

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Nothing to Brag Of.

Those whom men call strong, are often only
brutal.

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Stentorian Commonplaces.

In his latest editorial remarks through the Outlook, Mr. Roosevelt characteristically propounds the philosophy of a Tupper in the voice of a Stentor.

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Ripe For Prosperity.

"The times are ripe for a great business revival," is one of the assurances of President Taft's Secretary of the Treasury. That describes the situation very neatly, but it would have described it as well at any time this year and a half. The times have all along been ripe for prosperity, much as a hungry man is ripe for something to eat.

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The Income Tax.

President Taft's message recommending a Constitutional amendment authorizing income taxation regardless of differences in population, ought to be adopted by Congress and the States. But there is no reason for postponing income tax legislation until its adoption, unless to defer and possibly sidetrack the whole movement for the taxation of swollen incomes.

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The reason given by Mr. Taft is merely a law-

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:

Nothing to Brag Of.....	601
Stentorian Commonplaces	601
Ripe for Prosperity.....	601
The Income Tax.....	601
President Taft's Corporation Tax.....	603
From Seed-time Toward Harvest.....	604
Misrepresenting Mrs. Catt.....	604
Louis Prang	604
The Boston Idea	604
Protectionism and Consumers' Rights.....	606
Our "Ripening" Prosperity	606
Does Capital Gamble?.....	606
Railways and Manufacturers.....	607
Heredity and Environment.....	608

NEWS NARRATIVE:

The British Finance Bill.....	609
The British Land Reform Movement.....	610
The George Movement in Germany.....	610
Preferential Voting in Australia.....	610
The Tariff in Congress.....	610
The President's Taxation Message.....	611
Stock Exchange Speculation.....	611
Charter-making in Colorado.....	612
Nullification of the Illinois Primary Law.....	612
The Cleveland Traction Fight.....	612
News Notes	613
Press Opinions	614

RELATED THINGS:

Responsibility (E. K. Parrish).....	616
To the Oppressed of All Nations (Chas. Brad- laugh).....	617
Let Each Bird Sing Its Native Song (J. W. Stimson).....	617
Keep Fatherless Children With Their Mothers.....	617
Old Man Harder Remarks (Geo. V. Wells).....	618
Land Value Taxation in Germany.....	619

BOOKS:

Woman Suffrage	620
The Family	621
Hints for Agitators	621
Books Received	621
Pamphlets	621
Periodicals	622

yer's reason, and lawyers' reasons for legislation are to be taken with much salt. Mr. Taft argues that inasmuch as the Supreme Court has nullified one law for the taxation of incomes, on the ground that it imposed a direct tax regardless of population, no other such law should be passed in the expectation that the Supreme Court may reverse itself. But the Supreme Court did reverse itself when it made that decision. And as it reversed itself by 5 to 4, only one man on that bench upset an act of Congress which conformed to the precedents of a century. This one man did this by changing his opinion "over night." The court stood 4 to 4 on the question, one judge being absent from illness. When that judge returned, he voted for sustaining the law. Consequently the law would have been sustained, had not another of the judges, one who until then had stood for the law, changed his vote suddenly to the other side. A decision so made is the decision to which President Taft asks Congress to pay the special respect of pigeon-holing the pending bill for income taxation, and postponing the whole subject, adopted with so much enthusiasm in his inaugural, until two-thirds of the Senate, two-thirds of the House, and three-fourths of all the States shall have voted to change the Constitution.

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There is no reason for this, we repeat, except to sidetrack the movement for income taxation. If Congress and the President wish to tax incomes, really wish to, let them enact the proposed amendment, so that, if finally adopted by the States, it will secure the desired power of income taxation beyond peradventure for the future; but meanwhile let them also enact the income tax law, so that if the Court as now constituted shall hold that it does not come within the prohibition of the Constitution as that document now stands, this method of taxation for Federal purposes will have been made immediately effective. If the amendment is necessary, an income tax law in anticipation of it would do no great harm; if the amendment is not necessary, such a law would be of great use. It would prevent a long postponement and a possible sidetracking of the whole subject.

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What we have said is upon the assumption that there ought to be an income tax for Federal purposes. Essentially there ought not to be such a tax—not as income taxes are now understood. For no distinction is now made between *earned* and un-

earned incomes. The issue over that distinction is being drawn in England, and doubtless it will soon be drawn in this country. But at present the income of the man who by his own brain or brawn or both, gives as much in service as he gets in income, is bundled into the same taxing category with that of the man who, through disordered social laws and institutions, gets an income from others without service of his own. Or, for this is not so much a matter of personal classes as of economic interests, no distinction is made with reference to any man's income between that for which he gives a *quid pro quo* in his own service, and that for which he gives nothing but his consent to the use of opportunities for which no one is indebted either to him or to his predecessor in title. To tax incomes in general, therefore, is to tax the man who has made two blades of grass to grow where but one grew before, equally with the man who has stolen two blades of grass where before he stole but one. The true principle of income taxation is to exempt incomes that are earned, be they little or great, and to tax only the incomes that are not earned. Whether this is practicable or not is another question, and a secondary question. The first thing to decide is whether that is what we wish to do. He who too promptly springs the objection of impracticability is to be regarded with suspicion as one to whom the wish is father to the thought. But this distinction, vital as it is, and practicable as it can be shown to be, is one which Congress cannot make under its present Constitutional limitations.

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In those circumstances one of the first steps toward making the distinction between earned and unearned incomes is to impose a tax upon all large incomes—the larger the income the heavier the tax. Not only is this a step toward the distinction indicated above. It would in considerable degree automatically produce the distinction in practice. For most of the larger incomes of the country, and all of the largest, are for the most part unearned. Another consideration is the fact that we are facing the alternative, on the one hand, of custom-house tariffs with their wretched inequalities even as revenue producers and their devilish favoritism for protection purposes, and on the other of income taxation. Customs tariffs are economically indirect and corrupting, as well as unequal and full of favoritism, whereas income taxation is direct and its incidence plain to the sight. The worst direct tax is better than the best indirect tax. On this ground alone, at the present stage of fiscal

development, income taxation is to be approved. It should not be sidetracked by confining its legislative expression to a Constitutional amendment, when, as the fact is, there is no practical conflict between starting the amendment upon its slow course, and enacting a law to go into immediate effect upon the probability that it would be sustained without a Constitutional amendment. We doubt if Mr. Taft, were he again in private practice as a lawyer, would advise a corporation client to proceed by Constitutional amendment alone, and not also and concurrently by legislation, to secure for his client an object of somewhat uncertain constitutionality.

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President Taft's Corporation Tax.

Two objects are declared by President Taft as the purpose of his recommendation of a 2 per cent tax on the net earnings of corporations. The first is to secure an addition to the Federal income; the second, to bring the corporations of the country within the reach of Federal control indirectly through the taxing power.

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In so far as the object is to open a source of Federal income from direct taxation, the purpose is defensible upon the same grounds as those that apply to other forms of income taxation. It is open also to the same objections. The same inquisitorial necessities are present. So are the possibilities of fraud; and so is the fact that the tax would fall alike upon earned and unearned incomes. But this tax (though an "excise" in law, and therefore not legally "direct") is economically a direct tax, and as such preferable to the indirect taxes which are the alternative. Falling as it does upon the net incomes of corporations, its incidence is determined by the same economic laws that determine the incidence of income taxes in general. It falls not upon the processes of the corporation business as they operate, but upon the net results after the operation. It is in effect a tax upon the stockholders in proportion to their dividends. Bitter opposition may for that reason be looked for from powerful sources of political influence.

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For this Presidential recommendation it may also be said, as we have pointed out regarding the income tax, that although it makes no distinction between the earned and the unearned profits of corporations, precisely this distinction would ex-

press itself automatically in great degree. Some profitable corporations do earn most of their net profits, and these would be unfairly hit. As to most if not all of these, however, there is little valid reason for their being corporations, and none at all that could not be removed by State legislation. The corporations that would bear the heaviest part of the tax burden which President Taft proposes are those which, out of the necessities of their privileges, must be corporations. These derive their net profits chiefly from the privileges or franchises which they control. This method of getting at unearned incomes is, like that of the graduated income tax, crude and awkward and to a degree unfair; but it would make a beginning that could be improved in the right direction easier than the right thing could be secured by direct action. Let all corporations be taxed on their net profits, and ways for clarifying the distinction between earned and unearned incomes, between production and privilege, between law-made values and back-ache values, would speedily open up.

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As to the President's purpose by this fiscal innovation to bring the corporations of the country within the reach of Federal control, he would appear to have learned of the British ministry. They wanted an Imperial valuation of all the lands of the kingdom with a view to making those values a resource for public revenue. Realizing, however, that the House of Lords would not consent to this exhibit so menacing to their privileges, the Ministry have proposed in the budget, with which the Lords cannot interfere, a tax on land values, so small and so adjusted that it cannot evoke complaints from the landlord class without making them seem contemptible; and in order to provide for the levy of this tax, the Ministry have created a valuation scheme as part of the sacred budget itself. Thereby the House of Commons will bring within their reach indirectly through taxation the control of that whole great landed monopoly of Great Britain which has made and is making a few enormously rich and the masses poor. President Taft quite as candidly proposes in a somewhat similar manner to get Federal control, without Constitutional amendment, of the railway and other trust corporations of the country. By levying a tax upon their net receipts, there would be necessity for a fiscal mechanism through which the regulation of these corporations could be brought indirectly within the authority of Congress and the Departments.

From Seed-time toward Harvest.

Twenty-seven years ago a little man with a head full of brains and a persuasive tongue went from San Francisco to England and agitated the British landlords. So great was the disturbance of landlordism caused by his speeches that the Duke of Argyle went forth in a magazine article to demolish the agitator and his theories, the title of his article being "The Prophet of San Francisco." Declining to be demolished by the noble Duke, the little man replied, and after "The Reduction to Iniquity" was published the Duke of Argyle held his peace. Twenty-seven years have passed, and the yeast taken to England has fermented and leavened the whole social structure of Great Britain, Ireland and the British colonies. The "wild theories" of that little man are finally written into the budget of the House of Commons, and British landlordism is full of panic.

* *

Misrepresenting Mrs. Catt.

Some newspaper writer of coarse imagination has set afloat a story to the effect that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the distinguished women's suffrage leader, flippantly calls men "lobsters" and "shrimps"; and dull-minded editors are giving currency to the story. Mrs. Catt has taken the pains to deny it, in an interview in which she says:

I not only did not say the thing you quote concerning men, "lobsters and shrimps," but at no time in my life have I ever said anything which by the wildest stretch of imagination could be distorted into any resemblance to the paragraph now making the rounds of the newspapers. Further, I know that calling persons "lobsters" is a type of American slang, but I for one do not even know what it means. The thing was literally originated and set into circulation by some irresponsible sensationalist. I have never felt that men were more blameable than women for the disfranchisement of my sex, and until I have cause to change this opinion I shall certainly not take to calling men names.

The vulgar aspersion of the womanly president of the International Woman Suffrage Association is the least part of the double offense in this matter. The worse part of it is the implication that she regards the suffrage question as a question of woman's rights against man's despotism. There is no conflict between men and women over this question; and every attempt to make the woman suffrage movement seem like such a conflict tends to put the movement in a false light. The conflict is between despotic and democratic tendencies regardless of sex. Women are seeking the ballot not as enemies but as helpmeets of men.

Louis Prang.

The name of this man, who has just passed out of the world in which for two-thirds of his long life of eighty-five years he was a workman of high degree, is known wherever exquisite art printing in color is appreciated. In those circles he will be remembered for his artistic triumphs. But in another and constantly widening circle, his name will be cherished for an additional reason. He was one of those intimate personal friends of Henry George whose friendship sprang out of their conversion to the cause that George vitalized. Mr. Prang had been for many years a member of the Single Tax League of Boston; and he was a co-operator in the publication of *The Public* from its first number until his death.

* *

The Boston Idea.

An undertaking big with social possibilities—much bigger than those in the midst of it dream of—not only for Boston but for the whole country, is graphically described by Paul U. Kellogg in *The Survey* for June 5. The motor force of this new movement is an appeal to the patriotic impulse of all classes to make the city a model of prosperity, civic development, and social regeneration by 1915. The method primarily is to bring together in friendly cooperation the leaders of all classes, through their several organizations—business, social, civic, or what not—for practical municipal progress.

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Apparently, this movement had its origin a year ago in the employment of an "exploring secretary," who investigated municipal conditions with the thoroughness of a lawyer on a case. In March last his work resulted in the formulation by an energetic and influential group under the leadership of Edward A. Filene, of a "plan for a Boston plan." This "plan for a plan" lays out tentatively a program for six years, with stages of progress at 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1915.

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By 1910 there is to be an expert accounting of the financial condition and resources, and the human resources, of the city, present and prospective, so clearly stated, explained and illustrated that the man in the streets may understand, showing him among other things the fact that, whether he owns property or not, he contributes to these resources and pays a tax in every purchase he makes and in every comfort he provides for those dependent upon him. There are also to be a

broad-minded consideration by and with its employers and employes of their relations, happier and better conditions for both the workers themselves and their wives and children than anywhere else in the world, and an organized movement for the extension of existing industries and the introduction of new enterprises. A system of small neighborhood and district centers is to be established where lectures will be given, where city officials may meet the people, and where the candidates of any party, and others who have suggestions to make or help to ask, may find the people; and as part of the plan it is proposed to establish (probably at first by private enterprise) regular courses of lectures in civil government, politics, city planning, play, health and business, together with various entertainments, to increase the number of regular public library branches and to establish circulation through shops, factories, schools and clubs. The Public Library and Art Museum are to circulate pictures and the reproduction of pictures, as is done in France; and as a part of this service, to provide lecturers who shall follow the pictures around and point out not only the beauty and aesthetic and historic significance of them, but the skill of the artist in the use of line and color.

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By 1911, accurate information is to have been gathered concerning the particular capacities of the cities, towns and country districts of New England, as to their agricultural and other natural resources, as to what is now being done, and as to what may be but is not being done.

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By 1912, there is to be more music in the parks and in the neighborhood centers, and in various ways the people are to be more clearly impressed with the fact that these centers are their own. There is also to be drawn out of all the plans, and out of the best experience of European cities, one city plan which shall show how Boston will look physically when finished. The city as it is, to be the basis of this plan; the city as it is growing naturally to be, the guiding lines of the proposed design for the future. The proposition is to include such features as help to make the city a place of healthy, happy homes.

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By 1915, there is to be in successful operation a system of public education so planned as actually to fit the boys and girls of Boston for their life work, and to develop not only their minds but

their strength, skill and character, and to give them an intelligent interest in life and in their city, in the broadest sense. The system is to provide also for adults, through evening and part-time schools and well-planned industrial training, and to include an organized system of playgrounds, baths, club-houses and social centers for both old and young. There is also to be well along toward completion the execution of an intelligent system of transportation for the city, State and New England as a whole—steam and electric, express, freight and passenger,—this plan to be the result of public deliberations between the transportation interests and the public, represented by men who best understand Boston's needs in transportation, and advised by experts familiar with the latest improvements at home and abroad. The deliberations are to be guided by the assumption that the true interests of the transportation companies and of the public are identical. The city is to have, besides, the best public health department that can be planned on the basis of all experience; the best system of sanitation for the prevention of wasteful and unnecessary disease and accidents; the most scientific and efficient treatment of the stricken and physically deficient; the most intelligent protection of child life; the best system of insuring the purity of the food and water supply; in short, the most complete organization possible for guarding the public health. A large part of the skill and force which in the past have been employed in curing disease and repairing accident is to be utilized in making effective measures to prevent them. Finally, the plan contemplates developing and securing the general adoption of a comprehensive system of wage-earners' insurance and old age pensions which shall afford protection against the risks of sickness, accidents, old age, and premature death, to the end that wage-earners may be in fact as well as name independent citizens of a free commonwealth; that public and private service may be honorably relieved of those whom age and misfortune have rendered inefficient; and that the heavy burden which the community bears of supporting those who are dependent may be lessened.

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There is much about this "plan for a plan," that sounds utopian, and much that suggests the paternalistic spirit. There is much also of the atmosphere of that kind of civic enterprise which devotes itself to improvements for the sake of the land values and other monopoly values they foster, and of the private treasuries that are thereby en-

riched with the sweat of other men's faces. In all this there is no novelty. But reflection upon the plan makes it clear that running through it there is something new, and not only new but good. The spirit of the right mind is in the movement. As it goes on, the goats will automatically separate themselves from the sheep. For this plan distinctly contemplates the common good. Whoever goes into it must make that object primary or he will suffer a wondrous disappointment. As the movement develops there will come a point—many points, perhaps, one after another,—at which every man in it will be brought sharply to judgment at the bar of his own civic conscience. He will come to a point at which he will have to choose between going on with the movement in its logical path, which necessitates the distribution of social wealth equitably, or of dropping out of the movement and fighting selfishly for what really belongs to the community and not to himself. When those emergent points arise, it will be found that personal conscience and not class interest is the determining factor. Meantime the movement, if it succeeds at all, will have become so formidable that he who puts his private interests in its way, will put them there only to see them flattened out. Some one has had a hand in this "plan for a plan" who understands human nature, and having exalted social ideals knows how to proceed in order to realize them.

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Protectionism and Consumers' Rights.

If Southern sentiment on the tariff were really known, it is doubtful if protection Congressmen from the South would appear to be faithful representatives. The sentiment which these Congressmen do represent is more that of the interests at the South than of the people of the South. We are advised of an incident that goes to confirm this view. Down in Alabama recently a farmer circulated a petition to Congress asking that sugar be placed in the free list. "It was signed," writes this farmer, "by the old born and bred Southerner, by the grocers, and I truly believe would have been signed by 99 out of every 100 voters," if there had been time and opportunity to get around to them all. But this farmer's Congressman, to whom the petition was sent with a request that he show it to the Alabama Senators, replied that it would be useless.

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The truth is that the Interests are organized and the consumers are not. The interests know what they want and how to get it. But the consumers

neither know what they want nor how to get it. They are not a factor in tariff-making, nor will they be until they organize as consumers to protect themselves against the rapacity of the Interests. The idea that the South, for instance, is for protection, would soon be dispelled if the consumers there were to make as much noise over their rights as the Interests do over their privileges. And why might it not be a good idea, at the North as well as at the South, for some one in every locality to do as this Alabama farmer has done—circulate a petition asking that sugar be put in the free list. Other petitions might propose the same thing regarding other products. Free sugar leagues, free iron leagues, free this, that or the other leagues, if they sprang up all over the country with their petitions would soon give a new phase to the tariff controversy.

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Our "Ripening" Prosperity.

Dispatches of the 18th from New York report the Swedish consul there as having warned his government of the unwisdom of Swedish emigration to this country at present. He says that times here are still bad. He does not deny, however, that Mr. MacVeagh is right in describing the times as ripe for betterment.

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Does Capital Gamble?

James J. Hill, of the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, and Burlington roads, uses the term "capital" very loosely. "It is a mistake to say that Patten cornered the wheat market," Hill is quoted as saying; "he is merely a capitalist taking advantage of opportunities." Capital, then, according to Mr. Hill, is "money used in taking advantage of opportunities," and not "wealth used for the production of more wealth." Would not Mr. Hill's definition apply equally well to the expert manipulator of a deck of cards, who deals himself a "royal flush," gives good but smaller hands to his opponents, and then wins five or ten thousand dollars on the result? For if the sharper has a pocketful of money isn't he a capitalist "taking advantage of opportunities"? But Mr. Hill should not be condemned too severely for his misuse of economic terms. To use them correctly would be to call attention to his special privilege as a transportation monopolist.

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It has never been possible to predict future social systems, but it is always in order to put a stop to injustice.—The Secular Church.

RAILWAYS AND MANUFACTURERS.

The Illinois Manufacturers' Association is in a good deal better business when it exposes the huge grafting of railroad magnates and asks for legislative interference, than when it opposes the reasonable legislative protection which overworked and underpaid women seek.

For the interests of competitive manufacturers—of all those without special privileges of any kind, whether direct or indirect—are really identical with the interests of their employes. High wages and short hours are as beneficial for unprivileged employers as for their employes; for the "profits" of unprivileged employers are earnings, wages, pay for work, the same kind of compensation that employes get; and the higher the wages of employed workers, within the limits of the social value of their service, and the shorter their hours, the higher also the wages and the shorter also the hours of workers who employ them. Employes and unprivileged employers are in partnership. What is good for either is good for the other. If this seems like a paradox, it is because so few employers are unprivileged that one's ability to think of employment without privilege is clouded.

As most employers have a privilege of one kind or another, they are easily drawn into co-operation with the enormous privileged interests to fight employes, whereas their true financial interests lie in co-operating with employes to fight privileged interests. This accounts largely for the absurd and inhuman fights the Illinois Manufacturers' Association has made against laws for the protection of workingmen from dangerous machinery, and against working women for the reasonable regulation of hours. The Association has been dominated more by the interests of manufacturers who own monopolies and thereby live by exploiting workers, than by the interests of those who earn their own incomes by their own work. There are signs, however, that light is breaking in, even upon the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. One of these signs is its Bulletin No. 10, of April 7, 1909, in which it hints very broadly that legislation is necessary to regulate the capitalization of railways.

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In many respects this is a very remarkable bulletin. Its indictment of railway management is more than the querulous complaint of business men made sore. Although sores are visible, the circular raises a cry of civic principle which, while it sounds queer enough from this source, where business principle and civic principle are not very intimate, is for that very reason, it may be, truly

encouraging. The supposed community of interest between railroad corporations and their workmen is ruthlessly exposed with the example of 18,000 men dismissed from the Burlington service, not because of anti-railroad legislation, but because of grafty capitalization. Interest-bearing bonds having been issued in lieu of stock to the tune of \$220,000,000 for \$110,000,000, that company has been paying double interest for eight years instead of single dividends. "If they had been obliged to pass the dividends on their stock for a year," says the circular, "it would have been no worse than what nearly every manufacturer in the State of Illinois has had to do the last year and a half; but since the stock has been turned into bonds, and watered \$110,000,000, they have to let everything else go to pay the interest," and this, the bulletin adds, "is the real reason that 18,000 men were turned out to shift for themselves or starve," for "the New York bankers must have their interest, whether the employes get any wages or not." Proceeding from that typical instance to others, this manufacturers' bulletin rightly concludes that "modern railroad managers and financiers cannot be trusted to manage their properties for the best interest of the public."

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The implication is pronounced that the people should be directly consulted about railroad capitalization. But better than the implication itself, and better than the concise and sharp exposure of enormous railway graft, is the justification which this bulletin makes for its suggestion that the people should control capitalization. Every essential principle of public ownership is involved in the argument, which we reproduce:

Reckless and unconscionable "financiering" has done a hundred times more to injure the country than all the mistakes of legislators. The State of Illinois could not create a debt of \$20,000,000 to improve the Illinois river and make a waterway between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi until a Constitutional amendment to authorize the debt had been voted on by the people; and public spirited citizens had to subscribe money for the expenses of presenting the question to the people so they would understand it and vote for this improvement. The rings that have controlled the Rock Island "waterway" have added enough bogus bonds and stocks to the capitalization of their various companies to pay the cost of a ship canal that would carry the largest ocean steamers and battleships from the Gulf to Lake Michigan. This "water" is just as much a public debt as the \$20,000,000 of bonds which the State of Illinois has authorized, because shippers and the public will be forever taxed to pay the interest and dividends. The people who pay the interest have no chance to vote on the bond issues of the Rock Island "waterway." They must not interfere, through their

legislatures, with the "business" which creates multimillionaires by mortgaging the resources of the State and the country.

Whether this is only a case of "worm-turning," or is a public-spirited utterance intended to test public sentiment regarding the subjection of rail highways to public control, it is at any rate another encouraging sign of a tendency toward those new lines of economic adjustment which foreshadow new lines of political adjustment.

* * *

HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT.

The world surely "do move." It seems but yesterday that "heredity" accounted for all the ills that the disinherited masses suffer from, and all the goods that their parasites enjoy. The poverty, the vices, the crimes of the poor were laboriously explained with statistics of family history. "Heredity" was a "good enough Morgan" for repulsing every demand upon the exploiters of humanity that they drop their power to plunder. One notable instance of this scientific by-play in the interest of special privileges was the case of the woman thief (vol. iii, p. 740) whose several hundred descendants were all thieves or prostitutes or worse. Their demoralizing environment—an ample explanation if the facts were true—was ignored, and the whole pernicious result attributed to the blood of that woman, which, by the way, would have been indistinguishable by the finest tests of real science from the blood of Queen Victoria. But there is a reaction. Sensible people are beginning to see that the influence of heredity upon vice and crime is by no means so evident as the influence of poverty; and that poverty is allied to heredity about as closely as weather to the Gregorian calendar, and not more so. Such relationship as there may be is conventional and not congenital.

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Even heredity theories of disease—the one influence of heredity that was ever a reasonable inference—is fast going by the board. How fast it is going may be seen by reference to a speech in Congress on the 22d of February last by Herbert Parsons of New York, as printed in the Congressional Record. Congressman Parsons, speaking upon the authority of official investigations and alluding to the health of children, said: "Rich and poor children come into the world substantially on an equality. They are 'created equal.' The inequalities occur after they have arrived in the world." This is his entirely reasonable deduction from a report of the British inter-

departmental committee on physical deterioration, from which he quoted the following:

So far as the committee are in a position to judge, the influence of heredity in the form of the transmission of any direct taint is not a considerable factor in the production of degenerates. Professor Cunningham's views, that inferior bodily characters, the result of poverty and not of vice, are not transmissible, were confirmed by Doctor Mackenzie, who at the outset of his interesting evidence elaborated a distinction between inheritable characters and their environmental modifications, the result of these last being imposed on the individual by his life history and not therefore transmissible to the offspring. Doctor Eichholz was disposed to go further, and sought to explain how some mysterious law of transmitted impulse made for the recuperation of each generation, the unborn child fighting strenuously for its own health at the expense of the mother and arriving in the world with a full chance of living a normal physical existence. This view he supported by the assertion that the number of children born healthy in the worst districts was very great, he himself putting it at not less than 90 per cent. Doctor Ashby thought this was only partially true, as nature too often failed in its effort; and Doctor Mackenzie would not even concede so much, as investigations into the effect of food on guinea pigs during pregnancy had, he said, shown that the embryo suffers in greater proportion than the mother. He quoted the opinion of Dr. Noel Paton that "the nourishment of the maternal tissues seems to take precedence over the nutrition of the fetus." The committee deemed it advisable to hear on this point Dr. Edward Malins, president of the Obstetrical Society of London and professor of midwifery in the University of Birmingham, who thought the testimony of experienced persons was on the whole in accordance with the views expressed by Doctor Eichholz. He would say that from 80 to 85 per cent of children were born physically healthy, whatever the condition of the mother might be antecedently, so far confirming the opinion that nature intends all to have a fair start. Doctor Malins kindly undertook on behalf of the Obstetrical Society to institute an inquiry among the lying-in charities and hospitals in London which should furnish information on these facts; this inquiry is unfortunately not complete. The committee were, however, supplied by the courtesy of Doctor Eichholz with evidence which did tend to establish this conclusion from the medical officers working for the Royal Maternity Charity, and from the Paddington and Kensington Workhouse infirmaries. The committee can not ignore these opinions, though it may well be that the depressing effects of the life struggle on parents are, nevertheless, in some measure transmitted to the offspring. At any rate, some vulnerability toward disease may coexist with a superficially healthy appearance, and granted unfavorable environment the seeds of degeneration are not long in producing a rank harvest. The consolation of the doctrine lies in the encouragement it gives to working for the removal of the causes which are prejudicial to the health of each successive generation, an encouragement which is immensely strengthened by the concurrent testimony of all concerned as to the immediate effect upon growth and develop-

ment brought about by the withdrawal of even the most unpromising material from noxious surroundings.

Well indeed did Congressman Parsons comment upon that extract by saying: "If infants of the rich and poor come into the world on a substantial equality, they die with an inhuman inequality." "A German investigator," he added, "found that for every 1,000 children born among the working classes 505 died in the first year; among the middle classes 173 died in the first year; and among the higher classes only 89 died during the first year."

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Exactly what the British committee meant by "removal of the causes," is problematical. Their remedy, however, is the right one, its efficacy depending upon the extent of application. To rescue children from the environments of debasing poverty will of course have some effect, in individual cases; but in the grand result no effect can be secured without removing the fundamental causes of poverty in the midst of abundance. Anything else would be too much like Herbert Quick's greenhorn on a sail boat, who busied himself with pumping water out of the center-board slit, until he found that he was merely pumping the ocean up through the boat and into the ocean again. That the cause of poverty in the midst of abundance is not "heredity" is coming to be seen. That it is institutional, needs but to be candidly considered to be plainly recognized. So long as these institutional causes are tolerated, individual relief and rescue will be like trying to pump the ocean dry through the center-board slit of a sail boat.

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, June 22, 1909.

The British Finance Bill.

The best American reports on the conflict in Great Britain over the budget (p. 588) are the weekly cable letters of T. P. O'Connor. From that of last Saturday, as published in the Sunday Tribune of Chicago, it appears that Mr. O'Connor's

belief (and he is a member of Parliament) is that—

the budget will pass triumphant. The minority among the Liberals against the land taxes, though much advertised in the Tory papers, is small in number and smaller in authority. The members of it consist mainly of a small remnant of Roseberyites and already are affrighted.

Mr. O'Connor explains that—

the land taxes have created the widest and wildest rage among the capitalists of all classes, and are put deliberately in the forefront of the fight by the Government.

But while these taxes—small in amount, but terrific in their significance—are so wildly opposed by privileged interests, Mr. O'Connor finds that—

the land tax is the item in the budget which most appeals to the popular imagination, and it accounts largely for the return of virility and popularity to the Government.

Proceeding with his description of the situation, Mr. O'Connor writes:

As I have already cabled, the huge Liberal majority is split into relays, some taking their vacation now, so as to come back a month or two later, and relieve those who have remained at their posts. The Liberal majority is so huge that it can afford to take these liberties, the Tories still not forming one-fourth of the entire House. The Independent Labor members and the Irish party are, of course, uncertain factors; and they now and then vote against the Government and so fill up partially the big gap between the Liberal majority and the shrunken Tory minority. One day, for instance, these forces combined brought down the Government majority to 23. But on the budget the two sections may be counted as usually going with the Government. The Independent Labor section are so delighted with the land tax, with the big additional burdens put on the rich, and with the generally radical tone of the budget, that they may be counted on as among the most ardent friends Lloyd-George would have in fighting his way through. The Irish party resent the whisky tax as an additional burden on their already overtaxed country; but they know they cannot defeat the budget—the Liberal majority is omnipotent on that point—and they realize accordingly that by joining anything like filibustering tactics—as some factionists recommend them to do—they would be playing into the hands of those who want to wreck Birrell's land bill and in that way to discredit the Irish party.

So certain is the passage of this radical budget in the House of Commons by a tremendous majority, that the privileged interests are hysterically urging the House of Lords to block it. Says Mr. O'Connor on this point;

Frantic cries are raised in the jingo Tory newspapers against the budget. The Daily Telegraph, which represents the classes most opposed to the budget, is therefore making desperate appeals to the House of Lords to defeat this budget, if not in one form, then in another. The constitutional practice is that the House of Lords can accept or can

reject the budget as a whole, but cannot amend it in any particular whatever. The ultra Tory organs then are crying out that if the ministers do not amend the budget the House of Lords should reject it as a whole. An alternative course suggested is that the House of Lords should insist on its right to criticise the budget in detail; and in this way to postpone passing it till this year is finished. The Daily Telegraph, for instance, starts by saying that the budget probably will not reach the House of Lords till the month of August or the beginning of September, and then it goes on to point out how by judicious and leisurely discussion of the details of the measure the House of Lords may postpone the passage of the budget till next year. The plan means that the finances of the country would be thrown into chaos; that the only escape from this anarchy would be a dissolution; and that this dissolution would throw the Liberal ministry and the budget out on their heads together.

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The British Land Reform Movement.

A popular demonstration in favor of the land reform proposals of the British ministry is set for the 10th of July at Hyde Park, London. The provisional committee, of which Josiah Wedgwood is chairman, has issued an address from provisional headquarters (21 John St. Adelphi, London, W. C.) to sympathetic societies, in which it invites co-operation in support of the following resolution to be offered for adoption at the Hyde Park demonstration:

That this meeting heartily welcomes the important proposal in the budget to secure a complete valuation of all land in the United Kingdom, holding this to be the essential basis of any constructive 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 all land, which must result in increased employment, better housing for the people, and greater prosperity for our national industries.

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The George Movement in Germany.

News dispatches of the 15th from Berlin, in reporting the re-assembling of the Reichstag on the 15th, state that—

among the official communications laid before the House was one from the Government concerning the proposal to tax the unearned increment in real estate values. The Government has decided that it is inexpedient to do this for Imperial purposes, inasmuch as there are seemingly insurmountable difficulties in the way of an equitable adjustment of the taxes on city and country values; but it approves as just the taxing of the unearned increment for local purposes, as is now being done in many municipalities.

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Preferential Voting in Australia.

Recent mail advices from Catharine H. Spence of Australia to Robert Tyson, of Toronto, secre-

tary-treasurer of the American Proportional Representation League, are to the effect that the Hare-Spence system of proportional representation—similar to that proposed by the British Proportional Representation Society (p. 621)—has been successfully tried in Tasmania. The trial came off on the 30th of April at a general Parliamentary election for the State of Tasmania at which 30 members were chosen from 5 electorates. Of the result Miss Spence writes:

The election has gone off without a hitch and has secured the best representation ever known in Australia. At the last election, which was under the old plan, 35 was the number; and many of these have been defeated, so that there is much "new blood." Labor has had great triumphs; instead of 7 out of 35, labor has secured 12 out of the 30. The recent proportional representation bill on the Hare plan was delayed for a year in Tasmania because the Legislative Council would not allow their electorates to be grouped; so that the electoral act was passed only applicable in its entirety to the Legislative Assembly—the lower House. On receiving news of the Tasmanian elections, the Effective Voting League of South Australia telegraphed congratulations to Mr. Douglas, chief Returning Officer, and he replied by wire as follows: "Miss C. H. Spence. Thanks for telegram. The scrutiny for Denison (the only district where the count was then completed) has proved that the Hare system is simple, effective, and easily worked. The success of the system is complete, and thoroughly justifies your self-denying labors in advocating it against strenuous opposition for so many years." When the results in all five electorates were made known, the Premier, Hon. Mr. Evans, said at the declaration of the poll: "I am perfectly satisfied with the Hare system of voting. Even those who have been its strongest opponents must admit that it is almost perfect in its operation. Never before in Tasmania have such opportunities been given for the will of the people, as a whole, to be represented." This frank and outspoken testimony is the more valuable because of the fact that Mr. Evans' colleague Urquhart, the State treasurer, has been defeated, and the prospects of the Ministry are imperiled.

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The Tariff in Congress.

The principal subject of tariff action in the Senate since our last report (p. 587) related to wood pulp. An attempt was made on the 17th, under the lead of Senator Brown of Nebraska, to place wood pulp and print paper on the free list. The House had recommended a tariff of \$2.00 a ton, and the finance committee of the Senate \$4.00. The free list motion was voted down in the Senate on the 18th by 52 to 29; and immediately afterward the increase to \$4 was adopted by 44 to 32. The subject of tariffs on hides was taken up on the 19th. Senators Clapp of Minnesota and Lodge of Massachusetts advocated free hides, in accordance with the House bill, but Senator Ald-

rich held out for an ad valorem tax of 15 per cent, and this was voted on the 22d by 46 to 30.

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The President's Taxation Message.

In view of his inaugural address recommending income taxation, and of the favorable action of the House in that respect, coupled with unfavorable probabilities in the Senate and a disposition of the Republican "progressives" to re-enact the substance of the income tax law that was nullified by the Supreme Court several years ago by a vote of 5 to 4, President Taft has recommended to Congress the proposal to the States (1) of an amendment to the Constitution conferring the power to levy an income tax without apportionment among the States in proportion to population; and (2) an amendment to the tariff bill imposing upon all corporations and joint stock companies for profit, except national banks (otherwise taxed), savings banks, and building and loan associations, an excise tax measured by 2 per cent on the net income of such corporations. These recommendations were made in a message delivered to both Houses on the 17th.

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In advocacy of the Constitutional amendment, the President's message argues:

Although I have not considered a Constitutional amendment as necessary to the exercise of certain phases of this power, a mature consideration has satisfied me that an amendment is the only proper course for its establishment to its full extent. . . . This course is much to be preferred to the one proposed of re-enacting a law once judicially declared to be unconstitutional. For the Congress to assume that the Court will reverse itself, and to enact legislation on such an assumption, will not strengthen popular confidence in the stability of judicial construction of the Constitution. It is much wiser policy to accept the decision and remedy the defect by amendment in due and regular course. . . . It is said the difficulty and delay in securing the approval of three-fourths of the States will destroy all chance of adopting the amendment. Of course no one can speak with certainty upon this point, but I have become convinced that a great majority of the people of this country are in favor of vesting the national Government with power to levy an income tax, and that they will secure the adoption of the amendment in the States, if proposed to them.

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The Presidential explanation of the proposed corporation tax is that the Supreme Court seems clearly to have established, "the principle that such a tax as this is an excise tax upon privilege and not a direct tax on property, and is within the Federal power without apportionment according to population." Its equity is argued as a tax "upon the privilege of doing business as an artificial entity and of freedom from a general partnership liability enjoyed by those who own the stock." But the

principal apparent purpose of the proposed corporation tax is disclosed in the latter part of the message in this language:

Another merit of this tax is the Federal supervision which must be exercised in order to make the law effective over the annual accounts and business transactions of all corporations. While the faculty of assuming a corporate form has been of the utmost utility in the business world, it also is true that substantially all of the abuses and all of the evils which have aroused the public to the necessity of reform were made possible by the use of this very faculty. If, now, by a perfectly legitimate and effective system of taxation, we are able to possess the government and the stockholders and the public of the knowledge of the real business transactions and the gains and profits of every corporation in the country, we have made a long step toward that supervisory control of corporations which may prevent a further abuse of power.

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Stock Exchange Speculation.

The investigating committee appointed by Governor Hughes to investigate speculation in stocks and commodities through exchanges (vol. xi, p. 922), and composed of Horace White, chairman; Charles A. Schieren, David Leventritt, Clark Williams, John B. Clark, Willard V. King, Samuel H. Ordway, Edward D. Page, Charles Sprague Smith and M. L. Muhleman, secretary, has reported. Its report covers the two New York stock exchanges and seven commodity exchanges. While it makes a distinction between exchange trading and gambling, the report finds that the rules make so easy a technical delivery of property contracted for that the practical effect of much speculation which in form is legitimate is not greatly different from gambling; and it finds the problem to be the elimination of what is wasteful and morally destructive and the retention of what is beneficial. In the solution of this problem action by the exchanges is regarded as more important than legislation. The committee, therefore, makes several recommendations to the exchanges, among them being that—margins be raised to 20 per cent; that the rules against fictitious sales be more strictly enforced; that corners be declared when discovered and settlement prices be fixed; that the financial condition of members be examined before failure as well as after; that transactions in unlisted securities be abolished; that stricter penalties be imposed upon "bucketing"; and that sales records be preserved for six years.

The recommendations for legislation are as follows:

That it be a misdemeanor for a broker to receive securities or cash from any customer or to make purchases or sales for his account after the broker has become insolvent.

That it be larceny for a broker to sell securities purchased by a customer who has paid for them in whole or in part, or to dispose of them for his own (the broker's) advantage, except upon the customer's default.

That brokers be prohibited from dealing in the account of any clerk or subordinate employe of any bank, trust company, insurance company, or other moneyed corporation or banker.

"The most fruitful policy," according to the report, "will be found in measures which will lessen speculation by persons not qualified to engage in it."

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Charter-making in Colorado.

An organization of the charter convention of Grand Junction, Colo. (p. 589) was effected on the 12th with the election of James W. Bucklin as permanent president. The convention has, under the general charter law, until the 7th of August next for the completion of its work. This charter convention bids fair to be of intense general interest because, as there is reason to believe, it will go farther in the direction of establishing a practical municipal democracy than any charter-framing body has yet gone. The indications are that, while it will build in line with the Des Moines, Berkeley and Colorado Springs charters, and will go as far as either with reference to the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, it will go farther with reference to election methods. In an outline proposed by the president of the convention the following discussion of that subject appears:

The present election system has established partisan and machine politics in our cities; it also deprives the voter of his rights to express his preference between three or more candidates except for first choice, thereby frequently electing officials by minority vote. An improvement over this method was established by the Des Moines charter, of direct primary elections. That charter authorizes nominations by petition, but still deprives the voter of his right to vote except for his first choice. The Berkeley and Colorado Springs charters improved this plan of direct primaries by adopting from European countries the plan of second ballots, or second elections, and also included non-partisan petitions for nominations. But the Berkeley plan, like the Des Moines plan, included the expense and complication of two elections in all cases where any office did not secure a majority vote. The Idaho system of preferential voting secures and establishes a far more perfect and complete expression of the voter's will with a single election only, by permitting each elector not only to vote his first choice, but on the same ballot to vote also his preference between any other candidates. This preferential and non-partisan ballot, together with individual petitions for nomination, appears to be the best and least expensive system, and should become a part of our charter.

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Nullification of the Illinois Primary Law.

The third direct primary law of Illinois (vol. x, pp. 1039, 1112) was declared by the Supreme Court of the State on the 16th to be unconstitutional. The question came before the court in the cases of primary frauds (vol. xi, p. 895) institut-

ed by a special grand jury after the primaries in Chicago of a year ago. As the basis of its decision, the court, following previous decisions, holds that a primary law is an election law within the meaning of the Constitution and must therefore in no wise curtail the rights of voters. The court then holds that this law does curtail some of those rights, because (1) it makes no provision for registration within 30 days of the primary, and thereby disfranchises all persons qualified to vote at the time of the primary but not qualified at the last preceding election, all who had not registered for that election though qualified then to do so, and all who had meanwhile moved into other voting precincts; and because (2) it restricts the voter at the primary "to one vote for each of as many candidates as the Senatorial Committee has decided shall be nominated," in contravention of the Constitutional provision for cumulative voting.

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The Cleveland Traction Fight.

Date for the Cleveland referendum on the Schmidt traction ordinance (p. 585) was fixed by the City Council at its regular meeting of the 14th, a sufficient petition having been filed. To the petition filed at noon of that day by the Mayor there were 15,197 signatures, with 300 petitions yet to be heard from. The Chamber of Commerce filed one in the evening with 22,000 signatures, to which 5,000 more were added in the evening. The day fixed by the Council for the referendum is August 3d.

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At the same meeting the Council gave formal notice of the city's intention to revoke the low fare grants now held by the Cleveland Railway Company. These grants were made to low-fare companies prior to the settlement of a year and a half ago; and at the settlement they were turned over to the Cleveland Railway Company, which then leased all its franchises to the Municipal (or "holding") Company, which is now in the hands of receivers. A "gentleman's agreement" accompanied this transaction, under which the low-fare grants were to go back to the original low-fare companies, if for any reason the settlement failed. But the Cleveland Railway Company, although acknowledging the "gentleman's agreement," refuses to abide by it and claims to own the low-fare grants, notwithstanding that the settlement has failed through the refusal of the people to ratify it at the referendum last fall. It happens, however, that these grants are revocable on six months' notice, and it is this notice which the City Council has now given. It is understood that these revoked grants will be remade as additions to the Schmidt grant, if that is sustained at the referendum of August 3d. Mr. Schmidt stated in an interview in the Cleveland Press of the 16th that

most of the stockholders of the company to be formed on the grant to him, if it is confirmed by the referendum, will be those who held stock in the old low-fare companies.

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Immediately after the Council meeting on the 14th, Mayor Johnson went to a tent meeting at Superior avenue and 81st street, where he addressed a tremendous crowd on the pending referendum, in what the Plain-Dealer's report describes as "one of the most vigorous speeches he has made in years." In this speech he explained in detail the plans for securing public rights in the traction system.

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At the time of the next tent meeting, held on the 18th, Mayor Johnson was absent in New York, and the speakers were Councilman Bernstein, Peter Witt, and Newton D. Baker, the City Solicitor. Councilman Selzer presided. It was explained by Councilman Bernstein that arrangements have been made to grant extensions to the Schmidt ordinance which will enable the people at the referendum to vote for a 3-cent fare with universal transfers on 80 per cent of the present system. Mr. Baker addressed himself to an explanation of the Schmidt ordinance. He also defended the action of the Council in signifying its intention to revoke the old low-fare ordinances now held by the monopoly company. Mr. Baker "made no attempt," says the Plain-Dealer's report, "to explain or palliate the action. In vigorous terms he declared the proposed action to be right and just and holy rather than criminal, as charged. 'I abominate the Cleveland Railway Company directors who repudiated a plain gentlemen's agreement and now presume to hold the low-fare lines,' he said. 'I have told the directors so to their faces. But thank God for the revocable features of the grants. I am glad for any part I played in inserting the revocation clause in the ordinances. It is the evident belief of the railway company that it can steal the golden goose, put it into a bag and get away without any squawking. How mightily mistaken they are.'" Turning then from the pending ordinance to the record of Mayor Johnson in connection with the traction controversy, Mr. Baker took advantage of the Mayor's absence to pay "him a tribute," reports the Plain-Dealer, "with such a display of feeling and sincerity that the voices of enemies within the tent were stilled while friends of the city Executive shouted in their enthusiasm." Continuing, the Plain-Dealer's report makes this description and quotation:

Twice during his forensic effort the voice of the speaker broke with emotion. The City Solicitor approached a meed of praise for his chief that he could not well have pronounced were the Mayor

present, by detailing what depended upon the result of the referendum vote. He portrayed the bitterness and strife of the campaign just ahead. He told of how "venomous shafts of malice and hatred" would be aimed at the Mayor. He asked the people of Cleveland to stand by Mayor Johnson in "this, his greatest fight for the people." "But a few years await Mayor Johnson before the muffled pick will open the grave," said Mr. Baker. "He wants no monument of bronze or marble. But he does want a monument that will be his, if this great railway war is settled and settled right. It is up to the people of Cleveland to build this monument by standing by their guns in this campaign—to reward a man who has given everything for the people, to stand by the leader who has constantly bared his face where the blows were the thickest, to stand by a man whose enemies have assailed him with a venom almost beyond belief, a man who has lost rather than put together a fortune, a man whose family has all but been exiled because of the bitterness of this great fight.

NEWS NOTES

—In place of the late Edward Everett Hale, the Rev. M. G. Pierce, D. D., pastor of All Souls' Unitarian Church at Washington, of which President Taft is a member, was chosen Chaplain of the Senate on the 18th.

—Raymond Robins, one of the retiring members of the Chicago school board, is to deliver the oration at the graduating exercises of the Chicago Normal School, 68th street and Stewart avenue, on the 25th, at 10 a. m.

—The bill fixing a maximum price for public school books, passed by the Illinois legislature (p. 507), has become a law without the signature of the Governor. The Attorney General had advised him that it is unconstitutional.

—The jury in the case of Patrick Calhoun, the traction magnate, at San Francisco (p. 63), were discharged on the 20th without having agreed. They stood 10 for acquittal to 2 for conviction. The trial began on the 12th of last January.

—Henry George, Jr., who recently made a trip to Japan for Collier's (p. 300), is reported by Associated Press dispatches of the 19th from Tula, Russia, to be on his way home by the westward route and as being at that time the guest of Leo Tolstoy at Yasnaya Pollana.

—The ninth council of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches of the Presbyterian system, embracing 86 denominations, met at New York on the 15th with something more than 300 delegates from England, Scotland, Germany, France, Holland and other countries of Europe, and from the United States.

—The death of Louis Prang at Los Angeles on the 14th was reported in the Eastern papers two days later. Mr. Prang was past 85 years old, a native of Germany, a German revolutionist in '48, an American abolitionist in the '50's and '60's, a single taxer in his later years, and by profession a specialist in

colors. The Prang chromos, of which he was the originator, were familiar works of the art printers' skill a generation ago.

—By a vote of 39 to 9, George Burman Foster, professor of the philosophy of religion in the University of Chicago, and author of "The Finality of the Christian Religion" and "The Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence," was expelled for heresy from the Baptist Ministers' conference of Chicago, on the 21st.

—At the international association of police chiefs in session at Buffalo on the 16th, the Golden Rule policy of Chief Kohler of Cleveland, was again under discussion (vol. xi, p. 254). Of his past year's experience with the plan, Mr. Kohler said it has not only decreased the aggregate of arrests but has increased the number of arrests of real criminals.

—The Czar of Russia and the Emperor of Germany met on board the latter's yacht in Pittkipas bay on the 17th in a ceremonial visit. Just before the meeting a British steamer, the Woodburn, was fired upon three times by a Russian gunboat for coming too near the spot fixed upon for the royal meeting. The first shot was a blank, but the other two crashed into the steamer and wounded the engineer.

—Recent reports of a battle at Djakivitch, northern Albania, between 10,000 Albanians and twelve battalions of Turkish troops have been confirmed by dispatches on the 18th from Constantinople. It appears that the Albanians rebelled against the new regime (p. 469) and refused to obey the local governor or to pay taxes. Djavid Pasha, military commander at Uskup, was ordered to suppress the rebellion and enforce compliance with the government's orders.

—An automobile race at Crown Point, Indiana, on the 18th, was won by a Chalmers-Detroit car, driven by Joe Matson, whose time for 232.74 miles was four hours, 39 minutes and 21 seconds—51.2 miles an hour. There were 16 cars representing nine makes. On the following day a race of 395.66 miles between heavier cars, and for the Cobe cup, was won by Louis Chevrolet in a Buick car in 8 hours, 1 minute and 39 seconds (an average of 49.3 miles an hour). There were 12 contestants. The course was an irregular circuit, a fraction longer than 23.27 miles.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 516) for the eleven months ending May 31, 1909, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for May, 1909, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$1,545,625,443	\$1,187,250,463	\$358,374,980 exp.
Gold	83,185,372	41,636,254	41,549,118 exp.
Silver	50,177,755	39,615,535	10,562,220 exp.
..	\$1,678,988,570	\$1,268,502,252	\$410,486,318 exp.

Since July 1, 1897.....\$6,416,953,278 exp.
 Since 1834\$9,039,930,909 exp.

—Samuel Gompers sailed for Liverpool on the 19th on board the Baltic, to attend the International Trades Union Congress which opens at Paris on the 30th of August. He is authorized by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to urge the adoption of the following resolution: "Resolved, That the International Trade Union Congress rec-

ommends to trade union centers (general trade union federations or congresses) of all countries the discussion of the proposition of establishing an International Federation of Labor, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being ordained and guaranteed; the purpose of this federation being for the protection and advancement of the rights, interests and justice of the wage workers of all countries, and the establishment of international fraternity and solidarity."

—An experiment in vaccination for typhoid fever, in the United States army, was reported from Omaha on the 17th. According to the dispatches "Sergeant Fuller and seven privates of Fort Omaha have all the symptoms of typhoid fever. Tuesday the eight men were vaccinated with typhoid fever virus, 800,000,000 germs having been injected into the left arm of each man. That night the men were sick, and the following day they commenced to develop the fever symptoms, which now are said by Major Gilchrist, chief surgeon, to have reached the maximum. It is expected the symptoms will continue a couple of days and then disappear. After the men have fully recovered they will be put to the final test. They will drink large quantities of water containing live typhoid germs. This will continue for several days. At the end of that time they will again be vaccinated with the typhoid virus, and if it does not take they will be pronounced immune."

PRESS OPINIONS

How Men Are Made Unequal.

The (Daily) Oklahoman (Dem.), May 23.—Monopoly of the natural resources is at the bottom of the two varying conditions that uphold great wealth and luxury on one side and destitution and suffering on the other. All of the supplies of mankind must come from the earth. No person can truthfully say that any man or woman on earth can have a just claim by birthright to any portion of the earth, unless he or she pays to the public what that privilege is worth. Such being the case, nothing but land values should ever be taxed for public purposes.

The Tariff Sleight-of-Hand.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Ind. Dem.), June 16.—It is a curious fact that the tariff rates which are being discussed in the Senate and which are creating such sharp criticism throughout the country, are not those which are actually to prevail if Mr. Aldrich shall succeed in carrying through his program. The rates which are receiving attention are those of the minimum tariff. Those are to be effective only until April 1, 1910. On that day the general or maximum tariff goes into effect and it will prevail until the President by proclamation shall give effect to the minimum tariff with respect to countries that shall satisfy him that their tariffs and other trade regulations are neither directly nor indirectly unduly discriminative against the United States. Under the pending Aldrich amendments to the House tariff bill it is provided that the rates of the general tariff shall be those of the minimum

tariff plus 25 per cent ad valorem; and coffee and tea are to be taken out of the free list and taxed respectively 5 and 10 cents per pound. Singularly enough these Aldrich amendments have attracted hardly any notice. They have come in for but passing attention during the tariff debate. The newspapers have almost ignored them. Yet the real tariff bill is to be the one provided for in these amendments. . . . Should the Aldrich amendments be finally adopted and should they stand as a part of the completed bill, every duty in the whole list will be advanced 25 per cent.

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The Business "Flurry."

(Minneapolis) Farm, Stock and Home (agricultural) June 1.—It is exasperating to see the panic of 1907 still uniformly referred to by the Republican press of this country as a "flurry"; exasperating because party politics inspires it. Everybody knows that if that panic had occurred in a Democratic administration it would have been a panic with a big P, and would yet be paraded as a frightful example of the danger of giving that party even partial control of the government. As a matter of fact the panic of 1907 was, to certain interests, the most devastating, far reaching in its effects and slowest to disappear of any panic in our history. The country is yet filled with prophecies of "better times coming," "a general revival of business," and so on.

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Louis Prang.

Boston Post (Dem.), June 16.—To no other man is due the credit of the education of the American people in the harmony of color in illustration and in decoration so largely as to Louis Prang. . . . It is a part of our history that to his development of the process of lithography in color is owed the popularization of art among our people. His work in this field is of incalculable value in the esthetic education in America.

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The Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (ind.), June 17.—Louis Prang, the so-called "father of chromo-lithography," died on Wednesday at Glendale, a suburb of Los Angeles, Cal., in his eighty-sixth year. He was on his way to the Seattle exposition when he died. . . . He became successively an engraver on wood, a lithographer, and a publisher, especially the reproduction of famous paintings under his trademark of "chromos." His productions became world famous. The prize competition offered by Mr. Prang for the best originals for Christmas cards by water color artists, created a wide interest in artistic circles, and was the beginning of the fashion of sending chromos at holiday time. His reproductions of the Tiffany gems and of the jades and vases in the Bishop and Walters collections, were acknowledged to be the finest specimens of lithographic work ever done in this country. . . . He devoted more than 40 years to the study of how to create a standard of colors, a problem that had puzzled science for centuries. . . . In a communication to the New York Evening Post, G. H. Buek of Brooklyn, says of Mr. Prang: "I am firmly of the belief that Mr. Prang has done more to educate the American peo-

ple in art and in the beautiful than have all the exhibitions of our great galleries and museums during the past generation. . . . A fitting monument should certainly be erected to him, who has sweetened and beautified the American home."

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The Boston Herald (ind.), June 16.—The idealistic Liberal movement in the Germany of the first half of the nineteenth century, touched with its vision of higher life a variety of youth. Some were university students, and when forced to flee to this country they became educators like Charles Follen and Francis Lieber, or publicists like Carl Schurz. Others were skilled artisans, like Louis Prang of Breslau, who, arriving in Boston in 1850 at the age of twenty-six, had a knowledge of chemistry in its application to color-mixing, cloth-printing, etc., which stood him in stead later as he took up engraving, lithography and color printing. In due time he became a famous printer in colors and a publisher of art books and text-books on art. Mr. Prang, who has just died in California in his eighty-sixth year, leaves a record of generous devotion to the higher interests of his adopted country. Not only did he do much to raise the esthetic standards of the people through support of art in all its forms, but he was foremost in political and governmental reforms, not as a speaker, but as a generous contributor of funds and as a potent personal force.

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Thomas Paine.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), June 10.—What's wrong with this, from his pen: "I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life." Pretty good sort of religion, that. . . . Paine's "Agrarian Justice," 1796, attacked land monopoly and proposed to end this evil by a tax on land values, the tax to form a national fund. . . . This is the doctrine of Henry George, in embryo. It is what Lloyd-George is putting into practice in Great Britain. Furthermore, Tom Paine advocated the full rights of citizenship for women. He was far in advance of his time upon every question that has engaged the interest of thinking men since that time. And it is more because of his economic views than because of his anti-theologic views that he has been denounced. Privilege used the Church as a weapon with which to crush Tom Paine.

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The New Haven Union (dem. Dem.), June 15.—Thomas Paine was no more an atheist in the strict significance of the term than was Edward Everett Hale, who died a few days ago. In fact, Paine's ideas show him to have been very closely allied in his philosophical thought and religious beliefs to our present-day Unitarians, among whom Dr. Hale was a leader. . . . We are not surprised, however, at Mr. Roosevelt's hasty estimate of Thomas Paine. We would expect as much from a man who could find no good in Tolstoy or his doctrines. Moreover, Thomas Paine, of course, never shot monkeys for sport. He did risk his head once for liberty, when he pleaded the cause of the Colonies against Great Britain; and once for justice, when, although in full sympathy with the underlying spirit and principles

of the French Revolution, he protested against the atrocities of the bloody Reign of Terror, and fearlessly raised his voice against the beheading of the king.

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The British Land Taxes.

The (London) Nation (radical), June 5.—The land taxes, which constitute the most novel, and in a proper sense the most revolutionary, proposals, are remarkable alike for the skill and the moderation with which their two-edged purpose is pursued. The main object, to secure for the exchequer a considerable and not excessive share of that value, peculiar to land, which the growing needs of a population increasing in numbers and wealth imparts to a factor limited by nature, is carefully and skillfully achieved. . . . The hardest fighting will probably center round the taxes on undeveloped land and mining values. Here the main fiscal purpose of securing to the public a share of future increments of value is supplemented by the further object of endeavoring to stimulate the best and fullest development of the resources of the land from the standpoint of the national interest. The limitations of the clauses show that this policy is confined to the case of lands ripe for building, which are being withheld from that purpose, either from carelessness, caprice, or, as is more usual, to obtain a price in a future market artificially enhanced by the scarcity due to this policy of holding back. . . . A good deal of the resentment expressed against the land taxes is due to a recognition that they tend to interfere with the existing liberty of owners to do with "their land" as they like, regardless of the public interest in this prime necessary of life. They complain that some of the new taxes, for instance, the undeveloped land and mineral taxes and the heavier estate duties, not being payable from current income, will compel them to put portions of their estates into the market, and at prices reduced in amount by the increased supply of land offered under this pressure. This, no doubt, is true. The taxes will conduce to the break-up of large ancestral estates, will increase the supply of saleable land, and will lower its price. All these results are public benefits, which though rather incidental than contained in the main purpose of the finance bill, are particularly welcome in a country which has suffered long and severely, both in its cities and in its rural parts, from the artificially restricted ownership and supply of land for human habitation and for industrial and agricultural working. This developmental side of the land policy is, indeed, of more immediate importance than the yield of revenue.

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Cheer Up.

The Cincinnati, Ohio, Liberty Bell (ind.), May 1.—We have cause to be optimistic. Look at the rejuvenation of democracy in our State of Oregon. Direct legislation has been tried there and not found wanting. Reform measures have been voted down in Oregon; not because of party politics, but on their merits as understood by the voters. This does not prohibit the same measures going before the people again. The propagandist and agitator will have to continue in his cause and clear the public mind of error if there is any. A just cause

is strengthened through defeat, as a general thing. In Missouri the voters after a year's deliberation overwhelmingly carried a proposition which they had voted down a year previous. The Oklahoman voter put his foot down on the proposition to sell the school lands. Thus, we see, wherever the people have an opportunity through the referendum or initiative to express themselves, they do it in an intelligent way. . . . Direct legislation is as an iron rung in a wooden ladder, on which civilization can go a step higher with impunity; it will secure to the poorest along with the richest all comforts and conveniences which justice demands. More; it allows a calm and dispassionate consideration of measures to the betterment of social conditions, where intelligence is beclouded and needs an awakening as to rights and duties.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

RESPONSIBILITY.

For The Public.

Know you our land, what it shall be
 This day a thousand years?
 A garden sweet of loyalty,
 Of honor, and of manhood free;
 Or stained with wrong and tears?

Midst thoughtless swarms, what more are we,
 Our heart-deep faith and love,
 Than fragile sands that stem the sea;
 Or star-dust, sifting silently
 From searchless fields above?

Like far-spent tides, the yesterdays
 About us noiseless roll;
 Yet, something from their bygone ways
 Steals forth, and in the twilight plays
 The harpstrings of the soul,

And chants: "Through cycles vast, sublime,
 The future's agelong drift,
 The many-peteled rose of Time,
 The while its secret branches climb,
 May wondrous fragrance lift.

"All truths were ever taught! Recast
 This fickle, vernal time;
 That through strong deeds its human vast,
 Stern conflicts won, wild dangers passed,
 May reach a fruitful prime!"

Whose is the task? All eyes may see,
 Though word nor sign appears;
 Yea, dare I think, on you, on me,
 Depends where our loved land shall be
 This day a thousand years!

EMMA KENYON PARRISH.

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Look round at the courses of the stars, as if thou wert going along with them.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

TO THE OPPRESSED OF ALL NATIONS.

Charles Bradlaugh's Response to a Toast at the Annual Banquet of the "Loge des Philadelphes," in March, 1874: "To the Oppressed of All Nations."*

To the oppressed of all nations—to the women everywhere; to the mothers who with freer brains would nurse less credulous sons; to the wives who with fuller thoughts would be higher companions through life's journeyings; to the sisters and daughters who with greater right might work out higher duty and with fuller training do more useful work; to women our teacher as well as nurse, our guide as well as childbearer, our counsellor as well as drudge. To the oppressed of all nations—to those who are oppressed the most in that they know it least; to the ignorant and contented under wrong, who make oppression possible by the passiveness, the inertness of their endurance. To the memories of the oppressed in the past whose graves—if faggot and lime have left a body to bury—are without mark save on the monuments of memory, more enduring than marble, erected in such temples by truer toast-givers than myself. To these we drink, sadly and gratefully, to the oppressed of the present—to those that struggle that they may win; to those that yet are still, that they may struggle; to the future, that in it there may be no need to drink this toast.

* * *

LET EACH BIRD SING ITS NATIVE SONG.

Extracts from a Lecture to the Students of the Inter-laken School at La Porte, Ind., by Prof. J. Ward Stimson, Director of the Arts and Crafts Department.

The material elements of past civilization drop away with time and decay as the blood and tissues of the human frame with death—but Mind, Heart and Imagination build and perpetuate their Eternal Energies through the works of spiritual genius. These never die! Ideals are the abiding forces, and all the aspirations of the evolving ages tend ever upward toward higher and wider beauty. The past leaves us these heroic monuments of her spiritual struggle, and it is our duty to rise to the great responsibility of augmenting and conveying this human heritage to future generations.

The gods did not stop when they came to the waters of the Atlantic. Beauty is universal, is cosmic, and every land is redolent with its own aroma of vital, local and organic inspiration.

*From "Charles Bradlaugh: A Record of His Life and Work," by his daughter, Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner. Published by T. Fisher Unwin, London and Leipzig.

If we had but eyes to see, ears to hear, hearts and hands to feel and do—the charm of our old New England home country; the broad expanse of our Western plains; the terrible grandeur of our Rockies; the somber mission houses of California, remnants of monastic life and of passing civilization; the taciturn red man; the glorious achievement of our steel-built cities—all have a feeling of their own that calls for expression as much as anything in the life of Paris or Europe.

Let each bird sing its native song, and each individual and nation express its own personality. Love, honor and redeem the soul and genius of America—is my cry to you as students, workers, thinkers and poets in the New Age of newer and vaster possibilities, duties and consecrations.

* * *

KEEP FATHERLESS CHILDREN WITH THEIR MOTHERS.

At the Fourteenth Indiana State Conference of Charities, Held at Vincennes, Mr. Johnson Made the Following Statement, as Reported in the Woman's Journal.

The matron of our Orphans' Home came to me a few weeks ago for advice. She said: "There is a mother, a widow with five children; the youngest not quite a year old, and the eldest only ten. She is very, very poor. It is proposed to take her and her youngest child into the Home for the Friendless, letting her work for her board, and to place the other four children in an orphans' home." I said, "Is she a wicked woman?"

"No." "Is she an industrious woman?"

"Fairly so."

"Is she good to her children, as far as she knows how?"

"Yes."

"Then the man who puts that woman into an institution and scatters her children, I consider to be more wicked, in view of the probable results of his action, than if he would personally abuse the children. The thing to do for that case is very plain. How much would each of these children cost in the orphans' home you talk about?"

She said: "About two dollars a week."

"That would be \$8 a week for four children."

"How much is the proportionate cost of the institution into which you would put those children?"

"I suppose about \$400 or \$500 a bed—say \$2,000."

"Then the proposition is for the State to invest \$2,000 in homes, and pay \$8 a week in support, while if you let that woman live where she is, and give her a pension of say \$5 a week as long as she is doing her duty, could she not live comfortably and decently, and bring those children up?"

She said, "Yes."

"Then," I said, "I have answered your question."

The day will come when we shall look upon such a deed as taking from a good mother the child whom she loves, and putting that child in an orphan's home, and sending the woman out to service, or perhaps to the poorhouse, as being as wicked a thing as was ever done in the dark ages. We shall look upon it with more horror than we do now upon taking children into poorhouses.

* * *

OLD MAN HARDER REMARKS—

Something About the True Protective Principle For The Public.

"Yes, Tomkins was surely loaded—loaded up to the muzzle with Aldrich stuff; an' he had to come over to the corn field to fire it off at me. Yes, he did stump me a little when he begun to preach about the true principle o' protection. I never heard of it before, an' I thought to myself, if that's so I'll begin to look up the true principle o' burglary an' compound larceny. You never know what you'll find in things till ye look into 'em close. Tomkins swore it was in the Republican platform; but I don't remember of 'em saying anything about it. They mostly spent their time tellin' the folks what Bryan would do to our prosperity if he was elected, an' what a dangerous thing it would be to have him appoint some Supreme Court judges that didn't believe in big navies an' blanket injunctions. Tomkins says, 'Imposts should not exceed the difference between the cost of production abroad an' at home, together with a reasonable profit to American industries.' The platform says it; Tomkins swears by it; an' Aldrich dodges it. He wants more'n a reasonable profit.

"Where's the principle in this thing? Where's the true principle? I asked Ma where it was an' what it looked like? She said that as far as she could see, Industries American by adoption an' royally foreign by birth, claimed to be so weak that they couldn't exist except they were guaranteed a market by the government, where they would be sure of the cost of production an' a reasonable profit. Says I to Ma: 'That looks good for the Industries, but how about the fellers that have to foot the bills for these profits an' other pickin's that's guaranteed?' Then Ma said: 'The people don't know they are payin' it. That's where the 'true' comes in. They ease themselves up for the high prices an' hard times by lookin' at the Industries go by in their auto-chariots, an' by readin' about the gaylorious time they an' their wives are havin' over in the Royal palaces of Yurrupe.' Sure! That's jest what the folks that foot the bills are doin'. Besides that, most of 'em

are prayin' that Rockefeller, or some o' the other Industries, will give 'em a few millions to be sporty on. 'Where's the principle?' I repeated. 'It's plain as your nose,' says Ma. 'These Industries that claim to be so weak, call on the government to tax all the other kinds o' business that ain't labelled 'Industries,' to pay the difference they claim exists between cost of production abroad an' at home. Here's where the 'true' ought to be, but it ain't there. Nobody can find the difference in cost o' production. It's an imaginary line drawn around the country by the 'Adopted Industries,' an' the Legitimate Children have to chip in to pay the adopted ones for an imaginary thing. The masses of the people that work, pour into the laps of the Adopted Industries enough of their hard earnings to pay this imaginary difference in cost o' production, an' the profits on imaginary capital; an' the poor people are so blind that they glory in it.'

"'Yes,' I says to Ma, 'I think I see it now. The principle of protection is monopoly of the market for the adopted ones, an' the taxation of the legitimate offspring to pay the expenses of the monopoly. Noble principle! The fun comes in when the parents an' gardeens of the Legitimate an' the Adopted, attempt to find out what the cost o' production an' the difference is, an' limit the gorged an' overfed Adopted to something reasonable. They can't find out what is the difference, an' can't agree on what is reasonable. The Industries claim they know. They merely want profits enough to enable them to monopolize the markets of this country, an' then to go out an' gobble up the foreign markets, too. It's little the Industries want—nothing but the earth an' the fullness thereof. Maybe they will be satisfied when they git it. Yes! The principle of protection is monopoly. The 'true' part of it is not true at all but clear humbug. The misery of it is that the people think they like it. But the principle o' gittin' something for nothing can have nothin' true about it.'

"Tomkins says we ought to produce everything within ourselves, because if we don't we may become engaged in a war some time an' have all our supplies cut off, an' then we'd have to surrender to some foreign nation. That's one of them other imaginary things. Put it beside the imaginary difference in cost of production. They'll match. But from the looks o' things 'round the world at present writin' the people that believe in imaginary things are in the majority. The visionary minds figure that the way to do business is to capture it by force of arms, an' so we are playin' the game o' big navies. They dream that the foreigner is comin' over to capture us an' our trade, an' so the merry game o' standin' armies goes on. The visionary ones that thinks patriotism is fallin' down to worship the flag, sees it all goin' on, an'

pays what taxes they can't dodge without a murmur. But the visionaries of the nations are in a fair way to perish from their own foolishness. Big navies an' armies an' high tariffs have about reached their limits. One of the fool-governed nations will git hard up some day, an' go out to capture the markets from some other fool-governed nation, an' then there will be such a mix-up that Peace will climb the golden stairs to wait till the fool-killer gits through an' the next generation is born.

"Yes! I'm persuaded the principle of protection is, to git something for nothing—same's burglary. The truth about it is humbug. The thing that keeps it alive is the war spirit. It partakes of the glory of dead an' gone piracy. It masks plunder with patriotism, an' thus manages to remain respectable."

GEO. V. WELLS.

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LAND VALUE TAXATION IN GERMANY.

From a Report by W. R. Lester to the June "Land Values" of London, in Which he Describes the Annual Convention of the German League of Land Reformers at Nuremberg.

The German Land Reform League holds its conference each year in a different place, and this city had been chosen for 1909. The "Rathhaus," or Town Hall, is the building in which the meetings are held, and they last throughout two days, starting at half-past nine in the morning and continuing till eight in the evening, with an interval of two-and-a-half hours for dinner. At 9:30 to the minute, members and guests are greeted in short and appreciative addresses, on behalf of the citizens, by the Burgermeister of Nuremberg and the Burgermeisters of other Bavarian cities, many of which have affiliated themselves to the League, which in this way claims adherents to the number of more than 600,000. Herr Damaschke, president of the League, then gives an account of the work done during the past year, and the business of the meeting begins, though not till the guest from the English League has been invited to say a word as to the position and prospects in his country. The meeting then proceeded to hear and discuss papers on questions of national importance, such as are considered to come within the circle of the League's activities. It is interesting to notice what these questions are, and by whom they were treated. Here is a list:—

"The South German Canal Question and its Solution through Land Reform." By Legationsrath Dr. A. von Schwegen.

"The Importance of Play and Sport Grounds for our Youth." By Professor Dr. Schmidt.

"Really Practical Housing Reform." By Professor Dr. von Gruber.

"The Chief Objections to the Tax on Unearned Increment." By Professor Dr. Stier-Somlo, followed by Professor Dr. Quidde and Professor Dr. Matzinger.

"The Peasant Problem in the Light of Land Reform." By Fraulein Lembke, Director of the First Rural Common School.

"The Cause of Trade Crises." By Carl Martels, President of the League of German Watchmakers.

The audience is a somewhat changing one throughout the session, and numbers usually about 200 persons. As would be expected from the standing of their authors, the papers are very carefully prepared and read, though one thing that strikes a stranger is the impassivity of the audience, who, though listening with marked attention, never once throughout the meetings give oral proof either of approbation or the reverse. As each leaves the platform he receives applause, but generally never throughout the course of his address, which lasts on the average one hour and a half. One is also struck by the composition of the audience. Unlike a similar one in England it is almost exclusively composed of apparently well-to-do middle and upper class people—substantial merchants, manufacturers, professional men, and the like. Our German friends count as a great strength to their League the number of supporters and sympathisers they have in the ranks of University professors of law and history. When such authorities unite in publicly declaring that to tax land values is sound in theory and good in practice, it is a bold man who will say them nay, and such is the position today in Germany. One after another, in Nuremberg Rathhaus, professors of law and history from Bonn, Berlin, Munich, and Breslau publicly appeared to give the movement their blessing.

The general impression left by the papers was that they were of a distinctly theoretical nature, and that though the readers and most of their hearers have full knowledge of and are in full sympathy with land reform as understood by Henry George, they are yet inclined, for reasons of policy, to concentrate in the first instance on such side issues as a tax on "unearned increment," purchase of land by the towns, and when they have got it, the leasing of it out on short lease, so that the increased value may revert to the towns at stated intervals; also the building of canals by means of money provided by a tax on the increased value given to the land one kilometre wide on each side of the canal.

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They appear in Germany to consider that the best way to advance towards the single tax is to avail themselves of opportunities of applying it piecemeal in ways such as these, just as they present themselves, so long as they do not in their judgment militate against the principle itself. They are quite confident that opinion, both public

and official, is marching with them, and that all these small steps are leading them in the right direction. They do not doubt, for example, that before long they will have in Germany a valuation of land as distinct from improvements. Such a valuation, it should be clearly understood, they have not yet got anywhere in Germany or her colonies. They continue to tax improvements just as the English do, and have no record of the value of the land on which buildings stand. The difference from the English is that they do value vacant land, and they do put a tax varying from a fifth of 1 per cent, to three-quarters of 1 per cent on its capital value. Many districts also have the "unearned increment tax" in operation, but it is only enforced when a property changes hands, which indeed appears to be the only possible way of enforcing it so long as they have no valuation of the land itself. Moreover, they have as yet done nothing on a national basis. All their taxes are levied for local purposes only, though they express the greatest confidence that a very short time will see the establishment, both of a national valuation and a national tax.

It is in the colony of Kiau-Chau that most has been done. But even there no land valuation has as yet been made. A tax of 6 per cent is payable by the purchaser to the government on the purchase price of the land. A periodical valuation is also made, and the tax rises or falls accordingly. Such valuation is arrived at by deducting the value of buildings from the total, and they claim to have an accurate record of the value of the buildings in the shape of the fire insurance policies, fire insurance being compulsory throughout Germany and her colonies. In addition to this tax of 6 per cent on the purchase price, 33 per cent of the increased value is taken by the state in cases of sale at a profit.

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To return to the Nuremberg gathering, it was clearly considered an event of importance by the outside public, and was well reported by the whole press of South Germany, special and detailed reference being made to the situation in England and the high hopes entertained there.

At the Conference an interesting reference was made to Protection, showing how it is twin brother to land monopoly and showing how enormously difficult it is for a people to shake themselves free of a vicious policy when once it is firmly established. The German duty on foreign grain and flour has raised their prices in Germany. This has enabled landlords, both great and small, to raise the price of land to an artificial figure. In Germany it is the almost universal practice to mortgage land, and there are special facilities for doing so. All kinds of persons, people's banks, insurance companies, etc., have con-

sequently advanced money on land which Protection has raised to an artificial value, so, of course, all these varied interests violently oppose a reduction of the duty on corn, for that would bring land back to its normal value by pricking the bubble, and where would the security for their bonds be then?

In the evening after the Conference a public meeting was held and addressed by members of the League. If seated in rows, the hall would accommodate some 800 persons, but following the pleasant German custom the people were comfortably placed on chairs at tables, so that some 250 sufficed to fill it. During the speeches, beer, coffee, and refreshments, both light and solid, were in constant demand. A general air of comfort pervaded the meeting, which did not in the slightest degree detract from its serious character.

Of the speeches themselves it can only be said that they were truly excellent. A deep appeal to the moral sentiment pervaded them all. No more straight single-tax talk could have been heard anywhere, and hearers were visibly moved. The somewhat didactic note of the Conference was left behind. The people were told straight that the rent of the earth belongs to the people, and that Henry George's plan is the way to get it. Especially excellent, I thought, were the addresses by a German pastor and Herr Marfels, of Berlin. They did not hesitate to preach the gospel of Henry George in all its fullness, and the applause they met with at the end was proof they had not spoken in vain.

BOOKS

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The Case for Women's Suffrage. Edited by Brougham Villiers. With contributions by Mabel Atkinson, Florence Balgarnie, Eva Gore-Booth, Robert F. Cholmeley, C. Despard, Millcent Garrett Fawcett, J. Keir Hardie, Nellie Alma Martel, Margaret McMillan, Rosalind Nash, Edith Palliser, Christobel Pankhurst, Emmeline Pankhurst, Constance Smedley, Brougham Villiers and Israel Zangwill. Published by T. Fisher Unwin, Adelphi Terrace, London. Price, 1 shilling, net.

Of the fashion of those whom she calls "pretty writers" who say that woman's sphere is the home, Margaret McMillan admirably says in this volume that "the pretty phrase is true" because "woman's whole mission will probably be found at last to consist in making a great home of the whole habitable planet"; but that "in so far as it applies to the actual conditions of life, and pressing necessities and duties of an increasing multitude of women today, the phrase is like an arrow shot by a careless hand into the desert air, and with no

destination, but to fall perhaps at last into some aching heart." The dainty people of both sexes who talk so jauntily of woman as queen of the home, little realize that their own comfortable or luxurious homes are the great and growing exception and not the rule of modern life. How then can they understand, what the truth is, that government makes the conditions that have abolished homes for the multitude? And failing to understand this, it is not to be expected that they would understand that it is only by giving woman a voice in the management of the "home," in the large sense of that term of which the anti-suffragist dilettantes seem to have no perception, that real homes in their own narrower sense can be restored. The names of the contributors to this case for the suffrage for women, and that of the editor, should commend it to the fair-minded everywhere, regardless of their present opinions.

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THE FAMILY.

Papers and Proceedings, Third Annual Meeting, American Sociological Society, held at Atlantic City, N. J., December 28-30, 1908. Published for the American Sociological Society by The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and New York.

All the papers and discussions in this volume relate to the family. The subjects specifically are "The Family and Social Change," "How Home Conditions React Upon the Family," "The Effect on Woman of Economic Independence," "The Relations of Social Diseases to the Family," "The Influence of Income on Standards of Life," "The Family in a Typical Mill Town," "Results of the Pittsburgh Survey," "Are Modern Industry and City Life Unfavorable to the Family?" "Rural Life and the Family," "Some Questions Concerning the Higher Education of Women," "How Does the Access of Women to Industrial Occupations React on the Family?" "Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?" "How Far Should Members of the Family be Individualized?" and "How Far Should Family Wealth Be Encouraged and Conserved?" Among the contributors to this symposium are Professor Sumner, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Charles Zueblin, Margaret F. Byington, Edward T. Devine, Kenyon L. Butterfield, and George K. Holmes. Mr. Devine's paper on the results of the "Pittsburgh Survey" is a suggestive and valuable condensation, with the truly optimistic hint that influential persons in increasing numbers are showing a readiness "to enter with others and with one another on the dispassionate search for causes and remedies, recognizing that the adverse conditions are there, recognizing that distinction lies not in ostrich-like refusal to see them, but in statesman-like willingness to gauge them and to understand them, and so far as possible to remove them." Mr.

Devine well adds that "Pittsburgh is unique only in the extent to which tendencies observable everywhere have here actually, because of high industrial development and great industrial activity, had the opportunity to give tangible proofs of their real character and inevitable goal."

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HINTS FOR AGITATORS.

Human Nature in Selling Goods. By James H. Collins. Published by Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. Price 50 cents.

Human nature is so much the same, that he who knows how to sell goods knows how to do anything else which depends upon securing the cooperation of others. For that reason this book is of no less value to the public-spirited agitator who has a doctrine to popularize, than to the commercial salesman who has goods to market. And it is an intensely interesting book to anybody. At first our intention was merely to announce receipt of the book, but upon beginning to read it we read it through, and having read it through we want our readers to know the favorable impression it has made, as a book for reformers, politicians, clergymen and stump speakers, as well as commercial travelers.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Karma. A Story of Buddhist Ethics. By Paul Carus. Published by the Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. 1903.

—Mind Over Body. Letters to a Friend—A Christian Scientist. Anonymous. Published by James H. West Co., Boston, 1909. Price, \$1.00, postpaid.

PAMPHLETS

Proportional Representation.

Practical expositions and theoretical explanations of representation by preferential voting are published by The Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain (28 Martin's Lane, Cannon St., London, E. C.); among these publications being "The Model Election of 1908," and "A Plea for Real Representation." Preferential voting is a complete substitute for direct primaries and also for second elections. By a simple device, it enables the independent voter to make his own first choice effective (if there are enough like him) at the election in spite of bosses and machines. This is done by opening the ballot to all candidates who are backed by a reasonably full nominating petition, and then allowing each voter to indicate his first choice, his second choice, his third choice, and so on. In the count, the contest is between the first choice candidates; if no one has enough of these to elect, the second, third, etc., choices are brought, one after another, into the count until one candidate has the requisite "quota," which is a majority for a single-incumbent office. The quota is arrived at by divid-

ing the aggregate of those voting, plus 1, by the aggregate of incumbents, and adding 1 to the quotient. Thus: If 400,000 votes are cast for Mayor, the quota would be arrived at by dividing 400,000, the number of persons voting, by 1, the number of incumbents, plus 1, which equals 2 and gives a quotient of 200,000, to which 1 is added to make the quota, which is 200,001—a majority of the whole. The candidate who receives that many first choice votes, is elected. Should no candidate receive so many first choice votes, then the election goes to him who receives that aggregate or more of first and second choice votes. Should first and second choice votes not give the necessary quota to any candidate, third choice votes are counted in, and so on until one candidate has at least 200,001 votes to his credit. If 400,000 votes are cast for 70 aldermen, the quota would be arrived at by dividing 400,000, the number of persons voting, by 70, the number of incumbents, plus 1, which equals 71 and gives a quotient of a fraction over 5,633, to which 1 is added to make the quota, 5,634, a proportional majority for each incumbent. In this case each candidate is dropped out of the count as soon as he is credited with the quota, his surplus of votes going to the candidates who stand next in order of choice by the voters whose preference was for him. The votes for candidates whose votes are not enough to make a quota are transferred to other candidates in the order of their further indications of preference. Of course, the system does not require so large a number of incumbents for each constituency; but whether the number to be elected is 1, as a Mayor, or 2 or 3, as in a councilmanic or legislative district, or 70 or more as for an entire legislative body, the process of estimating quotas and determining results is as illustrated above. As the Proportional Representation So-

ciety states, "this operation renders all votes effective;" and, as stated above, it obviates the necessity for direct primaries and for second elections, each voter exercising his preference for nominee, and his order of preference as compared with his nominee, all in the one voting act.

PERIODICALS

The first issue of The Svensk Unitarisk Tidning (Swedish Unitarian News), under the editorship of the Rev. August Dellgren (831 E. Wellington avenue, Chicago) has just appeared. It is a four-page monthly with a subscription price of 50 cents a year.

The "Golden Rule Order of the World" is exploited in the May edition of Church and Social Forum (Oakland, Cal.), the fourth issue of its fourth volume. This new Order is described as having been born at Berkeley, California, in 1908, and as being "a fellowship which is striving to introduce a larger organized life of love and service into the world," adopting "the Golden Rule as the basis for such fellowship and service." Its declared "object (primarily) is to enlist a vast army of earnest God-fearing men and women in a crusade to place on the highest moral grounds their relations in business, social, political, and domestic life, by living up to the tenets of the Golden Rule." The president is Z. P. Smith, and the headquarters of the Order is 2191 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, Cal.

The benevolent old gentleman stopped at the sight of the two similar-looking infants in the baby-car-

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riage, and said in a pleasant voice to the girl in attendance: "Ah! Twins?"

"Yes, sir," replied the girl; "both boys."

"So?" said the old gentleman. "How do you tell them apart?"

"This one," said the nurse, pointing, "is this, and that one is that."

"Dear me!" said the old gentleman, "how very interesting. But," he added, indicating the second one, "might not this one be this also?"

"It might," said the girl, after a short pause.

"Then, of course, that one would be that."

"Well, then," said the old gentleman, "how do you manage to separate them?"

"We seldom do; but when we want to we put one in one room and the other in another."

"How do you know which one you're putting in which room?"

"We look and see which one is in the other room, and then we know the other is in the which room."

"Very good," said the old gentleman, warming up to the problem, "but if one of them was in the house

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and the other was away somewhere, would you be able to tell which was in the house?"

"Oh, yes, sir," said the girl earnestly; "all we would have to do would be to look at him and then we would know that the one we saw was the one in the house, and then, of course, the one away somewhere would be the other. There are only two of them, you see, which makes it very easy!"

The benevolent old gentleman then passed on.—Tit-Bits.

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Considering a man's rib, and all that has been made of it, we can believe that even though a part

may not, owing to political and other disabilities, be greater than the whole, it may have the whole beaten to a frazzle in point of versatility.—Puck.

+ + +

Robin Hood had just handed back half the contents of the slender purse he had taken from the plainly dressed traveler.

"If you were a rich man," he said, "I'd soak you for the whole of it, but I'm no hog; I exact only what I think the traffic will bear."

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