

# The Public

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

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Vol. XV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1912.

No. 749.

Published by Louis F. Post  
Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription, One Dollar  
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at  
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

## EDITORIAL

### The Ohio Constitution.

In less than four weeks the Ohio special election on Constitutional amendments comes off. Of these amendments there are 41, each to be voted upon separately and each one to stand or fall by its own majority. Among those of general interest the following stand out conspicuously: Woman suffrage,\* municipal home rule,† and the Initiative and Referendum.‡ The election will take place on the 3d of September; and upon those three proposals the voters of Ohio will then have their opportunity to put their State at the head of the Progressive column.



The woman suffrage proposal is in the form of a simple amendment to the existing Constitution. If adopted it will strike out the word "white" and the word "male" from voting qualifications, thereby and with the aid of an appropriate pronoun altering the clause on those qualifications so as to read:

Every citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State one year next preceding the election, and of the county, township or ward in which he or she resides such time as may be provided by law, shall have the qualifications of an elector and be entitled to vote at all elections.

For municipal home rule it is provided:

Municipal corporations with a population of 5,000

\*See Public of June 14, page 555.

†See Public of April 26, page 397.

‡See Public of April 5, pages 318, 319.

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or more are cities and all others are villages. They shall respectively have all powers of self government not in conflict with general laws. They may acquire, construct, own, lease and operate local public utilities, subject to approval by local referendum. They may make their own charters.



There are two kinds of Initiative, legislative and Constitutional. The Constitutional Initiative provides for amending the Constitution upon petition of 10 per cent of the voters, the total to include 5 per cent of the voters in each of half the counties of the State. The legislative Initiative provides for the popular initiation of laws, subject to the Constitution, through—

a petition to the legislature signed by 3 per cent of the voters, the total to include  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the voters in each of half the counties of the State. If the legislature adopts the law proposed, either as petitioned for or amended, it is subject to Referendum. If the legislature refuses or neglects to adopt the law precisely as proposed, it goes to popular vote if demanded by an additional 3 per cent of the voters, the grand total to include 3 per cent of the voters of each of half the counties. No Initiated measure sanctioned by popular vote shall be subject to veto, nor to nullification for defective petitions.

The Referendum on laws enacted by the legislature requires a petition of 6 per cent of the voters, inclusive of 3 per cent of the voters in each of half the counties.



All the reasonable indications are that these amendments will be adopted. It is to be hoped, however, that no voter in Ohio who favors them will neglect to give them the benefit of his ballot.



### Legislative Experts.

Nearly all the literature and stump speaking against the Initiative is stuffed—"stuffed" is the appropriate word—with superstitions about the importance of leaving the making of laws to experts. The assumption is that legislators put study into the subjects before them, whereas the people in making laws directly would botch them. But the truth about this is that Initiated laws are more carefully framed by experts than legislative laws are; and it is reasonable to expect that they would be. When bills are ground out by legislatures, even though originally drawn in good faith by competent experts, they are very likely to come from the law-making machine with jokers in them—jokers put there by different experts for the purpose of vitiating the measures. But when

bills are Initiated, they are drawn by the best obtainable experts in sympathy with their purpose, and they cannot thereafter be tampered with by legislative "experts." It is safe to say that wherever Initiated laws have been adopted they have been subjected, before the signing of the petitions for them, to scrutiny by several experts acting in good faith and free from entangling connections with experts not acting in good faith. On the point of expertism in the framing of statutes, direct-legislation has legislature-legislation "beat a mile," for all honest law-making purposes.



### Hearst's Campaign Arrangements.

Hearst's newspaper contributions to the contest against tariff-protected interests in the Presidential campaign are interesting. In his papers, according to their formal announcement, Candidate Taft (protectionist) is to be championed by his own manager; Candidate Roosevelt (protectionist), by a member of the Hearst staff whose convictions on anything are not conspicuous; and Candidate Wilson (tariff for revenue only), by the Hearst papers (protection) in their own organic individuality. Mr. Taft may be grateful and Mr. Roosevelt curious, but it is up to Mr. Wilson to pray for deliverance.



### Kent's Congressional Candidacy.

Under depressions from illness and from combating frivolous legal proceedings instituted by the Taft administration to "get even," Congressman William Kent of California recently expressed his intention of declining to run for public office again, but he has since reconsidered that decision and issued an address to the voters of his district. He does not enter the primary, however, as he did two years ago. He runs by petition as a Progressive, appealing to progressive Democrats as well as progressive Republicans. His address, confirmed as it is by his official record, should assure his re-election. There are few Congressional districts in the United States where such declarations as these of Kent's would not be as invigorating as fresh air:

In my first campaign I promised to vote and work against special privilege. I promised to cast a careful conscientious vote on every public question regardless of partisanship. I promised that I would not be bound by caucus against my platform and my conscience. I have kept the faith. I have been opposed to extravagant, wasteful and improper expenditures by the Federal government, realizing that the funds must be procured from the pockets of

our own people, and that the system of indirect taxation by which such expenditures must be met bears most heavily upon those least able to contribute. My votes have been cast to the end of encouraging normal production and cheapened distribution, and in contravention to theories of subsidy and privilege. If elected for another term, I shall, as in this term, vote as I have pledged myself to vote—against privilege, for a greater measure of social and economic justice, without partisan or sectional bias. I believe that the great office is a national office, and that our country demands the services of men who find it their highest duty to be national Congressmen.



### Campaigning for Deneen in Whispers.

Says the Chicago Record-Herald, slyly, "A vote for Frank H. Funk," the nominee of the Progressive Party for Governor of Illinois, "will be a vote for Edward F. Dunne." Since the Record-Herald wants to elect Deneen, why does it say that such a vote will be a vote for Dunne instead of saying it will be a vote *against* Deneen? Is it merely rhetoric? Or is there a reason for supposing that Republicans opposed to Deneen may be scared back to him by shaking Dunne at them as a mysterious scarecrow? There is certainly nothing against Dunne of a personal nature; he is as estimable a gentleman as Deneen. There is certainly nothing of a political nature; his political record, in every respect, ecclesiastical included, will stand scrutiny better than Deneen's. What, then, is the Record-Herald's reason for being so "devilish sly"? Why not stop whispering? Why not speak in plain terms? Why not come out into the open, where the facts about Dunne may try conclusions with insinuations against him?



## THE FIRST NATIONAL NEWSPAPER CONFERENCE.

The defensive editorials that have appeared in some of the large newspapers, regarding the conference on the relation of newspapers to public interests, at the Wisconsin University last week, as well as the defensive speeches and papers by professional newspaper men at that conference, fully justify a pointed use of emphasis in quoting from one of the defensive editorials. It appeared in the Record-Herald of July 31st, and is in part as follows, except that the typographical emphasis is ours:

Is there a single newspaper publisher or editor who does not **profess** moral obligations and public spirit? Does a single newspaper **admit** that it is destitute of ideals and principles and is a mere money-maker, selling news without regard to its

character or effect? There are editors who ought to be in jail and editors whose place is the private asylum, but there are no editors who **openly** repudiate moral, civic and social obligations.

If the proceedings at the conference, and the newspaper attitude toward them, are trustworthy guides, there is indeed probably no newspaper publisher or editor whose professions and admissions and open repudiations are otherwise than the Record-Herald implies. Far be it from us, however, to raise any question of honesty. Not bad faith but unsophistication, would seem to be the weakness of your proudly professional newspaper man.

He really doesn't seem to know that the great newspaper institutions of modern times are controlled by self-seeking private interests to the detriment of public interests. Seemingly, too, he does his thinking so loosely as to imagine that this indictment is refuted by evidence of the gentlemanly virtues or popular fighting qualities of newspapers that are not so controlled, and by testimony to the good behavior of those that are, when they deal with matters about which the "control" is not concerned. He appears to be incapable also of thinking in the abstract, for he ignores the question of whether in the nature of things the editorial function can be performed faithfully if wholly dependent upon money-making motives.



At the Madison conference there were several specific questions, nearly all of them revolving about one problem—the issue of whether newspapers can be run as a mere "business proposition" if they are to play their due part in social advance.

Hinging upon that central problem were such questions as the truth-telling tendencies of newspapers, their impartiality in news reports, the fidelity of news-gathering agencies, the influence upon journalism of non-journalistic ownerships, and the question of whether commercial journalism can make good in social advance, coupled with two tentative proposals for newspaper reform.

One proposed reform was the endowed newspaper, and another the publicly owned newspaper; neither of them as a substitute for the money-making newspaper, but either or both as affording another than the money-making kind of competition.

The problem seemed easy enough to grasp, and Professor Ross made it easier by a clear-cut analysis, supplemented with a question of his own. "Trained journalists" could easily have answered

his question if they were trained to serve the public interest, but at the conference the question was evaded and by the big newspapers it is ignored. The plain problem, as presented by the program and analyzed by Professor Ross, was whether the business influences of journalism have not encroached upon editorial functions until editorial ethics have been well nigh swamped.



To consider here the first of the questions leading up to the central problem, can any sensible man suppose that newspaper readers are getting from the newspapers all the truth they are entitled to—that is, that the newspapers *profess* to give?

It is no answer to fall back upon human imperfection, as some of the newspaper defenders do. The indictment against newspapers is not for innocent imperfections. What is charged is that, consciously and for a purpose in the service of secretly allied private interests, newspapers systematically deceive their confiding readers. Nor is it any answer to show that *some* newspapers do not deceive consciously, nor to show that all newspapers are truthful in commonplace matters. And the apologists who say that newspapers must tell the truth or die, ignore the fact that they don't die until they get an all-round reputation for falsifying, which is long after they have done the damage they intend to do.

As to impartiality in news reports, news-gathering agencies may no doubt be fairly challenged; but a good many of their sins against impartiality might be charged more fairly to the blue pencil practices of editors. News associations, like news reporters, have to adjust their service to what is wanted by the institutions they serve.

Of the non-journalistic interests of newspaper owners, nothing in this world is more certain than that they are heavy handicaps upon faithful journalism.

Finally, in our opinion, commercial journalism cannot make good, except commercially. And this is in the very nature of things; for like produces like. And the more successful newspapers are commercially, the less useful are most of them likely to be with reference to any kind of social advance except the money-making kind.



We are not prepared, however, to adopt either of the two proposed reforms—endowed papers nor publicly owned papers. We shall attempt nothing more than to explain *why* we do not believe that the newspaper, if it is run merely as a business

proposition, can “make good” by playing its due part in social advance.

What is social advance?

It is not pioneering, to be sure; but neither is it skulking or lagging behind.

No paper plays its due part in social advance if it stays in the rear until advances are made. To slambang Negro slavery now, is not to play a due part in social advance. That is a social advance which has been accomplished. The same thing is nearly true of woman suffrage, or the Initiative and Referendum. The struggle for them is almost over. To play a due part in social advance means being “on deck during the storm.”

The relation of the newspaper to social advance is twofold—editorial and financial.

*Editorially*, the newspaper has to do with public affairs without reference to private interests. In that respect it is like the Y. M. C. A., which would be an irreverent joke if it were run merely as a business proposition, whether professedly so run or not.

The editorial function is not like the storekeeper's. Storekeepers perform their functions when they give money's worth for money's worth. Not so with the editor. His functions are more like those of the fireman, the policeman, the judge, the juror, the clergyman, the teacher, and often of the sailor, whose services to those who pay them rise above money-making and go beyond money's worth.

We are not including trade papers. They profess to serve the money maker *as* money maker, and there their obligation ends. But the editorial function of the newspaper does not end there. It doesn't even begin there. This obligation is primarily to the public. Newspapers not only admit that it is, but boast of it; and we all adopt their boast—or did until we began to find out what an empty boast it is.

What, then, is the due part of the newspaper *editorially* in matters of social advance? Isn't it to report fairly and lucidly the important facts regarding all manifestations of social advance that tend to excite public interest; and in commenting upon them to do so honestly, intelligently and instructively, whether mistakenly or not?

But those functions cannot be performed without financial support. The newspaper has a *financial* as well as an editorial problem to solve.

How shall it solve its financial problem? Shall it be a business proposition simply, like the storekeeper's business?

The “trained newspaper” man, put on the defensive by the conference at Madison, says Yes.

His audiences said No. And he was unsophisticated enough about his own business to be surprised thus to learn that public opinion is losing confidence in newspapers.

And why shouldn't it lose confidence? The facts are against reposing confidence in newspapers. So are business methods. The exclusively business proposition with reference to the newspaper implies that newspapers shall be established only by means of speculative investments, and when established shall be regarded primarily as money-making concerns. This conception of a newspaper *financially*, is utterly at variance with the boastfully proclaimed and once accepted ideal of the newspaper *editorially*. It means that the editorial function is to do the conventionally honest things that may be profitable, and to leave undone all things that are likely to be unprofitable.

In no other way can the newspaper hope to survive simply as a business proposition. But in no such way can it play its due part in social advance.



Although we take no positive position with reference to an alternative to the exclusively business proposition, we may suggest, as was repeatedly urged by advocates of these reforms at the Madison conference, that the total abolition of money-making newspapers is not a necessary, nor probably a desirable, alternative.

The fact remains, however, that *if* the newspaper is to play its due part in social advance, the money-making type of newspaper must be confronted somehow with a species of competition which will make for social righteousness in the performance of editorial functions.

As mere money-making institutions, newspapers are bound sooner or later to deserve the distinction which that delightful mediaeval traveler, Sir John Mandeville, quaintly gave the bedouin Arabs, when he said that "they are right felonious and foul and of a cursed nature." There are few great newspapers that do not already deserve this distinction. And not alone those of the so-called yellow press; for worse by far than disreputable *yellow* newspapers, are reputable *black* ones.



Of the true character of dominant newspaper agencies in the reputable field, we repeat that your happy-go-lucky optimist of a newspaper man has no notion whatever, unless he is a boastful liar, which he confessedly does not intend to be.

He does his daily "stunt" for daily pay. He is proud of his occupation if his own personal pay be good. He is happy in bohemian associations, and

ambitious of professional promotion. Loyal to "the policy" of the paper whose owners think they "feed him," and say so in the inner recesses of clubs where he is not admitted but hopes to be some time, he writes what he has learned to know is "wanted," and then he talks abroad of newspapers with the sanctimonious imbecility of a corporation lawyer defending a bench of corporation judges.

Tell him that he writes under instruction, and he replies with the innocent face of a child (or of an habitual joker) that never in all his long newspaper service has he been instructed to write anything he didn't wish to write. As if instructions were necessary for any but "untrained" newspaper men!

Tell him that advertisers control the newspaper press, and with the same innocence (actual or assumed) he assures you that no advertiser, however big, dares to give orders to *his* paper. As if orders were necessary with reference to the common interests of any large advertising class! Such interests, for example, as profit from hunger-wages in the department stores and their terrible consequences to American womanhood.

Tell him that great financial interests rule the newspaper press to the public injury, and he reminds you patronizingly of the indispensable service of newspapers to civilization; and out of the depths of his wisdom as an expert he enlightens you with assurances that lying newspapers are dying newspapers. As if he really thought you were accusing all successful newspapers of lying about all things all the time!

Working and "worked" newspaper men are probably the poorest witnesses to the evils of a newspaper system endowed—*endowed* is the right word—by big advertisers and big privilege-grabbers. The best witnesses are those newspaper readers who contrast what they hear or see, with the newspaper reports of it; or who study newspaper reports of what they know to be true in matters that vitally concern big interests.



Let us cite a mild example in connection with the newspaper conference of last week—the same pioneer conference that has surprised some very nice and unsophisticated gentlemen of the "trained-newspaper-man" variety, into a suspicion that newspaper readers are losing faith in news reports just as they long ago lost faith in editorials.

Mr. George H. Dunlop of Los Angeles told the conference of a successful journalistic experiment

in his city—the publication by the city of a local newspaper of its own. We should say that his was an excellent contribution to the conference, the best of all in that it was the only description of an actual experiment that was or could be submitted; but as we publish it entire in this week's Public, our readers may judge of its quality for themselves.

Mr. Dunlop referred incidentally to the possibilities of a municipally owned daily paper, making his approval unmistakable. His reservations were only those of a man who, while able to speak from actual experience of a publicly owned weekly, could speak of a publicly owned daily only in theory except as a successful weekly might cast a side light upon the subject. He was firm, however, in favoring daily newspapers covering the entire field of journalism and owned and published by cities in competition with the privately owned papers. Yet the Chicago Tribune and other Chicago papers of August 2, reported Mr. Dunlop in such manner as to carry an impression to their readers quite different from those he advanced and was understood by his audience to have expressed.

For convenience of comparison, we publish each statement in full, and in parallel columns, the typographical emphasis being our own:

#### Dunlop's Own Words.

We come now, very briefly, to a theoretical consideration of the question, **Do we need a municipally owned daily newspaper covering the entire field of journalism**—telegraphic news, home and foreign, local news of all kinds, accidents, crimes, sports, etc., etc.? I am free to say that I do not believe the affirmative answer to this question can be given with the same unhesitating positiveness with which the question of the weekly municipal paper for municipal affairs can be answered; but, nevertheless, I still believe that **this second question should also be answered in the affirmative.** [Here follows an extended argument for the publicly owned daily, concluding as follows]: Give us a high grade, publicly owned, daily newspaper, distributed free to every home in the city, and much that is bad in the other newspapers will cease to be profitable and will disappear.

#### The Chicago Tribune's Report.

Madison, Wis., Aug. 1.—The Municipal News, owned by Los Angeles, Cal., was described before the national newspaper conference to-day by Geo. H. Dunlop of the municipal newspaper commission. He expressed the opinion that such a publicly owned newspaper is an inevitable necessity generally and that the day is coming when it will arrive. **Mr. Dunlop did not believe, however, that there is need for a municipally owned daily newspaper covering the entire field of journalism.** Its peculiar province, he said, **should be municipal affairs, and it need not be published oftener than weekly.** "Give us a high grade, publicly owned daily newspaper, distributed free to every home in the city, and much that is bad in the other newspapers will cease to be profitable and will disappear," he said.

We do not intend to imply that "one swallow makes a summer." If this were a singular instance, it would be negligible—except to Mr. Dunlop, whom it places in a false position. But the instance is not singular; it is typical—and a modest specimen into the bargain.

Neither do we insist that this instance is of anything worse than an innocent error. But if it be an innocent error, isn't the fact significantly curious that the error happens to favor the money-making theory of journalism? A correct quotation from Mr. Dunlop is immediately preceded with a paragraph advising the hasty reader that the quotation means the reverse of what it says. May not "newspaper training" have had something to do with that perversion?



That newspaper men are as yet unawake to the moral significance of twisted reporting (or editing) is not remarkable. Newspapers haven't developed a system of ethics with moral fiber in it. They haven't developed an ethical system even up to the level of good manners. So true is this that well bred young men who go to learn newspaper work—and not only of the "yellow" kind, either—are startled during their apprenticeship into wondering whether one can be a newspaper man and a gentleman too. So true is it, that well bred men who find employment on a gentlemen's newspaper, as some of them now and then do, are prone to boast of the all-round aristocratic morality of their particular paper; as if this were proof of the virtue of journalism in general!

But an awakening has set in, even among "trained newspaper men."

It was something for some of them to learn—as those who observed the audiences at Madison volunteered the admission that they did learn—that public opinion is losing confidence in the editorial integrity of money-making journalism. It will be more, much more, when the working force on newspapers allow themselves to see and faithfully to report, at newspaper conferences if other avenues are closed, what goes on back of the scenes in their own vocation.

What are the influences that set "the policy" of their papers—to which they are so complacently loyal in editorial, in cartoon, in joke, and in the discoloration of news—is a branch of journalistic detective enterprise to which the workers on great newspapers may well give attention, since they boast of so profound an innocence on the subject.



Let us hope, and with reason, that when the

next national newspaper conference meets, some time next year and at the Madison University, it will be participated in by newspaper men of public spirit and moral stamina as well as professional "training," and be reported and commented upon in a candid spirit by the newspapers of civic pretensions.

Let us hope, and with reason, that an awakening among newspaper men, corresponding to that among newspaper readers, will meanwhile have taken place.

Let us hope, and with reason, that the spirit of boastfully claiming for money-making newspapers a public virtue they manifestly do not possess and possibly cannot in the nature of things acquire, will by that time have given way to something like the inward conviction which religionists hold to be the absolutely necessary pre-requisite to genuine conversion.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### POLITICAL DISINTEGRATIONS.

Boston, Mass.

Perhaps the impressions of one who has felt that Colonel Roosevelt was a necessity of his time, a moving force for radicalism in his party, and on the whole to be preferred either to Mr. Taft or a conservative Democrat, may have some interest for the readers of *The Public*. Wilson is for me an entirely satisfactory candidate, and Mr. Bryan seems to me to occupy the greatest post of any public man in the United States, to be entitled to the warmest gratitude of his party and the country.

Most of the former Roosevelt men whom I meet here in Boston, in New York and elsewhere, are now for Wilson; and some of these men by no means feel that Roosevelt even now is solely a self-seeker. An extremely radical Bostonian who did what he could to have Roosevelt nominated at Chicago, told me the other day that he was for Wilson because Roosevelt had again declared himself a protectionist. A New Yorker of my acquaintance who has been an enthusiastic Roosevelt man, and who still believes Roosevelt far more patriot than self-seeker, went to Baltimore in the interest of Wilson, and is today his active supporter. I met a Republican from Florida a few days ago, once a strong Roosevelt man, and still a believer in the Colonel's essential honesty of purpose, who expects to vote for Wilson. A Socialist friend writes me from St. Louis in answer to my expression of satisfaction with the nomination of Wilson, declaring his pleasure over the result at Baltimore, though with the natural qualifying expression of distrust for both old parties. I met at breakfast on the eve of the Baltimore convention a New Yorker whose name is familiar to most of your readers, a business man, man of letters and active worker in the better kind of politics, who was warmly urging Wilson's nomination, and who, although an old friend of Roose-

velt's and long associated with him in various activities, made in a few words the ablest and most temperate arraignment of the Colonel I have ever heard. This is the sort of thing I encounter wherever I go, and as a matter of fact, I have found but two or three of my acquaintances among Roosevelt men who still stand by the Colonel.

As to Massachusetts, if Foss is renominated, as he should be, he will almost certainly be re-elected, and I find few who have any fear that Wilson will not carry the State by at least a handsome plurality. Pellettier's criticism of the courts was in the main more than justified, for they undoubtedly attempted to crush the street car strike by indiscriminate severity in which was reflected the current conservative view as to the rights of wage earners. But Pellettier's criticism would have come from him with a better grace had it not been the almost immediate accompaniment of his announced ambition for the gubernatorial nomination. It is doubtful whether he would bring strength to the State and national ticket, while Foss would undoubtedly run well on his record, and help Wilson.

EDWARD L. VALLANDIGHAM.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

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Week ending Tuesday, August 6, 1912.

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### The Roosevelt Party.

Delegates to the national third party convention, organized under the leadership of ex-President Roosevelt, assembled at Chicago on the 5th. [See current volume, page 728.]



Senator Dixon called the convention to order. He introduced ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana as temporary chairman, and Mr. Beveridge was placed in the chair without opposition. After Mr. Beveridge had taken the chair and delivered his address, committees were appointed and the convention adjourned for the day. On the 6th, a large portion of the day was spent in listening to the address of Theodore Roosevelt, who was introduced by the chairman as "the guest of the convention." He was received with enthusiastic demonstrations lasting an hour. At the close of his address the report of the committee on credentials was adopted without opposition. The temporary officers were then unanimously made permanent, and the convention adjourned to the 7th.



A race question arose in the committee on credentials on the 5th relative to the admission of

Negro delegates from Southern States. In Florida, a convention called without distinction of race had excluded Negroes from its deliberations, whereupon another convention was called which named Negroes as delegates to Chicago, where the delegations from both conventions were excluded by adoption by the national convention on the 6th of the report of its committee on credentials. From Mississippi also there were two delegations—an all white delegation elected by a State convention, the call for which had been to whites only, and a mixed delegation from another convention called regardless of race or color. The former, known as "the Fridge" delegation, was seated by the committee on credentials whose resolution was adopted by the convention without opposition as follows:

Resolved, That we regard the Fridge delegates as entitled to seats in this convention, but disavow that part of the call containing the word "white." We approve the position taken in the letter written to Julian Harris of Georgia by Theodore Roosevelt.

Consequently, although there are Negro delegates in the convention from north of Mason and Dixon's line, there are none from south of it.



There were 18 women delegates in the convention and 5 women alternates. They were escorted to the convention by a procession of equal suffragists carrying banners inscribed with demands for votes for women. Following is the list of the women delegates as reported by the local press:

New York—Mary Dreier, Mrs. William Grant Brown, Mrs. Robert H. Elder, Pauline Goldmark, Mrs. Clara Schuler.

Massachusetts—Mrs. Elizabeth Scott Child, Alice Carpenter, Mrs. Elizabeth Towne, Helen Temple Cook and Mrs. Grace A. Johnson.

Illinois—Jane Addams and Mrs. Mary J. Wilmarth.

Colorado—Josephine Roche and Dr. Maude Sanders.

Utah—Mrs. Charles Adams.

Tennessee—Mrs. J. W. Pumphrey.

California—Mrs. Isabella D. Blaney.

Michigan—Mrs. M. Evelyn Fritzeneger.

Following are the women alternates:

New York—Frances Kellor, Clara B. Morrison and Madeline Z. Doty.

Colorado—Mrs. Dudley Dorn.

Utah—Mrs. Joseph Smith.



### The Roosevelt Party in Illinois.

Republican politics in Illinois, with Governor Deneen as the principal candidate and the Progressives opposed to him, were as a rule so involved as to cause a general demand upon Mr. Roosevelt from Illinois that he give his influence to the policy of a complete third party ticket in Illinois from top to bottom, and Roosevelt was reported on the 31st as having sent word to his followers in Illinois that there must be no com-

promise with Deneen. Accordingly the Illinois State convention of the new party, which met in Chicago on the 3rd, required of delegates this pledge:

We, the undersigned, hereby subscribe to the calls for the National and State Progressive Party conventions and pledge ourselves to support in the election next November the candidates of the Progressive Party in State and nation and the platform adopted by the Party in State and national convention assembled.



Charles E. Merriam, temporary chairman of the State convention, sounded the keynote of secession from the regular Republican organization, State as well as national. In his opening speech he said that—

it is proposed to form an entirely new party, abandoning the old organization and bringing together elements from both of the two old parties. Under these circumstances nominations made by either of the old parties are in no sense binding upon those who wish to enter into the new.

Mr. Merriam argued for the Initiative, Referendum, Recall, election of United States Senators by direct vote, "gateway" amendments to the State Constitution, woman's suffrage, a minimum wage for women, limitation of working hours in continuous industries, and conservation of water power and other natural resources of the State.



Speeches were made by Governor Johnson of California, James R. Garfield, Gifford Pinchot and Raymond Robins, all of whom are delegates to the national convention.



The State platform demands, among other things—

The Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

Amendment of our Constitution to give to the people instead of the courts the final decision of what is for the public welfare under the police power in Constitutional decisions.

The short ballot.

Ratification of the Constitutional amendment providing for the direct election of United States Senators.

Pending the adoption of this amendment, the passage of a law by the next General Assembly providing for a popular vote upon candidates for the United States Senate, binding upon members of the legislature in accordance with the Oregon plan.

Such changes in the State Constitution as will make necessary amendments possible and without the proposed makeshift of limiting the number of proposed amendments to three.

The adoption of the Minnesota and Wisconsin method, under which the voter in a primary may express his first and second choice for candidates, and providing that if a candidate be not nominated by a

majority of the votes cast for first choice, the nominee shall be chosen by the first and second choice votes combined.

Thorough revision of the road and bridge laws of the State and the building of improved highways by an equitable system of local, State and Federal co-operation.

A State industrial commission with authority and resources to investigate and report with recommendations upon wages, hours and working conditions in the industries of this State; to codify existing labor, employment, factory inspection and fire protection legislation; to establish reasonable standards of safety and sanitation for all workers and all places of industry.

A compulsory eight-hour law in all continuous 24-hour day industries.

The establishment of continuation schools for industrial education, under public control, and the encouragement of agricultural education and demonstration in rural schools.

A State farm for confirmed inebriates and other similar delinquents, and a State colony for epileptics to which all such patients now in State hospitals and county poorhouses should be removed.

The reorganization of the State Department of Health and vigorous and impartial enforcement of all sanitary and inspection laws.

An adequate State housing law.

Physical valuation of railroads as the basis for rate-making.

Woman suffrage.



The convention made the following nominations for State offices:

Governor, Frank H. Funk, Bloomington; Lieutenant Governor, Judge Dean Franklin, Macomb; Attorney General, Fletcher Dobyns, Chicago; Treasurer, Philip Decker, Murphysboro; Auditor, Edwin Winter, Danyille, and Secretary of State, Edward O. Peterson, Aurora. Trustees of the University of Illinois, B. F. Harris of Champaign, Mrs. Raymond Robins of Chicago and Frederick L. Hatch of Spring Grove.

The delegates at large elected to the national convention by the State convention are:

Jane Addams of Chicago, Mary J. Wilmarth of Chicago, C. D. Thomas of Champaign, Frank G. Allen of Moline, Frank H. Funk of Bloomington, Medill McCormick of Chicago, La Verne W. Noyes of Chicago, and John F. Bass of Chicago.

The candidate for Governor, Frank H. Funk of Bloomington, is a large farmer and is now a State Senator. He was the regular Republican candidate to succeed himself as Senator, but has resigned this candidacy on the ground of his having withdrawn from the Republican party.



### Republican Split in Nebraska.

At Lincoln, Nebraska, on the 30th, the supporters of President Taft in the State convention withdrew. Their reason was the decision against them by the outgoing State Committee in a ma-

majority of the cases of contested seats. [See current volume, page 470.]



The delegates who withdrew, organized another convention, with E. G. McGilton as chairman; and, forming a State committee with power to fill all vacancies on the State ticket, adjourned without adopting a platform.



The Roosevelt followers, remaining in control of the regular convention, and under the chairmanship of Governor Aldrich, adopted a platform in support of—

individual liberty, equality of opportunity and the right of the whole people to dictate the policies of the government; direct election of United States Senators; a law limiting the power of inferior Federal courts to set aside statutes of sovereign States; and the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.



### The Roosevelt Party in Other States.

At St. Paul on the 30th the Progressive Party of Minnesota was organized at a State convention which adopted a platform endorsing—

direct primary, election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, the forming of a national Progressive Party, the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, a thorough going corrupt practices act, and woman suffrage.

The Progressive test is to be applied to every Republican nominee for legislative, Congressional, and State office immediately after the Republican primaries on September 17th; and unless the Republican nominees are considered by two-thirds of the advisory committee appointed by this convention to be in sympathy with the Progressive movement, new candidates, pledged to the Progressive cause, will be placed on the general election ballot by petition.



A mass convention of Connecticut Progressives was held at New Haven on the 30th, at which national delegates to Chicago were appointed with instructions for Roosevelt for the Presidency. The organization of a State party was effected upon a platform in which equal suffrage is a conspicuous plank.



### President Taft's Acceptance.

Notified at Washington on the 1st by Elihu Root as chairman of the Republican convention that the convention had nominated him for re-election as President of the United States, President Taft responded with a carefully prepared acceptance speech. He declared the supreme issues of the campaign to be—

maintenance of the nation's institutions and the

preservation of the Constitution, threatened on the one hand by the Democratic party and on the other by those Republicans who have left the party to try their fortunes in a new one, and by the proposals of the Democrats for reductions in the present tariff.



#### The Tariff on Wool.

By 160 to 62, the lower house of Congress passed on the 23d the conference committee's report on the wool tariff, which had been agreed to by the committee on the previous day. This report is upon the basis of 29 per cent duty on raw wool—a compromise between the 20 per cent of the House bill and the 35 per cent of the Senate bill. On yarns the House rate of 30 per cent and the Senate rate of 45 per cent are compromised at 35 per cent. [See current volume, page 324.]



#### The Tariff on Steel.

The steel bill was passed on the 3d by the Senate, which receded from its amendment repealing the Canadian reciprocity law. The average duty is put at about 22 per cent as compared with about 34 per cent under the Payne-Aldrich bill. The bill went to the President on the 5th. [See current volume, page 339.]



#### La Follette's "Gateway" Amendment.

In the United States Senate on the 6th, Senator La Follette of Wisconsin introduced a joint resolution for a "gateway" amendment to the Constitution of the United States—an amendment, that is, which will make all future amendments reasonably easier. Under the Constitution now, no amendment is possible unless it is (1) proposed by a two-thirds vote of each House of Congress and ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of all the States, or (2) proposed by a convention called by Congress on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of all the States and ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of all the States. With these restrictions upon amendments, and the liberties taken with the Constitution by judges appointed for life, the people have lost control of their law-making power so completely that only a violent revolution can secure any fundamental change against the opposition of a small minority. Of the fifteen Constitutional amendments that have been adopted, the first ten were virtually an original part of the instrument, having been adopted within three years after the foundation of the government, and pursuant to arrangements necessary to secure the assent of all the original States to the compact of Union. The eleventh was adopted within the next five years, and in order to allay a general fear of an overturning of State sovereignty by judicial usurpation. The twelfth was adopted in 1804 to cor-

rect an awkward and generally unsatisfactory operation of the complex Electoral College scheme. The remaining three amendments were adopted by the use of arbitrary force and as culminating political acts of the conquering States in a bloody civil war over the slavery question, which they were intended to settle in accordance with the result of the war. In order to enable the people hereafter to alter their fundamental law on disputed questions peaceably, Senator La Follette's proposed amendment reads as follows:

Resolved, By the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

Article XVIII. The Congress, whenever a majority of both Houses shall deem it necessary, or on application of ten States by resolution adopted in each by the legislature thereof or by a majority of the electors voting thereon, shall propose amendments to this Constitution to be submitted in each of the several States to the electors qualified to vote for the election of Representatives, and the vote shall be taken at the next ensuing election of Representatives in such manner as the Congress prescribes. And if in a majority of the States a majority of the electors voting approve the proposed amendments, and if a majority of all the electors voting also approve the proposed amendments, they shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution.

The parts in black letter indicate the alterations proposed. [See vol. ii, no. 63, p. 4; iv, p. 110; xiv, p. 485.]



#### Home Rule in Taxation for California.

At the election in California next November, the people of that State are to vote, under the Initiative provisions of the recently adopted amendment of their Constitution, upon the following proposed amendment for home rule in taxation:

The People of the State of California do enact as follows: Article XIII of the Constitution of the State of California is hereby amended by inserting therein a new section to be designated and numbered as Section 8½ of said Article to read as follows:

Section 8½. Any county, city and county, city, town, district or township in this State is hereby empowered to raise revenues for its local purposes and to provide for the time or times of collecting taxes for such purposes in such manner as it may determine by ordinance or resolution, adopted by a majority vote of the qualified electors thereof, voting thereon at an election held on the question of establishing a new revenue system, or of altering or amending any system of taxation now or hereafter existing for raising such local revenue. Such proposed system or amendment thereof may be submitted at any general or special election held in such county, city and county, city, town, district or town-

ship, by initiative petition as provided by law or by resolution of the legislative body of such county or other political subdivision above enumerated.

Property may be classified for the purposes of taxation or exemption from taxes; and taxes or exemption therefrom shall be uniform for all property of each of such classes; provided that no tax for any local purpose, except for payment of the principal and interest of any bonded indebtedness created and outstanding by any such county, city and county, city, town, township or district, prior to the 8th day of November, 1910, shall be levied on any property set aside for purposes of taxation for State revenue, nor shall any such tax be levied upon any property exempt from local taxation by this Constitution or by the Constitution or laws of the United States.

The valid signatures to the petitions for submission of this amendment are reported from San Francisco as numbering 33,702 in the State at large, inclusive of 18,132 secured in San Francisco, and as being more than enough to put the amendment upon the ballot at the coming election.



#### The First National Newspaper Conference.

Continuing its meetings at Madison under the auspices of the Wisconsin State University, the first national conference on the newspapers of the United States carried out its program as follows:

July 30—(Forenoon): "Is the newspaper-reading public getting all the truth it is entitled to?" W. H. Ellis of the Grange Lake (Ill.) Searchlight; Livy S. Richard of the Boston Common. (Afternoon): "Can the impartiality of the news-gathering and news-supplying agencies be fairly challenged?" Melville E. Stone of the Associated Press, Roy Howard of the United Press, A. M. Simons of The Coming Nation, and Herman Ridder of the New York Staats-Zeitung.

July 31—(Forenoon): "How is news service affected by (1) the constantly increasing cost of the newspaper plant? (2) the increasing proportion of total newspaper revenue derived from the advertisers? (3) the non-journalistic interests of the capitalist owner?" Don Seitz of the New York World, and George French of the Twentieth Century Magazine. (Evening): "If the newspaper is to play its due part in the social advance, can it be run as simply a business proposition?" Charles Grasty of the Baltimore Sun and Louis F. Post of The Public.

August 1—(Forenoon): "Can commercial journalism make good, or must we look for the endowed newspaper?" Hamilton Holt of the New York Independent and Professor Ross of the Wisconsin University.—(Afternoon): "Can commercial journalism make good, or must we look for the public newspaper?" George H. Dunlop, president of the municipal commission for the publication of the Los Angeles Municipal News.

In the evening, at a banquet at which Chief Justice Winslow of the Wisconsin Supreme Court was toastmaster, Edward G. Lowry of the New York Evening Post, Richard H. Little of the Chicago Tribune, George French of Boston, Hamilton Holt of the New York Independent, Zona

Gale of Wisconsin, and Charles Grasty of the Baltimore Sun were the speakers. On motion of Mr. Grasty as chairman of a committee on the subject, a resolution requesting a second conference under the same auspices was adopted. [See current volume, page 730.]



#### Freedom of the Country Press.

Under a perpetual injunction, issued by Judge Landis of the Federal court at Chicago on the 3d, three corporations are prohibited from combining in the business of furnishing ready-made printed matter for about 16,000 newspapers. They are the Western Newspaper Union, the American Press Association and the Central-West Publishing Company, the last being a "holding company" for the consolidation of the other two. In his opinion in the case, Judge Landis says:

The news thus distributed and the discussions of important questions thus supplied would all be designed to mold the sentiments of the readers to one particular view. It appears in the negotiations had between the companies looking to their consolidation, that the expectation was that in view of the greater power thus acquired in disseminating information the united property could be disposed of at great profit to those interested in instilling certain economic ideas in the minds of the public, and that it was the design that such a disposition of it should be made. This circulation from week to week of information dealing with questions of public importance is of itself interstate commerce, and for one concern to acquire the power to distribute all of such information and to deceive the public by its perversion is itself a serious and substantial restraint upon and a monopolizing of interstate trade and commerce.

The decree followed the filing of a suit by Special Assistant Attorney General William Chantland. Attorneys for the organizations assented to the entry of the decree, asserting there was no wish to form any coalition if it was not desired by the government and would be a violation of the Sherman act. The government began to investigate this so-called "boiler plate" business when the American Press Association filed a complaint against the Western Newspaper Union. The latter organization made a counter complaint. As the investigation continued the Federal District Attorney at Chicago is reported as saying—

We found that before 1909 the two concerns acted separately and in concert to destroy competition. They undersold competitors, sent out traveling men to call only on the customers of competitors, and summoned competitors to conferences and openly told them they could not continue in their competing business. They were told they must sell out or get out and coupled demands with threats of fiercer competition, including the installation of competitive plants. In 1909 negotiations were begun between the officers of the defendant corporations for the purpose of uniting their business. They failed to

effect the desired combination and they began against each other, and they still continue, a campaign of destructive competition. If they were not restrained from continuing, the entire business of gathering and disseminating of news and general matter for the country press would have been monopolized by the lone survivor. The victor would control 95 per cent of this business.

### The Labor War.

From Boston papers it appears that the elevated railroad strikers have won an unusual victory. The strike, which began early in June, has been widely reported through the newspapers of the country as hopeless and indefensible. It has been settled, however, through the interposition of Governor Foss, Major Fitzgerald and the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, upon the basis of the following agreement secured in behalf of the strikers by their representatives and adopted by them enthusiastically at a public meeting in Faneuil Hall on the 27th:

First—The Boston Elevated Railway Company in the employment and discharge of men will not discriminate as between men who do or do not belong to any labor organization, any employe being at liberty to belong or not to any such organization. The company will meet its employes for the discussion of grievances, whether they come as individuals or as representatives of any organization of the employes.

Second—Any committee to adjust differences with the company to have the right to a reasonable leave of absence for that purpose, and men who are in the service of any organization not to be debarred from returning to their respective positions and ratings in the service of the company after they have finished their service with such organization.

Third—The State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration to determine what men shall be taken back by the company and the time within which, and the rating at which, they shall be taken back, their decision to be final.

Fourth—The men who are out of the city to have a reasonable opportunity to return in order to report.

Fifth—In the future grievances or difficulties concerning wages or conditions of labor which cannot be adjusted between the company and the organization, to be referred to the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, or, if that is not agreeable to the company, to a board composed as follows: One man to be selected by the organization, one by the company, and if these two cannot agree upon a third arbitrator within ten days, the third party to be chosen by the Mayor of the City of Boston.

Sixth—If these propositions are accepted the company will post notices to that effect in all of its car barns.

Seventh—If the foregoing arrangement is agreed to, the strike to be called off at once.

The strike is accordingly at an end. [See current volume, page 730.]

By 8,939 to 171 the street railway employes on

the surface lines in Chicago voted on the 2d in favor of a strike unless their demands for increased wages and improved working conditions are met.

### British Report on the Titanic Disaster.

The report of the court of inquiry of the British Board of Trade into the Titanic disaster, was promulgated on the 30th. The American press thus summarizes the findings:

The court finds that the collision was due to excessive speed; that a proper watch was not kept; that the ship's boats were properly lowered, but that arrangements for manning them were insufficient; that the Leyland liner Californian might have reached the Titanic if it had attempted to do so; that the track followed was reasonably safe with proper vigilance, and that there was no discrimination against third-class passengers in the saving of life.

The court exonerates J. Bruce Ismay, chairman and managing director of the White Star Line, and Sir Cosmo Duff-Gordon, a passenger, from any charges of improper conduct.

The judgment recommends more watertight compartments in seagoing ships, the provision of life-boats for all on board, and more efficient drills of the crew as well as a better lookout.

No direct reference is made to the inquiry by the committee of the United States Senate under the chairmanship of Senator William Alden Smith.

Capt. E. S. Smith was not, says the court, fettered by orders to remain in the track, but naturally would keep near to the accepted route. In the conditions existing the night of the accident, and especially in view of the high speed at which the Titanic was steaming, an extra lookout should have been placed in the stern of the boat and a sharp watch kept by the officers on both sides of the bridge.

The speed of twenty-two knots was regarded by the court as excessive.

The court recommends that the British Board of Trade be empowered to require that the designs of ships be submitted to it during the early stages of their construction and have power to direct changes to be made.

The court suggests that an international convention be called to agree on a common rule for the subdivision of ships, also as to life-saving apparatus, wireless regulations, speed in the ice regions, and the use of searchlights.

[See current volume, pages 539, 659.]

## NEWS NOTES

—President Taft accepted on the 5th the resignation of Federal Judge Hanford of Seattle. [See current volume, page 706.]

—A new revolution has broken out in Nicaragua. The revolutionists are headed by General Mena, former Minister of War. Upon President Diaz's confession of inability to protect American residents, American sailors and marines were landed at Corinto from the gunboat Annapolis on the 3d, and imme-

diately transported to the capital city of Managua. [See vol. xiv, pp. 469, 564.]

—Dr. George Ernest Morrison, the Peking correspondent of the London Times, has been appointed political adviser to President Yuan of the Chinese Republic for a term of five years. [See current volume, pages 706, 708, 709.]

—A Danish-American national park in the Rebild hills of Jutland, in Denmark, was opened on the 5th, with a vast gathering of people, including several thousand Danish-Americans. The park has been presented to the Danish nation by Danish citizens of the United States.

—A municipal 3-cent dance hall was opened in Edgewater Park, Cleveland, on the 3d, by Mayor Baker. The floor—77 feet long by 36 wide—was crowded to its capacity. It is now open for dancing from 2 o'clock till 5 every week-day afternoon and from 7 to 10 each week-day evening.

—The decision of the Supreme Court of Kansas in the case of the Roosevelt candidates for Electors in that State will be reviewed on writ of error by the Supreme Court of the United States in October. This is upon an order of Supreme Court Justices Pitney and Van Deventer. It does not interfere, however, with the operation of the State court's decision meanwhile. [See current volume, page 729.]

—A Constitutional amendment offered by Representative Cordell Hull of Tennessee in the lower house of Congress on the 2nd and referred to the judiciary committee, proposes that "for reasonable cause, judges of the inferior courts of the United States may be removed from office by concurrent resolution of both Houses of Congress if two-thirds of the members present concur therein," such judges to have reasonable notice and an opportunity to be heard in person or by counsel.

—The Turkish Parliament was dissolved on the 5th by Imperial decree. In the meantime, the Chamber of Deputies was passing a vote of want of confidence in the Cabinet. The Young Turks, who held a majority in the Chamber, insist that the Sultan must now form a Cabinet from their party, but the Sultan has stated in an Imperial rescript that the Cabinet enjoys his full confidence. The elections will begin at an early date. It is reported that the Turkish government is willing to enter into peace negotiations with Italy, if they are conducted in a manner compatible with Turkey's honor and dignity and its rights are adequately safeguarded, and that a commission has been appointed which is to meet Italian delegates at Lausanne, Switzerland. [See current volume, page 733.]

—American refugees from Mexico continue to pour across the Rio Grande into El Paso. The United States officially demanded from President Madero on the 30th, full protection for all Americans and their property in northern Mexico. Unofficial notice was at the same time conveyed through the American consul at Juarez to Pascual Orozco, Jr., leader of the Mexican revolutionists, warning him that he would be held responsible for the safety of Americans, and protection of their property. Orozco asserts that all he wants of the Americans is to confiscate from them their arms and ammunition, of which he is in need. Madero promised the pro-

tection to Americans asked for, but the troops he already had in motion would not reach northern Mexico for ten days. [See current volume, page 734.]

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### The Vacant Lot Industry.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), August 1.—The proposed Singletax amendment to the Missouri constitution will put an end to the vacant lot nuisance in the cities. A well-taxed vacant lot will soon be built upon by its owner, or sold to someone who will build upon it.



### The Progressive Party and Trusts.

The Chicago Tribune (Progressive Party), Aug. 6.—The Tribune wonders whether the Bull Moose convention is going to peddle out the same old buncombe about busting the trusts, or whether it will be honest enough to say frankly that the trusts will not and cannot and should not be destroyed; and that, therefore, they should be controlled by the nation as a whole for the nation as a whole.



### Suffragette Crimes in Great Britain.

The (London) Nation (radical-Liberal), July 20.—The effect and the intention of these outrages is, of course, to destroy the hopes of woman suffrage under the franchise bill. The suffragette movement is becoming a purely criminal one, and as such it will, of course, perish of its own perversity. But it is time to ask—who is paying for this campaign of outrage, and who organizes it?



### Hearst's Challenge to Wilson.

The Chicago Tribune (Progressive Party), Aug. 6.—Wilson minus Bryan equals Hearst. Wilson plus Bryan equals Hearst. Such are the equations which we deduce from an editorial which appeared yesterday in Mr. Hearst's papers all over the country, in all editions. The editorial was signed by Mr. Hearst himself. It was the longest editorial we ever saw in a Hearst paper, and the longest editorial we ever read in any paper. In this long editorial, significantly published on the first day of the Bull Moose convention, Hearst warns Wilson that if he accept Bryan's support he will lose Hearst's support.



### Panama Canal Tolls.

The Christian Science Monitor, July 31.—Here is a question which is believed on one side to involve deeply the nation's commercial interests, on the other side to concern deeply the nation's honor. It is a question upon which honest men may differ. It may be felt that it is a question that can hardly be decided without prejudice by Congress. The matter, it may be believed by right-thinking and justice-loving people, should be taken out of the hands of a body whose decision may be influenced

by considerations that ought to have no standing, and placed before a body that will examine the evidence and pass upon it judicially. In other words, it will be felt in many quarters that it is just such a question as The Hague should pass upon.



#### "Government by the Mob."

Collier's (ind.), July 27.—Gentlemen who talk affrightedly about the hasty judgments of the people lack either honesty or observation. The judgments of the people are not hasty, but deliberate—even slow. The people are naturally conservative. They bear long and patiently; they turn from the old ways and old ideas with reluctance. But there is something tremendous, like the forces of nature, in their accumulated convictions. . . . There are many instances of sudden changes, of whirlwind convictions, of radical moves on the part of men managing great business concerns, of statesmen, of judges even. But the judgments of the people are deliberate, slow, cumulative, and there never was a more groundless fear that a majority of the nation may be played upon at will by demagogues and blown into a flame of rashness that will consume our "sacred institutions"—or any other sort that are worth keeping.



#### Railroad Carelessness.

The Christian Science Monitor, July 31.—Speaking of his American railroad experience, Arnold Bennett complains of sudden stops and frequent jerks. "I was inclined to go out to the engine driver and say to him," adds Mr. Bennett, "brother, are you aware—you cannot be—that the best European trains start . . . so that it is impossible to distinguish motion from immobility, and come to rest with a softness of doves settling on the shoulders of a young girl." It is really regrettable that Mr. Bennett did not act upon his impulse in this particular. . . . With all of the boasted—and justly boasted—inventions and improvements and conveniences and comforts that have been incorporated with railroad transportation in this country in the last quarter century, jolting and jerking and slamming and banging have increased rather than diminished. It is due to carelessness and inefficiency both in management and execution.



#### The Carnegie Foundation.

McClure's Magazine, August: Why did this institution, organized, it was supposed, to encourage academic independence, refuse its usual retiring allowance to one of the most distinguished of American educators? Why, after doing this, did it permit the fact to become known in sensational fashion—in other words, why did it place its influence at the disposal of those who sought to injure Mr. Wilson politically? The main fault to be found with our Eastern universities is probably that they distinctly lag behind public sentiment and popular ideals. Unless there is an awakening, the educational leadership will pass to other young and vigorous institutions, such as the University of Wisconsin, which are really making education a part of the life around them.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### THE TITANS.

For The Public.



Are God and Nature then at strife,  
That Nature lends such evil dreams?

—Tennyson.



Mocked, mocked, mocked, mocked!  
Mocked are the sowers that thought to reap:  
And in arms of Eternity locked,  
Many a sleeper that sought to sleep.

Where are the palms they vaunting waved  
By right of might, and by boast of power?  
For the forces they lightly braved,  
Only sport of the passing hour.

Into the eyes of cowering man,  
Flashed from the glass of Truth, a ray  
For the breadth of a moment's span,  
Lightens his midnight into day.

Stout rose the tower from level plains,  
Buttressed by buffets, by sweat and groans;  
Threat'ning high Heaven, and what remains?  
Naught but a jumble of Babel stones.

Stones,—false gods,—and their lying creed,  
Every soul for itself, defies  
Madly the Source that supplies its need,  
And from humanity alien, dies.

God of the ages, hear our prayer!  
Riding dangerous seas, her freight  
Close, too close to perdition there,  
Rescue Thou and preserve our State.

Right her course to the changeless pole,  
Equity's meed for great and small:  
Clear her way to that glorious goal  
Of all for each and of each for all.

GERTRUDE COLLES.



#### A PUBLICLY OWNED NEWSPAPER

An Address Delivered by George H. Dunlop Before  
the National Newspaper Conference at  
Madison, Wis., on August 1, 1912.



Can Commercial Journalism Make Good, or  
Must We Look for the Public Newspaper?



Do we need the publicly owned newspaper?  
What would it be like if we had it? What could  
it be like? What part of the public would own it,  
and who would run it, and how?

I imagine that I have been asked to discuss the question assigned to me today, not that you may hear an abstract argument as to why we should have publicly owned newspapers, but rather that I should describe to you the publicly owned newspaper now being published by the city of Los Angeles. This newspaper is, so far as I know, the first of its kind in the world. Interspersed in this description I shall indulge in a little discussion of the reasons for its existence and characteristics.

The Los Angeles Municipal News, for that is the name of the city newspaper, is published once a week, with an edition of 60,000 copies, which are distributed free throughout the residence sections of the city, by newsboys. One paper is delivered to each house, and no questions are asked as to who lives in any house or whether or not they wish the paper. The subscription price of the paper by mail is one cent per copy. The publication of the newspaper was begun a little over three months ago.

The Los Angeles Municipal News is printed on ordinary white news paper, has the ordinary newspaper appearance in its typographical make up, and carries eight to twelve pages to the issue. It accepts ordinary commercial advertising under a strict set of rules excluding undesirable classes of advertising.

In its news columns the Municipal News confines itself almost exclusively, but not entirely, to news concerning the city government. The news is presented in newspaper story style, and not in the form of departmental reports. No telegraphic news is carried, although, as a matter of legal authority, the paper has the right to carry any kind of news, telegraphic or local, that the management may see fit, and it is quite possible when the paper shall have thoroughly made good in the limited field it is now trying to fill, it may expand into the field of general journalism.

Every effort is made to give the paper a readable appearance, and it is widely read by the citizens.



With this picture of the appearance of the paper before you, we will next discuss the character of the paper. The function of The Los Angeles Municipal News in its relation to municipal affairs is twofold:

- 1st. To give accurately the news concerning the city's business.
- 2d. To give fully and fairly the arguments of the contending sides.

On these two points I will quote from the ordinance creating the newspaper:

**Sec. 5.** Said Municipal Newspaper, published as aforesaid, shall conform to the following specifications:

**A.** In the publication of all news it shall en-

deavor to publish the facts with the strictest available accuracy, without bias.

**B.** It shall give particular attention to municipal news.

**C.** It shall refrain from any argument, presented as its own, concerning any religious question or any political question pertaining essentially to national or state political issues, or concerning the candidacy of any candidate for any public office, but shall treat the candidacies of all candidates for public office solely as matters of news.

**D.** Any argument by said paper upon municipal issues shall be in harmony with those principles and measures which have been approved by the voters of Los Angeles City, either by direct vote thereon, or by charter provision, or by public platform or statement of principles approved at an election and not subsequently rejected, or by ordinance or resolution of the Council not suspended in its operation by a referendum petition.

**E.** Nothing in the above restrictions shall be construed as prohibiting said Municipal Newspaper from publishing the public utterances of individuals or interviews with them, or of special signed articles, concerning any of the questions above referred to, when such utterances, interviews or special articles are published as matters of news and not for the purpose of propaganda by said newspaper; or from publishing the special matter provided for in paragraph F of this section.

Here follows paragraph F, a long and detailed provision, giving to each political party polling three per cent of the vote of the city, the right to use one column in each issue of the paper, free of charge, for the purpose of setting forth the views of that party on public questions. The governing committee of each party selects its own editor to edit its own column, and the matter he hands in for publication is free from any censorship by the management of the paper, except that such matter must be lawful for publication. At the present time five such party columns are in use each week—the Republican, the Democratic, the Socialist, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Good Government. The mayor and any member of the city council may each have the use of half a column in any issue of the paper. Some of these officials occasionally but not frequently have used their space.

Students of municipal affairs regularly tell us that the old New England form of town meeting government was the ideal method of administering the affairs of a small community. This is undoubtedly true. Its excellence lay in the fact that the important features of the town's business were publicly presented, publicly debated, and then voted upon by the body of the voters.

Much of the municipal progress of recent years has resulted from the effort to adapt this old New England method of town meeting government to the conditions of the large modern city. Initiative and Referendum petitions with popular vote on the questions submitted thereunder is such an adaptation, but we have made no adequate pro-

vision for the public presentation of the facts and the public discussion thereof. The municipally owned newspaper giving the municipal news without bias and making definite provision for the presentation of the arguments of the contending sides, offers the only solution of this problem that I know of. The privately owned newspapers do not give the facts fairly, and the private citizen's right of free speech, the right to shout forth arguments upon the street corner or in a hired hall, does not put one in touch with any considerable portion of the population of a city of a quarter of a million or more.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the conduct of the average newspapers throughout the country, take them as they run, in misrepresenting the facts of municipal politics and in suppressing all argument antagonistic to their chosen policies. You knew of it before you came to this conference, you have heard it discussed at this meeting. Most newspapers are run for profit, some for honest profit and some for dishonest profit. Of the latter despicable class nothing severe enough can be said, so perhaps nothing further need be said; but the papers that are run for honest profit, using those words in the sense in which they would be employed in ordinary commercial usage and practice, are not in a business where it is advisable at all times to tell all the truth and present all the arguments. The patrons of a newspaper run for profit—its subscribers and its advertisers—must be deferred to as are the patrons of any other commercial enterprise, otherwise the paper quits. Some newspapers, generally small ones, are not run for profit at all, but for purposes of propaganda, in which case their fanaticism may make them quite as unreliable as cupidity ever made any newspaper.

Most successful newspapers are a composite of these two classes, blending the spirit of gain with the spirit of propagandism in a judicious mixture that enables the proprietor to extract money from the public while he promotes as many of his own personal opinions as he dares.



Coming back to The Los Angeles Municipal News, the question arises, How is it officered and managed so as to guarantee its measuring up to the very high ideals which both friends and foes will admit it ought to exemplify, if the city is to have a municipally owned newspaper at all? As a matter of fact, there are, of course, no guarantees that an ideal result will be obtained, just as there is no absolute guarantee that the ideal will be achieved in any branch of government. There are, however, some provisions in the ordinance creating the newspaper intended to assist in holding the newspaper to a high standard, and I will call your attention to them.

The Los Angeles Municipal News is under the

control of The Municipal Newspaper Commission, composed of three citizens who serve without pay. The Commissioners are appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council. The confirmation must be by ordinance subject to the right of the citizens to take a referendum on it, if they are not satisfied with the appointments. This is the first case in history, I believe, where the appointment of appointive officers is made subject to the referendum. It is almost equivalent to making an appointive office optionally elective at the option of the electors, and possibly is worthy of other and wider application.

The Commissioners hold office for four years, but are subject to recall by the voters at any time, and to removal at any time by the mayor and council, which removal must also be by ordinance, subject to the referendum. If, therefore, the mayor and council should seek to remove the commission because the commission refused to make the newspaper a mere administration organ, and insisted on conducting the newspaper impartially as the newspaper of the whole body of the citizens, and if in that case the body of the citizens should wish to uphold the commission in its impartial course, they could do so by taking a referendum on the ordinance of removal and defeating it.

The ordinance creating the newspaper and making the appropriation for its support was passed by a direct vote of the voters of Los Angeles, having been submitted to them by initiative petition. This ordinance cannot be amended or repealed except by a direct vote of the voters themselves, so that the newspaper commission cannot be coerced or financially starved into subserviency by a city administration seeking to control it for partisan purposes, unless the body of the voters themselves approve.

Its independence thus secured, The Municipal Newspaper Commission, under a solemn obligation from the people to be impartial, is very apt to try to measure up to its opportunities and its obligations, the same as do most of the judges in our courts of law or most of our civil service commissions.

As illustrating the statement that a commission appointed to administer impartially has a natural tendency to try to be impartial, I can cite the act of the present Commission, which, without any requirement in the law therefor, has introduced the practice, on municipal questions actively engaging the public attention, of presenting side by side in parallel columns the leading arguments of the contending sides. This takes care of questions that are not party questions, the party questions having their hearing in the columns set aside for the political parties. If the commissioners do not see to it that the newspaper is conducted impartially, and the voters of the city want it so conducted, they may, as previously stated, remove the commission, either by action of the mayor and council

acquiesced in by the voters, or by direct use of the recall by the voters themselves.

If a majority of the voters do not want an impartial newspaper, it is quite possible they won't get it, though it is also possible, that if the special interests in the town seeking to control the newspaper are sufficiently numerous and antagonistic to each other so that no one of them can dominate the town, and the minority in favor of keeping the newspaper impartial is sufficiently large and active to constitute a balance of power, the city may be able to have a newspaper far better than the average of its citizenship.

This further remains to be said, if we must have one-sided newspapers it may be just as well to have one that represents the interests and prejudices of the majority of our citizens as one that represents the interests and prejudices of some millionaire who is rich enough to own his own newspaper, or of some restricted class of subscribers and advertisers influential enough to control a newspaper.

The provision of the ordinance giving each political party full control of its own column is an effective factor in helping the newspaper to be truthful, for any misstatements in the body of the paper are likely to be corrected in one or the other of these columns, which are just as free to criticize the management of the paper and denounce it as untruthful as they are to say anything else. The right of individual councilmen, possibly members of the minority in the council, to the use of half a column each whenever they wish, is another factor making for circumspection on the part of the management of the paper. The fact that the municipal newspaper would be the natural target for criticism from the other newspapers of the city if it made any serious mistakes or committed any crimes, is another factor to be considered.

But over and above all these considerations is the fact that the public of no American city would tolerate in its publicly owned newspaper the downright misrepresentation, abuse, and unfairness which so often characterize privately owned newspapers. The municipal newspaper that didn't excel in truthfulness and fairness the average newspaper of today, would be abolished.



I will now briefly describe how The Los Angeles Municipal News is managed, viewed from the professional newspaper standpoint.

None of the three members of The Municipal Newspaper Commission which consists of Mr. H. O. Wheeler, Jr., an attorney, Dr. T. Perceval Gerson, a physician, and myself, is a professional newspaper man. The ordinance creating the newspaper authorizes the Commission to appoint a general manager, and on his recommendation, such assistants as may be necessary and the available

funds will permit. Under this provision Mr. Robert E. Rinehart, an experienced newspaper man, has been appointed by the Commission as general manager, and a corps of half a dozen or more trained newspaper men as assistants.

The general manager and his staff take entire charge of the actual work of getting out the paper, the Commission acting only in a supervisory capacity, as a school board or library board supervise their respective departments. The spirit of the entire working force is most excellent. After years of service with newspapers that have required City Hall news to be reported with this or that bias, the men are delighted to have the opportunity to discover news items of interest and then write them as they actually are. The very technique of accuracy and fairness is a matter of professional pride with the whole working force.

The mechanical difficulties involved in printing and distributing 60,000 copies of a newspaper, one day a week, under the pressure of a time schedule almost equal to that of a daily newspaper, are not small. Most of the city's business is transacted on Tuesday. That is the day the council meets, and a number of important city commissions meet Monday or Tuesday.

The Municipal News goes to press Wednesday morning, and is distributed Wednesday afternoon. The printing of the paper has been let by contract to a printing office that owns the idle printing plant of a defunct evening newspaper. The plant is not of an up-to-date character, and it has been necessary for the Newspaper Commission to help out by purchasing a four-deck straight-line Goss press and stereotyping outfit, which the Commission allows the printing contractor to use. The Municipal News hopes to have its own complete printing plant in the near future.

The distribution of the 60,000 copies of the paper is made every Wednesday afternoon by about one hundred and twenty small boys. The proper handling of this distribution is a big problem in itself, and has caused the Commission no little difficulty, but it is being successfully worked out.

The financial support of the Municipal News comes from two sources. The city appropriates \$36,000 a year for the support of the paper, equivalent to nearly \$700 per weekly issue, and in addition, the paper receives the returns from its advertising columns, averaging, so far, over \$400 a week. The number of pages per issue and the number of papers per issue given free distribution, are variable factors, subject to such adjustment as the financial necessities of the department may require.



I have now described the chief features of The Los Angeles Municipal News, not with the idea that all publicly owned newspapers must be just like it, but as affording one illustration of what a

publicly owned newspaper can actually be like. Up to date the paper has confined itself almost exclusively to municipal affairs. Within this special field it has a place so necessary and so self-evident, once attention is called to it, that the idea of the municipal newspaper, devoted to municipal affairs, is certain to win its way in the near future in many cities.



We come now, very briefly, to a theoretical consideration of the question: Do we need a municipally owned daily newspaper covering the entire field of journalism—telegraphic news, home and foreign, local news of all kinds, accidents, crimes, sports, etc., etc.? I am free to say that I do not believe the affirmative answer to this question can be given, with the same unhesitating positiveness with which the question of the weekly municipal paper for municipal affairs can be answered; but nevertheless, I still believe that this second question should also be answered in the affirmative.

Not only the political but also the moral and intellectual influence of the average daily newspaper is not what it should be. It is no answer to this statement to say that the people get as good newspapers as they are willing to support, because they can buy what they want and so are free to support better papers if they want them.

Allow me to explain. We all of us have our better moments, when we set up for ourselves ideals that we frequently do not follow. Each of us might be willing to vote a portion of the taxes for the support of a publicly owned daily newspaper of a high grade, even though individually standing upon the street corner with a penny to spend, we might invest it in a pinker or a yellower sheet.

Furthermore, the present thirst for sensational, even depraved reading matter on the part of the reading public, is not wholly natural; its size and its intensity are abnormal. It has been nourished insidiously by evil newspapers themselves. The average newspaper of today, seeking to capitalize into profit the weaknesses and vices of its readers, is simply another case of unrestrained commercial competition carried too far. In every form of competition we must have some rules against hitting below the belt. Just as certain forms of manufacturing competition are restrained and regulated by laws providing for an eight-hour day, prohibiting child labor, and requiring sanitary conditions for the workers, so the competition for profits in the newspaper field should be restrained by rules intended to prevent that competition going to injurious lengths.

We are most of us agreed that a strict official censorship of newspapers, no matter how benevolently intended, is not a desirable thing, so that if we are to have rules regulating newspapers, most of the rules will have to exist in public sentiment rather than in statutory law. The best influence to

develop public sentiment is a good example. Give us a high grade, publicly owned, daily newspaper, distributed free to every home in the city, and much that is bad in the other newspapers will cease to be profitable and will disappear.

The publicly owned daily newspaper, covering the entire field of journalism, must be a very high grade paper if it is to be of value. Its news must be accurate, its arguments fair, and its style interesting. It must not present the weaknesses of mankind as worthy, nor the vices of mankind as amusing, nor the virtues of mankind as stupid. It must not rely on scandal and vice, the improprieties of the stage and pictures of perfect women, as the means for interesting its readers. It will not seek to ingratiate itself with the childhood of the community with comic pictures whose humor is in inverse proportion to their general smartaleckness and downright depravity. Above all, it must not preach the gospel of hate and try to make each half of the community believe the other half is the bitter foe of all progress and of their fellowman.

No one can say when we shall see a publicly owned daily newspaper of this kind, but I venture to say that the necessity for such a publicly owned newspaper lies in the very nature of things, and that in the inevitable course of events, it is on its way. The day is coming when it will arrive.



## A BALLAD OF ANTHRACITE.

For The Public.

"Tell me, my Lord of Anthracite,  
Why boostest thou the price?  
Wherefore, when summer days wax bright,  
Doth Coal go up like Ice?"

"It is," he said, "the miners' greed;  
They struck for higher pay,  
So Coal's gone up. My heart doth bleed.  
Woe's me! Alackaday!

"Nay, I can't do that sum, I know;  
Those figures give me pain;  
But if you'll go to Phebe Snow  
I doubt not she'll explain."

I found her charming as could be,  
Arrayed in spotless white,  
And ready to discuss with me  
The rise in Anthracite.

"The explanations do appear,"  
She said, "to have some flaws,  
And yet I think the case is clear—  
Coal's gone up just because."

"And still I don't exactly see  
Why prices are so high."  
In mild surprise she looked at me.  
"Why, just because; that's why."

But then as breaks a summer day  
There dawned on me a light.  
"The poor consumer has to pay  
Because he's it?" "That's right."

"And when the wintry winds do blow  
Will Coal come down, perchance—  
Like Ice?" She said, "I do not know;  
Perhaps Ice will advance."

WM. E. McKENNA.

## BOOKS

### THE MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY.

**Changing America.** Studies in Contemporary Society. By Edward Alsworth Ross, Professor of Sociology in the University of Wisconsin, Author of "Social Control," "Sin and Society," etc. Price, \$1.20; postage, 11c. The Century Co., New York.

Among the eleven essays which set forth the views of Professor Ross on "Changing America" not one fails of interest to the thinker who would discover and help to remove the causes that imperil public and private welfare. In his usual keen, penetrating, analytic manner the writer seeks the root of the matter he discusses, and never hedges in his exposure and condemnation of the selfish principle that underlies the conditions that call loudly for reform.

"For the last twenty years," he says in his essay on "Women in Industry," "I have been devoting all my effort to getting deeper into the principles of social organization—the principles by which human beings can work together with the greatest success and happiness; and I can look back to the time when I thought that certain abstract principles were the thing—that we did not have to consider the degree of happiness they gave the people, but that planting ourselves on these immutable principles, we should just go ahead and all would be well. I assure you, the older I grow and the more I explore different social systems, the more fluid these principles become, until now, in social policy, I do not see anything at stake but the welfare of men, women and children."

The Professor's article on "The Suppression of Important News" arraigns the daily press for falsifying the facts about labor in countless instances, a few of which are briefly set forth. As a sample here is one:

"The Tax System is a 'Sacred Cow.' During a banquet of two hundred Singletaxers, at the conclusion of their conference a man fell in a fit. Reporters saw the trifling incident, yet the morning papers, under big headlines, 'Many Poisoned at a Single-Tax Banquet,' told in detail how a large number of banqueters had been ptomaine-poisoned. The conference had formulated a singletax amendment to the State constitution which they intended to present to the people for signature under the new Initiative law. One paper gave a line and a half to this most significant action. No other paper noticed it."

To remedy the evil of newspapers controlled entirely by the "Sacred Cows," or capitalist promoters (who make it a law that nothing damaging to their interests shall be printed), Professor Ross suggests the publicly endowed newspaper, though "as we are not yet wise enough to run a public-owned daily newspaper the funds must come from private sources."

"The re-assertion of Democracy," which Professor Ross forecasts in his papers on "The Middle West"—lately running in the Century Magazine—gives evidence of the near and happy change of attitude in the people who are nominally the factors of popular government. The forward steps taken in direct primaries, commission government of cities, initiative, referendum and recall, as well as other movements that are in certain progress, are showing the growing spirit of reform that is destined to enter into our entire national life.

A. L. M.



### MR. ROOSEVELT AS HIS FRIEND SEES HIM.

**Theodore Roosevelt the Citizen.** By Jacob Riis. New Edition. New York. The Macmillan Co. Price, 50 cents net.

If Mr. Jacob Riis intended this book for campaign literature of the Rooseveltian third term party—no, the Roosevelt third party—he has over-shot the mark somewhat. It is too much like the arguments of anti-suffrage people—apt to make converts to the opposite side. The famous Baron Munchausen could hardly have gone into a political battle without some expurgation of his equally famous "Whatever it was *I did it*" Memoirs. Mr. Riis, with all his admiration for the very virile and much-alive personality of our energetic ex- (and hopes-to-be) President, should have left *just* a little credit for what has been done in public life during the past ten years, to somebody else. It would have lent a touch of verisimilitude which the volume sadly needs. It is even less worth serious criticism than most campaign literature. Some sentences deserve mention, however, to show the point of view of the author and the peculiar qualities he admires in his subject. They also throw on the subject a light of a kind that may not be quite what the author intended. Mr. Riis notes, for instance, that Colonel Roosevelt's college chums observed the quality, even then apparent in his character, of talking "very large" and then doing something quite the opposite to the intentions expressed in his speech! And here is Mr. Riis's charming characterization of a quality of Mr. Roosevelt's which ordinary mortals might speak of in different terms: "To me at this end, the perfect balance which has distinguished his mental processes since then was beginning to assert itself. However much he might seem to be speeding to-

ward extremes, he never got there." The use of the words "perfect balance" in such a connection is delightfully new. It enriches our language by introducing a novel conception—ironic or otherwise as you would have it. But Mr. Riis has done such good work in other ways that we can afford to forgive him for a particularly foolish piece of campaign literature.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Pamphlets Received.

**Heroes of Peace.** By Edwin D. Mead. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston. Single copies free.

**The Literature of the Peace Movement.** By Edwin D. Mead. Published by the International School of Peace, 29A Beacon St., Boston.

**The Truth About Japan.** By John H. De Forest. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston. Single copies free.

**The Cosmic Roots of Love.** By Henry M. Simmons. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston. Single copies free.

**The Drain of Armaments.** Table prepared by Arthur W. Allen. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston. Single copies free.

**International Good-Will as a Substitute for Armies and Navies.** By William C. Gannett. Published by the World Peace Foundation, 29A Beacon St., Boston. Single copies free.

**San Diego Free Speech Controversy.** Report to the San Francisco Labor Council by special investigating committee, composed of O. A. Tvietmoe and Paul Scharrenberg. San Francisco, Calif., April 25, 1912.

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## PERIODICALS

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### Boy Scouts.

Persons who have jumped rashly to the conclusion, based upon insufficient data or none, that "the boy scouts" is an enterprise to be frowned upon for promoting militarism, will be interested and benefited by reading Walter Prichard Eaton's "Boy Scouts" in Collier's for August 3rd.



### The Drug Habit.

In the August Century, Charles B. Towns, writing on "The Peril of the Drug Habit," calls attention to the dangers from the rapidly increasing use of morphine, cocaine, and the coal-tar drugs, attributing this increase to the ease with which these drugs may be obtained. The government, he says, should strictly regulate their distribution. "With the government as the first distributor and a physician as the last, drug-taking merely as a habit would cease to be. . . . Nobody should be permitted to procure these drugs or the means of using them or any medicine containing them, without a doctor's prescription."

R. E. G.

### Our Means of Travel.

"Beyond question my experience of American trains," writes Arnold Bennett in the August Harper's, "led me to the general conclusion that the best of them are excellent. Nevertheless, I saw nothing in the organization of either comfort, luxury, or safety to justify the strange belief of Americans that railroad traveling in the United States is superior to railroad traveling in Europe. Merely from habit, I prefer European trains on the whole. It is perhaps also merely from habit that Americans prefer American trains." This fifth paper in the famous Englishman's series on "Your United States," finds many flaws in all our means of transportation, but has only praise for the comforts in our homes. "I wonder," he concludes, "to what miraculous degree of perfected comfort Americans would raise all their urban traffic if only they cared enough to keep the professional politician out of their streets as strictly as they keep him out of their houses"—not knowing,—this clever, ignorant foreigner, the latch-key relationship between many of these homes and that "professional politician."

A. L. G.



"Old Subscriber" is hereby informed that neither President Taft nor Woodrow Wilson will report the Bull Moose convention for any newspaper or magazine.—Chicago Record-Herald of August 2.



Her Father: "Can you support my daughter in the style to which she has been accustomed?"

Suitor: "No, sir; but she says she can accustom

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### The Gentle Monopolist.



From the Standard (65 Market St., Sydney, Australia) of May 15, 1912.

Farmer-Miner: "What are you crying for, my little man?"

Protected Monopolist: "For the poor, poor farmer and miner, who will be ruined by the abolition of monopoly."

herself to the style in which I can support her."—  
Boston Transcript.



The Customer: "I think these Louis XV. heels  
are too high. Give me a size smaller, please—or

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MRS. LOUIS F. POST  
Subject: "Some French Single Tax Posters."

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Club at Room 508 is canceled. JAMES B. ELLERY, Sec.

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welcome.

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ing at the lake front, at 3.30

Miss Emma Steghagen, Sec. Mrs. Raymond Robins, Pres.

## POST'S Illustrative Charts

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of them all, the Grand Trunk Pacific, is just now being built.

According to the registered right of way, this line when com-  
pleted will join Fort Fraser, B. C., with both the Atlantic and  
Pacific Coasts and gather in a volume of commerce that is sure to  
make this future city one of the most important in all Canada.

Calgary, when opened up by the Canadian Pacific, took a jump  
from 4,000 to 40,000 in population and \$200 lots rose to fabulous  
prices, some even going as high as \$10,000 to \$30,000 and  
\$60,000. Edmonton, Prince Rupert and other towns have had  
similar experiences and this kind of history is now to be more  
than repeated in Fort Fraser.

This town site has more natural advantages than any other new  
town in Canada, being a center of commerce by both land and  
water and located in the midst of one of the richest agricultural  
regions on the earth. The railroad's grading camps are already  
on the ground, settlers are crowding in, Government buildings  
are being planned and a big development like Calgary's  
is under way.

The man with small capital can snap up some of the choicest  
lots in Fort Fraser now for as little as \$200, if he acts quickly,  
and pay for them on the easy terms of 10 per cent down and 5  
per cent per month. No interest or taxes until fully paid and  
titles guaranteed by the British Columbia Government itself.

Write to Spence, Jordan & Co., Dept. G, Marquette Bldg.,  
Chicago, the town site's official representatives, asking for plat  
and full information. Choice selected garden land near Fort  
Fraser also to be had on easy terms.

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An EIGHT PER  
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perhaps Louis XIII. even would be high enough."  
—London Sketch.



"How did that story pan out about the man up in the Bronx who found the big hallstone on his back stoop this morning?" asked the city editor.  
"Nothing in it," replied the reporter. "He discov-

ered it wasn't a hallstone after all. The iceman left it there."—Woman's Home Companion.



"Are you in favor of government ownership?"  
"Most emphatically yes."

"Very well, I guess you're not concealing any bonds that you ought to be paying taxes on. I'm the assessor."—Chicago Record-Herald.

"I remained to pray." Real good of him, but he now goes farther — his letters are written on the stationery of the Woodrow Wilson Club of Harvard University, which is pretty good proof that he is no longer a conservative.

Here is what he says :

"I first became acquainted with The Public, when taking the reactionary side of a college debate and I subscribed in order to become acquainted with the opposing arguments. I 'remained to pray,' however, and have ever since found The Public a necessity. To the rushed college student, it is the means of getting the news of real things more conveniently and completely than any other paper I know."

What a college debate did for that student the Presidential campaign will do for tens of thousands of voters — it will force to their attention democratic measures.

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Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

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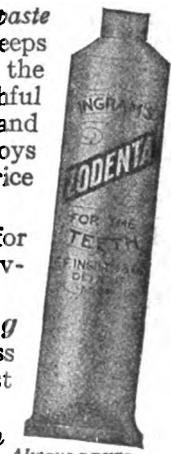
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