

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

Houses Without Sites.

The ingenious Mr. Edison is about to show the working classes how to get good houses cheap. But who will show them how to get places cheap to put the houses on?



An Historical Coincidence.

The world's great leader in radical land reform, whose seventieth birthday is about to be celebrated, used to admonish his enthusiastic followers that the practical work of realizing his and their ideal would hardly be done by men of their type, but rather by practical politicians who would shrink from proclaiming and might not even see the ideal before them.



There is nothing remarkable about that admonition. It was only a prophetic application, to a particular movement, of the lesson of all the idealistic movements of history. Men of far-seeing vision and the courage and iconoclasm of their inmost convictions, are seldom capable of the fitting and fussing that are necessary to social readjustments. Usually they have neither the temperament nor the training for those experimental and secondary tasks. It would be an interesting historical coincidence, however, if the world's leader in the practical political work of realizing the ideal which Henry George saw in his vision and planned for at his desk, should be of the same

name yet not of the same kin with himself. But such a coincidence seems to be altogether probable. The practical work of realizing the Prophet of San Francisco's ideal of freeing labor from exploitation by freeing land from monopolization, today in the hands of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, seems likely to link the name of David Lloyd George with that of Henry George in the relation of statesman and prophet, of builder and pioneer.

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Henry George and Lloyd George.

Henry George's seventieth birthday approaches in the midst of a tremendous struggle in British politics toward the realization of what he lived for and dying prayed for. And the Parliamentary leader, a man unknown to him when he lived and only recently known at all beyond the circle of personal friends, bears his own name.

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It might be supposed that Lloyd George is not doing Henry George's work, since he asks for so little of what Henry George demanded. But he is in fact struggling along the very lines of political approach that Henry George formulated and advocated. The ideal that Henry George proclaimed, the ultimate demand he made, was indeed that land monopoly be abolished. Having seen in it a denial of natural right, and a subversion of natural laws, condemning the masses of men to hard and degrading slavery as social development goes on, he did not stop short of total abolition. But he was no irrational dreamer. He knew that an evil so firmly rooted in the very constitution of society, and so necessary to the power of the privileged few, could not be uprooted with wish-bone mummery.

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The question of method confronted him. "How shall we do it?" he asked. And he turned for answer to the "axiom of statesmanship which the successful founders of tyranny have understood and acted upon—that great changes can best be brought about under old forms." Conforming to that axiom, he proposed not to disturb private titles to land; but, instead, to take for common purposes the premiums which social growth gives to different locations in varying degree, and which we know colloquially as ground rents or ground value. But here he was confronted with still another question of method: How should those premiums be appraised and collected. His answer was this: "We already take some rent in taxation;

we have only to make some changes in our modes of taxation to take it all."

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He proposed to take for common use all the premiums on location. But this was his ideal, to be attained at once if possible, but progressively if necessary. That he did not expect so great a change to be accomplished at once, he makes perfectly clear in proposing, not that the taking of all these premiums or rent or land values be the first step, but that the first step be the abolition of "all taxation save that upon land values," and that the loss of other taxes be made up from this source. After this he regarded further progress as a mere matter of going on. It was not his plan, however, to stickle for the total abolition of other taxes as the first step, any more than it was to stickle for the application of his entire proposal instantly and logically. What he stood for as the first step was any step in that direction, however slight, however inadequate, however imperfect.

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And what but this is Lloyd George doing today? He is not proposing to abolish private property in land, nor to take all land values for common use, nor to abolish all taxes except upon land values, nor to be perfectly logical in applying the principle. But he is proposing to tax some land values in some degree. This of itself might indeed be of little moment, of little significance. It is done in the United States without a Georgian significance. Land value taxes here are larger than Lloyd George is imposing, but they are not based upon the theory that land values are communal in character; the theory here is that all property, land included, ought to be taxed. Not so with Lloyd George, and this is what makes his land reform movement significant. His struggle for the taxation of land values is based upon the solid Georgian ground that land values are communal in character and therefore essentially a common fund; and to make their recognition as such complete he establishes an Imperial system of land valuation and revaluation.

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Under those circumstances, it makes little difference how slight the exaction. Any exaction at all, with frequent revaluations and upon the basis of communal right, is a blow at the vitals of the whole pernicious system, not only in England but everywhere else. David of old slew Goliath with a pebble from the brook in Elah, which he sunk with a sling into the forehead of that giant of Gath.

This modern David, this Welsh David, this David Lloyd George has gone forth to slay Land Monopoly with a pebble, only a pebble, from the brook of Henry George's philosophy. But his pebble too is aimed straight at the center of the giant's forehead. And that the giant knows it, is evident from his bellowing.

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We make a mistake if we imagine that the virtue of the land value clauses of the British financial bill is in the amount of tax proposed. We make a mistake if we imagine it would be a better bill with a somewhat heavier tax, or even a more consistent schedule of taxes. We make a mistake if we think Lloyd George would have done better to make no compromise, no concessions. The vitally important thing about his bill is its recognition of the Georgian principle and its provision for the imperial valuation and revaluation of land. In these clauses he has made no compromises. The land is to be valued and valued again and again so that the people shall see how their own social growth is coined into more and more money for a privileged caste and privileged capitalistic interests. Let that be done, and the people of England will soon do the rest. The privileged interests foresee this, and oppose the bill bitterly. They care nothing for the trifling tax; they care much for the process of valuations which will expose their graft. The Chancellor of the Exchequer also sees it and forces the measure through unchanged in those respects. Evidently he cares less for the amount of the tax than for the principle, less for the tax itself than for the valuation. The valuation is the pebble which David Lloyd George has aimed at the center of the forehead of Landlordism. If it sinks in, Landlordism will fall. Let the land values of any country be displayed before the public eye in black and white, as they increase with the country's growth, and the land value tax will strengthen fast enough. If we had had such a valuation in the census statistics of this country for the past twenty-five years, our own system of land monopoly would be dying now.

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Political Commotion in Mexico.

The little news dispatches from Mexico that go floating through the American press now and then, should be watched with more than ordinary attention. Between the lines may be read the possibilities of a revolution against the despotic rule Diaz (p. 541) maintains in behalf of American investors of high degree. In September 1910, the time for the Presidential election comes around.

Diaz has carried the elections, term after term, by abrogating the Constitution, and he will probably try it again—if not for himself, for a chosen successor. Mexico's Constitution is in many respects more democratic than our own. It aims at popular government, and guarantees freedom of speech, of the press and of elections. But all the safeguards of popular sovereignty have been cynically thrown down by Diaz. There is no freedom of speech or of the press, the country is ruled by a standing army of "rurales" in evidence in every rural community, and the elections are a farce. There is but one political party, not because political sentiment is harmonious but because an opposition party is not tolerated. It is death or worse than death to be actively identified with political opposition to the dynasty. No people will long tolerate such usurpation, and as the Presidential election draws near, during the next twelve months Mexico may become a news center of the first magnitude. Meanwhile let it be observed in reading news dispatches from that unhappy country, that it is one of the easiest tricks of tyranny, to discredit patriotic upheavals by describing revolutionary movements as bandit raids.

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Flower's New Magazine.

Although the old *Arena* (p. 741) magazine be abandoned in consequence of its bankruptcy, its spirit will enter into a new one under the editorship of B. O. Flower, who founded the *Arena*. For many years the *Arena* was a power in the land. Throughout the West it could be found in the nineties in the home of almost any family of thoughtful people, and this although the price was double that of the other magazines and its readers were of the class to whom a quarter more or less makes a difference. But an attempt to make the *Arena* conservative, which involved the displacement of Mr. Flower as editor, ruined the magazine both in circulation and influence, and despite the strenuous efforts of Mr. Flower, upon his return to its editorship, and of Mr. Brandt, who has sacrificed a profitable business as its last publisher, it never quite recovered its old place. One reason, probably, is the fact that there are lighter magazines now which supply in a measure the demand that only the *Arena* attempted to supply a decade or two ago. But these magazines, useful as they are, do not fill the actual need. They aim to please all men in all things rather than to instruct any one in anything. In this way they get large circulations and can sell for low prices; but by the same token they are

not dependable. The celerity with which they dropped "muckraking"—meaning effective exposures of respectable crime—when the organs of the respectable criminals complained, is an illustration. It is impossible, of course, for magazines that make teaching their mission, to compete with those that endeavor primarily to please the frivolous; but it is to be hoped that Mr. Flower may find again as good a field of publication as he possessed with the *Arena* fifteen years ago. His new magazine is to be called the *Twentieth Century Magazine*, and is to be devoted to constructive democracy, social and economic progress and individual development, its keynote being expressed in the belief that "if this Republic is to become and remain the true leader of democratic civilization, moral and civic idealism rather than force and materialistic aggrandizement must be the keynote of our national life." The first number, due in less than a month, is to have articles from Hamlin Garland, George Wharton James, Theodore Curti (the distinguished Swiss journalist and statesman) and Francis Marshall Elliot. The address of Mr. Flower's new magazine is 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

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Unique Military Valor.

In the make-believe military campaign for the capture of Boston, it was reported that the New York Seventh (the noted "plute" regiment) "bore the brunt of the firing" on the 19th, "being in the thick of it from early morning." This is good news. Even if New York's "Seventh" hasn't figured valiantly in deadly wars (vol. i, no. 4, p. 4; no. 5, p. 3), it can at any rate bear the brunt of the firing in the very thick of mimic warfare.

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Bishop Williams and Mr. Rockefeller's Son.

Bishop Williams of Michigan (pp. 666, 673) has publicly apologized for seeming to have made in a recent sermon, an attack upon the personal character of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. In his apology, which appears in the *New York Times* of August 15, he says he hadn't the slightest idea of attacking any one personally. He "was dealing with a certain philosophy of the world as contrasted with the gospel of Christ"—the philosophy, that is, "of those who advocate the suppression of the weak and unfit in the interest of the development of the strong and capable, as contrasted with the teaching and practice of Him who 'came to seek and to save the lost.'" One phrase of his famous sermon, "written and spoken in the heat of indignation," the Bishop regrets, and for this

he apologizes as having been in the nature of a personal attack. - His allusion is to the characterization of young Mr. Rockefeller as "a young scion of wealth and greed, possessed of more dollars than ideas." Going beyond the limits of a formal apology, the Bishop cordially declares with reference to that outburst that he has no doubt "Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., is, as his friends say he is, 'loved by all who know him, not for his money, but for his singular purity, personal conscientiousness, and the thoughtfulness of his whole life.'"

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This is a gracious apology, and we trust that Mr. Rockefeller's indignant defenders will be satisfied. It is not altogether likely, however, for Bishop Williams does not extend his apology beyond the inadvertent personal attack which his assault upon Mr. Rockefeller's supposed philosophy of life led him into. On the contrary the Bishop "goes for" that philosophy again with all his might, and we rather suspect that the indignation which his wholesome sermon evoked, burned hotter in behalf of the philosophy than of the young man. The circumstances make it well worth while, at any rate, to quote pretty fully from the Bishop's addendum to his apology.

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Referring to his sermon, he states that in illustrating the un-Christian philosophy of the world, he "found Mr. Rockefeller's now familiar analogy from the cultivation of the American Beauty rose admirably to the point." This illustration, he then explains that he is now informed, was used by Mr. Rockefeller "in a college essay to illustrate the natural evolution of combinations in the business world and not the deliberate policy of commercial assassinations as notoriously practiced by our great corporations by means of secret rebates from the railroads, both on their shipments and also on the shipments of their smaller competitors; secret and paid espionage upon their rivals' business, manipulation of legislation, etc., ad nauseam." Thereupon this Bishop, of whom we could wish there were many more as acute in ethical perception and as courageous in Christian expression, describes the circumstances under which he gave unintended personal offense:

With natural evolution of industrial and commercial combinations, I have no quarrel. It seems to me beneficial in the long run if accompanied *paripassu* by a larger and larger governmental control and the socialization of the resulting benefits. But I cannot see how the analogy used illustrates such a natural evolution, while it most aptly pictures the policy of commercial assassination referred to. At

any rate, I took the illustration in that very obvious sense, and that policy, it seems to me, it is the duty of every Christian minister and every man with a conscience to denounce as dishonorable and ruthlessly unjust and oppressive; in a word, utterly antagonistic to Christian ethics. Many leaders in our business world seem to have a dual or divided conscience—a conscience, that is, which is keen and sensitive to the point of scrupulosity as to technical pieties and even the minor morals of personal conduct, while it is color blind in the region of the larger or social ethics. Perhaps they are more to be pitied as the victims of the "system" of "big business" in which they are inextricably involved, rather than condemned as the deliberate framers of its execrable policies. They are possibly more the creatures of their environment than the creators thereof. It is that system and the philosophy which inspires it which I attacked in my sermon, and against that system and philosophy it seems to me the bounden duty of every man who has conscience and courage to "cry aloud and spare not."

* * *

A FRIENDLY REFORMATION.

The American people have just been treated to a sample of tariff revision "by its friends." Burglary revision by its friends would sound as logical in theory and net quite as much in practice.

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The tariff as a means of raising revenue for government is an unmitigated evil, it is the sneak thief method of getting revenue, and its baleful moral effects can be readily seen in the degeneracy of our national legislators.

In those tariff debates the utter meanness of the system was brought clearly into view—narrowness, selfishness, greed, cowardice, treachery (the so-called "jokers"), and every other unlovely quality of the human makeup, hypocrisy being all but universal.

*

The wretched pretense that all this legal stealing is for the benefit of the American workingman is a very unhandsome compliment to his intelligence, his industrial efficiency, and his self-respect. The notion that he cannot sustain himself unless the whole nation's pockets are picked in his interest is as interesting as it is immoral and absurd.

The same intellectual gymnasts who advocate tariffs for protection, will in one breath boast of the skill of the American workingman and compare him with his foreign brothers to their vast disadvantage, yet insist in the next that he cannot hope to compete unless sheltered behind that perverted form of incongruous paternalism, a tariff.

*

"Tariff reform by its friends" is like the word

"protection." It is catchy, benevolently countenanced, insidious and when analyzed, silly.

Labor is the one vital, virile, irresistible force, in all the world of men, that does not need protection and can not get it. Labor alone can protect laboring men. And it can do it by but one method: by producing food, clothing, shelter, fuel, machinery, factories, ships, railroads, out of the ground, and using them on, in and over the ground. It will continue to do this as long as the ground is accessible; and the only possible thing which can in any noticeable measure prevent this good and necessary union is the system at present in vogue everywhere, which rewards men for holding ground out of use and punishes them with increased taxation for using it,—a species of economic insanity, evil to the last degree—also universal, and very respectable.

The only men who will reform the tariff are its enemies, not its friends. Imagine slavery being reformed or abolished by slave owners!

Every evil system that has tortured the soul and degraded the body of man has been overthrown by the men and women who were sufficiently clear sighted to weigh the institution in the scales of truth, and test it by its merits alone and not by the selfish interests involved in it. To expect any decent reformation of the tariff by its friends is to expect virtue to flow from vice.

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Even those industries demanding free raw materials are impelled by pure selfishness and economic interest, not by any broad statesmanship or lofty motive.

This whole festering pool of political corruption, inseparable from our present system of Federal taxation, has bred and nurtured a generation of political jackals, who, like their owners and operators, the corporate monopolies, prey on the necessities of the poor. The Congressional debates on this subject defy comparison with anything short of a conclave of thieves quarreling over their spoils.

It has bred a race of politicians of such quality that an honest man in public life who is also capable, excites universal wonder, curiosity and admiration. Plutocracy never questions the motives of an Aldrich, they are too well known to need questioning; but when a United States Senator publicly announces himself the champion of the whole people instead of some special interest, as is usually the case, his motives are at once and always looked upon askance by the organs of privilege.

The tariff as a means of raising revenue will no longer do on the grounds of sufficiency alone. Uncle Sam must look elsewhere for funds. And as a means of protecting labor it is a monstrous fraud. The Senate debates on this subject prove it; the fact that labor needs unions in protected industries proves it; the history of the whole system proves it; and if further proof were necessary, the condition of labor in the United States proves it best of all. Labor does not need "protection"; it does need self-respect and larger opportunities.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WESTERN PROSPERITY ON THE SPOT.

Wichita, Kansas, August 15, 1909.

Great is the State of Kansas. Its boundaries include one of the immensely productive agricultural regions with which our country is so lavishly blest. I refrain from entering into statistics. Our State publications do this, and some of them read like a romance. But I will recite a few facts.

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The city of Wichita has been dramatic in the extreme, as illustrating the criminal folly of our present system of land tenures.

Twenty years ago the big boom here reached its zenith. Values were preposterously high. Fortunes were made by those who sold, and lost by those who bought.

Then came the crash. Special trains carried away the thousands who fled like rats from a sinking ship. As the population shrank, so shrank land values.

The thrifty and far sighted saw their opportunity and bought, and now they are selling at twenty times the price paid or, more likely, waiting for a further advance.

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Now as to the State.

It is indeed a garden, and fortunate are they who secured quarter-section titles when they cost little or nothing.

There is some disposition in the East to scout the idea that farmers are using automobiles to any great extent. But they are. Great numbers of automobiles are purchased and used by Kansas farmers. In one little town I recently visited, with a population of only 300, there were said to be forty automobiles. Practically the whole population could ride out of town on them. But they don't want to. They want to stay. They have got a snap. Crops are good year after year and prices are high.

That is a story of prosperity, but the prosperity stops short when we get through with the lucky fellows who were on hand early enough to get the land for little or nothing.

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Some of those early-comers didn't stop with get-

ting enough; they grabbed more than enough—in accordance with the system.

I am acquainted with one gentleman whose family is reputed to own over one thousand quarter-sections of 160 acres each, and I know another who owns 127 quarter-sections. These examples can be duplicated throughout the State, hundreds and perhaps thousands of times.

When it is understood that the present selling price of each good quarter-section is from \$6,000 to \$12,000, it may be realized how difficult it is for a would-be farmer without money to get a foothold. He can generally buy on easy terms, but because of enormous interest charges he practically becomes a tenant, while regular renters are, of course, coming to be more and more the rule. The famous Scully estate has a rent collection office at Marion that is said to resemble a full-fledged national bank.

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The real test of a people's prosperity is always found in the remuneration paid to its lowest class of wage earners, and we find the Kansas farm-laborer making only a bare living.

Nothing could be more farcical than the annual statement, published gleefully by Eastern papers, of big wages ready to be paid to harvest hands. The wages are from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per day for twelve to sixteen hours' work, and the harvest season lasts only for about eight days. If you will compute car fare (leaving out Pullmans and Harvey eating houses) and consider the kind of labor required, you may possibly understand why it is that the unemployed of our Eastern cities are so stubborn in not rushing to Kansas at harvest time, and solving in that way the perplexing labor problem.

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I have been much impressed while going about Southern Kansas, in noting the continual migration to supposedly cheaper land. Illinois farmers to Kansas, Kansas farmers to Oklahoma, Texas or Mexico; while there is so much land here, not used to the best advantage. The single tax is needed here, if for no other reason than to multiply the number of small farms.

You have noticed how in the big land drawing at the Northwest there were 332 blanks to one drawing. Of course many were speculators, but the fact is the same here. Hundreds have to look over the fence at the one fellow who got his land at a fair price.

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The spirit of Jerry Simpson survives in Congressman Victor Murdock. It would be worth while for the Democratic party to change its name if by so doing it could get such Republicans to detach themselves from the party of Aldrich. Senator Bristow is another good "insurgent." It is refreshing to have such men at Washington—the charm being broken only when they feel called upon to chant the praises of unworthy party chieftains.

H. W. ALLEN.

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If you would lead a life without sorrow, regard things which will happen, as if they had already happened.—Epictetus.

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, August 24, 1909.

Adoption of the Land Clauses of the British Budget.

The land clauses of the British financial bill (p. 800) were completed in committee of the whole of the House of Commons on the 21st, and the House took its first recess of the present session, adjourning for a week. Upon reassembling, the committee of the whole will go to work upon the remaining clauses of the bill, and when that is done, the bill in its entirety will be adopted by the Commons in formal session, whereupon it will go to the House of Lords.

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As finally formulated by the committee of the whole in the Commons, some alterations in the bill as originally presented by the Ministry had been made. The more important changes were as follows: (1) the cost of valuing all the lands of the Kingdom has been transferred from the land owners to the Imperial exchequer; (2) the land of friendly societies is granted special exemptions; (3) appeals from decisions of the valuation commission are allowed; and (4) the proposed tax upon the capital value of mineral deposits is withdrawn and a tax on actual royalties and rents of mines substituted for it. But the principle of land-value taxation is preserved, and there has been no yielding on the part of the Ministry in their demand for an Imperial valuation of all land to be followed by frequent revaluations.

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The profound significance of the land clauses in the budget, just adopted in committee of the whole, may be inferred from the attacks that have been made upon them by the Tory organs. The subjoined quotations from the leading editorial in the London Daily Telegraph of the 10th tells the story with more than verbal eloquence. It is a comment upon the reception Mr. Asquith gave to a deputation from the great popular demonstration at Hyde Park, July 24 (p. 727), attended by 500,000 people, 200,000 of whom had marched in procession to the place with society banners. There were 12 speaking platforms, arranged in an extended semi-circle, in order to accommodate the immense crowd of people; and among the speak-

ers at the different platforms were R. L. Outhwaite, Rev. Stewart Headlam, Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald, E. G. Hemmerde, M. P., James Busby, Joseph Fels, Joseph Martin, K. C., Hon. Mrs. Wedgwood, Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell, John Hodge, M. P., W. P. Byles, M. P., John Paul, Miss Sybella Gurney, Alex. MacKendrick, Percy Alden, M. P., Edward McHugh, Fred Skirrow, D. M. Edwards, Thos. F. Walker, J. P., Lord Lyveden, Sir Richard Stapley, Sir William Bruce, Sir Henry Colton, T. P. Ritzema, J. P., Rev. Fleming Williams, J. Hyder, Mrs. Conybear and Rt. Hon. Thomas Lough, M. P. Of the 12 platforms, 9 were supported by organizations and presided over by representatives of the organizations respectively, as follows: London Liberal Federation, W. H. Dickinson, M. P.; Land Law Reform Association, Jas. Rowlands, M. P.; London Society of Compositors, C. W. Bowerman, M. P.; United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, J. C. Wedgwood, M. P.; Trades Union Congress, Harry Gosling, L. C. C. (London County Council); Labor Party, Keir Hardie, M. P.; Women's Liberal Federation, Miss Florence Balfour; National Liberal Club, Capt. The Hon. Fitzroy Hemphill, L. C. C.; and Land Nationalization Society, Aneurin Williams, J. P. The other chairmen were N. W. Hubbard, J. P., Dr. John Clifford, and Alfred Mond, M. P. On the 9th the deputation appointed by this meeting for the purpose of presenting the resolutions to the ministry, appeared before the Prime Minister, headed by James Rowlands, M. P., of the Land Law Reform Association. After explaining that the deputation was perhaps the most representative of any deputation which had had the privilege of being received by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rowlands handed Mr. Asquith a copy of the resolution, which was in the following terms:

That this meeting heartily welcomes the important provisions contained in the budget for taxing monopolies and socially created wealth, and particularly for securing a complete valuation of all land in the United Kingdom, holding this to be essential to any policy of land and social reform. It further hopes that the Government will firmly resist any mutilation of their proposals dictated by selfish interests, and will seek an early opportunity for so extending them as to secure the best use of the land, which must result in increased employment, better housing for the people, and greater prosperity for our national industries.

The reply of Mr. Asquith, as reported by the London Times of the 10th, was as follows:

When my friend Mr. Rowlands suggested that I should have the pleasure and privilege of receiving you here this afternoon I confess that I was tempted to put to him the question—What useful purpose can our meeting together serve? But when I found from him that your object was not that we should have an interchange of compliments and speeches—because I think that in these matters we are all at

one—but that you should have the opportunity of showing to me, as representing the Government, what I shall be very glad vicariously to show to my colleagues—namely, the extremely representative character, the exceptionally representative character, of the great demonstration which was held the other day, and the importance, therefore, that is to be attached to the resolution which, after due consideration and free deliberation on the part of the framers, was, I understand, unanimously carried at that enormous gathering—when, I say, it was pointed out to me that that was your object, I may say I was only too glad to have the opportunity of receiving personally from you the resolution which my friend Mr. Rowlands has just handed to me. So far as I know there is no proposition in that resolution—I have been reading it through—to which I should do anything but express my own individual assent, and I have no reason to think that there is any proposition in it from which any of my colleagues dissent. I can assure you that it will give me extreme pleasure to communicate it to them, and it will receive from them, as it will from myself, grateful, respectful, and sympathetic consideration.

The thanks of the deputation were expressed to the Prime Minister by Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P., who is a lineal descendant of the founder of the Wedgwood potteries and himself one of that world famous industrial concern. As noted above he had presided on one of the platforms at the Hyde Park meeting as chairman of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values.

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It was with reference to the meeting of the Hyde Park deputation with the Prime Minister on the 9th that the London Daily Telegraph, in its editorial of the 10th, referred to above, disclosed the Tory understanding of the land clauses of that budget. The editorial is very long, but its significant parts are as follows:

We are getting on when the chosen representatives of the gospel according to Henry George are received, not with rebuke, but almost with benediction, by the Prime Minister of England. . . . The deputation was one of rabid land-taxers, who included such extreme enthusiasts for the total confiscation of land as Mr. Wedgwood, M. P. That gentleman recently declared at the banquet in honor of Mr. Henry George, junior, that the true author of the budget was not Mr. Lloyd-George but Mr. Henry George, senior. For a quarter of a century since a celebrated volume of sophistical rhetoric was first produced land nationalization has been the pet doctrine of all the wild-cat elements of the radical party. These gentlemen know nothing whatever of the soil except that they want it. More or less in this spirit a pro-budget demonstration was held in Hyde Park towards the end of July. The gathering was not particularly impressive, either in extent or in composition. It was the ordinary assemblage of the converted. The platforms were like a choice anthology of all the rarest political blossoms that even radicalism can supply. . . . But among all these hot gossellers on that occasion all other strange forms of faddism

which they worship at other times were lost in the conviction that, so far as private ownership of the soil is concerned, property is robbery, and that landlords in a lump are bad. Under the influence of this sweet enthusiasm, the landtaxers passed a resolution of portentous size and prodigious comprehensiveness. And it was solemnly carried to the Prime Minister and urgently pressed upon his attention by the deputation which waited upon him yesterday. . . . Mr. Asquith knew very well that the real motive power behind those who waited upon him was belief in the doctrine of land nationalization. He must have been fully conscious that the deputation included prominent apostles of the whole creed of confiscation as expounded in "Progress and Poverty." He must have been aware that some, at least, among those he saw before him support Lloyd-Georgism avowedly because it leads to full Henry Georgism. . . . Mr. Asquith was apparently afraid to speak what must be his real mind, and, accordingly, we had the astonishing spectacle yesterday of the Prime Minister of England tolerating the advocacy of Henry Georgism in his presence. . . . There is, unfortunately, more in all this than meets the eye. It is notorious that ministers until recently were violently divided upon the land clauses. What we have to reckon with are the methods and consequences of a remarkable surrender. A few weeks ago the semi-official organ of the Ministerial press was hoisting signals of distress. They were very wisely shown. They have been very foolishly hauled down; but, indeed, there is every evidence that Mr. Lloyd-George and Mr. Churchill forcibly pulled them down. The moderates protested against the darling idea of the land nationalizers—the compilation of a new Domesday Book. But the moderates were beaten, and they submitted. . . . The proposal for a general valuation, . . . will lay, and is meant to lay, a basis for land nationalization. What did Mr. Henry George say? He recommended gradual seizure of the whole soil by the method of progressive taxation. . . . That was the principle tacitly represented by the deputation who waited upon Mr. Asquith yesterday. That was the principle which the Prime Minister of England allowed to pass unrebuked.

In the Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury, a liberal paper, there was an editorial on the 7th which seems to account for what the Daily Telegraph alludes to in hinting that Lloyd-George and Churchill have forcibly brought the moderates of the ministry over to this budget move towards Henry Georgism. The significant statement of the Liverpool paper is that it has "been discovered with extraordinary suddenness" that "the land taxes, notwithstanding all that Unionist orators have said about them, all the threats of the wealthy that if passed they would ruin landowners and abstract indispensable capital from commerce, are popular."

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A correspondent who has just returned from England writes that he is surprised at the little attention the American papers give to the British budget excitement. "Everybody there," he says, "is discussing it, and the unanimity with which

the nobility, plutocracy, stock jobbers and promoters generally line up against the land clauses is an object lesson."

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A Capitalists' War.

The Spanish war in Morocco, which has been so unpopular in Spain as to provoke revolution (pp. 730, 753, 780), is, as we have already reported (p. 730), a promoters' war. Mail advices enlarge upon this. The Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury of the 31st says:

The fighting that has taken place is in the Riff country behind Melilla. In this mountainous district there are iron and lead mines, and two companies, one wholly Spanish and the other French with a Spanish chairman, have secured concessions to work mines there, and have laid down a short railway and incurred other expenditure in pursuit of their enterprise. Unfortunately for them, their concessions have been obtained from a local tribesman named El Roghi, who does not appear to have had any authority to enter into such transactions. Who or what El Roghi is appears to be a mystery. One thing certain is that he has failed to protect the enterprising concessionaires against the indignant Moorish population, who resented their presence in the country, and four Spanish navvies were killed. A sort of war has followed. It is not a war between Spain and Morocco, for the Sultan of Morocco himself is hostile to El Roghi. The Spanish expedition aims simply at protecting the rights of the two companies that have been pushing their way into the mineral district. There are not, so far as present information goes, any national interests to be vindicated by Spain, but only those of two commercial undertakings, one of which is not Spanish, but French. Thus far the fighting has evidently gone very seriously against the Spanish forces. The killed and wounded are numbered by thousands, and the heavy loss of officers suggests that the troops have not had much heart in the fighting. Many of the killed are from Barcelona, and the whole city is in revolt against the "war," as well it may be. When Lord Rosebery prophesied that the democracy might in future play an important part in restraining nations from entering into wars, he did so in the belief that the enormous cost of armaments would bring about a revolt against militarism in general. But here we have a democracy in revolt against the Spanish government, not because of financial cost, but because lives are being sacrificed in hostilities for which there is no national or justifiable call.

With the weakening of his influence through belief that he had sold the Riff region to the Spaniards, El Roghi was reported on the 17th to have suffered defeat at the hands of the Sultan of Morocco, against whom he was in revolt; and on the 18th he was reported to have been captured. According to the courier who brought the news to Tangier the Sultan had announced that he himself would complete the chastisement the Riffians were inflicting on the Spanish. Dispatches from Madrid indicate that the fighting in Morocco continues to be severe. The bitter complaints at the time of the

outbreaks at Barcelona and Madrid, that the rich could escape conscription by the payment of \$300 (p. 753), are to be met by changes in the conscription law, according to the Prime Minister, Mr. Maura. In an interview he is quoted as saying: "We are changing the conscription law so that it cannot in future be said the rich escape responsibility of serving their country in the field. A duke or marquis in the future will take his place in the ranks alongside a workman. The only privilege he will be allowed is to live outside the barracks."

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Twenty-five of the revolutionary prisoners in the Montjuich fortress at Barcelona, were shot on the 12th. Revolutionary agitation continues in and near Barcelona. The gendarmes lost five men in a fierce fight with revolutionaries in a suburb of Barcelona on the 13th. In connection with the movement to stamp out revolutionary tendencies the Government has closed ninety-four lay schools and teaching centers.

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The Powers Coerce Crete.

Great Britain, Russia, France and Italy, the guarantors of Turkish suzerainty over Crete (p. 801), have sent two warships each to overawe the little island which has been seeking a transference of allegiance to Greece. The warships anchored in the harbor of Canea on the 17th. Marines were landed on the 18th, and the Greek flag which had been raised three weeks previously over the fort of Canea, was shot down. On the 19th the inhabitants of Canea, under arms, again raised the Greek flag, in the presence of a squad of militia who were powerless to prevent it. But later the government hauled the flag down. The Powers demand that a written guarantee be given that the Greek flag will not be again hoisted after the departure of the international squadron.

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China's Advance Toward Constitutionalism.

It may be remembered that three years ago rumors of approaching constitutionalism came from China (vol. ix, p. 511), followed by announcements of Imperial edicts looking to the establishment of a constitutional form of government in a period set at ten years (vol. ix, pp. 537, 777, 1066; vol. x, p. 537; vol. xi, pp. 540, 708). Advance seems to have outstripped the ten years' program, for a dispatch from Peking under date of the 23rd states that the government has given orders that it be supplied with estimates for the construction of an Imperial assembly hall, to occupy the site of the ancient hall of examinations. The rules to govern the first National Assembly of China also are being drafted.

Convention of the Trans-Mississippi Congress.

The Trans-Mississippi Congress (vol. xi., p. 686), which met at Denver on the 17th with 2,000 delegates in attendance, was addressed on the 18th upon the subject of President Roosevelt's policy of conservation of public lands, by Gifford Pinchot, who had thrown the question of water-power land grabbing into the Irrigation Congress at Spokane (p. 797) the week before. Among the resolutions adopted by the Denver congress was one relating to this question. As offered by ex-Senator Patterson, it called upon Congress for a law providing for separation of agricultural, mining and forest lands for entry, and was adopted on the 20th with the following explanatory clause:

Resolved, That the Trans-Mississippi Congress hereby indorses the general policy of the government of the United States in the control and conservation of the resources of the nation, and urges the various States to co-operate with the Federal government in promoting in every legitimate way the conservation and perpetuation of forests within their respective borders.

Other resolutions were adopted advocating—

the income tax, a tariff commission of experts, a law regulating the use of grazing lands, a Territorial legislature for Alaska, a law preventing the collection of Federal liquor revenue in prohibition territory, and subsidies for American shipping.

One of the speakers at the Congress, Governor Hadley, of Missouri (a Republican), called railway rebating the mother of trusts, instead of the tariff, and said that while he was not in favor of government ownership of railroads he would prefer this to railroad ownership of the government.

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The Labor Troubles at McKee's Rocks.

Charges of peonage were made on the 19th against officials of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKee's Rocks (p. 801) and the State constabulary. Two men, Fred Rieger and Mathias Stephany, both of New York city, stated that they had escaped from the company's stockades, where 1,000 strike-breakers were confined; that these strike-breakers had been imported from New York and Philadelphia under false pretenses, and those of them that have tried to get away and failed have been beaten and shot at by the armed guards. The story of their own experience was reported in newspapers of the 20th as follows:

We were stopped on the street in New York on last Saturday and asked by a strange man if we wanted work at \$2 a day. We told him yes, and he said he'd give us jobs working on a railroad near Pittsburg. He gave us contracts calling for railroad work, and late that night we were put on an Erie train with forty others and taken to Youngstown, O. When we got there we were hustled out of the train and made to give up our contracts. Then, at the muzzle of guns held by guards, we were put into

a box car and locked up. When the door was opened we were in the Pressed Steel plant. There we found that our job was to break a strike.

Another witness to the allegations of peonage was Frank Taylor, a laborer imported from Philadelphia, who was arrested on the 20th for breaking windows at the plant. He told the Sheriff that he had smashed the windows because he had been forced to remain in the plant. Further confirmation was noted also on the 20th in the finding, just outside of the stockade, of a brick supposed to have been thrown from the inside, to which was attached a note, only part of which is reported. The part reported reads:

We want to get out of here. Can't you help us?

Criminal proceedings were instituted on the 21st before a United States Commissioner at Pittsburgh by the Austrian Consulate, and also by attorneys for the strikers, under the peonage laws of Congress. The charges are against Frank N. Hoffstot, president of the Pressed Steel Car Company. The Austrian Vice-Consul had gone that morning to McKee's Rocks to ascertain if any Austrian workmen were held in the stockade against their will, and been refused admission to the works. Upon information derived from Albert Vamos, an Austrian, he thereupon instituted the criminal proceedings, charging that 50 Austrians and Hungarians are unlawfully imprisoned in the McKee's Rocks strike-breaking stockade. Vamos swears that he himself was brought to the stockade from New York to work on a railroad job and that he was held a prisoner for two days. When he attempted to escape he says he was beaten. He was just out of the hospital when he made his complaint. The Austrian Vice Consul notified the Governor of Pennsylvania on the 21st.

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Meanwhile fresh boat loads of strike-breakers on their way to the stockade had been fired upon. News dispatches of the 19th stated that the firing was by alleged strike sympathizers, several thousand of whom were lined along the Ohio River bank, and that each volley was discharged at the command of an unknown foreign woman who carried a baby. Over 100 shots are reported to have been directed at the steamer; but no one was injured. By the time the steamer reached the shore near the plant a squad of State constabulary, mounted, had ridden into the crowd, scattering men, women and children in all directions. Under heavy guard, the imported men were taken to the works. During the firing the troopers and other police remained inside the mill, orders having been issued to take no action unless the strikers attempted an entrance to the plant. Strike leaders explained the shooting as in their opinion having been for the purpose of bringing the constabulary from the plant so as to give the new men an opportunity to escape, but most of the troop-

ers stayed inside. An attempt on the 20th to set fire to the plant, lighted bundles of fagots soaked in oil having been found near the paint house, is supposed also to have had the purpose of affording the imprisoned men an opportunity to escape.

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A violent crisis was reached on the 22d, when a battle occurred between strikers and constabulary. The news dispatches up to the 24th were so confusing as to be valueless regarding the immediate cause of this outbreak and the circumstances, and they conflict as to times and places. There seems to have been a peaceable mass meeting of 10,000 persons near the scene at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and yet reports of the violence would indicate that it was continuous throughout the day and of such a character as to make such a mass meeting in the middle of the afternoon highly improbable. There can be no fair judgment on the outbreak without better news reports than those published up to the morning of the 24th. All that can be positively said is that one strike-breaker, three unknown men supposed to be strike-breakers, and one State trooper were killed, while three troopers, one strike-breaker and four strikers were mortally, and one trooper seriously but not mortally, wounded. In addition many strikers are believed to have been killed and wounded, for scores were seen to fall after volleys from the troopers; but as all the newspaper information up to the 24th had evidently been gathered exclusively from anti-strike sources, no specific information regarding these cases is yet available.

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Attempts to blow up the plant were reported on the 23rd; also uses of bombs. One story is of a strikebreaker who is alleged to have caused a panic in the stockade by attacking other strike breakers with a revolver. He was thrown out in a dying condition. The city council has asked the Governor to withdraw the constabulary. A public meeting was prevented by the troops. In considering the violence of this strike it is to be remembered that the strikers are not members of labor unions. They are Europeans, who do not speak nor understand English and who were originally brought into the plant to keep union labor out. Their strike was a spontaneous and unorganized revolt against oppressive working conditions and reduced wages.

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The "Averted" Street Car Strike in Chicago.

The tentative agreement between the Chicago traction companies and their organized employes (p. 802) appears to have fallen through. At a meeting on the 19th of the North Side and West Side unions of conductors and motormen, it was

voted overwhelmingly to reject the proposed wages scale. The declared objections related both to the scale of wages and to the season of termination of the contract—February, 1910. To the point that the agreement would end in mid-winter, it was objected that when it should end, the men would either have to accept any renewal terms the company might offer, or else, to quote a favorite expression of theirs, "eat snow-balls." As to the scale of wages, they argued that there was no increase for new men, and it would be entirely within the power of the company to displace old men with new ones individually in such manner as to secure competent service and yet keep the maximum of wages below what it was before. A new man taken on six months from now, for instance, would get 23 cents an hour until September, 1910, 24 cents, until March, 1911, 25 until March, 1912, and 26 thereafter until the end of the contract, this maximum being 1 cent an hour less than the present maximum. The men argued, therefore, that the contract is in the nature of a reduction of wages, and might easily be abused to make a very considerable reduction. Two days later, the 21st, the men of the South Side followed the lead of the others, and also with virtual unanimity rejected the agreement.

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When W. D. Mahon, president of the international union, arrived in Chicago on the 20th, to take charge of the controversy in behalf of the men, he is reported to have characterized the proposed scale, as applied to the new men, as the worst he had ever seen. He is also reported as having especially opposed the division of employes of equal merit and doing the same work into classes and grades, which this agreement would have effected. In explanation of this objection the Chicago Tribune of the 22d reported him as saying:

We don't believe in a graded scale, and this scale which was presented by the companies and rejected by the men establishes eight classes, which is absolutely contrary to the principles of our organization. The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes is working for the improvement of conditions and the advancement of wages in this occupation. The graded scale for new men, at the end of the contract period—three and a half years—would result in a lower average wage than at present obtains for new men. Take the north and west side lines. About 1,200 men are added to the lines every year. That means that a large number of the old men pass out of the service. Any one can see what the result would be under the graded scale offered for new men under the contract.

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A conference is now in progress between representatives of the men headed by Mr. Mahon, and the heads of the two traction companies, with Walter L. Fisher representing the city.

The Cleveland Traction Question.

A turn away from probabilities of an early settlement of the traction question in Cleveland (p. 803) is the latest report. The company refuses to make concessions on points which the Council regards as vital for the protection of the public.

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On the 17th the company submitted a communication proposing terms of settlement which the Council rejected, and on the 19th it made further offers. These were summarized by the Cleveland Press of the 19th as follows:

that all points in dispute be referred to Judge Tayler, the company agreeing to accept any provision he drafts covering these, the city to reserve the right to accept or reject Tayler's draft. The company agrees that arbitrators need not be "experts," but insists they must be "disinterested." The company concedes that the valuation shall be determined before instead of after the passage of the ordinance, and that the fixing of the maximum and initial rates of fare shall be postponed until the last. It also urges that Judge Tayler be sole arbitrator on valuations.

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The Council replied on the 19th. The first paragraph of the reply expresses the Council's understanding of the questions yet at issue:

You accept the city's contention upon the subjects of the time of fixing the valuation and maximum rate of fare. This leaves open for present discussion but three questions, the legal safeguards, the licensee provision, and limitations upon the selection of arbitrators.

As to arbitrators, the Council objects to the requirement of the company that they be "disinterested;" since that would exclude every citizen of Cleveland, and the Council considers it important that the arbitrators be local men. They accept Judge Tayler, a non-resident, as an arbitrator for valuation; but he has expressed an opinion on the question of safeguards for the city in the proposed franchise. For this reason the city objects to him as arbitrator on that question. The company insists upon having him. In these circumstances the Council offers to compromise by postponing to 1917 (the company wants 1919, the year suggested by Judge Tayler) the time when the city may take the property and pass it over to a licensee, upon paying the company at the rate of \$1.10, provided the company will recede from its demand for "disinterested"—that is, non-resident—arbitrators. As to the only remaining question, that of "safeguards," the Council quotes the company's communication where it reads, "We are willing that the safeguards to the city should be as good as the grant to the company," and says:

This, in the opinion of the Council, puts the city

and the company in absolute accord upon the thing to be done, and leaves open merely the question of method. . . . The Council will welcome a plan from any source which will carry out the principle upon which we have now agreed: "That the safeguards to the city shall be as good as the grant to the company."

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Mayor Johnson left Cleveland on the 21st for a week's vacation. During the interval Newton D. Baker, the City Solicitor, acts as chairman of the public meetings of the Council and city officials sitting publicly in committee of the whole for consideration of the traction question.

NEWS NOTES

—The Kootenay district in British Columbia is suffering from gigantic forest fires.

—William Travers Jerome announced publicly on the 23d, that he will be a candidate in November for re-election as District Attorney of New York.

—Mayor Brand Whitlock was nominated for a third term as mayor of Toledo, at the head of a full ticket for city officers, by the Independents in convention on the 25th.

—Arrangements are making in Spokane for join in the general celebration of Henry George's seventieth birthday on the 2d of September. The memorial address is to be delivered by the Rev. W. J. Hindley.

—The British Association for the Advancement of Science is to meet this year in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. The sessions were announced to open on Wednesday of this week, with an address by Sir J. J. Thompson of Cambridge, England.

—The 43d convention of the National Peace Society (vol. x, p. 515) closed its sessions at Mystic, Conn., on the 18th. Alfred H. Love was re-elected president. Among the new vice-presidents are President Diaz of Mexico, and Professor Frederick Starr of Chicago.

—Alabama, the ninth State to be added to the original thirteen, is the first to approve the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution which provides for an income tax. On the 17th Governor Comer signed the ratifying resolution recently passed by the legislature (p. 804).

—Leo Tolstoy's private secretary, Mr. Guseff, according to a news dispatch from Tula, Russia, under date of the 21st, has been exiled to the province of Perm for a period of two years, after having been found guilty of circulating Tolstoy's pamphlet, "Thou Shalt Do no Murder," which is a plea against the infliction of the death penalty.

—By a recent act of the Georgia legislature, signed by Gov. Brown on the 17th, the use by Negro secret societies of the insignia, ritualistic work, grips, etc., of orders composed of whites is prohibited. This law legislates out of existence the Negro organizations of Elks and Knights of Pythias, but the Negro Masonic and Odd Fellows organizations may continue in operation by changing their badges, rit-

uals, grips, etc., as the latter have names slightly different from the white Masonic and Odd Fellows organizations.

—Testimony indicating that Montreal has lost millions of dollars as a result of contract work, and that important municipal positions of all kinds have been bought and sold for years, was reported on the 21st as having been brought out by an investigation into the city's civic affairs begun by the Provincial Government several weeks ago.

—American exploiters are reported to be eagerly seeking concessions of the new Nationalist regime in Turkey, for the establishment of railroads, telephones and other public utilities in the Ottoman Empire. As far as the government feels disposed to grant concessions the Americans are likely to be favored, as political territorial acquisition would be with them an impossible aim.

—Over 100 labor leaders from all parts of the Union, delegates to the international convention of the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, were entertained sumptuously at an open air banquet at Mount Kisco, New York, on the 18th, by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, as chairman of the National Civic Federation committee on welfare work for industrial employes. John Mitchell and Timothy Healy made addresses.

—The National Negro Business League, of which Booker T. Washington is president, began its tenth annual convention on the 18th at Louisville. Among the subjects on the program and discussed were "Hog Buying," "Cattle Raising," "Profitable Farming" and "Good Salesmanship." Before the convention adjourned a National Negro Press Association was formed with R. W. Thompson of Washington, D. C., as its manager.

—Thirty Russians escaping from Siberian exile were caught at Nome, Alaska, on the 16th by United States officials and held for deportation to the place from which they came. They are charged with violating American immigration laws. Three had been convicted of political offenses against the Czar. They are Vladislav Mistavitz, Evtian Kruglichenko and Karl Lapin, and their offenses were in connection with the recent revolution in Russia.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 758) for the seven months ending July 31, 1909, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for July, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$ 897,425,504	\$830,287,488	\$ 67,138,016 exp.
Gold	80,496,119	23,405,477	57,090,642 exp.
Silver	34,409,032	26,798,145	7,610,887 exp.
	\$1,012,330,655	\$880,491,110	\$131,839,545 exp.
July 1, 1897, to June 30, 1909.....			\$6,023,025,213 exp.
1834 to June 30, 1909			\$8,645,644,530 exp.

—The Rev. Thomas J. Ducey, founder and pastor of St. Leo's Roman Catholic Church, of New York City, died on the 22d in his country home at St. James, L. I., at the age of 66. Father Ducey was an office boy of James T. Brady, one of the most distinguished lawyers of the middle of the nineteenth century, and as a priest he fell under the displeasure of Archbishop Corrigan for his sympa-

thies with the Henry George movement of the eighties.

—The Astronomical and Astrophysical Society of America, in session last week at Lake Geneva, Wis., passed the following resolution, drawn up by the President of the society, Professor E. C. Pickering of Harvard:

As the public, through misrepresentation of the views of certain astronomers, have formed the impression that communication with other planets is at present possible, the Astronomical and Astrophysical Society of America desires to express its belief that in the present state of science any expenditure of money with that direct object in view is highly undesirable.

—Walter Wellman's third preparation and second start for the North Pole in a dirigible balloon (p. 470), made from Spitzbergen on the 15th, ended in failure. While still over the island, about thirty-two miles from the starting point, the balloon's guide rope, to which was attached 1,000 pounds of provisions and stores, broke, and the balloon shot up at a terrific speed. Bringing it down with difficulty the party started on a return trip, but just as they reached the home landing stage the ill-fated balloon escaped from them and in banging along over the ice hummocks, soon exploded. Mr. Wellman announces that he will make another attempt next year.

—Lala Lajpat Rai (vol. x, p. 948), the Indian reformer who was deported from India without trial in May, 1907 (vol. x, p. 177), and was quietly returned to his home in the following November (vol. x, p. 857), obtained judgment on July 6, in a suit for libel against a newspaper of India called the "Englishman." The "Englishman," in its issue for September 10, 1907, permitted a correspondent to make a series of allegations against Lala Lajpat Rai, his opening and closing sentences being as follows:

It is about time now that the true facts as to the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai were given out. . . . That Lajpat Rai has been guilty of tampering with the loyalty of the Punjabi Sepoy there can be no possibility of doubt, and therefore his release for years to come would only be a dangerous act of criminal folly.

The sum of \$5,000 was awarded as damages, with costs upon a scale which were expected to amount to \$2,500 more.

—Colombia was reported from Panama on the 14th as refusing to sign the tripartite treaty with Panama and the United States relative to the Panama Canal (p. 267), and the same report further states that "so far from signing the treaty, Colombia seems determined to dig an inter-oceanic canal of her own;" that "influenced by English capital, resolved to secure a canal free from American domination, a majority of the Colombian Congress is pledged to grant a concession to Luis Arturo Undurraga, a distinguished engineer," who claims "to have discovered a new route for a canal far superior to that of the Panama Canal," this route being "a few miles east of the boundary line between Panama and Colombia, coincident with the course of the Atrato river and its tributaries, which run almost directly south from the Gulf of Darien to the Pacific." According to this Panama dispatch "the plan contemplates joining the oceans in one year with a sea level canal having a depth of six feet and dredg-

ing it in five years to a depth of forty-five feet," the estimated cost of the work being "\$100,000,000, which is considerably less than the United States has expended on the Panama Canal to date."

—El Renacimiento, the Filipino daily at Manila, asks that a Filipino be appointed as Vice-Governor General of the islands. It says in its issue of June 23:

Why should not a Filipino be appointed Vice-Governor? It is said that we are being educated for self-government and that everything will be done to enable us to learn by that experience, which circumstances have prevented us so far from acquiring. Well and good. Let a Filipino stand beside the Governor in order that he may divide with the latter the responsibilities of the supreme executive position, and at the same time acquire the experience for which he needs but the practice. Since he is to act under the guidance and direction of a superior officer there will be no danger of demagogic actions and utterances. Nothing would more tend to the Filipinization constantly flaunted before our eyes. Let the people also recall the fact that the Filipinos who have been put in high positions have been dignified and conservative whatever may be the political party from which they came, and they have proved that they have become possessed of the sense of responsibility which is inherent in every position they have occupied.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Tory Motive.

Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury (I.Ib.), August 12.—The Tories have been clamoring ever since the finance bill was brought in to have the cost of the valuation of land and minerals placed on the state, and now the Government have met them in this respect they are as dissatisfied as ever. The plain truth is that what the landlords object to is valuation at all. They fear that it will lead to what Mr. Balfour today called "ulterior measures," or, in other words, that it may be used for imposing further taxation on land. They will, therefore, oppose the valuation clause as keenly as ever.

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The Land Values Tonic in British Politics.

The (London) Nation (ind. Lib.), July 31.—Every observer of our politics must be conscious of the great change that has come over them since the introduction of the budget. . . . At the beginning of this year it seemed doubtful whether the good fortune which followed the Government during the first two years of its life would be sustained. . . . Today we survey a country so changed that politicians hardly know it for the same. Four bye-elections have just been fought, avowedly on the budget, and three Ministers have appealed directly for re-election. . . . All have retained their seats, and the four supporters of the budget have registered a joint majority of nearly 4,000 votes in its favor. . . . It is clear that the budget has re-heated the force out of which all Liberal triumphs grow, the enthusiasm of the main body of the party. Popular as it is in the House of Commons, it is more popular still with the rank and file. Anyone acquainted with the move-

ment of economic thought among the progressive workers could have seen that the principle of the taxation of land values, growing not only out of the fiscal issue but from the development of the rural question and the expansion of town life, had taken firm hold of the people, and would furnish one of the historic rallying grounds of Liberal action. The Liberal party has got something to fight for in which it believes with its whole heart, which is intelligible and just, and on which it is going to win.

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New York Nation (ind.), Aug. 19.—A revulsion of feeling over the new taxes proposed by the Liberals is now going on in England. The cable dispatches but faintly reflect it. They state that the Conservatives are much worried to discover that Lloyd-George's budget is much more "popular" than they supposed. They have been attacking it tooth and nail, denouncing it as "fraud," "spoliation," and "robbery," but now they find that it is meeting with warm approval from large classes in the electorate. The Liberals have been unexpectedly winning bye-elections on the issue of the budget, and a general chill has fallen upon the divided counsels of the Conservatives.

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Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), August 24.—The unearned increment tax is called spoliation and confiscation by the interests affected in Great Britain; but in Germany municipalities are already taxing it, and the Imperial government has served notice that in a year or two it will take a hand in that process. Unearned increment of land value is also taxed in Australasia. The British House of Commons has repeatedly indorsed the tax in principle, as have the "classical" and orthodox economists. To take for the public a part of the value created by it without effort or investment by the owner, it is argued, is neither to attack the true theory of property nor to discourage enterprise and industry. The defense of the land taxes has been so able and vigorous that some alarmed Tory organs and politicians admit that the people have been alienated from the opposition because of its excessive zeal in behalf of the landed interests and monopoly.

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The German and the English Land Movements Contrasted.

A. Pohlman-Hohenaspe in Bodenreform, Berlin, Germany. (Translated for The Public), July 20.—Because in England, too, the contest centers mainly about the increment, it is interesting to draw a parallel between German and English conditions, a comparison, which in one case turns out very favorable to Germany, while in another respect the advantage is with England. With us in the various parties there exists scarcely a difference of opinion over the propriety of making the unearned increment an object of taxation. The point here is that each taxing district wishes the revenue for itself. In England, however, there is still a lively discussion as to the justice of the general principle. Their leading papers still set forth as deep politico-economic wisdom those old threadbare objections which here one

finds only now and then in certain landlords' journals. On the other hand, the English have the advantage in the fact that their guiding spirits in this question know just what they want, and how to set about creating in the land valuations bill something uniform and fundamental. Of further interest is the fact that in England it is the Conservatives who, with all the means at their command, wage war upon the increment tax, and the Liberals who stand firmly by it; while among us, if not directly the opposite, still it is true that the increment tax has more supporters in the party of the Right than among the Liberals, although as before remarked, the rightfulness of the principle is recognized in all parties. In our nation there never was a more favorable moment for a real financial reform in the direction of taxation of land value than just now, except that, most unfortunately, there falls us the right man in the right place to begin the great work. What outcome there will be to the land reform strife in England is not yet to be foreseen. The lower House is beyond all doubt for absolute acceptance; and the upper House must accept or reject the budget as a whole, alterations or excisions being inadmissible. What will it do? At all events it is both interesting and inspiring to witness a whole great people battling over a great principle.

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A Remedy—Simple, Sound and Sovereign.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), August 12.—The single tax would destroy land monopoly. It would free labor. It would increase the earnings of capital. It would stimulate every branch of industry. It would encourage the arts. It would lessen crime. It would abolish involuntary poverty. It would forever put a stop to recurring industrial depressions. There would be jobs for all willing to work. Wages would always be the full measure of the product. Labor unions would become useless. Lock-outs would become impossible. Strikes would cease to breed violence. Employers could no longer resort to tyranny and oppression. Practically every thrifty man could own his own home. Child labor would cease to be a problem. Under the single tax no man would be so foolish as to hold land out of use or put it to other than its best use.

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The Truth About Land Grabbing.

Milwaukee Daily News (ind. Dem.), August 13.—What matters it to the public if the coal lands of Alaska are monopolized through entries legally made or through entries illegally made? In either event, the land is turned over to favored individuals at a song that they may reap immense profits that will come when demand shall be made upon the fuel supply of Alaska. The unearned increment that of right should belong to the American people will be given over to a few capitalists and a few more swollen fortunes created. If we had a government that was what it pretends to be, a government for the people, the timber lands and the coal lands and the copper lands and iron lands of Alaska would be held and administered as a public trust, with the unearned increment turned into the public treasury instead of into the pockets of a few plutocrats.

The Sacramento Bee (ind.), Aug. 14.—What the nation and the States severally need are laws forbidding further gifts or sales of water power, and declaring it vested perpetually in the people, subject to reasonable use for irrigation and power purposes, with due compensation to the government, national or State. Switzerland has wisely grafted this principle on her constitution, France is likely to follow suit, if she has not already done so, and Oregon has adopted it by an act of her legislature. California should lose no time in amending her constitution to the same effect. And meanwhile the legislature at its next session should make radical changes in the laws of appropriation, in harmony with the same policy.

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A Progressive Capital.

Duluth (Minn.) Herald, July 28.—The city of Edmonton, which has sprung up as the capital of the new Canadian province of Alberta with a miraculous suddenness equaled only by the manner in which the broad prairies of the Canadian Northwest have changed from an unproductive waste to a richly productive empire. . . . has consistently followed the principle of taxing land values. A speculator who buys a lot, not to improve it but to hold it until improvements made by others give him an unearned profit, finds that his idle lot pays as much taxes as his neighbor's lot with a \$4,000 house on it. In other words, this system does not penalize improvement by making it pay more taxes, but it penalizes speculation by making lots held for speculative purposes pay as much taxes as lots that are used and are therefore of benefit to the community. It puts a bounty on improvement by making those who do not improve stand a greater relative share of the burden of government than do those who do improve.

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The Inverted Tariff Revision.

The (Los Angeles) Graphic (ind.), August 7.—Stripped of all buncombe, relieved of all persiflage concerning the mighty influence wielded by Taft and his "unyielding position," truth is the people again have been flimflammed. . . . It is a sorry business. Mr. Taft we believe to be sincere in his desire to lower the schedules, but his silence, until the Senate finished its traitorous work, left the ten insurgent Republicans without the moral support an earnest message of protest, such as the country had a right to expect from him, would have supplied.

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La Follette's (ind. Rep.), August 14.—Tariff revision meant downward revision. But how much and what kind of downward revision? Not a cunning, deceitful, downward revision, applied to articles rarely if ever purchased by the mass of people. Not a sleight-of-hand reduction on articles of general use, so shrewdly measured as to enable the trust to continue to charge exorbitant prices. Downward revision meant honest downward revision, producing the result for which the consumer sought revision. It meant reducing the rates on articles entering into general domestic use enough to insure foreign com-

petition as an effective check,—not against production in this country, but against the intolerable and extortionate greed of those who criminally combine to control the markets of 90,000,000 people. That was the kind of revision which the changed industrial conditions demanded; the kind of revision the people understood they were to get; the kind of revision the Republican party promised; the kind of revision the Republican candidate for President pledged again and again during the campaign. . . . The kind of revision demanded, promised, accepted, voted for and decreed at the polls has not been even partially complied with.

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The Czar Has Come and Gone.

The (London) Nation (ind. Lib.), August 7.—But the sound which still echoes in the ear of the world is not the cannon of warships saluting our apprehensive guest in our guarded waters. The really English feature of this visit was the open letter to Sir Edward Grey which it called forth. Drafted with tolerance and moderation of phrasing, yet unflinching in its statement of fact, this document, which appeared in the world's press on the day of the Czar's arrival, set forth the sombre facts about the present state of Russia—the hangings, the courts martial, the banishments of untried suspects, the abominations of torture and ill-usage which make an inferno of the Russian gaols. The facts are familiar to our readers. They were drawn avowedly from Prince Kropotkin's pamphlet, which, in its turn, was based mainly on Russian parliamentary documents. Had such a document come only from a handful of political Ishmaels, it might have been disregarded. But it was signed by over two hundred of the names which carry force in the world of free or Liberal opinion—the Bishops of Birmingham and Hereford, Canons Barnett and Scott Holland, nearly all the Nonconformist leaders, Lord Courtney, some eighty Liberal and Labor members of Parliament, including, under both heads, men who commonly shrink from rash action and whirling words, more than thirty university professors and men of science, including Sir Oliver Lodge, Dr. Muspratt and Professor Osler, and a group of literary men, with the rather unexpected name of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle at their head.

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William Allen White.

The (Independence) Kansas Times (ind.), July 30.—William Allen White, of Emporia, is a writer whose fame has covered his own land and reaches into every other where the English tongue is spoken, while his income from his pen is said to be not less than \$1,000 a month. And yet he publishes the only daily and one of the two weekly newspapers in Emporia, and the only daily in Lyon county, and neither of those periodicals has a circulation much in excess of 2,000 copies. This, too, notwithstanding he has as a collaborer in the production of those papers, such a poetic genius as "Walt Mason." There are scores of newspapers in this country with ten or twenty times the circulation of White's whose editorial writers are unheard of and their income is but a fraction of his.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE PERFECT HYMN.

For The Public.

I flew through space and sped afar,
Illumined on by star and star,
And reached the heavenly gate.
I asked no questions at the portal;
I simply said, "I am a mortal
Who's left the earth of late."

The warden parleyed, mild though grim,
"Come, sing to me a perfect hymn,
If Paradise you'd win."
I sang him, "Nearer, God, to Thee;"
He smiled, and almost turned the key.
"Lead, Kindly Light," I sang with heart;
He joined me with celestial art,
And so I entered in.

D. E. C.

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TOM JOHNSON'S FIGHT FOR A FREE CITY.

Editorial in *LaFollette's Magazine* for August 21.

The defeat of the Schmidt franchise in Cleveland on the 3rd was a defeat for Tom Johnson. It does not remove Mr. Johnson from the ranks of the potent workers for the general good, but it is a defeat, and a stinging one. He has had defeats before, and has rallied from them. He will rally from this. His fealty is pledged to a cause far higher and nobler than that of mere success. He has gone on in pursuit of the vision of a free Cleveland, owning all its public utilities, and taking all public values for the public good. He has spent himself for this, and not merely for three-cent fares. If he has forwarded the larger cause, his work is a success. Indeed it is a success whether or not he has forwarded it; for he has been true to his own inner promptings, and has fought the fight. No one who has done these things has failed.

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Johnson has never had a fair chance to win. He found the city organized against him, and he beat the local gang. He found the State Government organized against him, and he carried the fight into the politics of the State. He found the courts, from the city tribunals up to the Supreme Court, organized against him, and one victory after another was snatched from him by injunctions, "ripper" bills, and the like. At one time every city charter in Ohio was invalidated by the litigation waged to keep Johnson from winning the streets of Cleveland for the people of Cleveland. He has beaten his enemies time after time; but the corporations are so entrenched that the peo-

ple must keep themselves nerved up to the struggle for year after year, and election after election, or the tide for a moment dammed back will reflow and sweep away the work already done.

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The Cleveland people were nerved up for a long time, and stood by their own interests. Their intelligence for a few years seemed almost human. At last at the critical moment, because newspapers threw dust in their eyes, and there were some inconveniences in the street car service, the people balked and threw themselves down in the harness. They were tired. It was easier to drift. The drifting would be steered by the corporations. What was the use? Tired of hearing Aristides called the Just, and weary of the stress of the struggle toward Justice, the people quit—thereby spoiling their own work, not Johnson's.

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It is a great victory for the corporations. It shows the Machiavellian wisdom of their policy of never giving up even when it seems that all is lost. It contains a lesson for the progressives of Wisconsin and all other progressive States. The lesson is this, the corporations are never beaten. They may seem to be wiped out in politics, they may seem to have quit; but they have not. The Government will slip back into their hands the moment the vigilance of the people is relaxed, the moment the issues can be confused. Johnson has had them beaten time and again, but they have never ceased the fight. The people must be as ceaseless in their struggle for the right as the forces of plutocracy are sure to be for the wrong.

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And it does not square with intelligence for the progressive to get tired—for then he ceases to "progress." And, in the future as in the past, it will pay him to watch Tom L. Johnson, First Citizen of Cleveland.

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MR. GOMPERS ON THE BRITISH LAND TAX DEBATES.

From a Description of a Visit to the House of Commons, Written by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

From the Chicago Daily News of August 7.

The bill under discussion was the one that sent the hosts defending vested rights into shocks and shivers—that providing for the taxation of land values. I was much interested in listening to the speeches on the subject, as on many a summer and winter evening in America, through the course of the last thirty years, I have heard the subject more than broached by impassioned single taxers. But as the debate on various clauses of the bill

proceeded it became apparent that the "confiscation" so feared by opponents of this tax is yet many a long day off.

The American system of taxing real estate is in England hardly begun. "Accommodation" land—that lying near built-up districts—vacant and untilled, is here not subject to any taxation whatever. The bill proposes 1 cent annually on every \$5 of its capitalized value! Farm land would pay a small percentage, say perhaps 10 or 20 on its unearned increment, when this has passed 50 per cent beyond its present existing price!

Is it anything remarkable that I was occupied in watching the manner of the statesmen present rather than being absorbed in their matter? I, who had heard the apostles of taxing the unearned increment 100 per cent, every bit of it! The bill is no doubt a good beginning—that is, the taxation of the unearned increment of the land—but I was witnessing a play in which the opposition protested against being "robbed" of the land their forbears either stole or had bestowed upon them through privilege.

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THE BRITISH CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

From the London Nation of May 1, 1909.

Mr. Lloyd-George is a new man, with a new problem, the financing of social reform on Free Trade lines. As the lives of politicians go, he is at once younger and less highly trained than most of his rivals and contemporaries. He has behind him no prestige of birth or of family history or of a brilliant University career—none of the useful, friendly props which in this most conservative of lands sustain the first trembling essays of its statesmen. He is a fresh type even among our conquerors. He lacks Disraeli's opulent and attractive literary genius; he has no private fortune, like Chamberlain. He belongs to a class almost as near to the people, the actual tillers and workers, as Mr. Burns. And he proceeds from a dependent nationality, not from the central governing race. He is an orator of genuine quality, but up to Thursday night he had only made one speech in the House of Commons that could be called great; a personality of originality and charm, yet owning no large and attached following outside the borders of his own country.

Mr. Lloyd-George's success is indeed an effect of pure genius, exercised in an atmosphere peculiarly fitted and prepared to receive it. The British aristocracy can still boast a Balfour, the English middle classes an Asquith. Mr. George is the first remarkable product of Welsh democracy, of a country where the mass of the people can struggle with powerful possessing forces without being thoroughly depressed and impoverished, like the Irish nation, and without losing natural

refinement and care for culture, like the English workingmen. He is therefore something rare, and even unique, in our statesmanship—middle class without a touch of snobbery, a lawyer without legal preciseness, an idealist and nationalist with the governing instinct and the gift of compromise and management—a man in whose making neither the Church nor “Society” nor the Universities nor the great money-making interests have had any share, but whom none could describe either as a fanatic or an “idealogue.” To men thus born and constituted political life in such a community as ours naturally presents itself as something of the adventure that court life was to the young D’Artagnan. The next few months and years of Mr. Lloyd-George’s life will inevitably reveal whether it has also been conceived as a large and fruitful enterprise.

Mr. George’s early struggles in Welsh tithe wars and burial scandals may seem small and narrow in comparison with the sheltered experiences of our ruling youth. But they hardened him and kept him true, not only to his people, but to a mass of feelings and experiences which are the necessary stuff of British democracy. Much of our modern political tissue is soft; Mr. George’s is tough and firm to the point of hardness. It was to his almost unsupported initiative that British Nonconformity owed its first powerful and decisive reappearance on the Parliamentary stage since the generation which knew Bright and Miall and Richard. And, curiously enough, it was through him, a lawyer without a strictly commercial training, that Mr. Chamberlain’s ideas of “business” statesmanship first bore useful fruit. On the whole, the member for West Birmingham’s tenure of the Board of Trade was as barren as Mr. George’s has been fruitful. A more placable and flexible spirit, and a diplomacy quicker in the turn, gave him an advantage over the imperious Radical of the eighties. But power over a bargain is, after all, only an illustration of freshness and directness. These are the qualities which our governing classes most lack, and which it is the business of their successors to supply.

Mr. George has the reputation of having the nimblest and most resourceful mind in the Cabinet. Thus is democracy, with its essential idea of calling the whole available brain of a nation to its service, justified of her children. Mr. George’s subtlety and quick brilliancy of temperament have been put to more than one interesting test. When he had to meet the railway directors of Great Britain, he found them unalterably fixed in the notion that they would never, no never, concede formal recognition of the men’s trade unions. Some politicians would have battered at this closed door, and broken their strength against it. This was not Mr. George’s way. He had his own plan, and he had imagination enough to see that if he carried it, recognition and peace would both, in

effect, be secured. Accordingly, he turned the directors’ flank with the quite unexpected proposal of a scheme of arbitration. Before this Napoleonic strategy, their grand army, elaborately drawn up to meet an assault that never came, melted away. Rumor has it that the Admirals found Mr. George a not less skilful antagonist than the railway directors, and an equally persuasive handler of a situation when peace was worth the making.

Mr. George has both the faults and the virtues of the newcomer. Life has given him few chances of acquiring the critical power, the balance and breadth of mind, the wide knowledge of the processes of life and action, which Lord Morley, for example, possesses. He must think problems out in the terms of the hour or not at all. To the slow and the timid, life presents few or no opportunities; to the bold and quick-minded, it presents them every hour. But tried by the standard of fidelity to purpose, the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not fare ill. He has done well for Wales and for British trade, and if he has time and opportunity, he will lay the foundations both of democratic finance and of a large scheme of industrial assurance. An adaptive and fertile mind, receiving readily, and rich also in personal suggestion and expedient, Mr. Lloyd-George, like Mr. Churchill, has set an example of accessibility to skilled opinion which even Mr. Chamberlain, the first truly democratic head of an internal department of British Government, never attained. All parties, all sides, are heard today at the Exchequer and the Board of Trade as they have not been heard before. The workmen’s representatives often criticise this Government; from which of its predecessors have they received so much individual attention, so large and so proper a share in administrative work? Mr. George’s mind lacks something of the finish and exactness of the Prime Minister’s; its strength lies more in its originality and adroitness, the way in which, gathering up the threads of controversy from a hundred contributors as it goes along, it weaves them into new and attractive patterns. Officials may have shaken heads over the Chancellor’s unorthodox ways of work, the “sketchiness” of some of his views, but they have not been able to slight or to brush aside the clear, strong, and not easily cowed intelligence behind them. It remains to be seen to what strength and capacity for large generalization and construction he will attain when office, and the self-confidence awakened by familiarity with the springs and methods of Government, have matured and enlarged his powers. Rapid worker as he is, the time and toil he has given to the preparation of his Budget compare with the monumental labors which went to the building up of Sir William Harcourt’s scheme for the reform of the death duties.

Mr. George has surprised all men by the way in which he has grown up. Everybody knew him to

be an orator of fire and highly communicable force, a wit, a master of fighting tactics, an observer of more than the outside of politics, a close, brilliant, and never purposeless debater. Friends and foes recognized the courage which neither difficulties nor perils, nor the superficially imposing forces in English life, could daunt. No quality is more needed for the government of men, and none is rarer. From the lures of idleness and vanity which English society offers to the talented, Mr. George has always been free: a silken net would never restrain so impatient a spirit. It was natural to him to retain the simple habits of the son of a Welsh yeoman, to remain a Welsh Dissenter—which is not at all the same thing as an English one. A still deeper strain of spiritual faithfulness unites him to his early home and to his native land. In the entrance hall of his house in Downing Street hangs, in reminder and testimony of an irredeemable debt, the portrait of the uncle, Calvinist minister and working shoemaker, who brought him up, and with whom he maintains a daily correspondence. Whatever his precise development may be, his future is, by personal taste and choice, owed to the mass of the people, to working and commercial England. He is essentially middle class, with an imaginative bent; he will do the work of the "industrials," and will not lose touch with Labor, either in sympathy or policy. But he will always think of the country as commercial, and here and there he may be tempted to make Government and business run closer together than the Free Trade doctrinaires might approve. Lack of the rich preparation for life which England offers to a handful of her most favored children during their first twenty-five years may sometimes limit his powers, and make Mr. George ask native wit to furnish what knowledge and experience must supply. But here lies the temptation of all adventurous temperaments. Genius is, after all, a rarer gift than the best finished talent; and genius certainly waved her wand over the cradle of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

* * *

Now Dives daily feasted and was gorgeously arrayed,
Not at all because he liked it, but because 'twas
good for trade.

That the people might have callico, he clothed him-
self in silk,

He surfeited himself in cream, that they might get
the milk,

He fed 500 servants that the poor might not beg
bread,

And had his vessels made of gold, that they might
get more lead,

And then, to show his sympathy with the deserving
poor,

He did no useful work himself that they might do
the more.

You'll think that this is very strange, but then, of
course, you know

It was a far off country, and a long, long time ago.

GOLD MINES IN CITIES.

As Described by Harrison L. Beach in the Saturday
Evening Post of Philadelphia, June 26, 1909.

The great mass of the people are no more able to purchase centrally-located business property than they are able to buy outright a fully-developed and dividend-producing gold mine. The man of small means may, in some of the cities on the Pacific Coast, acquire an interest in this kind of property, but in the majority of the larger communities he is prohibited by the necessary size of the primary investment. The number of investors in central business property is decreasing from year to year—and this in the face of the fact that it constitutes not only the safest, but the most permanent investment that can be found.

A guaranty of the security of an investment of this character is evidenced in the truth that the value of the centrally-located business property in the twenty-seven leading cities of the country is about equal to that of all the railroads in the United States. All of these railroads have been at the outset enterprises to be established. They came into being through the courage of their projectors and the persistence of their stockholders. The business property, however, has reached an equal valuation by itself through the necessities of the people. Any investment that stands upon such a foundation must be safe, for the excellent reason that as long as the people exist they will have necessities.

The assurance of the permanence of the investment lies in the fact that centrally-located business property rarely, if ever, loses its character.

The central square mile of London, which produces mercantile profits greater than the total of the seventeen largest cities in England, excluding London, has remained fixed for more than one thousand years, and shows no sign of impending change. It will remain what it is so long as London stands.

The original city of Paris occupied an island in the Seine. It was, of course, physically impossible that this small spot could contain the commercial activities of a large and constantly-growing city, but for centuries the business center of the country has been around that island. It has always been, and bids fair always to be, the commercial heart of France. In Berlin, St. Petersburg and Brussels the business centers have remained unmoved for centuries.

In the United States, although history is much briefer, the same steadfast tendency has been manifested. That part of the city of New York settled prior to 1661 is still the center of the commercial and financial energy of the nation. Business, it is true, has spread beyond it; but the old center

still holds its own, and it will, in all probability, endure as long as the city itself.

The old business center of Baltimore is the present business center, and in Chicago, where physical conditions have, as in New York, compelled an expansion of the business center, the leading retail stores are today situated within six squares of the first trading-post erected within the bounds of the city. The central business area here, as in London, is not more than one square mile; but it will be the greatest money-producing mile in the city for a thousand years to come.

In Philadelphia the active business life has moved somewhat from the river because it no longer is dependent upon the stream, as in the days before the coming of the railroad. The site of the government mint in that city was bought in 1829 for \$31,667, and sold in 1902 for \$2,000,000. In this connection it may be of interest to note that since 1899 the sites of six government mints have been sold. They were located in New York, Milwaukee, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Los Angeles and Philadelphia. They were held for an average of thirty-seven and one-half years. Their approximate total cost was \$1,000,000, they were sold for an aggregate of \$6,000,000, and every one of them was located in the center of the business district.

When centrally-located office buildings do not return a remunerative interest on the money expended in their construction, the fault can usually be traced to extravagance in building or to the fact that the owner is not sufficiently well versed in investment in business property to adjust his expenditure in construction to the amount of rental he may reasonably exact.

Within the last six months a syndicate in a growing Western city purchased a corner upon which to erect an office building, paying for the land \$100,000. The building is to cost \$750,000 when completed. Its owners are going to lose money on their investment from the start, and it will be long before the building pays at all. It probably will prove a profitable investment, but only when the congested business center expands sufficiently to pull it over the brink into financial safety.

The projectors of this enterprise will be obliged to wait patiently for their dividends because they have ignored the fundamental rule that the amount of rentals depends upon the average number of people who pass that particular location in the business day. This rule is as absolute as is the fact that the value of a piece of property as a dividend-payer depends upon the amount of rentals received from it. Land values and rentals are based upon human congestion and that alone. The nearer the vortex of the congestion a property is situated the more profitable the investment.

A FUNERAL ORATION.

As Delivered in the Church of the Holy Dividends in Bond Street, with a Chorus of Unsolicited Responses by Rank Outsiders.

Dear friends, a mighty man hath joined the Blest.
Chorus:

A mighty man indeed, but—let him rest!

A man of works and faith, a man of force,
Chorus:

Who lied, broke faith, and robbed without remorse.

A worthy life was his—a life of toil.
Chorus:

His noble aim in life was boundless spoil.

Steel-nerved, he builded railroad, ship, and mill;—
Chorus:

And ruined all who dared oppose his will.

How sweet and mild the inner life he led!
Chorus:

The tiger, too, is mild when fully fed.

How kind he was a thousand friends will say.
Chorus:

He fed his jackals fat, so well they may!

His faults? Be still! His faults we leave to God.
Chorus:

And teach our sons to tread the way he trod?

What wealth he gave our grateful hearts confess.
Chorus:

His very charity was selfishness.

He filled a million shelves with learned tomes,—
Chorus:

And builded palaces on wrecks of homes.

His gifts to church and college ever grew.
Chorus:

He robbed the poor to help the well-to-do.

Upon these walls his name shall be inscribed!
Chorus:

The Church may take, but God remains unbribed.
—Arthur Guiterman, in Puck.

BOOKS

"A CERTAIN RICH MAN."

A Certain Rich Man. By William Allen White, author of "Stratagems and Spoils," "The Court of Boyville," etc. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Price, \$1.50.

The temptation is great when describing this novel to marshal in full force one's vocabulary of laudatory superlatives. But that is a dangerous thing to do with contemporaneous fiction. One must wait for the public opinion of the reading world to ripen.

We venture the opinion, however, that "A Certain Rich Man" may be compared with anything

of Thackeray's and not unfavorably. We may, indeed, go further. While admitting that Thackeray could have equaled or even surpassed this work, had he lived in our day and studied the life of our time and country, we may reasonably contend that in fact he never did equal it. Is that superlative praise? Then let us compare "A Certain Rich Man" with Trollope's fine studies, those charming stories, so true to the life, which had their unconventional merit obscured by the thick Thackerayan atmosphere of the time in which they appeared. "A Certain Rich Man" has all the merit of simplicity, unobtrusive acuteness, and verisimilitude that characterized Trollope's work, plus an appreciation of power in human character that Trollope lacked. Somewhere between Trollope and Thackeray lies the lowest level to which we should assign William Allen White by the test of this strong and rich American story.

It is a true story—not in the sense of fidelity to facts, but of fidelity to truth. Facts are drawn upon freely enough, and living persons are frequently drawn from as models; but the story is a study, and not a history nor a biography.

It is a study of life, for which the framework to the left is the crumbling-of-slavery period of the Kansas-border war, and that to the right the crumbling-of-plutocracy period of the present day, while at the bottom is the natural hell of a plutocratic career, and at the top the heights that men ascend who see God.

Within the limits of those boundaries, William Allen White—he of "The Old Order Changeth"—has drawn a wonderful picture of the beginning of the latest of all the great revolutions of the world's history. And at the focal point he has portrayed with exceptional depth of insight and power of expression, some of the most tremendous character revolutions of individual experience.

Since living models have been used in the study of movement, we may detect familiar features here and there. It is evident that Rockefeller, Carnegie, Gary, Armour, and a host of other plutocrats have sat for the principal character at different times; yet the character itself is none of them, but a veritable type of great conquerors on the field of commercial warfare. It is evident, too, that General Weaver sat more than once to serve the artist in sketching another and opposite type. The Southerner type, too, is there,—both kinds; and a Kansas town is at the geographical center of the story. This is a town that grows before your eyes, from the hamlet of pioneer days to the booming city of the eighties and nineties, displaying as it grows all those phenomena of rising land values and monopolized building sites, which are characteristic of social growth everywhere and always, but fall under the limelight where social growth is quick.

If the book encounters serious criticism at any point, it is most likely to be at the conclusion,

where the regenerated rich man obeys almost literally the New Testament injunction to get rid of his riches. Some of us no doubt would have liked to see him devote himself, whether with or without his money and even unto death, to ridding the world of those perverted property institutions that generate plutocratic John Barkleys faster than Spartan mothers like Mary Barkley can possibly bring them to repentance. It does seem like a waste to let this man die in an effort to save one girl from accidental drowning in a mill pond. There were other characters that might have done it as well; and then there are many girls going down to death every hour, not accidentally, but in consequence of unfair property laws which a repentant plutocrat of Barkley's ability might do much to rid us of.

But the author was telling one story, not two. When he finished that one story he had the repentant plutocrat upon his hands, with no way of disposing of him that would be true to the life we have yet grown up to, except to let him drown himself to save another. Our time can understand that sort of revelation of a new heart. It could not have understood the larger life which Mr. White might have invented for the re-born hero of his story,—could not have understood it because it would have been invention instead of representation, and to invention the author had no right to resort. Anyhow, why may not those of us who would have had Mr. White sink his obligations as an artist in the enthusiasms of a social reformer—why may we not satisfy ourselves with the guess that possibly this finale was symbolic?

The author had a right to symbolize, provided the exteriors of his symbolism were consistent with the externalities of his story. Why may we not infer, then, that the mill pond, alive as it was with the germs of bodily disease, symbolizes a disordered social system; that the endangered girl symbolizes the great mass of mankind whose right to live the human social life is wrested from them by one-sided property laws and institutions; and that the regenerated plutocrat who gives up his own life in that millpond to save that girl from that death, symbolizes whatever the critical among us could severally demand as the finale of this great story? We don't believe that the author intended such symbolism, or any at all; but what is it of his business, now that he has thrown his story upon the world, if we read our own symbolism, each of us, into what he has written? That he is a poet, no one who reads his story can doubt; and do not poets often say much more than we want them to say, than they think they are saying?

All this aside, however, we have in "A Certain Rich Man" a host of individuals, each distinctly characteristic in every movement, and not one of them superfluous to the story. They are strong and weak, and the weak are sometimes strong and

the strong sometimes weak, just as it is in life. Only one is altogether mean, but many if not all are guilty of mean things. Few are essentially dishonest, but circumstances drive more than a few into acts of dishonesty. None are criminal at heart, unless we except the Federal judge, and perhaps he couldn't quite help the effects of early training; but several commit crimes, some of which are exposed and some are not. One of the best of all the characters dies under the shadow of a grave crime against property, which is maliciously exposed to prevent his interfering from motives of good citizenship, with a plutocratic conspiracy set on foot in the interest of property, and against human life—and of course for the "Larger Good."

Mr. White's novel is as wholesome as it is true to life, and none the less wholesome for its faithful picture of that type of evil men of affairs, self-made and self-centered, which our children for three generations have been taught to revere. It is mellow with humor, and it sparkles with wit—wit that sometimes blisters with a wholesome burn. An extraordinarily good novel, simply for its interest as a story, this novel is also, for the reader who has eyes to see and ears to hear, an essay of wonderful grasp and brilliancy and an exalted spiritual poem.

PERIODICALS

President Roosevelt's abusive and really ignorant attack upon socialism in the Outlook some weeks ago (pp. 316, 550) is met with a destructive reply in Van Nordens (New York) for September, from the pen of Jean Jaures, the socialist leader of France.

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In a criticism of the new corporation tax, Alton B. Parker, in Mack's National Monthly (Buffalo) for September, describes it as a long stride in the further establishment of imperial power over the States. On its colored cover page, the National for this month prints a vignette of John Quincy Adams in the upper center of a beautiful full page and tinted picture of the Adams house at Quincy, Mass.

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The Railway Situation in Italy, and Railways in New Zealand, are valuable articles in the Quarterly Journal of Economics (Harvard University) for August. It is especially interesting to note that the substitution of private for public railroads in New Zealand would not be popular, and that in Italy everybody now agrees that there will never be a return to private operation even if public operation should prove to be financially unprofitable.

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The rise and growth of land monopoly in the United States is the subject of H. Martin Williams's

second article on land monopoly, in the July-August number of the Single Tax Review (New York). In addition to this and important news and editorial matter, this issue of the Review contains contributions from S. Tideman, S. L. Moser, Daniel Kiefer, George V. Wells, Jane Dearborn Mills, John Z. White, Alfred J. Wolf, A. G. Hule, James F. Morton, Jr., H. W. Macfarlane, Joseph Fels, Bolton Hall, Peter Vanderwende, William Longstaff and Mary Dixon Jensen. John W. Bengough's story, "The Queer Theory of George Henry," is in its eighth chapter. The frontispiece is a fine halftone portrait of Edward George Hemmerde, member of the British Parliament, Recorder of Liverpool, and a leading land value taxationist of Great Britain.

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The great conception of the function of a people's university which stands back of the University of Wisconsin, is briefly described by Don E. Mowry in the Citizens' Bulletin of Cincinnati (519 Main St.) of August 7. According to Mr. Mowry, "the legislative reference library and the University of Wisconsin authorities ascertained that about five hundred thousand dollars was spent annually by people of the State for correspondence courses given by institutions located outside of the State. What was done? The 'University Extension Division' was established. It reached out for all factory hands, for clerks, for domestics, etc., etc., and gives them instruction along any particular lines they are qualified to take up. . . . The aim and ultimate outcome will be that Wisconsin will provide instruction for all her citizens, in some way or other, from the bread-winner, in the lowest rank, to the college man, drawing a large salary."

A. T. P.

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The Englishwoman is a new English monthly which was started last February (Grant Richards, 7 Carlton St., London, S. W.) under the editorship of Mrs. Grant Richards, with the Lady Frances Balfour, Lady Strachey, Miss Cicely Hamilton and Miss Lownes as a coadjutor editorial committee. The Englishwoman announced in its first number that its purpose was to reach the cultured public and bring before it, in a convincing and moderate form, the case for the enfranchisement of women. No support would be given to any particular party in politics. The subject of woman has been well to the fore in its handsome pages, examined from very many points of view—notably with plain speaking and good sense by George Bernard Shaw in the March number. Essays, verse and fiction from clever pens make excellent reading. An article on "The Taxation of Land Values," by Harold Cox, in the July number, was effectively replied to by W. R. Lester and Joseph Fels in the August number.

A. T. P.

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In writing of "The Confusion of Pragmatism" in the July Hibbert Journal (London, and Boston, 6 Beacon street), Professor George Trumbull Ladd scores the Pragmatists for their "vague and improper use of that much abused word 'idea.'" "We are continually told," he says, "about true and false ideas;" and he quotes William James as

saying that the idea "becomes true, is made true by events," and "its verity is in fact an event." To those who have stumbled over such sayings, Professor Ladd's sudden analysis of the situation is illuminating. "Properly speaking," he says, "ideas, as ideas, are neither true nor false; and so long as they remain mere ideas they cannot be spoken of as agreeing or disagreeing with so-called 'reality.' . . . Only judgments, and not ideas at all, are true or false." In the same Hibbert a Pragmatic dialogue over the question, "Is Nature Good?" by Dr. John Dewey, gives us that often longed-for sensation—the explosion of the bomb of practical economics in the halls of the temple of philosophy. One of the dramatic persons appeals against dialectics to history. "You would find history to be a struggle for existence—for bread, for a roof, for protected and nourished offspring," he urges. "You would find history a picture of the masses always going under—just missing—in the struggle, because others have captured the control of natural resources, which in themselves, if not as benign as the eighteenth century imagined, are at least abundantly ample for the needs of all. But because of the monopolization of Nature by a few persons, most men and women only stick their heads above the welter just enough to catch a glimpse of better things, then to be shoved down and under. The only problem of the relation of Nature to human good which is real is the economic problem of the exploitation of natural resources in the equal interests of all, instead of in the unequal interests of a class." But after having proceeded from rationalism to vision, the other dramatic persons are able to assure him that his economic requirements are not so irrelevant to their philosophic quest as he had supposed, since

in his efforts at reform he is really "inspired by the divine vision of justice;" and "this mystic vision and not the mere increase of quantity of eatables and drinkables" is his "animating motive."

A. T. P.

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An old German, wearing a faded blue coat and a campaign hat, limped into the office of a palatial dog and horse hospital, bequeathed by a humane millionaire to the town of X.

"I wish to be admitted to dis hospital," he announced to the superintendent. "I've got heart trouble. I'm a G. A. R. man, und I can prove it."

"But you can't enter this institution, my good man."

"Sure I can. I fight at Gettysburg. I haf got a weak heart efer since. I can prove it."

"Yes, but you can't enter this hospital; it's a——"

"Can't, huh? Vhy not? I vas a solcher. I can prove it."

"But this is a veterinary hospital."

"I know dot. Ain'd I choost tellin' you dot I'm a veteran?"—Lippincott's.

+ + +

"You say you had great difficulty in borrowing your first \$2,000?"

"Yes," answered the man of millions.

"And now you could borrow that sum with ease."

"I don't have to borrow," was the proud response.

"If I see \$2,000 that I take a fancy to I simply send my lawyers around after it."—Washington Star.

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Ikey: Vat is a promoter?

Father of Ike: A promoter is von who vill supply

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der ocean if some von else vill furnish der ships.—
Princeton Tiger.

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"Gilty or innocent?" asked the Judge.

"Well, Jedge," replied the prisoner, "I ain't mo 'n
two years guilty ef I 's guilty at all!"—Atlanta Con-
stitution.

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The Constable: "Now, gen'l'men, we've traced
these here cloos—the fut-prints o' the ho'se an' the

fut-prints o' the man to this stump; from here on
thar's only the fut-prints o' the hoss. Now, the ques-
tion is—Wot's become o' the man?"—Life.

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The Philosopher of the Hastings (Neb.) Tribune
says: "The girl who makes the best wife is the one
who is as much at home in the kitchen as in the
parlor." Yes, and the best husband is the one who
gives his wife a chance to be as much at home in
the parlor as in the kitchen.—The Commoner.

WHAT WILL IT PROFIT
a woman to get
Fels-Naptha
soap, and then
not go by the
wrapper in using
it?

On the other
hand, if the direc-
tions are followed
—if Fels-Naptha
is used in "the
Fels-Naptha
way" — you not
only save time,
labor and money,
but you save your
temper and you
save yourself.

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really does all
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