

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

James R. Garfield on the Recall of Judges.

In a recent public letter James R. Garfield makes an answer, true and crisp, to the criticisms of the Recall for judges, one that should be considered with especial care. "The purpose of the Recall," he says, "is to provide a more ready method to get rid of the inefficient or crooked official. If that official be a Judge, the greater the reason for his removal. *There is no surer way to teach disrespect to courts than to keep such men on the bench.*"

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The Recall of Judges.

An upright and courageous lawyer of New York—one without its provincialism, too, for he knows that New York is provincial, and to have it called so doesn't disturb his serenity—draws the line for democracy on the thither side of the judicial Recall. Our allusion is to John Brooks Leavitt, whose thoughtful denunciations of labor injunctions fully justify our characterization of him. Not merely as an advocate in courts has he denounced this novelty in jurisprudence, but at lawyers' conventions and with a professional standing at stake and a profitable practice to lose. That takes both uprightness and courage; and when such a man earnestly objects to the judicial Recall, his objections deserve special consideration.

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Mr. Leavitt is evidently convinced that "the

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path to a better administration of justice does not lie" in the direction of the Recall, and the influence that convinces him is history. In his reading of history he finds that "the secret of a fearless, honest and upright judiciary is independence of the appointive power, whether that power be a King, a President, a Governor, a Boss or the people." But Mr. Leavitt has a question to answer here which he will not find as easy as his declared determination never to be open-minded on the subject of the judicial Recall. How can you make the judiciary independent of King, President, Governor or Boss, without making it dependent upon the people? Mr. Leavitt's fallacy lies in his identification with the people themselves, of representatives or agents who act in their name and with their power.



Like many others whose thought on this subject has not been *de novo* and painstaking, Mr. Leavitt, thinks of the people as supine under the bossism of their representatives. They have not been supine. In so far as they have appeared to be so, it has been because they have had neither the power of appointment nor the power of Recall—have had only a "grab bag" chance in choosing representatives and been hopelessly bound by the "draw" until the next election. Mr. Leavitt would be supine in his own law office if his freedom in choosing clerks and clients were half as much restricted as the people's in politics under the delegated type of representative government.



And, pray, does not Mr. Leavitt's argument against recall of judges apply as well to recall of other officials, and end in a total denial of popular suffrage? If judges are to be independent of the people's power of recall, why not legislators and executives? Because judges are better men? It isn't true. Wigs and gowns may make men look good, but they don't make them so. *Is it, then, because judges are good where they are independent of the appointive power, as in England?* If Mr. Leavitt believes this, let him read the long and circumstantial editorial in the London Nation of May 27, 1911, on "The Judges and Public Morals," which tells us of English judges that the "semi-deification of the Bench is over forever." To close one's mind to the reasons for the judicial Recall is to open it in turn to pleas for abolishing the election of judges by popular vote, and providing for their appointment by executives and legislators, for making the judicial office a life tenure, for abolishing the elec-

tion of the appointing officers, for giving the appointing officers life tenures, and finally for basing representative government upon the birthrights of what Lloyd George has called "the first of the litter." Mr. Leavitt is quite right in linking Recall of judges with recall of other representatives of the people; but when he says that "if the Recall as to administrative officers requires it for judges also, then I shall be an opponent of the one in order to prevent the other," he reasons backwards. It is as much as to say, "If judges must be representatives of the people by the direct and at any time reversible choice of the people, in order that administrative officers may be so, then I shall oppose direct and reversible choice of all representatives. Either that, or else the judicial office, unlike the administrative, is not a part of government of, by and for the people, but is in the nature of a sovereignty superimposed upon the people.



We suspect that Mr. Leavitt is worried about the judicial Recall by what worries most people most—the thing that never happens. The traditions of his professional education probably conjure up in his mind a recall by the defeated party to every lawsuit. Such efforts at recalling judges would be laughed down everywhere. We fear that similar efforts are not laughed down now, in the bank parlors and directors' rooms where judges are made—and recalled. For an equivalent of the judicial recall exists today in subtle forms, and the people have neither knowledge of it nor control over it. The real menace to a fearless, honest and upright judiciary is not the open Recall for which we stand, but the secret recall to which well-meaning men like Mr. Leavitt unconsciously lend their influence. It takes greater fearlessness, greater honesty, greater uprightness for a judge to make just decisions in the face of this menace, than in the face of hostile public opinion, even when public opinion is armed with the judicial Recall. The very judge who might only blanch at the latter and then do his duty, shrinks and shivers and goes to pieces at the former when once he understands its power to punish and its ability to reward.



Judicial Tomfoolery.

A critical reader of the New York Tribune, Edward J. Shriver, recognizes what may be an editorial joke, with this highly sensible comment upon a situation that is no joke: "One is tempted to suspect that your editorial on the Standard Oil

reorganization was written in a spirit of gentle sarcasm. I allude to your closing sentence, that if the individual stockholders having a controlling interest in all the companies do not compete with each other they can be proceeded against for conspiracy. The *reductio ad absurdum* would be that if one man were to hold all the stock in all the companies, he would be compelled nevertheless to compete with himself. Were this solemn foolery of court decisions merely futile, as it has been in the Northern Securities case, we might put up with it with some degree of patience, although it is rather an expensive way to waste the time of our highest courts; but the worst of it is that it serves to distract attention from a study of the best means of preventing that exclusive control of natural opportunities from which all monopoly is really derived."

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Mr. Roosevelt and the Morganic Riddle.

Everybody has heard of the peach-and-onion riddle, and most of us have probably "bit" and been "caught" by it; but it is doubtful if Theodore Roosevelt was ever before now thought to be a fair "prospect" for the "catch," even though put up to him so grandly as in the morganization of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. "What is the difference between a peach and an onion?" That is the common form of the riddle. When the victim "bites" by "giving it up," he is punched in the ribs and told that he would be an unlikely person to send out as a peach buyer. But the way the riddle was put up to President Roosevelt, as Mr. Roosevelt testifies, was somewhat like this: "What is the difference between morganizing the great natural resources of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company in order to make Mr. Morgan's Steel trust impregnable, and doing it in order to save the financial situation?" And President Roosevelt—no, come to think of it, he didn't "bite;" at any rate, he didn't "bite" in quite the same way that we have all "bit" and got "caught" on that peach-and-onion riddle. He reversed the "bite," so to speak. But he got "caught" all the same; or if *he* didn't the country did. Instead of "giving it up," Mr. Roosevelt saw the difference at once; and precisely the same difference that Mr. Morgan wanted him to see, which is where the joke comes in. So Mr. Morgan fed to the Steel trust the Steel trust's only great rival, while President Roosevelt looked on and thanked him.

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Free Speech.

Everyone has peculiarities, we suppose, and

Anarchists are no exception. Some of them, at any rate, exhibit at times a certain curious confusion regarding freedom of speech, which might pass for a peculiarity. They are not without excuse, perhaps, even if they do use free speech invasively, for they and their audiences have had to suffer much injustice from its invasive suppression; but as a simple matter of fact, some of them *are* guilty now and then of acts in the name of free speech which are as indefensible as governmental acts to suppress free speech.

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A case in point was the insistence recently, by Emma Goldman's agent, upon crying Anarchist literature at a Socialist picnic in Chicago. Of course he was stopped, as he ought to have been. Anarchist literature does not represent Socialists, and those picnic grounds were for the time their home. The protest of Miss Goldman's agent that they were interfering with freedom of speech or press was absurd. As well denounce a Catholic householder for interfering with freedom of speech because he ejects a guest for insisting upon propagating atheism in the family circle.

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There is a more recent instance down in Delaware. The newspapers are giving it pretty wide publicity, probably because the circumstances make a good story for the yawning news columns of summer time, but quite as likely because Upton Sinclair figures in the fight. Mr. Sinclair and nine others were fined by a magistrate under a Delaware blue law of 1794 for playing tennis on a Sunday. Refusing on principle to pay the small fine, they were sent to the work-house for eighteen hours. It was probably their intention thereby to set a sort of magisterial pace preliminary to prosecuting country club violators of the same law, but that fact is only incidental to our theme. The point is that Sinclair and his Sabbath-breaking confederates were prosecuted by an Anarchist, the leading one of Philadelphia it is intimated; and in revenge, for this Anarchist had been denied freedom of speech by them at an economic debating club in Arden.

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Newspaper reports describe Arden as a Singletax colony. It is in fact a village of radicals of various shades—socialistic, singletax, anarchistic, artistic, etc.—who "agree to disagree" on points they cannot agree upon. They therefore have a good time together in a multitude of pleasing ways. The only excuse for calling Arden a Singletax colony is the fact that Singletaxers were among its or-

iginal promoters, and land values go into a common purse. One of the ways in which Ardenites have a good time is in the debates of the local economic club. All are eligible to membership; and the floor is free, with decorous and decent speech taken for granted. Perhaps the by-laws should have specified those conditions of debate, for the Philadelphia Anarchist in question proclaims a violation of the rule of free speech because the club suspended him for indecorum of a highly reprehensible type. When he tried to speak during his suspension, the chairman ruled him out of order. He thereupon defied the chairman and the club, in persistently disorderly ways, and was prosecuted accordingly for disorderly conduct. Fined for this he elected to go to jail instead of paying, and upon his release proceeded to "even up" by prosecuting his prosecutors for the somewhat unrelated offense of Sabbath day tennis.

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To regard that Anarchist's case as an instance of suppression of freedom of speech, is to ignore a fundamental condition of all social intercourse. Anarchists who do so, and we doubt if there are many, disclose a one-sided notion (whether excusable or not, on account of their own persecutions) of the essentials of free speech, which is quite as much a right of audiences as of speakers. For audiences to refuse to listen to speakers may be an assertion of a condition of liberty as important as speech; and this it certainly is when the refusal to listen has been provoked by the speaker's indecorum.

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Abolish Criminal Fines.

Upton Sinclair and his friends have served a work-house sentence for playing tennis on Sundays in Delaware. They were subjected at the work-house to all the indignities that go with the most degrading penal servitude, and Mr. Sinclair announces his intention of prosecuting rich violators of this left-over law of Delaware until it is repealed. His success is more than doubtful, since they may easily escape all those indignities by paying a small fine. He might have escaped himself for only four dollars. The rich violators of the law whom he prosecutes will pay their fines and laugh at him. They won't even stand at the bar of the court to do it. They will send a lawyer to plead guilty for them and get their receipt for the fine. Whereupon they will be ready for another Sunday's sport, and another \$4 penalty if Mr. Sinclair catches them at it.

But the imprisonment of those Arden men will not be without good results—better than merely shaming a backward commonwealth into repealing an archaic law. They have emphasized the fact that under the survival of criminal fines from the "weregeld" period, rich law breakers may buy immunity cheap, while poor-law breakers buy it at a much higher price relatively to their ability to pay, and penniless law breakers are put into prison stripes and set to breaking stone.

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This fining system also is archaic, but unlike the Delaware blue law it is not confined to one State. It is universal in the United States. Ten dollars for a disorderly drunk if the criminal has ten dollars; ten days if he hasn't. And so with a long list of crimes in every State, tennis playing on Sunday happening to be one in Delaware. If Mr. Sinclair and his Arden associates can make of their work-house experience and their probable failure to give like experience to other Sunday tennis players, an occasion for bringing about a repeal of the whole system of criminal fines, they will not have gone to prison in vain. Where any persons are made prison convicts for any offense, all should be made prison convicts for the same offense—regardless, at least, of their financial ability. Suspensions of sentence with a warning for first offenders is a wise discrimination if fairly used; but the custom of money commutations should end. Fines for crime ought to be abolished.

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Trying to Correct an Error.

We are rather glad of an error that crept into D. K. L.'s Nebraska letter of last week, for it forces upon us an opportunity to suggest not only that the letter be re-read with the error corrected, but also that special attention be paid to D. K. L.'s editorial in this week's issue. Yet the error was an unhappy one—one of those exasperating errors of print that reverse the meaning without spoiling the sense enough to put readers on guard. Intending to explain Governor Shallenberger's refusal at a critical time to call an extra session of the legislature, D. K. L. explained that "it was *not so much* subserviency to the brewers that actuated Governor Shallenberger (for he had signed an 8-o'clock closing law over their violent protest), as it was a temperamental failure to rise to the occasion." But in print the italicized words "*not so much*," fell out of the sentence; and D. K. L. was thereby made to say precisely the reverse of what he meant. We do the only thing we can to

restore his meaning, at the same time apologizing for the error both to him and to Governor Shallenberger.

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"Who Pays the Bills?"

In its issue of August 5, Collier's Weekly asks this interesting question in a very interesting connection. It is the title to an editorial, and here is the editorial:

The Western Newspaper Union is offering to a list of papers throughout the West page plates containing the speech of Senator Sutherland of Utah against the Initiative and Referendum. Many newspapers which are not careful or scrupulous will accept this gift, because it means the saving of a very considerable amount of money—the cost of setting up a page of type. Equally, the broadcast distribution of these plates must cost many thousands of dollars. Who is paying the bill? It is perfectly proper that Senator Sutherland's speech should be widely circulated and read, but when the work of getting it into the newspapers is done by stealth and at great expense it is proper to inquire who is sufficiently interested to pay the bill. Senator Bourne is getting his views in favor of the Initiative and Referendum widely circulated, but there is no secrecy about the method by which it is being done.

Sure enough, then, who *does* pay those bills? The remark about getting into the newspapers "by stealth" is at least suggestive of some of the political methods of our industrious friend, Mr. Allen Ripley Foote, of Columbus, Ohio; and the whole affair recalls Mr. Foote's "Ohio State Board of Commerce." Neither he nor his "board" may in fact be aware of this particular scheme for "knocking" the Initiative and Referendum. Nevertheless, as they are soliciting contributions, *especially from corporations*, for influencing the coming Constitutional Convention against the Initiative and Referendum, Collier's might learn something to public advantage if it pursued its inquiries in Ohio. [See current volume, page 772.]

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Those Chicago "Labor Thugs."

A dangerous group of thugs were convicted of a high crime at Chicago last week, and by some kind of newspaper preconcert the reports of their trial and conviction have distributed a notion over the country that these men were "labor thugs"—in other words that they and their criminal methods were part of the tactics of labor organizations. Unfortunately the official leaders of one, or possibly of two or three labor organizations, have furnished facts enough to lend color of truth to this otherwise utterly unfounded slander upon the labor movement. Apart, however, from those

relatively unimportant facts, there is not even color of truth to the slander.

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These thugs and their backers are unknown to labor unions, except as enemies of organized labor. To the extent that they may have been employed by any legitimate labor official, it has been done in the foolish expectation of "fighting fire with fire." The "labor" group to which the thugs belong, has for years been a vicious political element in Chicago, supported in part by City Hall appointments during Harrison's former administration, and thereby gaining control of the local Federation of Labor. Its control was broken soon after the public school teachers came into that body. Several attempts were made to recover control by "strong arm" methods, the last of which was frustrated by the police under orders from Mayor Dunne.

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The "strong arm men" of this "labor bunch" have furnished the aid that crooked business men and ward politicians wanted. They have served as strike breakers where employers needed violence to divert public sentiment. And at least two Chicago newspapers—Hearst's and the Tribune—have but recently employed some of them to "promote circulation." Labor organizations are probably no more virtuous, take them by and large, than business organizations, but the mendacity of the newspaper attempts to falsify the affiliations of those convicted thugs by calling them "labor thugs," with a view to making organized labor appear to be peculiarly wicked, is cowardly and mean.

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That "Favorable" Balance of Trade.

For the further enlightenment of Protectionists, and of "Free-traders-but—" we invite attention to this year's summary on page 831, of American exports and imports. It will be observed that the excess of merchandise exports (which means net merchandise outgo), is \$520,706,304. This is our "favorable" balance for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911.

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But why is a net outgo favorable? "Oh," comes the glib reply, "because it all comes back in pure gold." But it didn't last year. Only \$51,097,360 is the net excess of gold imports; and that is reduced by the net export of silver, amounting to \$18,812,709. So the specie payments for our "favorable" balance of \$520,706,304 amount to only \$32,284,651, or barely more than 6 per cent.

What about payment for the balance? "We must have got it in advance." Not at all. The "favorable" balance—excess of outgo over income, gold, silver and merchandise all considered,—since 1898, is \$6,783,851,192. Since 1834 it is \$9,406,470,509. We were evidently not paid in advance. "Going to get it in the future then." But where's the evidence? American bankers' rights to draw on London, foreign stocks and bonds on our exchanges, American investments in foreign land titles—where are they all? Don't point to future payments unless you show evidence of some legal or commercial right to them; and you can't show any such rights which are not in the aggregate exceeded by corresponding rights the other way. If we have rolled up nearly 10,000 millions excess of outgo over income in the past 75 years, what reason have you for expecting a reversal of that flow, unless you can show the documents or unless you expect us to abolish Protection? And if the flow were reversed, so that our income instead of our outgo were in excess, wouldn't that be an unfavorable balance of trade?



"But freight on foreign ships, tourists' expenditures abroad, immigrants' remittances to the home folks," etc., etc., etc. Oh, yes, we hear about these often, but what are the facts? How much one-sided trading of that kind is there, and why is it "favorable" to the United States? Then "what about American shipments at American prices on paper, but at cut prices in reality, whereby the export or outgo figures are 'stuffed'?" A fact, no doubt; but how much, and why favorable to the United States? "Just one thing more: Would ground rents for American land owned abroad, and dividends on the watered stock of special privilege corporations held abroad, and that sort of thing,—would they account for our excess of outgo, for our 'favorable' balance?" Very largely, no doubt, but what are the facts and why is that condition favorable to the United States? Can only echo answer?



With Apologies to the "Lineotypeortwoster."

[Scene—White House. Secretary enters with engrossed message.] "Where do I sign?" "Right here, sir." [Signs without reading.] "Beg pardon, sir; but wasn't that a rather strong approval of free trade to sign without examination?" "Free trade! Bless me I thought it was a quit-claim to Alaska."

"THE RULE OF REASON."

As Court decisions based upon legal technicalities are not looked upon with favor, it is natural that the so-called "rule of reason" basis should produce a friendly feeling for the recent Sherman law decisions.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that reasonableness in making laws, and reasonableness in applying them, are two very different things; and that Courts have to do with the latter only.

Unfortunately what appears reasonable to one man or one body of men, may appear unreasonable to another. Thus a law-making body may consider it reasonable to broadly declare certain acts illegal, as for instance acts in restraint of trade; while a law-applying body may consider it unreasonable that such acts in all cases be held illegal. But it is not necessary to decide which opinion is correct in order to determine whether it is reasonable or unreasonable for the law-applying body to make the law conform to its own opinion of reasonableness. It is evident that in so doing it must change its own character and usurp the function of the law-making body.

The rule of reason as to law-making should be commended to the duly constituted law makers. Surely the rule of reason as to applying laws requires only that the intent be reasonably determined and put into effect.

Judges are not responsible for the making of laws, but they should be held responsible for applying them as made. It is obviously impossible to have government by the people unless this is done.

The determination of our highest Court to make laws conform to its own opinion of reasonableness, must break down the lingering opposition of real democrats to the application of the Recall to judges.

W. G. STEWART.



PRESIDENTIAL TENDENCIES.

The Taft administration, like that of President Grant, will be historically memorable as one under which the Republican party was brought to the verge of disruption. Under Taft, as under Grant, there is general complaint that the President, whose personal integrity has never been seriously assailed, and whose good intentions may be conceded, is in the hands of designing advisers. Their first interest is not to serve the public, nor to conserve the welfare and reputation of the Administration, but to promote the financial profit of the various monopolies to whose service they were

attached before they became Presidential advisers. Under Taft, as under Grant, scandal has followed scandal. There has been and is a wide public suspicion that things at Washington are wrong.

There is a difference in degree.

Under the Grant administration the charges were of personal corruption and grafting on the part of men close to the President; while under the Taft regime the complaint is rather that his closest advisers and counsellors are men who cloak their devotion to private interests under a false and pretended devotion to public interests. The allegations are not so much of personal corruption, as of granting legislative and executive privileges to the few to exploit the many under the forms of law.

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Conditions which created the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 and the Progressive Republican movement of today are closely analogous. Men like Sumner, Schurz and Trumbull saw a President of their own party, elected in response to a great patriotic impulse, surrounded and flattered by dishonest men, who were making merchandise of his friendship. Grant trusted these men to the point of infatuation. He would not be convinced of their unworthiness even when legal proof was furnished of their criminality.

Protest to the President was vain. Right or wrong he stuck to his friends. It was impossible for the better element of the party to get his ear. Loyal Republicans, becoming alarmed at his obtuseness, joined with the Democrats, whom they had but lately accused of conspiring to disrupt the government, in an effort to overthrow the Grant oligarchy. They failed in 1872; but the country became convinced of the facts, and Tilden was elected in 1876 as a protest against the corruption which had flourished in Washington unchecked for the eight years of Grant's administration.

So with the Progressive Republicans.

Their movement had germinated before Mr. Taft came into office; but the President's acts are responsible for its growth and militancy. Progressive Republicanism is strong today because Mr. Taft filled his cabinet with trust servitors and corporation lawyers; because he named as his Secretary of the Interior the private attorney of land grabbers and would-be monopolists of the public resources; because in a white heat of anger he dismissed from office faithful officials who exposed the Secretary's faithlessness; because he counselled with tariff beneficiaries concerning the passage of tariff legislation, and pronounced the worst tariff law ever enacted to be "a reasonable

fulfilment of Republican pledges"; because he stamped with his approval a railroad law drafted to promote railroad extortion, and commanded its passage by Congress unamended; and because he has publicly confessed his attempt to coerce independent Republicans into supporting his reactionary policies by withholding patronage from them.

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Mr. Taft has another source of weakness, which, while rather intangible in its manifestations, has gone further than anything else to weaken popular confidence in him. It is a popular belief that he sympathizes instinctively with the moneyed and privileged aristocracy, which is the only form of aristocracy we have in America, and which is the worst and most heartless form of aristocracy known to civilization. If he has a single democratic instinct he has never displayed it. This is due, probably, to the fact that he has never had to hustle for a living. He has held office since his youth, and appointive offices at that. All his appointments came to him through political influence or friendship, and the potent influences in politics in his generation have been those of privilege and great wealth. He has grown up in an atmosphere where democracy is abhorrent, and unconsciously he has imbibed the contempt for it which his "class" feel to such an extent that it has become a part of him. His opposition to Direct Legislation and the Recall is as natural as his hearty appetite.

The President's specific acts and his recognized cast of mind have alienated from him hundreds of thousands of Republican voters. It is not necessary for them to distrust his personal honesty or the purity of his purposes; they have little faith in his democracy, and little in his ability to choose disinterested friends or to discriminate between good and bad advice. They doubt whether the welfare of the country—the best good of the everyday unprivileged citizen—is safe in his hands.

So pronounced has this distrust become that even his selfish counsellors now acknowledge that his chances of re-election are slim. If they hoped for his re-election they would not be urging him to the inevitable doom that will follow if he vetoes pending tariff legislation. Their asking him to veto this legislation is the best indication that they regard him as a political derelict.

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The Progressive Republican movement, which has stoutly opposed the reactionary tendencies and policies of the Taft administration, has been

handicapped in that it has not gone to the root of democracy. It has not yet learned the full nature and extent of privilege. Some of its leaders have made sorry spectacles of themselves, pleading in the Senate for protection for the industries of their sections. They have yet to learn that protection in any form is privilege and that no progressive movement can develop as it ought to develop, nor accomplish much permanent good, until those identified with it are willing to give up their share of the illegitimate favors of government.

Failure of the Progressive Republicans to understand these things is responsible for the weakness of the present opposition to Mr. Taft's re-nomination. Had they not flinched on the Canadian trade agreement, their movement would be much farther advanced than it is today. Even so, they must soon choose, according to present indications, whether they will support Mr. Taft for re-election, or will follow the example of the Liberal Republicans of the early '70's, and organize a secession from the party.



The last two-and-a-half years have revealed an irrepressible conflict between two types of men, both of whom call themselves Republicans. One element believes that it is the business of government to foster monopoly at the expense of the public; the other, however ill-defined may be its ideas of what constitutes monopoly, believes that it is the duty of the government to protect the public from monopolistic depredations. That such an interneecine conflict bodes ill for the party and good for the people is plain upon the face of it.

D. K. L.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

FOR THE SINGLE TAX IN OREGON.

Portland, Oregon, August 1.

In Clackamas County, Oregon, the first Initiative petition under the County Home Rule Tax amendment* adopted last fall is now being circulated for signatures, so that the voters of the county may determine at the election in 1912 whether or not they will substitute the land-value tax for the general property tax.†

*See The Public, volume xiii, page 1233; current volume, page 679.

†The petition is set out in full in The Public for July 21, 1911, current volume, page 679, but is repeated here in full, for the convenience of the reader, as follows:

"Warning.

"It is a felony for anyone to sign any initiative or referendum petition with any other name than his own or to knowingly sign his name more than once for the same

It is pertinent to say a few words in regard to the preparation of that bill.

Enemies of the Initiative, led by The Oregonian, which is a bell-weather of Special Privilege, assert that Initiative measures are hastily drawn up, carelessly put together, without time for consideration or amendment. In regard to the great majority of measures hitherto placed upon the ballot by Initiative petition in Oregon, that assertion is absolutely false. If it were true, the progressive measures that have been initiated by petition and adopted by the people could be easily and successfully attacked in the courts; but the enemies of the local option, liquor law, of the direct primary law and the corrupt practices act, and other laws enacted by the people, have not been able to find a weak spot in the armor.

The first draft of the foregoing county tax measure—which is the form in which it will be used in

measure, or to sign such petition when he is not a legal voter.

"INITIATIVE PETITION.

"To the Honorable Ben W. Olcott, Secretary of State for the State of Oregon:

"We, the undersigned, citizens and legal voters of the State of Oregon and of the County of _____, respectfully demand that the following proposed bill for a local law for the County of _____, shall be submitted to the legal voters of said County of _____ in the State of Oregon, for their approval or rejection at the regular general election to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, A. D. 1912, and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition; I am a legal voter of the State of Oregon and of the County of _____; my residence and post-office are correctly written after my name.

"A BILL

"For a local law for the County of _____ to exempt from taxation all trades, labor, professions, business, occupations, personal property and improvements on, in and under land, and to require that all taxes levied and collected within said _____ County shall be levied on and collected from the assessed values of land and other natural resources, separate from the improvements thereon, and on and from the assessed value of public service corporation franchises and rights of way.

"Be it Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon in and of the County of _____:

"Section 1. That all business, labor, trades, occupations, professions, and the right to conduct, work at or practice the same; and all forms of personal property; and all improvements on, in and under all lands shall be and hereby are exempted from taxation for any purpose within _____ County, and no tax shall be imposed upon any trade, labor, business, person, occupation or profession under the pretext of a license or the exercise of the police power within said County; but in its application to licenses and permits this is intended only to prevent the raising of revenue from such licenses and permits, and to prevent exacting of fees therefor greater than the cost of issuing the permit or license, and is not intended to impair the police power of the County, City or State.

"Section 2. All taxes within _____ County shall be levied on and collected from the assessed values of all lands, water powers, deposits, natural growths and other natural resources, and on and from the assessed values of public service corporation franchises and rights of way. This act does not affect corporation license fees and inheritance taxes collected directly by the State, nor such lands as are used only for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious or charitable purposes, already exempt from taxation by law."

the other counties in Oregon—was made last December, and the final draft was not given to the printer until July 1. The bill was under careful consideration more than five months by the committee of seven men who had charge of it, four of the seven being lawyers.

Once a week the committee met to discuss it, to suggest and discuss changes, to make amendments. Being a member of that committee, and being familiar with legislative procedure, I have no hesitancy in saying that that one bill has received more consideration than the average legislature gives to a dozen bills.

Not only did the bill receive that attention from the committee, but it was discussed and carefully considered from every known angle by many men, including able lawyers, outside of the committee. Different forms were drawn and compared; words, phrases and general verbiage were carefully considered in connection with decisions of the courts. Nothing was left undone to make the bill as compact as possible and to give every word and expression the precise meaning desired.

It is true that the enemies of the measure were not called into consultation. Their advice and suggestions were not wanted. The surest way to get a "joker" into a bill is to give its enemies an opportunity to amend it. The enemies are going to vote against it any way at the ballot box.

This bill is the second step taken towards making it easier for industrious men, for all producers of wealth, to make a living in Oregon; the second step towards making it possible for every worker in Oregon to get all that he earns; the second step towards preventing speculators and others from getting something for nothing in Oregon. The first step was the County Home Rule Tax amendment adopted last fall, under which this bill is offered.

The campaign for this bill will carry the war into the "Darkest Africa" of land speculation in Oregon—and it is a pretty black Africa. Reading the real estate columns of the newspapers and the literature of booster clubs, one gets the idea that land speculation is the chief business in Oregon, and that industry exists merely to enrich the speculators.

Part of the campaign ammunition will be a copy of the whole tax roll of Clackamas County, showing the assessed value of the property of each taxpayer, separating the values as: (1) Land values, (2) improvement values, (3) personal property. The actual taxes paid under the general property tax in 1911 will be shown, and then the actual land value tax that each property owner would pay in order to raise in the county the same amount of revenue for all purposes that was raised under the general property tax. This will enable each taxpayer to see whether the land value tax will increase or decrease his taxes—and that's the pocketbook question that every man asks.

It should be explained that in Oregon there is only one tax collector in each county, and only one assessor in a county. So, when a resident of a city pays his taxes he pays for State, county, city, school and all other purposes at one time; and when we find in the county tax book that Peter Poe paid \$9.47 in taxes for 1910, we know that this was the total amount paid by him, whether he is a farmer in the

country, a merchant in a village or a lawyer in a city. Go to one office in any county in Oregon and you can get the total amount of taxes paid by any taxpayer of that county with his total assessments.



Clackamas is a fairly representative county of Oregon.

It is the next county south of Multnomah county, in which Portland is situated. One of the Willamette river counties, it is very fertile, contains a large amount of timber, and the "payroll" of its industries is the largest in proportion to population of any county in the northwest. At Oregon City are the falls of the Willamette, capable of developing about 50,000 horse power; and those falls "belong" to the Portland Railway, Light & Power Company. The industries of the county are lumber, cattle raising, large and small fruits, and paper and woolen mills. The mills are at Oregon City, and are run by electric power developed from the falls.

Taking the tax roll of Clackamas county, then, one can get a fair idea of the effect of the land-value tax on merchants, banks, mills, large and small farmers, fruit growers, small home owners, professional men, franchise corporations and land speculators. Two-thirds of the assessed country lands are in the hands of speculators.

The data shown in that tax roll will enable any taxpayer in the State to see just how the land-value tax will affect him. All he needs do is to compare his own tax rate with the city or country rate of Clackamas county.

W. G. EGGLESTON.



SCOTTISH LANDLORDISM.

Glasgow, Scotland.

There are some 880 parishes in Scotland. In 530 of these there has been a decrease of population during the past ten years. Men and women are attracted to the cities and Colonies by the better opportunities for making a living. There is little cause for surprise in this. The treatment of the Scottish people by the authorities in Scotland is very different from their treatment by the Colonial governments.

Lord Tullibardine took a deputation of artisans from Glasgow in 1909 to some of the hardest and highest land in Perthshire to prove how impossible it was to settle any more men on the land of Scotland. The Canadian Government took a commission of Scottish agriculturists to Canada in 1908 and showed them some of the finest tracts of land in the country to prove how profitable it was for Scotsmen to settle in Canada. The Australian government invited a similar commission to visit Australia in 1910 to prove what fine openings there were for Scotsmen in Australia. The British Government has stood by while the landlords have been saying to the Scottish people: "We have no fertile land here—hardly an acre. We'll give you a holding if you like—among the rocks an cairns of the Gramplains." The Colonial governments say: "We have abundance of fertile land. We'll give you 160 acres of that land for almost nothing." Can we wonder if

these two kinds of treatment lead to emigration from Britain to Canada?

A deep prejudice has been shown by the landlords against human beings as inhabitants of Scotland. Men are made to feel that they are not wanted, and those Scotsmen who wish to remain in the country, or to see others remain, will require to change this state of affairs. If the landlords are left with the same powers and the same opinions, depopulation will go on. For a hundred years now the landlords and factors have held the view that men and women are expensive and unprofitable occupants of their land. They have argued quite seriously that it is bad business to keep men in their holdings.

The landlords have acted on the depopulation argument. They keep on throwing several farms into one and sending their tenants into the towns or away to the Colonies. This policy is mistaken and short-sighted as well as wicked. We assume that if men and women would live in old, tumble-down houses, if their horses and cattle would thrive without the shelter of stables and sheds or byres, the landlords would allow them to remain on the land. This is another way of saying that the landlord wants more rent, and that he reduces the population in order to get it. We have had more than enough of this in Scotland. The landlords have had far too long the opportunity of putting this stupid and wicked policy into practice. With some exceptions their practice has been to press Scottish farmers and laborers to reduce their living to something like the Chinese standard. An eternal grudge against the rebuilding or repairing of houses, against fair rents, is the cause of depopulation. The landlords' invitation to the Scottish people, backed by the power to enforce it, is: "Give us more rent, give us it now, give us it even if it costs the health and lives of men and women; if not, you can leave the land." The landlords expect farmers to fare like tramps, and yet to pay the rent of men well equipped with capital. But why should any people, especially the Scottish people, tolerate a system which finds fault with and opposes the reasonable desire, and even the absolute necessity, of men and women for decent houses and food and clothes?

There should be no mistake about the condition of Scotland. Good people who are worth keeping at home are being steadily rooted out of the country. If we take Argyllshire, the population is 12,216 less than it was in 1801, and 31,912 less than it was in 1831. The deer are coming further south, nearer to the heart of the Empire, while men are being pushed away to its remote borders.

Twenty years ago the Black Mount was the most southerly deer forest; now they have come down to Glen Lochy and even round the head of Loch Fyne on Ardkinglas. If we take such a beautiful glen as Glen Lonan lying between Loch Awe and Oban we see how the depopulation has proceeded. Not many years ago there were nine tenant farmers in the glen and two cottars. There were large families in each of the farms, and a full staff of ploughmen and shepherds. There is now one farmer and no cottar. The tenant left Cabrachan in 1904, Barguilean in 1906. Since then two have gone from Torinturk, two from Clachadow, one from Duntanachan and one from Glenamackrie. The hills have been given

up to grouse and some of the arable land to plantations.

It is not without reason that such men as Rev. Malcolm MacCallum of Muckairn have protested all their lives against the devotion of Highland land to large sheep farms. While men have been moving from the Highlands to the cities and Colonies, the land of the Highlands has undergone a change. It has moved rapidly back to a state of wildness. Land requires a certain number of men to work it. A mistake was made when so much of the land of Scotland was given over to sheep ranching on a large and burdensome scale. Although this is called sheep-farming, it is not farming at all. The few farmers and shepherds are neither masters of their land nor master of their stock. Land that was cultivated by small holders in former days went out of cultivation; pasture deteriorated, and now this system of ranching has broken down. The big farmers have grown tired under their heavy task, and, in spite of good prices are giving up their farms. If an inquiry were made into the history of the large sheep farms, how many of them would be found which have been occupied by the same family even for one generation?

The whole system is unnatural and unbusinesslike. The landlords and large farmers assumed that they could go on for an indefinite time taking much out of the land and putting little into it. They have discovered their mistake. The farms carry less stock every year. Bracken and moss spread over the best land. It goes down in condition, and instead of endeavoring to improve it again the landlords put it to a lower use, grouse, rabbits and deer taking place of sheep. This is the grave and tragic blunder. The landlords and the Government put a low value on good men and women, and let them go to the Colonies for land, while there is abundance of good land in this country. This is an evidence of madness or insanity which justifies the intervention of the supreme authority, the people themselves. It is a policy which has been pursued so long and with such disastrous results that this intervention should be immediate and thorough.

JOHN ORR.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

AMERICAN ORIGIN OF THE RECALL.

Oakland, Cal.

Representative government is fine in theory, but the experience of a century has shown that the men who are chosen by the people to represent them are not always true to their trust. They forget that they are only agents, and assume magisterial functions; so the people, who are the source of power, are adopting Direct Legislation. It is a radical change, a grand progressive movement, a virtual political revolution.

Representative forms of government have developed a class of unpatriotic persons who fatten by systematically corrupting the people's representatives. These men do not desire a change. They particularly condemn the "Recall" and call it a new

fangled idea, forgetting or ignoring the fact that it is older than the Constitution.

The Articles of Confederation, the organic law of this country previous to the present Constitution, were adopted on the 15th of November, 1777. Article 5 of that time-honored document contains the Recall. It may be well for such of our reactionary fellow-citizens who have never read it, or having read it have forgotten it, to read it again. It is as follows:

"Art. V. For the convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year."

This is where we get the Recall. It is not new.

J. W. DUTTON.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, August 8, 1911.

Arbitration Treaties.

At a dinner of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes on December 18 last, President Taft declared that he saw no reason why the ancient tradition should be preserved that questions affecting the vital interest and honor of nations could not be arbitrated; that in his opinion these questions were as susceptible of dispassionate arbitration as any other international issues. The French Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Jusserand, immediately offered on behalf of his government to enter into such treaty relations. Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, called out approval of such forms of treaty in the House of Commons. And as a final result nearly identical arbitration treaties have been worked out between each of these countries and the United States. These treaties are regarded as the greatest single step yet taken toward the preservation of universal peace. As summed up in the *Chicago Record-Herald*, the general features of the treaties are as follows:

The contracting parties agree to submit all questions which diplomacy has failed to settle to a commission composed of an equal number of citizens of each country.

The commission does not decide, but recommends a settlement which, if adopted by the governments, disposes of the dispute.

If the dispute is regarded by one as justiciable, and by the other as not justiciable, the dispute is submitted to the commission, and if the commission decides that the dispute is justiciable then the dispute is to be referred to arbitration; that is to say, machinery is created in the form of a commission between the failure of diplomacy and arbitration at The Hague, or by some special tribunal, in the expectation that a careful and thoughtful discussion of the difficulty will result in a recommendation acceptable by both countries.

In case of a decision to arbitrate either party may ask for a delay of a year in which to settle the difficulty without the need of resorting to the arbitration agreed upon.

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Both treaties were signed on the 3rd, that with France receiving signature in Paris, where the French Ambassador to the United States happened to be, and in Washington by the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox; and the treaty with Great Britain being signed in Washington by the British Ambassador, Mr. Bryce, and by Mr. Knox, in the presence of President Taft. The President immediately transmitted the treaties to the Senate, ratification from which body they await. At the request of the President the Senate has adopted the unusual but not unprecedented course of making the treaties public in advance of its consideration of them. They received publicity in the press of the country on the 6th. [See vol. xiii, page 1202; current volume, pages 250, 277.]

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European Deals in Morocco.

The war scare in European capitals over rights in Morocco, reported last week, has been subsiding. The German government has given no indications of resentment over the English warnings to Germany to keep out of Morocco: and various German papers, indignant in behalf of national honor, have used unusual freedom in applying to the Kaiser such epithets as "William the Timid," "The Valorous Poltroon"—these especial terms being used by the *Pan-Germanic Post*. In the meantime Germany and France are bargaining with spheres of influence—Morocco against French Congo territory. [See current volume, page 805.]

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The Lords' Veto.

In expectation of an attack by the Tory leader, A. J. Balfour, upon the Liberal-Irish-Labor-coalition on the 7th, the galleries of the House of Commons were filled with lords, diplomats and distinguished strangers. Mr. Balfour had given notice of his motion five days before. The motion was in this form:

That the advice given His Majesty by His Majesty's Ministers, whereby they obtained from His Majesty a pledge that a sufficient number of Peers would be created to pass the Parliament Bill in the

shape in which it left this House, is a gross violation of Constitutional liberty by which, among other consequences, the people will be precluded from again pronouncing upon the policy of home rule.

[See current volume, page 776.]

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Intense excitement prevailed in the House as Mr. Balfour arose on the 7th to speak in support of his motion. He charged the Ministry with having "acted wholly without precedent," and not "in order to meet any great question of state," but "in order to further a party arrangement between different sections who support them, and in order to prevent the people of the country from pronouncing their opinion on home rule." Mr. Balfour laid special emphasis upon his statement that the Ministry had placed the King in a cruel position by exacting a promise from him to "swamp the House of Lords" when he had just come to the throne.

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Mr. Asquith, on rising to reply as Prime Minister, was received with enthusiastic demonstrations. He is described by the dispatches as appearing in his best form. Beginning with taunting thanks to the Opposition for "this opportunity though unexpected motion," the "very thing that the Ministry wanted," Mr. Asquith laid bare—with the King's approval, as he explained—the whole story of the guarantees he had obtained from the King for "swamping the House of Lords." He had not begun with a king just come to the throne; but as early as April 14, 1910, he had advised King Edward that the only method of dealing with the situation the Lords had raised and the Tories were supporting was through the use of the Royal prerogative of appointing lords. He had already told in his speech of his hope and belief that the House of Lords would obviate the unpleasant necessity by accepting the Lords' veto bill, and that "only when that hope was frustrated, as it was last month [by the final action of the House of Lords] was His Majesty asked—and consented if it was necessary—to exercise his prerogative" of appointing enough new lords favorable to the measure to secure its enactment. The democratic spirit of the Ministry came clearly to the surface when Mr. Asquith said:

We took the only course consistent with honor and a true regard for the dignity of the Crown. The course was correct, considerate and Constitutional, and in my own name and in those of my colleagues I am perfectly content to accept the decision of the House and of my fellow countrymen in regard thereto. I have served three Sovereigns, and have always been an upholder of the dignity and just privileges of the Crown. But I will hold office not only with the favor of the Crown but with the confidence of the people. I would be guilty of treason at the

supreme moment of the struggle if I betrayed their trust.

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When Mr. Balfour's motion came to a vote, it was defeated by 365 to 246—a majority of 119 in a House of 611 and out of a total membership of 670.

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The Haytian Revolution Succeeds.

President Antoine Simon of the French Negro Republic of Hayti in the West Indies, fled from the capital city of Port au Prince on the 2nd, taking refuge on the sole Haytian warship, "The 17th of December" (named for the day on which President Simon was elected in 1908). Port au Prince was left to two revolutionary parties and such committees of safety as the diplomatic corps could provide. English and German marines were landed from ships of their respective nations, for the preservation of order. The American minister, Mr. H. W. Furniss, not approving of the use of foreign armed forces, made no call for American marines. On the 4th the ex-President sailed for Jamaica. The two revolutionary parties, each straining for control, are headed respectively by General Cincinnatus Leconte, a former minister of the interior, and by General Antenor Firmin, who deserted his post as Haytian minister to Great Britain, to join the revolt against President Simon. On the 6th General Leconte's army entered Port au Prince and immediately proclaimed their leader as President. The American minister had gone outside of the city previous to the entry, and warned the victorious army that if public order was disturbed he would cause American marines to be landed to keep the peace. The troops advanced in good order and occupied all the stations in the city, dislodging therefrom the supporters of General Antenor Firmin, who marched out without any show of resistance. Later General Leconte made triumphal entry into the capital and was acclaimed by the populace. On the day following General Firmin arrived by steamer, and upon the order of General Leconte was permitted to come ashore. Arrangements are being made for a joint session of the Senate and Chamber of Communes to meet as a national assembly for the election of a president in succession to President Simon, this election by joint session being the constitutional method by which Hayti elects her presidents. [See current volume, page 806.]

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Land-Value Taxation in Texas.

When J. J. Pastoriza, the Singletaxer, was elected one of the Commissioners of Houston, Texas, it was not supposed that he could do more than promote "good government" in the superficial

sense, but events are dispelling that idea. [See current volume, pages 230, 242, 400.]

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As chairman in the Commission of the board of appraisers, Commissioner Pastoriza has added \$12,000,000 to the valuations of Houston, without increasing the values of buildings or personal property and without adding a penny's tax to a single home in the wage-workers' section of the city. So it is reported by the Galveston News, as quoted by the Fairhope Courier of July 28. In this report Mr. Pastoriza explains that—

"Inasmuch as it is the established custom or policy of this city to assess buildings and personal property at a lower valuation than land it was realized that we could secure but little increase from that source, so had to look for said increase almost wholly to land values and franchises, which are in their very nature land values." An investigation showed that there had been an especial increase in land values in the downtown district, since the last assessment was made, while the increase had been quite small in the residence sections. Mr. Pastoriza wisely began the revaluation of land in that section and carried it as far as the time at his disposal permitted. Mr. Pastoriza expressed his regret that time did not permit the completion of the work but he promised if the commissioners desired the work to be proceeded with by him to devote the next year and a half to it.

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The Singletax at Seattle.

News dispatches of the 1st from Seattle report action by the City Council in the direction of the Singletax, to which, according to these dispatches as published by the Kansas City Times of the 2d, "five members of the City Council are pledged." The reported action is an ordinance adopted on the 1st, which abolishes fees for building-permits. Special significance is attached to this mild application of the Singletax doctrine of removing tax burdens from industry, because, when opponents of this measure argued that consistency would demand abolition of fees for plumbing, and for electrical and other inspection, the Singletaxers in the Council promised to take such action. Following the passage of the free building-permit ordinance, a resolution was introduced and referred to committee which provides that the Council consider submitting at the next general election a charter amendment exempting building improvements on real estate in whole or in part, from all municipal taxation. [See current volume, page 604.]

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Something New in Labor Injunctions.

A labor injunction has been granted in Des Moines, Iowa, which looks somewhat like an adaptation of the labor-injunction idea to the service

of striking employes rather than to strike-breaking employers.

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The strike in question was started against the Des Moines City Railway company over a question involving the arbitrary discharge of a union conductor. J. R. Harrigan, general manager, imported a large body of professional strikebreakers from Chicago. As soon as they began arriving, August 2d, the strike extended from streetcar men to workers in other lines of employment. For instance, at the hotel at which 74 strikebreakers were housed, the waiters struck, and the proprietor required the strikebreakers to seek entertainment elsewhere. By the 5th the tie-up of the lines was complete, and public sentiment against the imported strikebreakers had extended far beyond the ranks of the strikers. In the Des Moines news dispatches, obviously inspired by the traction interests, it is easy to read that the violent features of the strike were due not so much, if at all, to labor warfare as to local resentment at the importation of organized rioters and riot provokers. There was little or no car service on the 5th and 6th; but late on the 6th the new kind of injunction began to operate.

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Judge De Graff, of the District Court, issued the injunction. It was based upon the company's obligations to the public and a contract between the company and its regular employes. The company had discharged a conductor, Benjamin J. Hiatt, nominally for dishonesty, but really, as the men contended, for reasons hostile to their organization and their contract. Although they offered to arbitrate the dispute, the company "had nothing to arbitrate." But the court ordered the dispute to trial, Conductor Hiatt to hold his place in the interim, and both parties to resume service, the men because they are under contract obligations to the company and the company because it is under contract obligations to the city.

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The first conductor to take out a car on the 6th, at the close of the strike, was Conductor Hiatt. Strike leaders express themselves as well satisfied with the situation. The imported strike-breakers returned at once to Chicago.

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The Cotton Tariff.

By an enormous majority, 202 to 91, the bill revising cotton duties passed the House on the 3d. It cuts the average of duties on manufactured cotton goods from 48 to 27 per cent ad valorem. This is the third tariff-revision measure to pass the House, the other two being the wool tariff reduction bill and the "farmers' free list" bill. [See current volume, page 803.]

The Wool Tariff.

Conference between committees of both Houses over disagreements on the House Wool-Tariff-reduction bill began on the 4th. [See current volume, page 803.]

* *

The "Farmers' Free List" Bill.

Conference was ordered by the House on the 3d upon all the Senate amendments to the "farmers' free list" bill, except that of Senator Gronna putting cement on the free list. Free cement was accepted, and before sending the measure to conference the House added lemons. [See current volume, page 803.]

* *

Congressional Reapportionment.

In the Senate, on the 3d, the House apportionment bill was adopted with two amendments inserted and three defeated. Under this apportionment the average population for a Congressional district will be 17,000 more than under the former apportionment, the district population required being 211,877. The amendments probably necessitate a conference. [See current volume, page 225.]

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The three defeated amendments were: (1) By Senator Root to retain the present number of Congressional districts, 391, instead of the proposed 433; (2) by Senator McCumber, fixing the number at 405, and (3) by Senator Reed, providing that where any State's representation in Congress is increased, its Representatives shall be elected by the State at large until the State is re-districted by the legislature "or by the people." These defeats were respectively by 46 to 23, 47 to 22 and 38 to 29.

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One of the two amendments that carried, prescribes that "candidates for Representative or Representatives-at-large shall be nominated in the same manner as candidates for Governor unless otherwise provided by the laws of such State." The other, offered by Senator Burton (Republican), provides that in case of an increase in the representation of any State the redistricting, instead of being done by the State legislature, as provided by the House bill, shall be "in the manner provided by the laws" of the State. This would leave the redistricting subject to referendum laws wherever they have been placed on a State's statute books. This amendment is reported to have been approved by the Democrats because, under the laws of Missouri the Republican Governor could veto a redistricting bill passed by the Democratic legislature and then, under the State laws, redistrict the State himself. The amendment of Senator Reed (of Missouri), noted above,

was apparently intended to remove this objection without losing the Initiative and Referendum feature of Senator Burton's, but he was defeated, 38 to 29. The Burton amendment carried by 39 to 28.

* *

Bryan Versus Underwood.

Congressman Underwood made a denunciatory speech on the floor of the House on the 2d, against William J. Bryan. Mr. Bryan had editorially criticized Mr. Underwood for opposing immediate action on iron and steel tariff-schedules because he was an investor in iron and steel; and Mr. Underwood denounced Mr. Bryan for falsifying. He called upon his associates on the Ways and Means Committee to bear him out in his statement that he had tried to have those schedules acted upon at once, because of his financial interests as an investor in iron and steel, but had been over-ruled by the committee. This statement was confirmed by his committee associates, including Speaker Clark. The speech was reported to have been received by the House with overwhelming manifestations of repudiation of Mr. Bryan.

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Mr. Bryan replied on the 3d, in newspaper interviews, that he had based his criticism upon a story in the Omaha World-Herald, and that if the World-Herald was incorrect he had done Mr. Underwood an injustice. He continued:

If the World-Herald report is erroneous, I have more reason to regret its publication than Mr. Underwood, for it has given him a chance to turn attention away from his surrender of the strongest argument the Democratic party has against the Republican position on the tariff—namely; its argument against the principle of protection, and his surrender of the free raw material argument. Both of these arguments are surrendered when a tariff is put on wool.

NEWS NOTES

—Peru and Colombia are at war with each other. [See vol. xiii, pages 542, 974.]

—An international aviation meet is to be held in Chicago in Grant Park from August 12 to the 20th.

—Carl M. Koedt is to describe "Edward Gates' Interpretation of the Georgan Philosophy" to the Chicago Single Tax Club (508 Schiller Bldg.) on Friday evening, August 11.

—Senator Walter Clyde Jones made at the Henry county Chautauqua on the 5th, his second speech for the Republican candidacy for Governor of Illinois. An automobile campaign began on the 7th. [See current volume, page 778.]

—Mrs. Angelina Neapolitano whose capital sentence for killing her husband was commuted to life imprisonment by the Canadian authorities, gave

birth to a daughter on the 2nd, in the general hospital at Sault Ste. Marie. [See current volume, page 680.]

—Admiral Count Heihashiro Togo, the Japanese naval hero of the Russo-Japanese war, arrived at New York on the 3d. He is making a brief visit in the United States, as a guest of the nation, on his way back to Japan from the English coronation ceremonies. The first days of his stay are being spent in Washington.

—Sitting in the Circuit Court at Chicago, Judge Gibbons has issued a temporary injunction against enforcement of the 75-cent gas ordinance of the city council; but he ruled that the existing 85-cent rate appeared to be exorbitant and that, pending final decision, the gas company should not be allowed to charge more than 80 cents. [See current volume, page 681.]

—Germany has been suffering from the peculiar heat wave which has marked this summer. After the United States made its record, England suffered, and then France. A dispatch from Berlin of the 4th says that more than a thousand deaths had occurred from sunstroke during the ten days of Germany's heat wave, and many more had died from diseases relating to the heat. [See current volume, pages 660, 784.]

—On the subject of the police "sweatbox," the Senate committee reported on the 4th, that "whatever may be the facts as to the alleged administration of the so-called 'third degree' by the police of the States and cities, the Congress of the United States is lacking in authority to legislate concerning the alleged practice, except where it is practiced by officers or employes of the United States." [See current volume, page 27.]

—Dundas White, distinguished as one of the leaders in the British movement for land value taxation, has been again elected to Parliament. He carried the Tradeston Division, Glasgow, on the 6th of July, by a majority of 1,086. The vacancy was caused by the appointment to the peerage of Cameron-Corbett, who won the seat in January, 1910, and held it in December, 1910. Prior to that the seat was held by Tories. [See vol. xiii, page 281.]

—A report on the McNamara kidnapping was made unanimously to the United States Senate on the 4th by the "third degree" investigating committee, of which Senator Borah is chairman. The report recommends that the practice of hurrying accused men from one State to another without giving them an opportunity to be heard should be prevented by prohibiting extradition until after the lapse of a certain number of days, or by some other effective plan. [See current volume, page 682.]

—Weather bulletins for Atlantic navigators are now being sent out daily from the Eiffel tower in Paris. Every morning at 11 o'clock, by Greenwich time, now the official time in France, there is sent out a wireless message giving the exact time of day. Following this message, says the Chicago Inter Ocean, "the wireless pours out a long cipher message giving the state of the weather at Reykiavik, Iceland; Valentia, Ireland; Quessant, France; LaCoruna, Spain; Horta, Azores, and St. Pierre and Miquelon islands, off the south coast of Newfoundland. This

information enables trans-Atlantic navigators to determine what kind of weather they may expect" in the immediate future, according to their location. [See current volume, page 255.]

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States [vol. xiii, p. 709; current volume, p. 539] for the year ending June 30, 1911, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for June, were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise.	\$2,048,691,392	\$1,527,985,088	\$520,706,304 exp.
Gold	22,509,653	73,607,013	51,097,360 imp.
Silver	64,749,958	45,937,249	18,812,709 exp.
Total ...	\$2,135,951,003	\$1,647,529,350	\$488,421,653 exp.
1910, total balance (vol. xiii, p. 709).....			272,404,326 exp.
1909, total balance (vol. xii, p. 758).....			410,383,527 exp.
1908, total balance (vol. xi, p. 638).....			603,942,615 exp.
1907, total balance (vol. x, p. 469).....			397,183,715 exp.
1906, total balance (vol. ix, p. 374).....			480,941,163 exp.
1905, total balance (vol. viii, p. 249).....			461,329,924 exp.
1904, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248).....			474,333,007 exp.
1903, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248).....			416,617,778 exp.
1902, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248).....			496,446,285 exp.
1901, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248).....			671,458,818 exp.
1900, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248).....			571,677,235 exp.
1899, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248).....			504,086,295 exp.
1898, total balance (vol. vii, p. 248).....			534,624,851 exp.

Total export balance, 1898 to 1910.....\$6,783,851,192 exp.

Total export balance, 1834 to 1910...\$9,406,470,509 exp.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for June, 1911, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911 [vol. xiii, p. 709; current volume, p. 517]:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash.....	138,200,599.23
Total	\$288,200,599.23
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30,	
1910	250,490,783.70
Increase for fiscal year ending—	
June 30, 1911.....	\$ 37,709,815.63
ditto, June 30, 1907 (vol. x, p. 469).....	90,494,154.26
ditto, 1906 (vol. ix, p. 373).....	35,896,690.38
ditto, 1903 (vol. vi, p. 215).....	25,820,159.73
ditto, 1902 (vol. v, p. 218).....	31,740,991.83
ditto, 1901 (vol. iv, p. 218).....	21,127,470.14
ditto, 1900 (vol. iii, p. 218).....	24,325,186.05

Total increase for fiscal years
1900-01-02-03-06-07-11

\$267,114,468.02

Decrease for fiscal year ending—
June 30, 1910.....\$ 23,963,057.46
ditto, 1909 (vol. xii, p. 758).... 115,104,151.91
ditto, 1908 (vol. xi, p. 371).... 29,023,444.35
ditto, 1905 (vol. viii, p. 250).... 26,537,180.18
ditto, 1904 (vol. vii, p. 248).... 65,367,033.19

Total decrease for fiscal years 1904-05-08-09-10

259,994,867.09

Net increase from June 30, 1900, to June 30,

1911.....\$ 7,119,600.93

—Mrs. Belle A. Mansfield, 65 years old, and reported to be the first woman ever admitted to the practice of law in the United States, died suddenly at the home of her brother, Judge W. J. Babb of Aurora, Illinois, on the 2nd. Mrs. Mansfield was admitted to the Iowa bar in 1868, two years after she had been graduated from Iowa Wesleyan University. She was widely known as an educator. At the time of her death she was the dean of the college of art at Depauw University, Greencastle

(Ind.), and for years she held the chair of political science at Iowa Wesleyan University.

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government [vol. xiii, p. 710; current volume, p. 517] for June, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911:

I.—Ordinary:				
Receipts—				
Customs tariff.....	\$313,846,269.13			
Internal revenue—				
Ordinary	288,993,589.56			
Corporation tax.....	32,765,785.47			
Miscellaneous	64,504,261.98			
	\$700,109,906.14			
Disbursements—				
Civil and miscellaneous.....	175,200,178.78			
War	160,971,021.51			
Navy	119,971,246.19			
Indians	20,890,382.89			
Pensions	158,026,375.82			
Postal deficiency.....				
Interest on public debt.....	21,311,498.62			
	\$656,370,703.81			
Less repayment of unexpended balances	1,942,417.35			
	654,428,286.46			
Excess of ordinary receipts over ordinary disbursements..		\$ 45,681,619.68		
II.—Panama Canal—				
Receipts—proceeds* of bonds..	\$ 17,684,639.69			
Disbursements for canal....	37,069,604.46			
Excess of Panama Canal disbursements over receipts....		\$ 19,384,964.77		
		\$ 26,296,654.91		
III.—Public debt—				
Receipts—				
Proceeds of bonds and certificates	\$			
Deposits to retire bank notes..	40,232,605.00			
	\$ 40,232,605.00			
Disbursements—				
Bonds and certificates retired..	246,496.35			
Bank notes retired.....	34,976,840.00			
Excess of public debt receipts over disbursements.....	\$ 35,223,336.35			
		5,009,268.65		
Excess of all disbursements over all receipts.....		\$ 31,305,923.56		
IV.—Deficits and Surpluses in Millions:				
	Ordinary	Canal	Debt	Total
	deficits.	deficits.	deficits.	deficits.
June 30, 1911.....	\$45.6*	\$19.3	\$ 5.0	\$31.3
June 30, 1910.....	9.4*	33.9	33.	25.8
June 30, 1909.....	55.	0.689	59.	115.
June 30, 1908.....	20.	12.7	5.9*	26.8
June 30, 1907.....	111.*	4.*	24.	91.*
June 30, 1906.....	45.*	19.	9.*	35.*
June 30, 1905.....	18.	3.9	3.9	26.5
June 30, 1904.....	7.2	50.	23.9	66.6

*Surplus.

—Theodore Roosevelt appeared on the 5th as a witness before the Congressional committee investigating the Steel Trust, and testified regarding his part as President in the absorption by that trust of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. His testimony was to the effect that, being informed that the absorption was not for the purpose of strengthening the trust but only to prevent a panic,

he, as President, advised his informants that he did not feel himself in duty bound to take hostile action. [See current volume, page 536, 629.]

—Before the Federal Commission appointed to inquire into the handling of second-class mail matter, Postmaster General Hitchcock recommended, at its first meeting, Supreme Court Justice Hughes presiding, that there be an increase on second-class matter so as to make the different departments of the mail service divide more equally the cost of handling and carriage. In case the Commission denied this request he renewed his recommendation, already made to Congress, for a higher rate on the advertising sections of magazines. For the present, Mr. Hitchcock said, an increase of a cent a pound was all he asked. This increase, he added, would be tentative, the rate to be fixed finally after the Department had finished its campaign to decrease cost of handling.

PRESS OPINIONS

The True Tariff Commission.

The Commoner (Wm. J. Bryan), August 4.—Press dispatches report that President Taft thinks it would be discourteous to the tariff commission to permit reduction of the woolen schedule before it makes a report. The President should remember that the Democratic House is a tariff commission appointed by the people and that it would be discourteous to ignore the demand of the voters expressed through the House.

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Public Opinion and the Courts.

The (Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post (ind.), August 5.—Some years ago a citizen of New York was tried for murder and convicted. The trial court, however, neglected to ask him if he had any reason to advance why sentence should not be pronounced against him, and because of that omission the court of appeals granted the murderer a new trial. Recently the same situation was presented to the same court, but the court did not grant a new trial. . . . Commenting upon this, the New York Law Journal says: "The court has felt the ressure of professional and popular opinion against treating a criminal defendant as an extraordinary privileged character, for whose escape any species of legal error or irregularity, no matter how artificial and insubstantial, must be utilized." And, as evidence of growing reform, the American Law Review cites a number of recent cases in which appellate courts have refused to set mere technicality above substantial justice. A good many valued correspondents have asked us, in effect, whether we don't think it wrong for a mere lay publication to criticize courts. Our answer is to be found above. It is only the "pressure of professional and popular opinion" that brings reform.

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President Taft's "Stunt" for Ryan.

The Mirror (William Marion Reedy), August 3.—President Taft has demonstrated that the "Dick to Dick" letter was a fake. But Dick Ryan knew

of the order opening up to entry the shore of Controller Bay before anybody else, and was on the spot with his surveyors before the news of the order of the opening could have reached him or anyone else in Alaska through official channels. Dick Ryan put through the opening order in some way and was its first beneficiary. This the President's laborious letter of auto-exculpation does not explain away. Was there anyone looking for an opening order, but Dick Ryan? Apparently not. He appears to have gone to work to do what no one was pushing for but the man who took instantaneous advantage of his doing it. The case is like the President's signing another man's report and that post-dated in exculpation of Ballinger. There's a big smear over all the President's actions with regard to Alaska and only all the facts will satisfy the public. Gifford Pinchot's declaration that Ryan was the first man ready to take what he wanted, after permission was granted to anyone to make entry, and before anyone else could possibly know the permission was given, is a terrible facer to the President. It leaves the scandal still at the President's door. Yes; the President should explain his explanation of this remarkable case of Die Wacht Am Ryan!

+ +

Madero's Course in Mexico.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), July 19.—Mexico is in better shape than might have been expected. The wonder is not that there are disorders, but that there are not more. Madero may think that De la Barra is not aggressive enough in his policy of suppressing brigandage and preventing conflicts between armed factions. It may be that Madero has complained of the continuance of Diaz adherents in office and suggested that they be supplanted by Maderists. All that, however, is not good warrant for believing that Madero seeks the establishment of a government limited to his own personal following. There is evidence which shows his concern that the elections shall be free and honest. It has been ordered that no provisional governor of a State shall be a candidate for election as governor. Men who may be ambitious in that direction and who now hold the office under the provisional government must resign if they intend to enter the campaign as candidates. That applies to men who have supported Madero. The electors are to be freed so far as possible from the influence of officialdom. Precautions are being taken that the voters shall understand the election laws and their own privileges and rights. Circulars describing the franchise rights are being printed at government expense for general distribution and instructions will be furnished. So far as can be judged the intent of Madero and his followers is to safeguard the franchise and insure the Mexican voter in his rights. That Madero himself will be the beneficiary there is little doubt. His political enemies are disorganized and it is true that he is giving them little opportunity to organize, but no good reason has appeared as yet to challenge the patriotism of the Madero family.

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Nothing astonishes men so much as common sense and plain dealing.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE HOUSE.

When first the builder builds him a house,
 'Tis naught but a wooden box—
 A thing of lumber, boards, and planks,
 Of shingles, beams and blocks;
 And when 'tis built 'tis still a box,
 A box to the very minute
 Some honest fellow takes the house
 And puts a woman in it.
 Then, though it has no gabled front, no turret, tower
 or dome,
 Then is the builder justified, the box becomes a
 home.

And why should a man dwell in a house
 Until he lays his head
 In the windowless room of the earth-scooped house
 On the hillsides of the dead?
 Let him steer the ship by the pilot stars,
 And dig in the sunless mine;
 Let him dwell with his flocks on the summer hills,
 And live like a tree or a vine.
 The sky is the roof for a brideless man, and the seas
 are his to roam,
 Till he turns to his bride in the builded house, and
 the box becomes a home.

Why should a man live in a wooden box?
 The ends of the earth are far;
 I let him forth to the lands of the Southern Cross
 And the lands of the Polar star!
 And meet it is for the brideless man,
 And the dower of his birth,
 To draw his strength from the roofless sky
 And the face of a fenceless earth.
 So let him forth till his thoughts shall turn (grown
 sick with the roofless dome)
 To the woman shrined in the builded house, when
 the box becomes a home.

And when he is sick of the winds of the sky,
 And the old sea's ancient strife,
 Let him shear the bills of their pines, and build
 A box around his wife.
 And then will his chimneyed, pine-built box
 Become a templed shrine,
 And he'll grow to the virtues that love a roof
 And thrive with the door-yard vine.
 And then he shall turn from the unfenced earth, and
 the sea with its far sky dome.
 To the woman shrined in the builded house, when
 the box becomes a home.

—Sam Walter Foss.

+ + +

GENERAL SHERMAN.

Condensed by Bolton Hall from an Article by Him
 in the Christian Endeavor World.

General Sherman's "March to the Sea" does not seem to me to be the greatest episode of the General's life. The greatest I think is his im-

mortal words to the Mayor of Atlanta, "War is Hell." Second, his refusal of repeated overtures to run for president, when he would unquestionably have been elected. And third, when at Louisville they greeted him with "Marching through Georgia," the General raised his arm to still the band, and then said, "Friends, we are not 'marching through Georgia' any more; the war is over."

I knew the General long and well, and I think any of these things constituted a better title to fame than the "March to the Sea."

It may be interesting to mention that General Sherman told me during the last years of his life that he did not consider General Grant a great general; that in strategy his opponent, Robert E. Lee, was far superior to him; but that Grant's great strength was, that after a victory, when another man would want to rest on his laurels, or after a defeat, when another would want to rest his demoralized army, Grant's first question was, "When can we attack again?"

As General Sherman said, "He always wanted to get at 'em." There is a moral in all this for us—the man that knew that war was hell, the man that had no personal ambition, the man that desired peace, saw the greatness and the efficiency of keeping everlastingly at it, even in the thing of which he did not approve.

How much more inspiration to strenuous work should we have, who have the righteous conquest of the world before us?

+ + +

DEFENSE OF PEOPLE'S POWER.

Summary of Senator Bourne's Reply in the Senate,
August 5, 1911, to Senator Sutherland's Attack
on Popular Government on the Admission
of Arizona.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. Sutherland] opposes the Initiative, Referendum and Recall provisions of the Arizona Constitution. To their advocates he applies the words "insurgent soothsayers," "irresponsible balloonatics," "political quacks," "political zealots," "self-constituted reformers," "false pilots," "arrant knaves," "visionaries," "dreamers," and "demagogues." Calling names is the resort of men who have no better argument. I will not reply to attempted ridicule. It is as foreign to my talents as it is obnoxious to my taste. Sneers are not argument; ridicule is not logic.

The Senator's assertion that those who endorse Woodrow Wilson's recent utterances in favor of the Initiative and Referendum are "appealing from Philip sober to Philip drunk." No, they are appealing from Wilson ignorant of politics, to Wilson wise and honest and courageous. Governor Wilson's successful efforts for the regeneration of his State make him safe from the criticisms

of those of us who have less of achievement to our credit.

I believe in truly representative government. It is not a pure democracy that we are arguing for. But under the political system which has been built up, our governments are not truly representative and will not be until the people have the power to make them so. The Initiative and Referendum supersede no State legislature; they merely provide the people a means of securing desired laws which legislatures refuse to enact, and of defeating undesired laws which legislatures do enact.

Says Mr. Sutherland: "Whenever our present form of representative government proves ineffective or works badly, the fault is not with the machine, but with those who are operating it. The remedy is for the people to exercise more care in selecting operating agents." But the people have long tried this remedy. They will now try changing the machinery by providing a few new levers, drive wheels and brakes. The most important difference between the views of the Senator and my own is clear: He believes the machine is all right, but the fault lies with the people; I believe the people are all right, but the fault lies with the machine.

I believe in a direct primary, including a popular expression of choice for Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. Any man who was competent to choose between Mr. Taft and Mr. Bryan in the last election is competent to choose between Mr. Taft and Mr. La Follette in the coming primaries. By adoption of this system political bosses, backed by campaign contributors, will be deprived of the power to select candidates, and thus Presidents will be relieved of that embarrassing obligation which the nominee must feel toward those who have placed him in office.

The Senator said that "some people seem to imagine that by adding together a thousand individuals, none of whom has ever gone beyond the multiplication table, some strange and weird transmutation results by which the combined mass is enabled to work out the most difficult problems of Euclid." He was discussing the competency of the people to vote upon problems of government. I have not contended that problems of government should be solved by men of elementary education alone. The popular government idea contemplates that all voters shall participate. The technical work of drafting a measure should be performed by men of skill in that particular, but the people as a whole are the best judges of the principles involved and can be trusted to pass upon the merits. The welfare of States is safe from injury at the hands of men who have never gone beyond the multiplication table. The chief attention of Congress in recent years has been devoted to efforts to curb the rapacity of large busi-

ness interests, to regulate trusts, to control railroad rates, to prevent manufacture and sale of injurious food products, to prohibit corrupt use of money in elections and to simplify court procedure so that the results of litigation shall not depend upon which litigant has the greatest power of financial endurance. Evidently the government has more trouble with men who have gone beyond the problems of Euclid than it has with men who have stopped with the multiplication table.

The Senator from Utah says he favors popular election of Senators. At the first election after adoption of the Initiative and Referendum in Oregon, the people enacted a law under which we have chosen three Senators by popular vote, the legislature merely ratifying the popular choice. If the Senator really desires to secure popular election of Senators in his State, he should first secure the practical operation of the Initiative, after which absolutely nothing can stand in the way of popular election of Senators.

Hasty consideration of the wholesale bartering of votes in Adams County, Ohio, and Danville, Illinois, would lead to the belief that the people are unworthy of the elective franchise. Careful study and deduction demonstrate otherwise. Those voters had for years witnessed the operation of machine politics. They had only the opportunity to vote for one of two candidates, each nominated by political bosses. Self-respect was finally obliterated, honor blunted, moral fiber destroyed, selfishness intensified. They naturally concluded that they might as well benefit themselves for the day by taking the few paltry dollars for the surrender of what little valueless right they had, for sale of their votes was so much gained in cash without any loss in public service. While I would not say anything that could be construed as approval of the citizens who sold their votes, I can readily understand how they excuse themselves after witnessing the barter and sale of votes in legislative halls, and the use of patronage for the purpose of influencing votes in Congress. Two wrongs will not make a right, but those who condemn the barter and sale of votes among the people who have not gone beyond the multiplication table should be as loud in their denunciation of purchase and sale of votes among those who have mastered the problems of Euclid.

The people of Arizona would better lose Statehood than yield their right to control their State government. What a mockery it is to start a constitution with a preamble declaring: "We, the people of Arizona, grateful to Almighty God for our liberties," and then harbor for an instant the thought of surrendering or limiting that God-given liberty at the instance of any man who happens to occupy temporarily the office of President.

Nor do I see any reason why a man who occupies

a judicial position should be governed by laws and standards of public service different from those which apply to legislative or executive officers. Judges are but human. We sometimes elect legislators to the bench, send former judges to the legislature, and place judges in executive positions, even elevating them to the highest executive office in the land. A man does not change his standards of ethics when he changes his office. A man who is dishonest or incompetent in an executive or legislative office will as likely be dishonest or incompetent in a judicial office. He who would use his power as an executive in an improper manner or for an improper purpose, would exercise judicial power in the same way. In any branch of government he is a servant of the people, not their master; and he should be subject to dismissal by the people after fair opportunity to be heard upon his record. The people elect a judge because of anticipated good service, and they would recall him only for demonstrated bad service.

Like all other men in public life, judges are generally honest. A judge who will listen to popular clamor will also yield to the wishes and interests of a political boss. If the judge must be subject to influences controlling his election and retention, which presents the greater danger, the influence of popular will or the influence of the political boss? If the judiciary is above the influence of the political boss, it is certainly also above the influence of popular clamor, and the argument against the Recall falls to the ground.

Members of the Senate have the right to resign at will. If a Senator can be trusted to promote the public welfare by tendering his resignation or not tendering it, cannot the people of his State be trusted to promote the public welfare by recalling him or not recalling him, when the question is placed before them in lawful manner?

Area in square miles, commercial wealth, number of inhabitants and industrial development are all matters that should be taken into consideration when a Territory seeks admission to the Union as a State, yet these are relatively of slight importance as compared with the character of the people who make up the citizenship of the Territory. As to the character of the men who constitute the voting population of Arizona there can be no doubt. The records of two elections—first for the selection of delegates, and then for the ratification of the Constitution—leave no room for uncertainty. The people of Arizona are a thinking people. They are interested in the problems of government and are devoted to the advancement of general welfare. They have confidence in their own intelligence and their own ability to think and act for themselves; and they have too much independence to submit to dictation from others. They have the courage to assert themselves and the patriotism to sacrifice even Statehood, if necessary, rather than

yield their political principles. Their admission to all the privileges of American citizenship will be an honor to the Union; refusal to admit them would be a national disgrace.

* * *

THE APPEAL OF THE PEERS.

G. K. Chesterton in the *London Daily News* of January 15, 1910.*

Would you call upon the people; in what ear shall it be told?

Call on God, whose name is pity, though our sins be very old.

Will you call on street and township? Who but you have made the smoke

Something heavier than a vapor, something sharper than a joke?

Who but you have taxed the townsmen of their tired and ugly tilth,

Who but you have made men forfeit for their right to live in filth?

Will you call on croft and village? On what village will you call,

That four centuries of your lordship has not left a tithe too small?

Hamlets breaking, homesteads drifting, peasants tramping, towns erased;

Lo! my Lords, we gave you England—and you gave us back a waste.

Yea, a desert labeled England, where you know (and well you know)

That the village Hampdens wither and the village idiots grow,

That the pride of grass grows mighty and the hope of man grows small.

Will you call on croft and village? Let the rabbits hear your call.

Will you call on crest and scutcheon? We might heed you if we knew

Even one gutter-thief whose thousands cannot cut his way to you—

If there lived on earth one upstart from whose filthy face you shrank,

We would hear, my Lords, more gravely, of the grace and scorn of rank.

Now, if in your mob of merchants, usurers, idlers, cads, you keep

One that did have Norman fathers; let your Norman fathers sleep.

Let God's good grass blow above them where their pointed pennons blew,

They were thieves and thugs and smiters; they were better men than you.

Will you call on cross and altar? and in God's name where were you

When the crashing walls of convents let the Tudor axes through?

Tell us of your deeds, Crusaders! Waken Ariosto's muse!

How you stood the Church's champions when the Church had land to lose—

You, the Russells, with the ashes of a hundred altars shod,

You, the Howards, with your wallets bursting with the gold of God,

Will you call on cross and altar—will you name the holy name?

No, by heaven, you shall not name it. Smite your very mouths for shame.

Would you call upon the people? Would you waken these things then?

Call on God, whose name is pity; do not ask too much of men.

* * *

SAMUEL C. ROGERS.*



An old-time Singletax leader of Buffalo passed on when Samuel C. Rogers died. Always the picture of health, few of his friends knew of any change until they heard he had gone. A contemporary of his in the Singletax movement in Buffalo, F. P. Jones, writes of Mr. Rogers as "a kind man, a faithful friend, a good citizen, whom Buffalo Singletaxers will miss, but with whom he has left the consolation of a pleasant memory of years of affectionate association." Mr. Rogers was a mechanic and inventor of superior ability. "He had a positive genius," writes Mr. Jones, "for solving difficult problems in machine movement, and could get more work out of less metal than most mechanical inventors. The work which some of his simple-looking machines will do is said to be marvelous. And he was not selfish about his abilities, but was always ready, and without reward, to devote time and thought in assisting others to solve difficult mechanical problems. A generous, open-hearted, open-minded man, he found his greatest enjoyment in producing results, whether

*Reprinted from *The Public* of January 28, 1910.

*See *The Public* of July 14, page 660.

in mechanics or in a cause. Mr. Rogers died at the age of 53. The funeral service over his body was conducted by the Rev. H. P. Morrell of Grace Universalist Church, at Buffalo.

BOOKS

THE SWAY OF COMMERCIALISM.

Democracy and the Overman. By Charles Zueblin. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

The mistakes of the American business man as seen in the nation over which he domineers, are set forth by Mr. Zueblin in eight brief and clever essays. Blundering and powerful, this wrong-headed "overman" in America begins and will continue to yield to the right-thinking but slow-acting mass of the people. Narrow, for all his energy, ascribing to the superiority of his Anglo-Saxon race the advantages which a fortunate geographical location has brought him, over-complacent in the teeth of stupid evils, a credulous reader of his own subsidized press, this typical American business man is now being compelled by his fellow citizens to learn the lessons of true democracy.

Among these lessons the author counts the initiative and referendum but apparently not the recall. In describing the working of the Des Moines charter he writes: "Unfortunately the charter is encumbered with a recall. . . . This ostensibly democratic device, justifiable under the old complicated charters, seems to be in danger of discouraging representatives accustomed to the previous freedom of such officials, who will feel sufficiently constrained for some time under the restrictions of the referendum and initiative."

The best essay in the book, perhaps, is "The Overdue Wages of the Overman's Wife." "The consequences of economic freedom," writes the author, "of which every man dreams, cannot be less for woman than for man. They would, in fact, be of mutual benefit. If man can be brought to see the undesirability of the power of man over woman, a power enjoyed by the possession of money, he may then labor to remove the power of money over man."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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THEOSOPHIC SPECULATIONS.

Thoughts on Things Psychic. By Walter Winston Kenilworth. R. F. Fenno & Co., New York. Price, \$1.00.

Another interesting volume from the author of "Psychic Control Through Self Knowledge."

Students along these lines will find much to awaken thought and arouse discussion on the vari-

ous themes pertaining to the occult philosophy which covers a multitude of varying opinions.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—How to Make Home and City Beautiful. By H. D. Hemenway, Northampton, Mass, 1911.

—Uncle Walt [Walt Mason]: The Poet Philosopher. Published by George Mathew Adams, Chicago.

—Absolute Life on Trial. Published by The Absolute Press, 2608 Racine avenue, Chicago, 1911.

—The Horroboos. By Morrison I. Swift. Published by the Liberty Press, Boston, 1911. Price, \$1.00.

—A Life of Jesus for Boys and Girls. By Marianna S. Rawson. Published by The Biddle Press, 1010 Cherry street, Philadelphia, 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—World Organization. As Affected by the Nature of the Modern State. By David Jayne Hill. Published by the Columbia University Press, New York, 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The New Politics. By Frank Buffington Vrooman. Published by the Oxford University Press, American Branch, 35 W. Thirty-second street, New York, 1911. Price, \$1.50.

—Forty-third Annual Insurance Report of the Insurance Superintendent of Illinois. By Fred W. Potter. Part I: Fire, Marine and Inland Insurance. Published at Springfield, Ill., 1911.

—Proportional Representation. A Study in Methods of Election. By John H. Humphreys. Published by Methuen & Co., 36 Essex street, W. C., London, 1911. Price, 5 shillings net.

—Half a Man. The Status of the Negro in New York. By Mary White Ovington. With a foreword by Dr. Franz Boas, of Columbia University. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., New York, London, Bombay and Calcutta. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Minnesota Legislature of 1911. The writing of which was made difficult by the masks which men wore in half the crucial events of the session. "The voice was Jacob's voice, but the hands were the hands of Esau." By Lynn Haines. Published by Lynn Haines, 919 New York Life building, Minneapolis, Minn.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

Report of the Playground Commission of the City of Los Angeles, December, 1908, to July, 1910.

The Call of the Farm. By J. U. Shade. Published by the Author, Caldwell, Kansas. Price, 50 cents.

The Somers Unit System of Realty Valuation. Published by the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Report upon the Price of Gas in Chicago for the Chi-

cago Council Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light. By Edward W. Bemis.

Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Saratoga Springs. Transmitted to the Legislature of the State of New York, May 9, 1911.

The Department of Landscape Architecture in Harvard University. By James Sturgis Pray. Reprinted from "Landscape Architecture" for January, 1911.

City Government by Commission. By Ford H. MacGregor. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Number 423. Published at Madison, Wis., 1911. Price, 40 cents.

New Charter for the City of Cambridge, Mass. Published by the Cambridge Charter Association, F. W. Norris, Secretary, 649 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass.

Una Historia de Los Estados Unidos del Modo de Hacerse Rico sin Trabajar. Por Eduardo Homer Bailey. Traducida por Antonio Albendin. Imprenta Roudena, Plaza del Ayuntamiento, Ronda, 1911. Precio, 25 centimos.

The "Trial" of Ferrer. By James De Angulo. A review of the Ferrer "Trial," based on Professor L. Simarro's "The Trial of Ferrer and European Public Opinion." Published by the New York Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, New York City. Price, 10 cents.

PERIODICALS

Life and Labor.

Two conventions of women exchanged greetings across the world on June twelfth. The International Suffrage Alliance at Stockholm and the National Women's Trade Union League in Boston opened their meetings on the same day. Life and Labor for August prints entertaining social reports of the Boston meeting, to be supplemented in September by the report of business transacted.

A. L. G.



The professor of shorthand in a Boston business college adduced this unanswerable argument in an address to a new class the other day: "We are told that it took Gray, author of the well-known 'Elegy in a Country Churchyard,' seven years to write that famous poem. If he had known stenography he

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Cincinnati, August 5, 1911

DANIEL KIEFER.

Our Lost Leader

Tom L. Johnson's friends—some of the best known of them—entertained him at a testimonial dinner in New York on May 30, 1910. Inspiring speeches were made on that occasion. Here is the program:

JOHNSON, THE MAN	- - - - -	Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow
JOHNSON, THE FRIEND AND DISCIPLE OF HENRY GEORGE	- - - - -	Henry George, Jr.
JOHNSON IN THE GEORGE CAMPAIGNS	- - - - -	Louis F. Post
JOHNSON IN CONGRESS	- - - - -	John Dewitt Warner
JOHNSON IN CLEVELAND	- - - - -	Newton D. Baker
JOHNSON IN DEFEAT	- - - - -	Edmund Vance Cooke

MR. JOHNSON'S RESPONSE

These speeches have been collected in book form by Horace Carr, the Artist-printer of Cleveland; set in old style type, printed on Strathmore Japan paper with deckle edges, and illustrated by photographs of Henry George and the dear "Tom L." ¶ You should have a copy to read and treasure. While they last—Fifty cents in stamps or coin or "anything," to

DANIEL KIEFER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

could have done it in seven minutes. We have graduates who have done that same poem in that length of time."—St. Louis Mirror.

+ + +

"But don't you find it a bit dull here?"

"Dull, is it? Divil a bit, Sorr; sure a reasonable

man can find all the height of divarshun just sittin' here watchin' the thrains go by."

"And how many trains are there a day?"

"Just the wan, Sorr."—Punch.

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Lady (to tramp who had been commissioned to

Five-inch oval picture of the late TOM L. JOHNSON, and Edmund Vance Cooke's poem "A MAN IS PASSING," combined in an attractive wall card, sent postpaid for 10 cents. PITT PUB. CO., Pitt Bldg., Cleveland, O.

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find lost poodle): "The poor little darling! Where did you find him?"

Tramp: "Oh, a man 'ad 'im, miss, tied to a pole and was cleanin' the windows wiv 'im."—M. A. P.

+ + +

A little boy had been spending the summer at the seashore. On his return he said to his mother: "Mother, I 'spise New York more than ever now. I

tell you, mother, New York is no place for a little boy four years old!"—The Delineator.

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Jess James he was a bandit bold
Whose death was swift and painless.
His public life was bad, we're told;
His private life was stainless.

—Chicago Tribune.

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