in counties are an indissoluble whole. What affects one affects the other. Fifth. This measure is a violent reversal of the entire structure of our Government."

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No argument is yet submitted for the negative on the Single Tax amendment, but it is reported that one is being issued. An affirmative argument of four pages submitted by the Oregon Tax Reform Association, appears in the State pamphlet. Its opening words go straight to the mark:

The proposed amendment is a step in the direction of the Single Tax. If adopted it would exempt most personal property and improvements from taxation, and the argument submitted has in view that all such property will ultimately be exempted. It does not exempt business buildings, merchandise, cash, improvements of public service corporations, and a few other articles of personality and improvements.

The Oregon Tax Reform Association, composed of men who have devoted their lives to the common good, seeing the injustice and iniquitous results of our present system of taxation, which has been so carefully defended and unscrupulously evaded by the various special interests and monopolies, feel certain that the time has arrived and the people are ready to abolish this effete and iniquitous system and institute a better, just, and more certain method of taxation. We have therefore determined to submit the above amendment to remove taxation from industry and place it on land values.

Then follows an extract from page 285 of Henry George's "Social Problems"; and after that a clear and forcible presentation of the points with which Single Taxers are familiar; along with a telling concrete example taken from the city of Portland. Here are the concluding words of the argument:

This is no war on persons—no appeal to class or personal interest, but to progressive public spirit to amend a tax system which has encouraged injurious speculation and discouraged the increase of industry and wealth. After more than forty years of Statehood, Oregon had only 435,000 population in 1900. Her area is twice as great as New York; about as large as old England and New England combined. They surpass her in population one hundred times, while she surpasses them in all that should draw population and enterprise. If Oregon were as densely populated as Rhode Island she would have 45,000,000 people. This amendment appeals to that thoughtful conservatism which knows that we have opened too wide the door to speculation. Oregon is

rich in opportunity. It is only required to amend the laws that the abundance of nature may be free to the hand of industry.

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A joint argument is presented by the People's Power League of Oregon in favor of the four measures they promote—namely: the Recall, the United States Senators bill, Proportional and Preferential Voting, and the Purity of Elections bill.

First, the League tells who it is, by giving a list of its officers, its sixteen executive committeemen, and its forty-eight other members, as existing on the 3d of February, 1908. Then the intention of the four measures is summed up in these words:

This league is largely composed of the same group of men who proposed the Initiative and Referendum amendment in 1902, the Direct Primary Law in 1904, and Home Rule for cities and other measures of the People's Power League of 1906. Its object is to complete the direct power of the voters of Oregon over their State and local government in all its branches and officers. Many of our members were with Mr. Ed. Bingham in his agitation for the Australian Ballot Law and the Registration Law. We believe the approval of the above four measures by the people will complete the necessary practical methods by which the voters of Oregon will be able quickly, directly, and effectively to use their supreme power over the officers as well as the laws of our State and local government.

Then follow four pages of argument, about a page to each of the four measures.

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Two brief affirmative arguments are printed in favor of the Grand Jury bill and the new county bill respectively. This completes the list of arguments printed in the State pamphlet.

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Persons desiring to have arguments in the State pamphlet have to pay for them at a regular rate per page, which prevents undue length. One is struck by the immense educational value of all this practical political work, and also with the way in which it promotes straightforward politics. There is no hole-and-corner work. Everything has to be done in the open. Nothing is rushed, and ample time is given for deliberation—for the voter to make up his mind before he goes to the polls.

Direct Legislation by the Initiative and Referendum requires two factors for complete success; a good Direct Legislation law must be in the Constitution or statute book, and then there must be public spirited citizens who will see to it that the law is used and not allowed to lie idle. Ore-

gon is fortunate in being well supplied with public spirited citizens of that stamp. May they have that abundant measure of success which they so well deserve, and may their example be widely followed.

ROBERT TYSON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

RAYMOND ROBINS IN BOSTON.

Boston, April 13.—Mr. Robins spoke six times in his three days' stay in Boston. His first address was on the subject of women's part in social and industrial betterment. Among his hearers were many veteran workers in the cause of the emancipation of women, and when he had finished his splendid plea for the legal right of women to a direct voice in the affairs of the state for the protection of themselves and their children and for the general welfare of the community, the verdict of these workers was that Mr. Robins had made the best statement of the case for equal rights they had ever heard.

On Saturday afternoon Mr. Robins spoke before the Twentieth Century Club on Education and the Workers, and in the evening on the Trades Unionists' Opportunity.

Sunday morning at the First Church in Cambridge he held his audience spellbound in his recital of the methods by which simple-hearted country boys and untutored men are made into thieves and jallbirds in our boasted Christian civilization.

Sunday afternoon at the New Voters' Festival in Faneuil Hall, his address, Civic Corruption and the Way Out, was enthusiastically received by a crowded audience, largely young men just entering upon their full privileges as citizens.

Monday morning before the Congregational ministers Mr. Robins gave his address on The Social Conscience of Christ. With the possible exception of his Sunday morning address this was perhaps the most moving of Mr. Robins's six genuinely remarkable lectures. We have long looked upon Jesus' message as almost purely a personal one, but illuminated by Mr. Robins's wonderful insight and by his years of experience among "the least of these my brethren," Jesus' teaching as a social gospel is convincingly revealed, and the call to the service of one's fellows becomes a compelling force.

In his eight years' work among the human driftwood of a great city Mr. Robins has traced back step by step the careers of scores of individuals who from simple, ignorant, well-intentioned folk, have become thieves and outcasts, enemies of society and a shame and menace to our civilization. His revelation of the causes that combine to produce these wrecks is calculated to make the smug and self-righteous sit up and take notice, but neither the prophets of old nor the Master himself softened the condemnation because it fell in unexpected places, and Mr. Robins, worthy follower of these, and of the preachers of social righteousness in all times, speaks the truth as he has found it, let the blows fall where they will.

MARGARET E. CHASE.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, April 21, 1908.

Organized Labor in Politics.

A systematic movement under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor for concerted political action (vol. x, p. 1231) was begun in thousands of meetings, held on the 19th in every city and town where the influence of the American Federation of Labor extends. Samuel Gompers spoke at a large mass meeting in Grand Central Palace, New York. In referring to recent Supreme Court decisions, Mr. Gompers is reported to have said:

I will not tolerate, nay, I will resent, any imputations that our highest court has been prompted by any dishonest or sordid motive. But it remains a fact that men who have been successes as lawyers and jurists, what the world of our time regards as successful lawyers and jurists, are men whose very rearing, education and environment are not in accord with the spirit of the times. They are but human, like you and me. Like you and me they are liable to err, and they must not forget that they are subject, like you and me, to the criticism of their fellow citizens. We ask from Congress that the rights that have been taken from us be restored. We ask this, and in our sovereign rights as citizens of this country we purpose to send to industrial and political oblivion those who stand in the way of the toiler now and in the days to come. It is the most momentous question that the working people of this country have been called upon to face since the civil war. It is our duty to demand of Congress the passage of laws which shall give us the right to labor unmolested, and we demand those laws, not next year or some date remote in the future, but at the present session of Congress.

The resolutions protested against the recent decisions of the Supreme Court which were adverse to labor interests. Not only did they demand legislation at this session of Congress, but declared that they would send to political oblivion all who opposed them. Appeal was made to all workers to stand by their friends and elect them, and oppose those indifferent and hostile to their cause and defeat them at the coming election.

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The most notable proceeding before central labor bodies occurred at the meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Raymond Robins addressed this body upon invitation, and roused the delegates to a high pitch of enthusiasm in a remark-

able speech of two hours' duration, in which he never for an instant lost his hold upon the sympathetic attention of his hearers. His theme was the recent Danbury labor decision of the Supreme Court. His address, in which he cited Lincoln in support of the right of labor to strike and the right of the people through political action to overrule the Supreme Court, may be summarized by this quotation from one of the newspaper reports:

Every law-abiding man will bow to the Supreme Court decision until it is reversed by political action; but every free man should work to see it reversed. If it is anarchy to criticize the Supreme Court I will not do it, because I am not an anarchist. But the Supreme Court was criticised by Lincoln, and he has been dead long enough not to be classed to-day as an anarchist. Permit this decision to go unreversed at the next election and you will find yourselves facing the next decision, which will declare your labor unions unlawful conspiracies. That is the logical sequence to the last decision.

In the preamble the resolutions declared that recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court, especially in the Danbury hatters' case, injuriously affect the rights of the workers; that in the hatters' case the anti-trust act was so interpreted as to make it apply to labor unions, a purpose wholly foreign to its original purpose; and that immediate Congressional action is necessary to remedy this and other periodical abuses. The resolutions then proceed:

Resolved, That, though protesting against the construction of the law by the decisions of the Supreme Court applying laws to the workers never intended by Congress for that purpose, we yet accept and obey them, demonstrating incontestably our patriotism, our law-abiding purpose and our faith in the institutions of our country; yet we must and do insist that Congress exercise its power and perform its plain duty, granting the relief and remedy from the injustice of which we complain; and be it further

Resolved, That we express our firm conviction that it lies within the power of the present Congress to enact such laws that the rights and liberties of the toilers shall be restored and safeguarded, and we solemnly aver that under no circumstances will the workers surrender their right to and their faith in their voluntary organizations, which have done so much to protect them from tyranny and rapacity and which have raised the American standard of life of the workers, their wives and their little ones, and instilled the highest ideals of American manhood, character, intelligence and independence among the toilers of our country; the organizations of labor which have proven themselves not only the great means whereby the material, moral, social and political standard has been advanced, but have also shown themselves the greatest conservators of the public good and of the public peace; that we shall stand by our unions of labor and carry on our normal activities, whether as individuals or through our associated effort; and be it further

Resolved, That the working people and their

friends in meeting assembled insist that the Congress of the United States cease its indifference or hostility and enact the legislation in these resolutions set forth, so that we may exercise our fullest, normal, natural and industrial rights, and to attain them we will exercise our industrial and political power; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the Congress now in session to enact before adjournment the amendment to the Sherman anti-trust law, known as the Wilson Bill H. R. No. 20584; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the present session of the present Congress to enact the Pearre Bill H. R. 94, to so define the injunction power and restrain its abuse that neither directly nor indirectly shall there be held to be any property or property right in the labor or labor power of any person; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon Congress at this session to enact an adequate, just and clearly defined general employers' liability law; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon this session of Congress to enact labor's eight-hour bill for the extension of the present eight-hour law to all government employes and to all employes engaged upon work done for the government, whether by contractors or sub-contractors; and be it further

Resolved, that we hereby declare our determination to hold each and every Representative and Senator strictly accountable upon his record upon these measures during the present session of the present Congress; and be it further

Resolved, That we stand unqualifiedly committed to the measures and the Congressional relief set forth in these preambles and resolutions and the grievances set forth in the protest to Congress published in the Congressional Record, and the plan of campaign outlined in the address to workers, prepared and presented by the great Labor Conference, held at Washington, D. C., under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. And we pledge ourselves individually and collectively to the exercise of our fullest political and industrial activities now and in the future, to the end that we may aid in the election of such candidates for President of the United States, Representatives or Senators in Congress, and such other executive, legislative or judicial candidates for office as will safeguard and protect the common interests of the wage-workers, as well as the people of our common country; and be it finally

Resolved, That the toilers and their friends, fully aroused, will not be lulled into a fancied or false security by promises, however plausible, protestations, however masked by friendship, and that we call upon all our fellow workers, our friends and sympathizers, and enlightened public citizens generally, without regard to party affiliation, to stand by our friends and elect them; oppose the indifferent and hostile to our cause and defeat them.

In this movement for our common protection we are moved by a high sense of duty and a profoundly conscientious purpose to serve not only the workers of our time, but all the people of our great country for their industrial, political, social and moral progress and uplift.

Presidential Politics.

Among the suspicious newspaper reports on Presidential politics (p. 59) last week were dispatches to the effect that at the Pennsylvania primaries the vote assured an uninstructed delegation to Denver, implying that it was against Bryan. The truth now appears to be that at least two-thirds of the delegates chosen to the State convention are directly or indirectly committed to Bryan. A majority are under absolute instructions. The State convention will meet on the 2nd of May. The Democratic convention of New York, on the 14th, was completely under the control of Tammany Hall under the leadership of Wm. J. Connors of Buffalo and Charles T. Murphy of New York, and all expression of opinion on the Presidential contest was smothered in the committee on resolutions. The delegates at large are Alton B. Parker, Lewis Nixon, Charles T. Murphy and Charles E. Loeb. A contesting delegation to Denver is threatened. In Illinois nearly every county is instructing its State convention delegates for Bryan. The New York Herald's estimates down to the 18th give 163 instructed and 500 uninstructed national delegates for Bryan, a total of 663, or 9 less than the necessary two-thirds.

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The Minnesota Republican convention met on the 16th and instructed its delegates to vote for Taft. Two Republican conventions were organized in Arizona, the bolters for Taft and the regulars against him.

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The Cleveland Traction Question.

Pursuant to previous arrangement (p. 61), the citizens of Cleveland were given an opportunity on the 13th to discuss the traction situation before the City Council. The only restrictions were that each speaker should come to the platform, give his name, and confine his talk to the price to be allowed the Cleveland Electric, and the rate of fare to be inserted in the franchise to be granted as collateral security under the "holding" company plan. After a long discussion the meeting adjourned. Reconvened on the 17th, a further public discussion was had, at which Mr. Goff gave notice of his intention to withdraw from the negotiations if they were not completed in three days. He still held to his valuation of \$60 a share and Mayor Johnson to his of \$50.

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At the regular meeting of the Council on the 13th, the Forest City Company (3-cent fare) applied for franchises covering all the streets where the city claims that old Cleveland Electric franchises had that day expired. No action was taken at this meeting, it having appeared that Governor Harris had not yet signed the street railway bill

(the Schmidt bill) mentioned last week as having been signed on the 9th (p. 62). He explained on the 13th that ex-Governor Herrick had requested delay for a hearing. Ex-Governor Herrick denied having made such a request, and Governor Harris reasserted it. Mayor Johnson and members of his cabinet went to the capital on the 14th to discuss the measure before Governor Harris. Only friends of the bill appeared at the hearing and the Governor signed it on the 15th. A special session of the Cleveland Council was immediately called for the 16th, and upon assembling, that body, under suspension of the rules, by a vote of 28 to 4, granted the Forest City Company franchises on Woodland avenue, Kinsman and Buckeye roads, and Detroit, Madison and Lorain avenues, for 15 years. They were granted without property owners' consents, in accordance with the new law. It also granted in the same way a franchise to the Neutral Street Railway Company (p. 10) for lines on Central and Quincy avenues from which the Cleveland Electric tore up its tracks almost a year ago. The Cleveland Electric threatens injunction proceedings to stop construction under the new franchises. Meanwhile the Forest City Company, at a stockholders' meeting on the 18th, voted to increase its capital stock from \$2,000,000 to \$6,000,000, to be sold subject to action of the Municipal Traction Company (the "holding" company) and at not less than par. The object is to enable this company to proceed under its new franchises in case the disrupted negotiations fail altogether.

NEWS NOTES

—The Russian Douma (vol. x, p. 1091) is about to inaugurate a campaign against the growth of great corporations in Russia, according to a report of the 17th.

—The Atlantic-Pacific fleet (vol. x, p. 1233) arrived in United States waters after its long cruise around South America, on the 14th, casting anchor at San Diego on that date.

—United States troops have been disarming Moros on Basilan island, in the Philippines, and at Lake Lanao, on the island of Mindanao, as a precautionary measure (vol. x, pp. 302, 492).

—Russian troops have been invading Persia just over the boundary from Caucasia, on the plea of punishing lawless Kurds who had been fighting the Russian garrison of the Russian frontier town of Belesuvar. Several villages sheltering the Kurds have been bombarded by the little Russian army of invasion.

—The Danish (vol. x, p. 663) Folkething, the lower house of the Diet, passed the Government franchise bill on the 14th by a vote of 64 to 35. The bill had already been passed by the Landsting, or upper house. It provides that all taxpayers, women as well as men, over 25 years of age, and all married women

whose husbands are taxpayers, shall be entitled to vote at all communal elections.

—American friends of Count Nicholas Tchaykovsky (vol. x, p. 949), who is still held as a prisoner in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul at St. Petersburg, have united in another appeal by cable to Premier Stolypin in his behalf, reciting his detention for months without trial and without publicly announced charges, and his reported illness.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 11) for the nine months ending March 31, 1908, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for March, 1908, were as follows (M. standing for merchandise, G. for gold and S. for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M.	\$1,497,902,535	\$930,867,605	\$567,034,930 exp.
G.	22,773,952	139,327,976	116,554,024 imp.
S.	44,992,944	34,313,685	10,679,259 exp.
	\$1,565,669,431	\$1,104,509,266	\$461,160,165 exp.
From 1897 to June 30, 1907.....			\$5,008,699,071 exp
Total from 1897 to date.....			\$5,469,859,236 exp.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Obliteration of Republics.

New York Sun (ind.), April 11.—Republics, even the best of them, are obliterated without their people knowing why. Even a monarchy cannot endure without the sympathy and participation of the governed. How much less a republic, which by its very nature can subsist only upon the principles on which it was founded. When those principles are no longer reflected clearly in the character of a republic, when the leading men neglect them for the seductions of opportunism and their devotion to public duty is no longer impersonal, when the pursuit of riches becomes more important than the conservation of liberty, then the people of that republic are in danger of losing the form of that to the substance of which they have already proved indifferent.

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Raymond Robins.

Omaha Evening World-Herald (dem. Dem.), April 10.—It is doubtful if a man ever came to Omaha before and made so profound an impression on so many people of widely differing class and interest as did Mr. Robins at that time. If all the citizens of Omaha realized his tremendous powers as an orator and had knowledge of his pure and lofty personality, the Auditorium, large as it is, would fall far short of offering room to those who would attend his meeting to-night. Mr. Robins will speak at a labor meeting on behalf of labor. But his speech will interest not laboring men alone, but business men, professional men and men in all walks of life. For here is a man who is an evangel and a seer; a man of culture and comfortable fortune, who has consecrated his life to the cause of humanity; a man who has gone himself to work on the section gang, in the wheat fields, in the great mills and mines and factories, living the life and sharing the privations and dangers of his comrades, that he might be informed at

first hand of actual conditions; a man whose unselfish and incessant efforts in the slums of Chicago have met with wonderful results; a man whose oratorical abilities are rated by those who have heard him as excelling even those of a Bryan; a man whose devotion and singleness of purpose are unquestioned. Organized labor deserves the thanks of Omaha for bringing Raymond Robins here to-night.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE VALLEY OF DECISION.

For The Public.

I lost the music of the sighing sea,
The lark's wild carol o'er the perfumed plain:
Pent in the city's hive, condemned to see
The Toilers' plight, gaunt robes of grief and pain.

I wrought where rolls the city's restless tide,
And from the human breakers saved a crust:
Selfish among the selfish did abide,
Barren of saving love or human trust:

Blind to the widow's and the orphan's plight,
The stench of avarice going up to Heaven:
While wolves of Commerce, throttling human Right,
Scattered the germs of Anarchy's red leaven.

High-throned, the Queen of Desolation ruled
With wine of harlotry the haunts of man,
And cunning rogues, politically schooled,
Bartered weak souls for profits of her plan:

While from the poisoned pool of Discontent
Spawned low-browed Crime, and Murder's lustful
breed,
And yawning walls of Jail and Mad-house pent
The fruits of palsied Law and empty Creed.

Affliction purged the currents of my life,
Awakened Conscience bade me search within,
And oh! what seeds of misery and strife,
Perverted thoughts and individual sin!

The common lot of man I now must share,
Mind-linked to destiny of king or fool;
Vibrate his joy or mourn at his despair—
(Affliction knows no caste within her school).

Now, the travelling of that human sea,
The child's wild cry about the paths I've trod,
Like fate of my own soul appeals to me,
And I must heed that cry, so help me God.

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

* * *

THE GOSPEL OF SERVICE.

Wm. J. Bryan before the Canadian Club of Toronto.

The ideals of greatness for a country are like those by which we measure individuals. What is the measure of greatness in a man? When the disciples quarreled over the question as to who should be greatest, and appealed to Jesus, they

were told that service was the test of greatness. The greatest nation is the one that gives the greatest measure of service. Not by the size of a nation's army or its navy, but by its capacity for service, is its greatness revealed. I am not one who believes it is part of the Divine plan that one nation's prosperity can be built upon another's misfortune. I could not worship God as I do if that were so—and I cry shame on the doctrine of those that say there must be an uneducated class for the thinkers and the educated to build their fortunes upon. Let us put behind education a conception of life that will make us all anxious to work for others, that will root up the heresy that it is more respectable to spend the money earned by someone else than it is to earn money for one's own needs.

* * *

WEALTH BUYS LIFE.

The aged millionaire sighed.

"I'd give all my money," he said, "if I could buy twenty-five more years of life."

"But your money has already bought you that," said the physician coldly.

"What rot are you talking now?" the millionaire asked peevishly.

"No rot at all. For it is a fact, a dreadful fact," said the physician, "that the rich live, on an average, twenty-five years longer than the poor. Born rich, you are assured of a quarter-century more life than would be your allotment were you born poor. Wealth buys you all that. And yet they say that there is nothing in money. Why, man, money buys life."

"How do you mean?" said the millionaire. "This sounds rather like nonsense to me."

"Oh, wealth protects one from so many ills. Rich babies nearly always live, but poor ones die of a hundred complaints induced by poverty. Poor babies die off shockingly. And so with boys and girls, with men and women—if they are rich, they live healthily, and therefore long; while if they are poor, they live unhealthily, and disease, accident, contagion, privation—all sorts of preventible things—carry them off.

"Yes, money buys life, and reliable statistics show that if two children are born to-day, one rich and the other poor, the rich one will out-live the other by the tidy margin of twenty-five years."—Philadelphia Bulletin.

* * *

THE DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS OF CAESAR'S DAY.

From W. Warde Fowler's "Life of Julius Caesar," in the "Heroes of the Nations" Series. (Pp. 327-328.)

But to come to close quarters with this difficult subject, what were in reality these revolutionary tendencies to which Caesar first gave clear articu-

late expression? We may trace three, all closely connected with each other, and forming in fact one powerful current, the direction of which had been at least discovered, if not guided, by the Roman democratic leaders from the Gracchi onwards.

First, and most obvious of the three, there was the demand for some permanent change in the character of the central government at Rome, which should take the control of affairs out of the hands of incompetent and sordid men, and deposit it with those who could be trusted to act with reason, and with good will towards mankind.

Secondly, and following directly on the first, there was the demand for a social change which should neutralize the enormous influence of the small body of Italian capitalists, whether used to prop up a rotten system of government at home, or to oppress the masses of population in the provinces.

Thirdly, there was the inarticulate demand, audible only to the real statesman, and arising out of complicated causes which had been at work for centuries, for a new system of political organization, which might give new life to the numberless little communities of which the Empire was made up, and might weld them all into a compact whole, of which each might be well content to form a part.

* * *

FARMERS AND THE NATURAL TAX.

For The Public.

In his book, "Natural Taxation," Thos. G. Shearman defines the Natural Tax as the Single Tax, restricted in amount to the necessary expenses of government, instead of being allowed to absorb the entire unearned increment of land value, as was the first proposal of Henry George. It is in this sense that I employ the term "natural," in the following comparison between such a land tax and our present system, as regards the effect on farm owners and laborers.

The crux of the question is whether the per capita tax, or a land value tax, will place the heavier burden on the farming class. Roughly it may be stated, that our national taxes are equal in amount to local and State taxes. As a land value tax is generally less than half of the local taxation, it may safely be said that the land value tax at present levied does not exceed 25 per cent, and is nearer 20 per cent of the local taxation. The balance of the revenue is raised by taxes on consumption, as the alcohol, tobacco and tariff taxes of the national excise, and the saloon and merchant licenses and the direct property tax, levied locally. Unless taxes on consumption are planned with a view to assessing the rich especially (as does the tax on luxuries, for example) they may be considered for practical purposes as a per capita tax on the consumer, that is, the average member of the working population. As the

taxes on consumption in the United States are not aimed at the rich, but rather the contrary, in the case of the liquor and tobacco revenues, it will not be far wrong to assume the present system to be a per capita tax.

TABLE I.

I Tract	II Land Yield	III Gross Wage 10 Men	IV Wage Tax 10 Men	V Net Wage 10 Men	VI Net Rent Land	VII Selling Value Land
1	\$20,000	\$5,000	\$1,000	\$4,000	\$15,000	\$150,000
2	10,000	5,000	1,000	4,000	5,000	50,000
3	5,000	5,000	1,000	4,000	X	X

Total tax = \$3,000.

In Table I, I have assumed three tracts of land of varying productiveness, each worked by ten men for an absentee landlord. The annual yield in Column II has been computed after fixed charges, like interest on betterments and tools, have been paid, so that it represents the fund available for wages, taxes and rent. The net wages of the workmen are given in Column V, to be \$400 per man, and this is assumed to be the lowest competitive wage, that is, one that has reached the level of subsistence of Ricardo. The total tax of the district being \$3,000, to collect this amount from 30 workmen will mean \$100 per man; but as \$400 annually is the minimum for subsistence, it is necessary for the gross wage to be \$500 each, as given in Column III. The difference between Columns II and III gives the net rent for the landlords of Column VI, while Column VII is computed by taking the selling value of the land at ten times the net annual rent.

The land of the first tract may be taken as the best mining, railroad or city land; that of the second tract as the average grade of this special land (or very choice farm land); and that of the third tract as the land owned by the average farmer, from which there is no economic rent, after interest and taxes on improvements, together with his own and his employees' wages, have been paid.

In the second case the laborer's wage would be relieved from taxation, so that competition between laborers would quickly reduce the gross wage to the minimum of subsistence, or \$400 annually. Then take the same tracts and yield as in Table I, and we have:

TABLE II.

I Tract	II Land Yield	III Gross or Net Wage 10 Men	IV Gross Rent Land	V Share of Tax	VI Land Tax	VII Net Rent Land	VIII Selling Value Land
1	\$20,000	\$4,000	\$16,000	16-23	\$2,080	\$13,920	\$139,200
2	10,000	4,000	6,000	6-23	780	5,220	52,200
3	5,000	4,000	1,000	1-23	140	860	8,600

Total gross rent = \$23,000. Total tax = \$3,000.

Column V gives the share of the total tax of \$3,000, which each tract must pay when the apportionment is made according to the gross rents

of Column IV. By subtracting the tax of each tract in Column VI from its gross rent in Column IV, we get the net land rents of Column VII, and from these the selling values of Column VIII are got by multiplying by ten. It is thus seen that the change has decreased instead of increased the poor landowner's burden, and given his land a selling value where it had none before.

To prove my point I have made the given tables as simple as possible, and have not introduced the effect of the natural tax on land, held speculatively, on which no one works. Under the per capita tax, land would cost nothing to hold indefinitely if not worked, and at any time would have the same selling value as if in active use. Under the natural tax, the speculator would pay the same tax on his land as the user, and its inauguration in the United States would mean that the railroads, the timber syndicates, the iron-ore and anthracite trusts would be obliged to release a large part of their holdings. This would be the hopeful factor for the farm laborer in the reform, as the throwing open of speculative areas would better the land on the margin of cultivation and so increase wages. This last effect might counteract in some measure the increase on net rent for the poor landowner of Table II, but as his land has no selling value now (see Table I) he has nothing to lose as a proprietor, and he would then be benefited as a laborer.

The general effect of the proposed change in taxation would be to shift the taxes from the landowner of Tract 3 to the landowner of Tract 1, whether the benefit comes to the farmer as a rise in rent, or in wages. The landowner of Tract 2 would probably be little affected in either case. Speaking generally, then, the change would increase the incomes of the poor at the expense of the rich. The middle classes would be little affected as proprietors, but those working for wages would find both the opportunity for employment and the emolument bettered. In other words, the millionaires, while still rich, would cease to be a menace, as the change would distribute their superfluity among the wage-earners equitably and with no tendency to pauperization. Is not this the great desideratum of social reformers? Do the Marxian socialists, with their government ownership of all means of production, expect to accomplish any more than can thus be achieved without altering the present organization of industry?

Has not the appeal to the wage earner been emphasized by the single tax propagandists, to the exclusion of a needed appeal to the poor landowners? The laborer's benefit comes chiefly from the abolition of land speculation, but the poor landowner would be helped by the reform, even in a country entirely utilized, as is assumed in the tracts of Tables I and II. As the majority of American farmers cannot be classed as specu-

lators or rich landowners, whenever they can be persuaded that the reform means a lessening and not an increase of their fiscal burdens, the political success of the natural tax is assured.

The results here reached by theoretical considerations were discovered by Thos. G. Shearman, and published in that epoch-making work, "Natural Taxation." Shearman, however, reached his results by the entirely different method of a comparison of the yields under the land tax, of city and farm values, as taken from actual statistics.

As to the importance of a scientific valuation of farming-land values, the writer is in substantial agreement with Professor Commons's article, "The Single Tax," which appeared in the Public for March 21, 1908.

Platteville, Wis.

R. B. BRINSMADE.

* * *

THE SUPREME COURT OPENS ANOTHER BACK DOOR.

For The Public.

Jones: "Who would have thought Smith would have committed a cold-blooded murder? I'm awfully sorry for his family. They're nice people. It'll be the end of his poor mother when they hang him."

Brown: "They won't hang him."

Jones: "Nonsense! He's confessed the whole thing. I should like to know what could save him."

Brown: "Well, I'll tell you. There's been a new Supreme Court decision which upsets all we thought we knew of legal principles."

Jones: "Indeed! What is it?"

Brown: "I'm no lawyer, but I think it's something to the effect that if the punishment for the infraction of a State law is so severe that people will not break it for the sake of testing its constitutionality, the highest tribunal in the land will pronounce against it."

Jones: "You can't have that straight, for that would be the same as saying that States must make their laws sufficiently attractive to criminals so they will break them. Not only this, but if your statement were correct, the rights of statehood would be a pricked bubble."

Brown: "I can't help that. I'm giving it to you as I got it, and I haven't given you the most unbelievable part of it either. My informant told me that the case which drew out the decision was one where, although the defendant already had infringed the law, it was held to carry a penalty so severe that he would not dare to break it as a means of testing its validity. This is a bit too much for my credulity, and I think I really was misinformed in that particular."

Jones: "Yes, I guess so, and in the other particulars too. Such reasoning wouldn't convince

a squad of anarchist-hunting policemen, let alone the highest tribunal of the land."

Brown: "Maybe not; I didn't say anything about *conviction*. The fact remains, however, that Smith's lawyer expects to prevent the hanging of his client by a Federal injunction, restraining the State from carrying out the death penalty, on the ground that death is so severe a punishment that men cannot be induced to murder in order to test the constitutionality of the law."

Jones: "But Smith has *already* murdered, and he admits it."

Brown: "Ah, yes, but he didn't do it till he did it, and couldn't test the law till he tested it, and couldn't know the result till he found it out."

Jones: "I can't understand what all that has to do with it."

Brown: "Well, then, you have the chance to write a dissenting opinion, which won't so much as move a grain of sand upon the beach. Besides, if you really understood this decision it might make an anarchist of you and cause you to have your "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress" forcibly removed from your library."

* * *

THE DAY OF OPPORTUNITY.

Portion of an Address Delivered by William Lloyd Garrison Before the Reform Club, New York, April 14, 1906.

While we have been tender of the interests of tariff beneficiaries, more solicitous to avoid disturbing them than to safeguard the rights of a victimized people, privilege has entrenched itself, dominating trade, finance and government. It is no weakling. It laughs at molycoddles and sentimental reform. It is united and compact. Fair words rebound from its hide as peas from the skin of a rhinoceros. No weapon can be too powerful to assail it.

Outspoken free traders, often rebuked for severity of speech, are finding comfort and amusement in protection utterances. Many an abolitionist, charged with intemperate language, was forced to explain that Isaiah and Jeremiah were alone responsible for it. The much-cautioned free trader has now the privilege of saying without reproach that "this graft masquerading as protection extorts from every man and woman a sum belonging by right to the purchaser," for they are the words of Mr. Miles of the National Association of Manufacturers. What was once rash to whisper it is now the fashion to shout.

Plain Speech Demanded.

Therefore, it becomes us to cultivate straight thinking and plain talk. We should discard the term "tariff reform" because slippery and evasive, not to be used when words are half-battles. Since the British protectionists have adopted the same cry to dissemble their purpose, it is doubly dis-

credited. In both countries it serves to shelter the enemies of commercial freedom. The only efficiency of American tariff reform has been to block the way. We may reform habits and character, but not theft, arson or murder.

For what end is the protective system of graft fastened upon the nation? That we may have honest service rendered to the people? The tariff is not a soil out of which honesty grows. We cannot say of its product that "honor rooted in dishonor" stands. It is dishonor rooted in ignorance and credulity, a rank weed overrunning the land.

Where the Revenues Go.

The whole burdensome system of protection yielded to the government, the past fiscal year, two hundred million dollars less than the sum squandered on war expenditure alone, army, navy and pensions. Every dollar raised from the necessities of the people through the suppression of natural industries and the artificial support of wasteful ones, has been flung into the great cauldron of war, whose poisonous fumes stifle the humanity, the common sense and the Christianity of the nation.

The tariff revenue inequitably extorted from American consumers is but a fraction of the vastly greater sum taken by the tariff beneficiaries, according to my protection authority, Mr. Miles—a total graft of ten billion dollars since the enactment of the Dingley bill. It staggers even the free trader to conceive the human woe caused to the people of this country by such a diversion from the pockets of labor to those of plunder.

A party that presented such an indictment against its opponent, pressing it earnestly upon the intelligence of the voters, could sweep the country. The victims do not understand it. When spoliators largely control the sources of public information and the organs of opinion, how easy to deceive and befog! We need an army of reformers with the power of explanation and the patience to endure, with no ambitious motives and the courage to speak the truth though it blisters and burns. Only crusades of enlightenment avert revolutions of force, for which the danger signals are now set.

Weathercocks Veer with the Wind.

Of little account is that zeal that flames up before election, only to die down to the socket when the votes are counted. A nation's progress is not discerned by the historian from the puppets who gain place and power, but from the thought and impulse of the sluggish common people. When the sufferers realize the facts and move, the weathercocks veer with automatic precision. Whoever expected Cannon and Dalzell to be piously mentioning the need of tariff reform? The tendency of the under forces determined, the programs of the magnates matter little. We shall see some present magnificent schemes shattered. If one believed that the imperial forecasts of tem-

porary rulers, possessed by the demon of imperialism and spectacular fleets, could be realized, there would be reason for despondency, but "things refuse to be mismanaged long," said Emerson, and a time-call on national mismanagement is overdue.

Paradoxical as it is to have the English free traders anathematizing a proposal which to our tariff reformers is the summit of aspiration, the British course is based on reason and experience, ours on a sentimental fallacy. When did the camel of privilege ever get its head into the tent without its body following? For us to exclude the body and graciously leave the head, is to insure the beast's readmission. Years may be spent in the gradual reduction of duties, but a criminal mania for big navies, a single manufactured war-scare, a reckless two billion dollar congress, each or all may, in a twinkling, pump up the tariff to the inflation point. Our fixed demand should be, "No revenue from indirect taxes!" They are a sluice-way to protection. More than that, they postpone the day when national resources will no longer be replenished from impoverished industry, but drawn solely from the taxation of privilege—a sufficient fund for any just government.

Felicitously did Lord Cromer, at Manchester, express his respect for avowed protectionists, sailing under true colors and inviting a good, rough-and-tumble fight; and his dislike of tariff reformers, who reminded him of pirates under the guise of merchantmen, capturing a prize before running up the Jolly Roger and scuttling the ship. Let us free ourselves from cant and embarrassing associations if we are earnest in the struggle.

More Than a Question of Party Supremacy.

Without exaggeration, we face an epoch dramatically historical. Its issues are more comprehensive than those involved in the civil war. Thoughtful observers are comparing the impelling forces of to-day with those of the last fifty years of the Roman republic and the earlier years of the empire. It is not a question of party supremacy confronting us, merely involving a change of officials and laws which can easily be reversed when public opinion demands. We are in a region of larger issues. The survival of republican government is in the balance, and confirmation of bastard imperial policies is urged upon the people of the United States. It is a question of class rule against the people's rule. "Under which king, Bezonian? Speak or die!"

Measured by years, it is not a far cry to the Cleveland days; measured by events, the distance seems a century. Never before has the vast power vested in the President been so arbitrarily exercised; never has the unconsulted nation been committed to such momentous departures from its avowed principles; never has the control of the legislative branches been so concentrated—in the Senate by the trusts, in the House by the despot-

ism of the Speaker and committees. Never have so many important questions been decided by the bare majority in the Supreme Court. And this is not a record of Russian methods.

I do not wander from my text. The genesis of these departures from democratic ideals is found in the tariff-mother of trusts, whose progeny the government threatens while it dare not touch the prolific source. To such a monstrous size has the tiny tariff-bounty for infant industries grown! It overclouds the land.

We need to recognize the forces against which we contend. It is no holiday affair, no simple struggle of a campaign. It is "a death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word," certain to shake the nation to its depths. It is a contest not to be lightly entered upon, and involves sacrifices and sufferings, ever the price of liberty. Yet the outlook is not without its consolations. Our strongest allies unexpectedly come from the party of protection, to my mind a more hopeful recruiting ground than that of their opponents.

Losses That Are Gains.

Losses from our ranks occasioned by an upright attitude are turning into substantial gains. Men scorning to trifle with great issues are not tempted to join movements water-logged with doubt and irresolution. When floaters are eliminated they are more than replaced with adherents worthy of the cause. At hand is an untouched reserve of conscience unavailable while the flag of expediency flies at the head of the reform procession. Summon it, and we unlock a fountain of moral strength and passionate enthusiasm. When liberty seemed dead and the democratic experiment a failure, the shot at Sumter effected a resurrection, revealing a latent sentiment all unsuspected till multitudes rushed in defense to offer life, fortune and sacred honor.

The same conditions surround us. What the anti-slavery agitation did to prepare the country for the uprising, long years of tariff agitation and recent trust exposures have done to equip us for the impending crisis. Again party names are meaningless, bewildered members responding to bugles from the opposite camp. Whichever organization triumphs, a loosening of party ties is the logical necessity. Disintegration is active and separating lines are vague.

Hopeful Indications.

The day of opportunity is dawning, although the farthest-sighted man is unable to forecast fast shaping events. The factors are many and mixed, but that, even after a deeper plunge in the mire of materialism and false glory, we shall emerge on real democratic ground, it were fatal to doubt. The leader, able to reflect an epoch, to discern the latent moral forces, and to judge at their true value the obtrusive clamor of the subservient, is yet to appear. Whoever he be, across his path

lies the dragon of protection. May he be champion enough to welcome the conflict. But as sure as civilization shakes off its pests for a fresh advance, the prophecy of Ernest Crosby will be realized, that "the ruins of our custom houses will seem to our descendants as monstrous a relic of barbarism as the amphitheatre for gladiatorial shows and contests with wild beasts."

* * *

MUTTERINGS OF A MILLIONAIRE.

I believe in Darwin's theory,
That the fittest shall survive;
For it answers well the query,
Why you pull and let us drive.

When you turn to know the reason,
Why you walk that we may ride,
That were anarchy and treason;
Nothing else was ever tried.

Science says that we are stronger
Than the dreamer, with his dreams.
Science says our heads are longer
Than the broader ones with schemes.

Science says that men are many,
Most of whom will draw but blanks;
So to each we throw a penny,
And receive his humble thanks.

Science says that facts and figures,
Be they even dry as dust,
Ought to satisfy the diggers,
Each to take his humble crust.

We shall count as blackest schism,
And shall use our utmost tact
To denounce each cult and ism,
Not in harmony with fact.

In the struggle for existence,
They are winners in the strife
Who can show the least resistance
To a sordid, selfish life.

Facts are facts, and scorn your fiction
That now strives to look afar,
Without capital's restriction
Ties its wagon to a star.

We will give you work and wages,
With free books to read to boot;
All excepting doubtful pages,
That contain forbidden fruit.

You may have a vine-clad cottage,
If you'll pay the landlord's rent;
There enjoy your mess of pottage,
With your birthright we're content.

— F. Finsterbach.

* * *

"Willie, when we're grown up we'll marry, won't we?"

"Sure we will, Gracie!"

"Only you'll have to ask me about a dozen times, 'cause when I'm a big girl I'm going to be modest, and painfully shy, and awfully hard to suit."—Chicago Tribune.

BOOKS

MENTAL HEALING

Mental Healing. By Leander Edmund Whipple. New York. The Metaphysical Publishing Co. Price, \$1.50.

Among the many exponents of the movement designated in the title of his book, Mr. Whipple stands foremost as a cool, unimpassioned reasoner, drawing his conclusions from clearly stated premises which only the rankest materialist may unqualifiedly dispute.

As a close and observing student in the science of correspondences, he conditions all physical efforts on mental or spiritual causes, though one less positive and experienced than Mr. Whipple might question the infallibility of human judgment in this direction. Admitting the general fact that physical disturbances are the outshooting of mental habit or of thought picturing, it would still seem to require a more delicate perception of occult causes than is commonly possessed to determine the exact source of the effects that are to be remedied. None the less Mr. Whipple cites numerous well-authenticated instances where patients given up to die of hopeless diseases have been healed by a simple change and removal of the mental action that had produced the physical ills.

We may smile a little skeptically over this unfamiliar diagnosis and cure of disease, but one may not dispute what has not perhaps been absolutely proven in personal experience. Who would not be glad to find in countless cases the physician that Macbeth sought for his wife—one who could “minister to a mind diseased; pluck out from memory a rooted sorrow; raze out the written troubles of the brain, and with some sweet oblivious antidote cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff which weighs upon the heart”?

Mr. Whipple does not find anything miraculous in metaphysical healing which appeals to the intelligence as a simple fulfillment of law on its spiritual and natural planes.

The law is inexorable: Act against it and you will inevitably suffer its penalties: Co-operate with it and you will as certainly share its goodness.

In conclusion the author remarks:

No one is expected to believe, simply because it is asserted, any statement that from his standpoint seems unreasonable, but each is asked to suspend judgment until opportunity is found for adequate examination of the subject. . . . In lines of action similar to those explained discordant mental emotion underlies every known disease. Though at first sight many of the modes are intricate and difficult for the untrained mind to perceive, yet they are clearly explainable to the intelligent observer. . . . The one eternal fact of existence is the progressive

action of real life, a perpetually revolving wheel of active law at every turn of which fresh facts are brought to the surface exposing to view principles of value to every individual. . . . If we are withstanding the eternal advancement of universal law we must eventually become engulfed in the spiritual wave of vital progress which is now surging through the soul of intelligent man cleansing his faculties of every obstructive influence, and purifying every purpose.

A. L. M.

* * *

THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOUL

The Discovery of the Soul. By Floyd B. Wilson. New York. R. F. Fenno & Co Price, \$1.

The author of “Paths to Power,” “Man Limitless,” etc., gives in the present volume a number of well-written essays bearing on the spiritual realities which, though a man of active affairs, he has found time to study with the zeal of a genuine truth-lover. If he rejects conventional standards of thought in many directions it is because he would seek the real and permanent underlying the false and evanescent, however much there might still be to prove untrue in his latest conclusion. For it is evident that the investigator cannot claim to arrive at a full and comprehensive understanding of the universal scheme of things when he says:

The fundamental principles of all the various philosophies as to man's future state, originating from what country or civilization they may, were founded on the hopes and desires of man with the unfoldment he then had in grasping what might fulfill those hopes and desires beyond. It is strange in this age that many argue as they do to uphold propositions in the philosophy they stand for when that philosophy is one that has been handed down by those whose unfoldment could grasp no more; and yet plausible acceptance is given it by thinkers of to-day whose development tells them that life has grander and nobler aims, that man has evolved to greater powers and that he is beginning to realize that death is only a change when the material selfhood is discarded and that he must live and grow forever.

With this proviso Mr. Wilson's philosophy is also subject to higher revisions, and we accept it as in a pleasing state of unfoldment, with luminous flashes here and there that make it both entertaining and helpful.

“The Discovery of the Soul” follows the lines of evolution in human development, and traces man's steady ascent from the lowest conceptions of God and the uses of life, to the loftiest ideas of love and justice which are now beginning to cast the faint rays of the dawn of a new day. Mr. Wilson's philosophy of life is in the highest degree optimistic, and his consciousness of a surrounding and pervading atmosphere of spiritual light and power is uncommonly vivid and strong. There is no wailing over the seeming mistakes

and disasters of our human lot, but tracing the course of historical events down to the present time he spells out the lesson of the aphorism: "Whatever is, is right."

"More and more do I feel," he says, "as I study the powers of the soul and the growing receptivity of objective consciousness to appropriate its wisdom, that a revelation of truth is soon to be presented of such moment as to startle the multitude, make millions of volumes which have been called learned only valuable because they record what man once was, and further to disclose that intellectuality and mysticism are at last blending into each other, creating a new man—a free man."

A. L. M.

LATTER-DAY PIRACY.

The Magnet. A Romance of the Battles of Modern Giants. By Alfred O. Crozier. Illustrated by Wallace Morgan. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York and London. Price \$1.50.

The exceedingly narrow chasm which separates the economics and ethics of Wall street operations from those of crooked gambling dens, is suggested at the outset and kept in view to the end of this story of latter-day piracy.

Barney Bailey is a broken down "short-card" gambler who doesn't know whether a Wall street "option" is the right to three throws on the red "when there is no notch to stop the wheel on the red," or would win double on four aces dealt from a pack containing only three; but upon learning from two Wall street leaders the rules of their game he enlightens them, out of his own wealth of criminal experience, as to its possibilities.

"It strikes me," Barney summed up after some moments of deep thought, "it strikes me that you have a machine which can be made to induce everybody in America to gamble to their finish, once you get them going. Why, gents," he cried, waxing enthusiastic as the certainty of it dawned upon him, "it beats faro, monte, the shell game, and the wheel of fortune to a stand still. Sometimes a player will watch you so close in them that you have to let him win or risk gun-play. Then, again, the brake may go back on you, and you stop the machine on the wrong number, so the player rakes in your coin. But in your game you can't be beat. You don't even let him see the cards or the machine he plays with, and he wouldn't understand it if he did. He must always take your word that the play was fair and that you won his money honorably."

Thereupon Barney gave the advice which led on to the battles of the Wall street giants. The rest of the story is in the book.

Editor: "The false items are the ones I like best. They cost nothing to begin with, and then my paper is the only one that has them."—Lustige Blatter.

PROGRESS AND DISCONTENT.

Probreza y Discontento: Su Causa y Remedio. By Dr. Iatros Makarios Zoydes, Chargé d'Affaires at Washington. By order of Anthony H. Molinas, Minister of Education at Athens, Greece. Translated into Spanish from the third Greek edition by Dr. Bios. Also a translation of "An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII," from "The Condition of Labor," by Henry George. Published by F. Sempere & Co., Valencia, Spain. Paper, 233 pages, price 50 cents.

Count Zoydes was chosen by Minister Molinas to investigate and write upon the subject of economic distress throughout the civilized world, because of his knowledge gained by a long residence in Germany, England and the United States as a representative of Greece. He was advised of Minister Molinas' desire that he undertake this task by a letter from Mr. B. S. Delyannis, Minister of Foreign Affairs. This letter is printed as an introduction to the book, and explains that the demand for this information is due to the great poverty prevailing in Greece, which forces thousands of Greeks annually to migrate to other lands. He states that the 207 members of the Greek Parliament, and college professors and various economists ascribe the conditions to all manner of grotesque causes propounded by different doctrinaires, from Malthus to Marx. There is also an equal confusion of opinion as to the solution of the problem, where any is offered. Indeed, the Greek statesman seems to equal in agility his American prototype in the matter of sidestepping fundamental reforms. Count Zoydes handles the subject of poverty, its cause and cure, entirely from the single tax standpoint.

C. L. LOGAN.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Socialists at Work. By Robert Hunter, author of "Poverty," etc. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. Price \$1.50 net.

—The Next Step in Evolution. By I. K. Funk, D. D., LL. D. Published by Funk & Wagnalls, New York and London. Price 50 cents net.

—The Physical Basis of Civilization. A Revised Version of "Psychic and Economic Results of Man's Physical Uprightness." By T. W. Heineman. Published by Forbes & Company, Chicago.

—Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford: A Cheerful Account of the Rise and Fall of an American Business Buccaneer. By George Randolph Chester. Published by Henry Altemus Company, Philadelphia. Price \$1.50.

—Progress and Poverty. An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of Increase of Want with Increase of Wealth. By Henry George, author of "The Science of Political Economy," "Protection or Free Trade?" "Social Problems," "A Perplexed Philosopher," "The Condition of Labor," "The

Land Question," "Property in Land," etc. Twenty-fifth Anniversary Edition, with Medallion Portrait of Henry George by his son, Richard T. George. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

—Proceedings of the Providence Conference for Good City Government and the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League. Held November 19, 20, 21, 22, 1907, at Providence. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Editor. Published by the National Municipal League, Philadelphia.

Agent: "How can I manage to secure your attention for a few minutes to the subject of an investment in mining stock?"

Victim (who is already interested in six mining companies): "You can't manage to do it at all unless you can make a noise like a dividend."—Chicago Tribune,

* * *

The philanthropical Fifth avenue lady was visiting a lower East Side Sunday school. To test the

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aptness of a particularly indigent cluster of pupils, she took the class in hand to question them.

"Children, which is the greatest of all virtues?"

Not one answered.

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A grimy fist went up.

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