

The Public

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

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Vol. XIV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1911.

No. 715

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

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1893, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

The Socialist Triumph in Los Angeles.

We mean precisely that—a Socialist *triumph*. Socialists think of it as a triumph, and they are right. With 52,000 votes for their ticket, they may well smile at all the nervous outcries which call the election an anti-Socialist "landslide." Those outcries sound very much like whistling up the wind. That the Socialists—with a record of only 11,000 votes at the previous election (less than 18% of the total); in the face of the startling and confusing McNamara episode; with all the business interests and "respectable" organizations fused against them, including every political group but their own; with no money themselves, but plenty on the other side; with all the newspapers but one opposing them—that this party under these circumstances should poll 52,000 votes (over 38% of the entire vote cast), is no laughing matter for the side that "won" by getting into office once more.

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Woman Suffrage in Los Angeles.

A readjustment of the lines of opposition to woman suffrage is in order in the light of the revelations of the women's vote at Los Angeles last week. For one thing, the argument of the "anti's" that only a few women would vote has been smashed to smithereens. With 90 per cent of the women voters voting, in contrast with barely 60 per cent of the men, the argument that women wouldn't vote ceases to be an argument against

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woman suffrage. Its correlative would be an argument for disfranchising men, if there were any vital principle in the argument at all. Then the liquor question! "Wets" and "drys" must change places on woman suffrage if franchise rights are to depend upon how the enfranchised will vote; for it was the votes of women that defeated prohibition in Los Angeles. Persons of democratic inclinations may be justly irritated at hearing woman suffragists plead in proof of its righteousness the fact that a great majority of the women of Los Angeles "voted right" in voting against Socialism; but this irritation is allayed by the superior attitude of Socialists who declare that their demands for woman suffrage have been for democratic reasons and are not affected by the fact that a majority of the women have voted against their cause.

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The McNamara Case.

It is still too early to venture definite opinions on the sensational termination of the McNamara cases. Thick-and-thin partisans on either side may make the venture, for they care more for their own side than for the truth. Hired lawyers and detectives may do it, for this among other things is what they are hired for. But fair-minded and law-abiding citizens are still baffled by a sense of mystery.

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That those two men in San Quentin prison should have done what they have pleaded guilty of doing, is not yet very satisfactorily explained. That they should have done it so incautiously, with such reckless indifference to discovery as would appear, is at least curious. Why they were arrested and extradited with utter disregard of due legal process, if they were as manifestly guilty as even their own attorneys (unless Harriman be excepted) now assert, is puzzling. The willingness of some of the Big Business men of Los Angeles to impose upon Lincoln Steffens by taking advantage of his ideals of Christian Christianity is easily accounted for, of course; they had an election to win, an election involving rich business spoils. But what influence was strong enough to bring forth those pleas of guilty from men who if innocent should rather have gone bravely to the scaffold than disgracefully to prison, and who if guilty have by their queerly timed appeal for mercy committed what is the offense unpardonable in the estimation of all revolutionary conspirators since such conspiracies have been known. This disloyalty to criminal associates is loyalty to the State, but by what powerful influence were these

two conspirators brought to see it—just in the nick of time to influence an election involving financial interests far up in the millions?

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And what was it that influenced the Judge in imposing sentence? He professed to act in accordance with legal obligations, yet he sentenced a confessed murderer to life imprisonment when it was his legal obligation to sentence him to capital execution. Why did he impose the lighter sentence? From scruples against capital punishment? He gives no indication of it. From considerations of mercy? He found no grounds for that, and said so. Because the plea of guilty saved the expense of a trial? Apart from its repulsive sordidness, this course would probably be unexampled in the history of capital cases. Because the crime lacked homicidal intent and enormity? The Judge himself denounced it as viciously murderous; and in point of enormity twenty-one human lives were destroyed by it. Yet this Judge imposed the minor sentence. If he was not party to a bargain, what could his reason for mercy have been? If he *was* party to a bargain, what was the bargain?

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The District Attorney was clearly party to a bargain. What bargain did *he* make? The attorneys for the defense protest that their participation in the bargain was inspired alone by their clients' best interest. This is widely questioned, though not as yet by us. But what was the bargain they made? If they made none, why did they think a plea of guilty of murder in the first degree would conserve their clients' interests? How did they come to guess that it would appeal so effectively to the Judge as to save their clients' lives?

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The whole case hangs mysterious in the air, and it will hover there until more of the facts leak out. Meanwhile we commend a thoughtful reading of the address by labor leaders to the public, which we print in full in our News Narrative this week. In candor, poise, common sense, fairness of spirit, strength of argument, legitimacy of appeal, and all else that goes to distinguish good citizenship from bad in such a controversy, it contrasts most satisfactorily with the editorial screams from newspapers that have suppressed or emasculated it, and misrepresented its tenor. It should put the spokesmen for business as opposed to labor interests, to shame. One challenge in it, "blue penciled out" by more than one news editor in the United States, should not pass unnoticed. We

refer to the offer of these labor leaders to open all their books and records to official inspection and inquiry. They do not make this conditional, but significantly enough and fairly, too, they ask: "Will the National Manufacturers' Association, the Erectors' Association and the detective agencies extend the same privilege?"

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When Crimes Are Not Crimes.

Instructive reading indeed have the many editorials of the past week or two been, in which labor organizations were smugly berated and advised about the wickedness of crimes like those of the McNamaras and the moral responsibility therefor of labor unions. We fail, however, to detect any such pious and patriotic moralizing in the same quarters over the burning of three Negroes by white men only two days after the McNamaras were sentenced for dynamiting. The McNamaras say we are in a war, Capital versus Labor; the white murderers say we are in a war, Race versus Race. The McNamaras defend their act as a class measure; the white men defend theirs as a race measure. One was reckless, the other brutal, and both were criminal. But while the newspapers denounce the former, they afford cover to the latter. Why?

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Once it was argued that the burning of Negroes was a Southern crime. This counted for little on the vital point, which is respect for life and obedience to law, for Southern newspapers not only covered, but shockingly defended it, and Northern newspapers were as good as silent. But that argument lost all its possible force when Negro burnings set in at the North. The whole country, not one section, is equally guilty of this worst of all murderous crimes. It was argued, too, that this crime was necessary to stop the raping of white women by black men—a queer argument in the editorials of papers that tolerate no suggestion of palliation for "Labor crimes." But that argument also fades away as Negro burnings are extended into the domain of punishment for other than inter-racial sex offenses.

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The instance mentioned above by way of example was the burning of three Negroes for competing as farmers with white men. One of the victims was a Negro woman, and no charge of rape was made against either of the other two. We quote in full the Memphis dispatch as it appeared on the 7th in the Chicago Inter Ocean:

Two Negroes and one young Negress were burned

to death by a mob of white land tenants who object to the occupancy of land by Negroes, near Savannah, Tenn., yesterday, according to meager reports received here today. The Negroes were traveling to a gin with a load of seed cotton. They were tied to the wagon load of cotton, and the mob, after building a fire beneath the wagon, stood guard until the Negroes were cremated.

Perhaps the report isn't true, but no one has denied or explained it: Perhaps it has evoked indignant comment from some of the sources that are flinging incriminations in the disguise of pious advice at labor unions, but in that case our eye has missed the comment.

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WILLIAM MARION REEDY.

More widely known by name than by feature, William Marion Reedy is a fellow of useful wit and genial humor, a charming and thoughtful man who does his full share toward making the world better when he shall go out of it than it was when he came into it.

Whoever sat under him as Toastmaster at the Chicago dinner of the Singletax Conference last month must have enjoyed his brilliancy, and back of the sparkle must have seen somewhat of the admirable substance of the man. In St. Louis he has long been famous as a brilliant Toastmaster. He is so now in Chicago. It may well be said of him that in the Singletax movement there is only one Toastmaster, and his name is Reedy. But wholly apart from his extraordinary ability to serve pleasingly in that capacity, he has made an enviable record in his daily work. Whether he be still too much alive for a prophet with honor in his own city, he is not without that honor elsewhere, and deservedly so. The reason may appear in a bit of biography.

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It is customary now-a-days to exclude the biographical from personal "appreciations." Nominally, this is because a man is what he *is*, not what he *has been*. But, as we suspect, it is a reaction from the methods of writers who missed the great facts of a human life in their microscopic search for details. Truly, a man is what he is rather than what he has been; but if he hadn't been before, he wouldn't be now. Nobody is worth "appreciating" as an *is-er* unless he is a *has been*. It may make little difference, of course, what kind of a "has-been" his may appear to be under biographical microscopes, as compared with his kind of "is-er" in an editorial or magazine "appreciation." Yet the big facts of every man's past are as necessary to an

"appreciation" of his present, as are the big facts of Nature—the fact of land, of sunshine, of water and of air—to an understanding of economic processes and social phenomena.

Nor need any one with a past of which he has ceased to be proud, shrink from "appreciations" that recall it. The repentant criminal on the Cross might have missed Paradise if he had never been a thief. So also, reversely, of those who have cause for pride in their past. Judas might have had no reason to hang himself but for his having been one of the Twelve. William Marion Reedy falls into neither category. His past, the *big* facts of it at any rate, make it no more likely that he should go out of this world a belated repentant than a remorseful suicide. Regarding the *little* facts, he is doubtless as safe as any of us from pharisaical stone-throwing.

Anyhow, we like the old biographical custom in telling about men of worth. As William Marion Reedy was born, it is interesting, since *he* is interesting, to know when and where; as he has lived continuously ever since his birth, it is worth while, since *he* is worth while, to know where and how; and as in his later years he has preached the gospel he got from Henry George, it is important, since he preaches it well, to know something of where he got it and how he has used it.

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It happens, then, that this worthy man—this "*has-been*" and "*is-er*"—was born in the city of St. Louis in the early days of the Civil War, December 11, 1862. His father's first name was Patrick, his mother's maiden name Ann Marion.

This son of theirs, William Marion Reedy, had an academy education, on the basis of which he graduated from the St. Louis University when he was eighteen years old with the degree of "Master of Accounts"—whatever under the scholastic canopy that may happen to be. He did not marry until 1909, but on the 8th of July in that year Mrs. Margaret Chambers became Mrs. William Marion Reedy. Meanwhile Mr. Reedy had pursued his career as a newspaper man.

For thirteen years after graduating from the University as Master of Accounts he worked on the St. Louis papers—not in the counting room, but as a reporter, his Master's degree having qualified him for both places, as Tom Hood might say were that reckless punster living yet. What kind of service Mr. Reedy rendered as a newspaper man on the St. Louis papers we are unable to state. We have to depend for this part of his biography on one brief paragraph in "Who's Who in America." But as he wrote that paragraph him-

self, we may fairly infer from its complex of conciseness, discrimination and accuracy that he must have been a newspaper reporter of extraordinary fidelity and skill. There are St. Louis traditions which lend the color of truth to this inference, and Mr. Reedy's subsequent career as editor of the St. Louis Mirror raises the inference to the level of a reasonable certainty.



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by J. C. STRAUSS,
St. Louis, Mo.

It was in 1893 that he became editor of the Mirror, and in 1896 that he began to add to his perplexities and the proof of his abilities by becoming also its proprietor. Since that time his perplexities may have lost some of their tangle, but the proof of his abilities has grown and strengthened.

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The St. Louis Mirror is primarily a local periodical, the best of its class in the Middle West.

It is a periodical of art, of literature, of philosophy, of satire, of "society," of broad-gauge religion and high-grade democracy. Some readers

of its "society" notes might sometimes dispute this estimate, but all the same they read those notes; and as they pay for this privilege they get the rest (which they might not be so keen to buy, although better worth the buying) without money and without price. The rest, which they get as *lanappe*, though it be less marketable than the "society dope," is as a rule a complete justification of our high estimate of the *Mirror*.

For William Marion Reedy is a book-lover who, knowing why he thinks some books are worth reading and others are not and why some are more or less worth it, tells his readers frankly what he thinks about them, tells it in vigorous and flowing English, often unique in diction, always with charm in the style. Of the drama, of music, of the other fine arts, he writes with like appreciation, picturesqueness and sincerity. And if the reader does not readily detect religion in the *Mirror's* editorials, who shall dare decide for either reader or editor which of them it is that leaves religion out?

To democracy, fundamental in respect of perception and practical in respect of application, William Marion Reedy's editorial pen in the *St. Louis Mirror* is as true as Thomas Jefferson's in the Declaration of Independence and Henry George's in "Progress and Poverty." This may not always have been so. We have no file of the *Mirror*, and "Who's Who" doesn't tell. But it has been so almost from the beginning of the present century.

About a year before the Exposition of 1904 at St. Louis, an after-dinner lecture was delivered there on the principles of the Singletax in their relation to the great Louisiana Purchase, the centennial of which was then about to be celebrated. For that occasion the late Frederick M. Crunden, founder of the St. Louis Public Library, had been engaged to preside, but the fatal illness in which this devoted man lingered until the year now closing had already begun. He was therefore obliged to remain away from the dinner, and William Marion Reedy accepted an urgent invitation to act as his substitute. Not only was Mr. Reedy not then a Singletaxer, but his attitude as editor of the *Mirror* had made him *persona non grata* to some who were. He presided most acceptably, however, and went away with his face earnestly turned toward a new quarter in the social heavens. He had caught glimpses of a star which had hitherto been to him invisible. The intellectual processes necessary to locate that star definitely and to apprehend its magnitude and influence, came quickly enough to him when he fell into intimate relations with John Z. White. Since that time, some half a

dozen years ago, no periodical has been more acute, sane and faithful in promoting the cause which is everywhere affectionately associated with the name and memory of Henry George, than is Reedy's *St. Louis Mirror*.

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Although the *Mirror* is a local periodical, an institution of St. Louis, it is edited in the patriotic spirit of a republic of the world, and in the religious spirit of a divine humanity—of human divinity, if you prefer the transposition. "The world is my country, to do good my religion," said Thomas Paine, whose religious qualities are now shining through the pagan shrouds that have enwrapped them so long. The same words would not be out of tune on the lips of William Marion Reedy, whose heart is a dwelling place and his editorial desk a breeding ground for the wholesome sentiment they express.

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THE FELS FUND PLAN.*

A few years ago the American people maintained a pride so high and a hope so strong that even mild criticism of existing conditions was received either as a jest or in anger. What a change is presented today. All manner of people, from President up to housewives, are crying out, half in fright half in wrath, at annoyance, irritation, pain and even desolation.

As before they were unreasonably vain—now they are unreasonably stupid. They cry: "Prosecute the Trusts!" "Give us an income tax!" "Let us have Federal control of corporations!" "Let us reciprocate in the matter of bird-seed with Canada!" "Give us a central bank"—under a disguising name like a drunkard's remedy for his thirst. In fact, do anything except look the matter squarely in the face in the upright and downright fashion of full-grown red-blooded men.

We are much in the position of the gilded youth who ran into a doctor's office clasping his brow and exclaiming, "Oh, Doctor, give me something for my head!" "I wouldn't take it as a gift," said the doctor.

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Can we not stop, take account of stock, and apply a bit of common sense.

In all matters of moment there is an ideal. Emotion or power is requisite; but there must also be practical method. By practical method power may be directed to the attainment of the ideal.

*Substance of an address on "Tax Reform" delivered by the writer before the Singletax Conference at Willard Hall, Chicago, November 26, 1911.

Individual freedom and independence is the ideal of the American people. To this ideal we give our unqualified and enthusiastic support. Omitting consideration of those dishonest practices that have acquired the name of "graft," we hold that a small but important part of both local and general administration of public affairs in the United States is antagonistic to the realization of our ideal.

It is to a correction of mistaken methods of administration that the efforts of the Fels Commission are directed, and not to a change in our institutions.

With unimpaired faith in the splendid ideal that inspires the great mass of our people, we appeal to the good sense and sound judgment of a people that once were and doubtless will again be practical.

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Our proposal is not to extend, but to reduce governmental activities. Our laws now tax personal property and improvements upon land. These taxes we would stop. Why burden industrial effort? Why tax a man for doing just what he ought to do? Why tax a man for keeping a dog? Is it not because a dog is a nuisance, and the tax tends to check the nuisance? Then why tax a man for marrying? Is marriage a nuisance?

We would stop all taxes on productive processes. There is no more sense in taxing industry than in pouring sand into the works of a watch. The consequent shortage in public revenue we would relieve by increasing the rate of existing taxes on the value of land. No new machinery would thereby be added to our taxing mechanism. On the contrary all the expense involved in making assessments and levies on personal property and improvements upon land would be avoided.

The justification of our proposal is found in the necessary primary functions of all honest government. Those functions are: First, to keep the peace (in other words, to defend each individual from trespass); and, second, to make just possession of property secure. In other words, to protect each individual in what he earns. The execution of these two primarily necessary functions of all honest government involves expense, and consequently involves a system for securing public revenue—in other words, taxation. *Taxes pay for government services.*

Government cannot exist without granting privileges; nor can it avoid granting unequal privileges. This truth is consequent upon land holding. Land must be privately possessed, and all land is not equally desirable. It follows, then, that

some will inevitably possess the best land, some the poorest land, and some no land; and as land-holding is wholly a matter of law, we are justified in asserting that *government cannot avoid granting unequal privileges.*

As "taxes pay for government services," it is manifestly unfair to collect them in proportion to consumption instead of in proportion to privileges granted. The usual "general property tax" is partly levied in proportion to consumption, and partly in proportion to privileges granted. Our proposal is to repeal that part of our laws that levies taxes in proportion to consumption, and to extend that part of our laws that levies taxes in proportion to privileges granted.

If it is true that government cannot avoid doing more for some men than for others, is it not perfectly fair for the man who receives the greater benefit to bear a proportionately greater tax burden?

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In carrying on industry we co-operate—that is, some engage in one form, some in other forms of production, and the process is completed by the trading of products.

In some matters Nature compels all the people in a given territory to co-operate. (For instance—roads, the tenure of land, national defense, etc.). These affairs are "public"; and whereas the benefits of private co-operation are paid for according to the terms of private bargain, the benefits of public co-operation are paid for by taxes.

We hold, then, that taxes should be in proportion to public benefits received. We hold, further, that public benefits are measured by the value of land.

The law under which land is held is in aid of public co-operation; and wherever the benefits of government are greatest, there land is most valuable. Wherever the peace is secured, wherever public facilities are greatest, there land is most valuable. To levy taxes, then, in proportion to the value thus resulting from public co-operation is to make payment for services received in harmony with customary notions of fair dealing—though not in harmony with customary law.

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The one important objection to this proposal is that large numbers have invested in land, built homes and otherwise improved, and that to alter the mode of taxation would be extremely unjust—or, at least very injurious.

This objection is easily overthrown by argument, but specific reply has been difficult because

public statistics are as silent on this as they are foggy on other matters. Recently, however, I have been able to get a complete record of one city, from which we are able to show to a cent just how the change would affect each individual taxpayer—not forgetting the benefits to those who are not taxpayers. The city in question is Woonsocket, Rhode Island. The record shows in detail that if all taxes there were levied on the assessed value of land, a majority of the taxpayers would save money.*

Here is a summary:

Total number of taxpayers	3,424
Number that would be taxed less	1,878
Number that would be taxed more	1,546

Favorable majority	332
Not voters	870

Voting taxpayers	2,554
Voters that would be taxed less	1,563
Voters that would be taxed more	991

Favorable majority	572

Among the 991 voting taxpayers who would be unfavorably affected by the proposed change, there are 28 whose taxes would be increased less than one dollar each; there are 30 whose increase would be between one and two dollars each; 23 whose increase would be between two and three dollars; 19 would have to pay an average increase of \$3.31; 16 an average of \$4.52, and 29 from 1 per cent to 10 per cent more than now.

Here then are 145 taxpayers (42 not voters, leaving 102), no one of whom would find his tax bill materially increased by the land-value plan of taxation, and every one of whom, as part owner of the city, would gain very much more through the general growth than he would lose by the slight increase in his tax bill. These 102 voters would favor the plan, merely as a matter of dollars and cents, if they realized the advantages that are sure to follow its adoption.

Such benefit has been conferred where the plan has been applied in an appreciable degree, as in Vancouver (British Columbia), in Wellington (New Zealand), in Sydney (New South Wales), and in many German cities. This is no longer a conclusion of reason alone: it is now a fact of experience.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

*"Honest vs. Crooked Taxes. Woonsocket Taxpayers." Issued by The Rhode Island Tax Reform Association, Providence, R. I.

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"When white people buy land they give what soon wears out, but land lasts always."—Cherokee orator (1767), quoted in Bancroft's History of the United States.

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, December 12, 1911.

The Los Angeles Election.

Election returns subsequent to those we reported last week, although they show only a few thousand less in the majority for Mayor Alexander, indicate significantly a growing disposition of non-Socialists to vote the Socialist ticket. [See current volume, pages 1235, 1240.]

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The registration for this election was as follows:

Men	107,726
Women	82,905

Total	190,631

The total vote is reported as 137,329, which is a falling off from the total registration of 53,302 votes—nearly 30 per cent. Of this total vote women are reported to have cast about 75,000, being about 90 per cent of the total registration of women; whereas the men are reported to have cast only about 62,000, or about 58 per cent of the total registration of men. The vote for Mayor from all but two outlying precincts with a total vote of only 1,000 or thereabouts, is reported as follows:

Alexander (fusion of all parties and organizations against the Socialists)	83,978
Harriman (Socialist)	52,293

Anti-Socialist majority	31,685
Socialist percentage	38½%
Anti-Socialist percentage	61½%

The Socialist vote in Los Angeles for Governor a year ago was only 11,129.

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Besides the vote on candidates, there were important local referendums. One was on a proposal for local prohibition of the liquor traffic. It was defeated by 87,344 to 31,691, an adverse majority of 55,653. Figures on the vote for a municipal newspaper have not reached us, but the measure was carried.

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The McNamara Case.

Since the McNamaras were sentenced, the younger to imprisonment for life and the elder to imprisonment for fifteen years, much sensational matter about their case has appeared in the newspapers, but no news except that both prisoners have peremptorily and absolutely refused to testify before the Federal grand jury in support of the confession of McManigal, the original informer,

and that they were removed on the 8th from jail in Los Angeles for transportation to San Quentin prison, where they were entered on the 10th as prisoners in accordance with their respective sentences. [See current volume, page 1240.]



Relation of the McNamara Case to Labor Unionism.

An address by leading Labor officials with Samuel Gompers at their head, and issued from Washington on the 7th, has been variously commented upon by the newspapers, but not very fairly published by them. We therefore give it here in full as it was originally given to the press in general:

To the American Public on the McNamara Case:

The McNamaras stand before the world self-convicted of great crimes. They have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment—J. B. during his natural life, J. J. for fifteen years. The position of Labor in connection with the effort made to afford these men an opportunity for adequate defense before the courts has been attacked and misrepresented to such a degree as to require a clear statement at the hands of the undersigned, who are in the best position to make an authoritative statement at this time—a statement that will be strengthened by some review of the principal points of the case.

Was there an explosion of gas in the Los Angeles Times building when it was destroyed? Immediately after the disaster, the press reports stated that men who had been at work in the building spoke of an odor of gas for some time previous to the explosion. Gas leakage in the building, it came out later, had been known to others. Many conservative trade union officials, newspaper writers and publicists, on making an investigation in Los Angeles, soon after, were positive in assuring the public that they believed gas had destroyed the building. Among the mine workers, not one man, so far as information has reached us, has believed the destructive explosive was dynamite. Prominent officials of the United Mine Workers, cautious, honorable men, whose word is taken as truth by all who know them, who are familiar with mining explosives, declared that the effect of the explosion was not that which follows a discharge of dynamite. Were all these men speaking from blind partisanship or from honest conviction? Were they utterly mistaken? The answer has now been supplied by the prosecution. While the "gas theory" was being hooted at by enemies of the unions, while even so late as last Friday night an editor of the New York Times was inditing a contemptuous slur at John Mitchell for supposing "that proof would be adduced to show that an explosion of gas destroyed the Los Angeles Times building," the prosecution knew that gas was an agency in the explosion and a great factor in the destruction which ensued. W. J. Burns in a press interview Saturday last said: "Why, McManigal told us in his first confession that McNamara turned open the stopcocks of the gas mains in the building when he set the bomb. We knew all the time that a part of the explosion was due to gas." Now, the possible terrific force of a gas explosion, even in the open air, was shown in the wreckage caused by the accident at the Grand Central Station, New

York, December 19, 1910, while the Los Angeles disaster was being discussed throughout the country.

The fact of a gas explosion led all others in importance in the minds of the organized workers. Nearly all of them were convinced that it was an established fact. The most cautious reasoners among them regarded the possibilities of the fact sufficient to hold to belief in it until proof to the contrary could be produced. They were willing to suspend conclusive judgment while awaiting evidence.

The public also wanted such facts regarding the circumstances of the explosion as could be accepted as evidence of the way it came about. What was given the public, first and foremost? On the instant, on hearing of the explosion, H. G. Otis broke into a savage denunciation of trade unionists, accusing them of having caused the disaster, and he has ever since declared it was the result of dynamite. By this course, he diverted the case from one in which citizens in common should have proceeded, through legal methods alone, to search for the truth. He threw the unions on their defense, outraged them, insulted their officials, raised animosities that could have been avoided. He was at once backed up by the small circle of bitter enemies of trade unionism, whose fulminations were largely made up of transparent falsehoods leveled at trade unions in general and at the leaders of trade unions.

Despite all clamor it must be remembered that, with few exceptions, the international trade unions, more than 120 in number, are and have usually been in normal business relations with the employers of their members. Many of them have for years arranged their differences and their working conditions with employers through trade agreements or other methods resulting in a minimum of loss through suspension of work. Violence in cases of dispute are not common to them. Trade unionists have been made aware, by experience, that stories of disorder by unionists during strikes or lockouts have been systematically exaggerated.

Therefore, aware of the necessity of trade union organization, of the incalculable amount of good in various forms done by and through their unions every year, of the long and bitter campaign carried on by Otis, Kirby, Post and others, to destroy trade unionism, and perceiving the intention of these plotters and their detectives to ignore the apparent, and, to their minds, proven cause of the Times disaster, and to turn that terrible event solely to account as a means of discrediting trade unionism, the unions energetically stated their side of the case to the American public as they saw it at that time.

When, after six months, the McNamaras were arrested, it was in Russian style, not American. Holding the members of the Executive Board of the Structural Iron Workers in confinement without warrant, hurrying J. J. McNamara away from Indianapolis in an automobile and by circuitous routes taken to California—what were these but features of high-handed irregularity, and tyrannical lawlessness, known in arrests in Russia that precede transportation of prosecuted citizens to Siberia? And, when Detective Burns has throughout been doubted by so great a part of the American public, it has been largely the fault of his proceedings at this point, and of his own befouling the reputation of his craft, for has he not said: "Private detectives, as a class

are the worst lot of blackmailing scoundrels that live outside of prisons"? (See page 357, McClure's Magazine, August, 1911.)

J. J. McNamara had not been of sufficient prominence among labor men to be the subject of discussion as a leading figure, but what was generally known of him was to his credit. He was seen at conventions as a man of pleasing appearance and of mild manner. He was spoken of as self-educated and a faithful secretary of his organization. His speech and his writings for his magazine were reputed to be conservative. When placed under arrest, and throughout his imprisonment, his bearing was undemonstrative. His letters and telegrams to officials of the A. F. of L. and the Atlanta convention were concise and without suspicious characteristics. In no wise, to common observation, had he shown abnormal traits.

Did organized labor properly express its condemnation of violence on hearing of the Los Angeles disaster? It did by interviews, addresses, and publications. The hundreds of union labor papers, in their issues succeeding the event, contained what, taken together, would make volumes, declarative of the sentiments of their editors and of the rank and file of union membership on the subject. All recognized the case as one of mystery, the feeling shown being that of horror at the possibility of any union man being implicated in it. Unions framed resolutions in meetings, declaring that trade unionism was not to be advanced by murderous acts. Union labor officials, and many others were quoted to similar effect. The president of the American Federation of Labor, the day after the disaster occurred, as published by the St. Louis Star, said:

Labor does not stand for such outrages, nor contemplate such crime. I cannot believe that a union man has done it, and I deeply hope no one who was connected with the labor movement will be found to have done it. It is inconceivable that a union man should have done this thing. And yet, if it is found that a union man has done it, unionism cannot be blamed by fair-minded men for the deed of a man devoid of any human feeling, as the perpetrator of this horrible catastrophe must have been. It was the act of a madman. No one with an ounce of sympathy in his makeup could do aught but contemplate such a crime with the deepest abhorrence.

These facts were further fully presented in the June, 1911, issue of the American Federationist, in a seventeen-page article entitled the "McNamara Case," in which the leading facts up to that time were reviewed. Speaking before the St. Louis Central Labor Union on Sunday, October 2, 1910, the day after the disaster, President Gompers asserted he would—

immediately turn the dynamiters over to the proper authorities if he could lay hands on them.

The Globe-Democrat also quoted him as saying:

I only wish I knew the actual perpetrators and if I did, take my word for it, I would turn them over to justice.

The universal condemnation of a murderous deed in labor circles, ought to be a fact so far beyond question, so easily ascertainable from accessible records, that no man with any regard for his reputation for veracity could deny. Yet, the New York Times, in an editorial last Sunday, printed this sentence:

From the day when James B. McNamara's bomb blew his twenty-one victims into eternity, down to the present

time, no authoritative voice in the ranks of labor has been raised to express the hope that the murderers would be brought to justice, even should they prove to be union men.

Relative to other phases of the McNamara case, the article in the June American Federationist contains these passages:

It may be said that from that time (the kidnaping) to the present, Detective Burns, Attorney Drew, Editor Otis, C. W. Post, and the active agents of the extremists in the Manufacturers' Association in general have all played to perfection the hysterical characters to which we are accustomed in the pages of cheap fiction and on the boards of the Bowery class of theatres. . . . Nothing more surprised us in the series of audacious acts committed by Detective Burns than his saying to a reporter of the World, May 7, 1911: "Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, knows by this time that there was no frame-up and that the arrests of the McNamaras and McManigal were not the result of a plant. Why? Because Gompers has been conducting an investigation of his own at Indianapolis that has convinced him that there was no frame-up and no plants." These assertions of Burns were entirely without foundation. Nothing was brought to our knowledge in Indianapolis or elsewhere that could be used as evidence against the prisoners or to show that the Structural Iron Workers' Union has been conducting a dynamite campaign against the Erectors' Association.

Since the McNamaras' confession Burns has been reiterating this charge. The only "investigation" in which President Gompers participated in Indianapolis was the meeting of the prominent trade unionists held last May 10-12, called by officials of the eight international unions which have their headquarters in that city, and the meeting of the officials of a large number of trade unions called by authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and held at Indianapolis, June 29, 1911. What President Gompers learned there was precisely what every one attending the conference learned, and that was nothing that helped to solve the mystery of the Los Angeles disaster, or, of criminality of any kind.

Indeed, the unlawful and un-American kidnaping of McNamara formed one of the chief factors of fixing in the minds of the working people of our country that he was innocent. They reasoned, as they had a right to reason, that if there existed evidence of McNamara's guilt of the crime charged, every protection would and should have been accorded him to demonstrate before the courts of Indiana that he was innocent of the crime with which he was charged. His protestations of innocence, his demands to be represented by counsel, were all ruthlessly ignored.

Violence, brutality, destruction of life or property, are foreign to the aims and methods of organized labor of America, and no interest is more severely injured by the employment of such methods than that of the workers organized in the labor movement. Therefore, quite apart from the spirit of humanitarianism and justice which prompts the activities of the organized labor movement, policy and hopes for ultimate success, forbid the resort to violence. The American labor movement and its men are loyal Americans and seek to obtain the abolition of wrongs and the attainment of their rights within the law.

Organized labor of America has no desire to con-

done the crimes of the McNamaras. It joins in the satisfaction that the majesty of the law and justice have been maintained and the culprits commensurately punished for their crimes.

And yet it is an awful commentary upon existing conditions when any one man among all the millions of workers can bring himself to the frame of mind that the only means to secure justice for labor is in violence, outrage and murder.

It is cruelly unjust to hold the men of the labor movement either legally or morally responsible for the crime of an individual member. No such moral code or legal responsibility is placed upon any other association of men in our country.

In so far as we have the right to speak, in the name of organized labor, we welcome any investigations which either Federal or State courts may undertake. The sessions of the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are held with open doors that all may see and hear what is being said and done. The books, accounts and correspondence of the American Federation of Labor are open to any competent authority who may desire to make a study or an investigation of them.

Will the National Manufacturers' Association, the Erectors' Association and the detective agencies extend the same privilege for public investigation and examination of their books and correspondence?

When we were selected as a Committee on Ways and Means to raise and dispense funds for the defense of the McNamaras and the prosecution of the kidnapers, we were fully impressed with the innocence of the accused men. That impression was strengthened by their written and oral protestations of innocence. We here and now, individually and collectively, declare that the first knowledge or intimation of their guilt was conveyed by the press in their confessions of guilt. From the outset we assured all contributors and the public generally that we would publish an accounting of the moneys received, from whom received, and to whom paid. This assurance will be fulfilled. A report in full will first be made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its meeting to be held at Washington, D. C., January 8, 1912.

The American labor movement has done so much for the workers of our country in improving their condition, in lightening the burdens which the workers have had to bear, bringing light and hope in the homes and in the lives, the factories and the workshops of our country, that it challenges the world of investigators. The organizations of labor of America have been the most potent factors in the establishment and maintenance of the largest measure of industrial peace. Their course is of a conciliatory character, to reach trade agreements with employers, and the faithful adherence to agreements. When industrial conditions become unsettled, they are more largely due to the unreasonableness of employers, who regard every effort of the workers to maintain their rights, and to promote their interests, as an invasion of employers' prerogatives, which are resented with consequent struggles. If employers will be but fair and tolerant, they will find more than a responsive attitude on the part of organized labor, but, of one thing all may rest assured, that with existing conditions of concentrated wealth and industry, the organized toilers of our country realize that there is

no hope from abject slavery outside of the protection which the organized labor movement affords.

The men of organized labor, in common with all our people, are grieved beyond expression in words at the loss of life, and the destruction of property, not only in the case under discussion, but in any other case which may have occurred. We are hurt and humiliated to think that any man connected with the labor movement should have been guilty of either. The lesson this grave crime teaches will, however, have its salutary effect. It will demonstrate now more than ever, the inhumanity, as well as the futility of resorting to violence in the effort to right wrongs or to attain rights.

In view of the great uplift work in which the men of the labor movement have been and are engaged, and also of the industrial problems with which they have to contend, we insist that our organizations of labor should be judged by what they do and aim to do, rather than be opposed and stigmatized because one or a few may be recreant to the good name and high ideals of labor, and we appeal to the fair minded citizenship and the press of America for fair treatment.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President American Federation of Labor, Chairman.

FRANK MORRISON, Secretary American Federation of Labor.

JAMES A. SHORT, President Building Trades Department.

WM. J. SPENCER, Secretary Building Trades Department.

JAS. O'CONNELL, President Metal Trades Department.

A. J. BERRES, Secretary Metal Trades Department.

JOHN B. LENNON, President Union Label Trades Department.

THOMAS F. TRACY, Secretary Union Label Trades Department.

CONSTITUTING THE McNAMARA WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE.

Washington, D. C., December 7, 1911.

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Presidential Messages.

President Taft's second message to the regular session of Congress, submitted by him on the 7th, deals exclusively with foreign relations. [See current volume, page 1242.]

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The Controller-Bay Case.

Report was made to the lower House of Congress on the 9th by the House committee on expenditures in the Interior Department, in which the investigation of the Controller Bay affair—including the noted "Dick-to-Dick" letter—was formally announced as discontinued. Washington dispatches explain the report as having been based on a recommendation of Louis D. Brandeis and Amos Pinchot, counsel for the committee, and on a speech of Secretary Fisher which the committee regarded as voicing a change in the Administration's attitude toward Alaska. The committee recommended radical changes in the law for safeguarding Alaska's natural wealth. "The government," it says, "should not part with the title to

any coal, petroleum, natural gas or mineral land which it now owns in Alaska." "The government should construct, own, acquire, and, if necessary, operate at least one railroad there." "If Alaska is to be developed, that development must come either through outside syndicated wealth, or through individual energy and enterprise stimulated and aided by government construction of necessary railroads." [See current volume, page 1242.]



The Ontario Election.

Although the Conservative Government of Ontario, with Sir James Whitney as premier, was returned to power at the Provincial elections on the 11th, the Liberals made a net gain of seven seats in the Provincial Parliament. The representation will be: Conservatives, 81; Liberals, 24; Labor, 1. In this Parliament the question of exempting improvements of real estate from taxation will have an important place. The Liberals are pledged to it as a party and the Conservatives are divided on it. [See current volume, page 1170.]



The British Parliament.

In the British House of Commons on the 6th, official announcement was made in the afternoon by the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, that the Government will use all the Constitutional means at its disposal to pass a home-rule bill for Ireland during the life of the present Parliament. This means, if the House of Lords make it necessary by obstructing the measure or crippling it with hostile amendments, that the Ministry have agreed upon the policy of carrying their bill through three consecutive sessions of the Commons before dissolution. [See current volume, pages 418, 866.]



Also on the 6th, but in the evening, the Commons passed the Lloyd-George labor insurance bill through its third reading by a vote of 324 to 21. This makes the bill a law unless the House of Lords oppose it with their limited veto. Most of the Tories in the House of Commons refused to vote, giving as their reason that while they approve the objects of the bill they regard it as not having been opened by the party in power to adequate discussion and explanation. The bill passed first reading in the House of Lords on the 11th. [See current volume, page 1242.]



The Persian Crisis.

Russia continues to demand the dismissal of the American Treasurer-General of Persia, W. Morgan Shuster. To give the Persians time to reconsider their refusal of compliance, the Russian troops are proceeding but slowly toward Teheran. Mr. Shus-

ter in an interview for the American press has made the following statement in regard to the work he has accomplished:

On June 13, when I assumed charge of the Persian treasury and revenues, I found banking deficits of \$500,000, and not a penny in cash. There was an unknown sum in outstanding checks, drafts and treasury promises to pay issued by previous ministers of finance. Since then, despite the civil war, which consumed for extraordinary direct expenses alone more than \$1,500,000, and despite the attendant disorders throughout the Empire, causing diminution of revenues, I have paid the banking deficits of \$500,000, I have furnished the expenses of running the government, I have met promptly all foreign obligations accruing, and now I have in the treasury liquid assets of \$800,000. I would have pledged my reputation to place Persia's finances on a solid basis in two years and to have begun the development of her great resources, which require only transportation facilities and capital. When the ultimatum demanding my dismissal was presented I informed the members of the Assembly that I wished them to make the decision which they thought best for Persia, and not to consider me in any manner, adding that I would loyally abide by their decision. Their unanimous action was therefore entirely voluntary. This striking proof of confidence in a foreign official, given in the face of the threatened destruction of Persia's nationality, compels me in honor to abide by their wishes while I remain their employe.

[See current volume, page 1244.]



An appeal from the Persian people to the Congress of the United States was read in the House of Representatives on the 7th. It asked aid consistent with Persia's dignity and independence, making the exhortation:

You, who have tasted the benefits of liberty, would you witness the fall of any people whose only fault was to sympathize with your system to save its future? Would you suffer that Persia should fall for having wished to preserve its national dignity and for having understood the sentiments so dear to a free people?



The Chinese Revolution.

Authentic news in regard to the one instance of violence offered foreigners during the present revolution in China—the murder of some missionaries in Shensi Province (reported in *The Public* of November 24, page 1196)—has been received at Peking. It is to the effect that eight foreigners, four of them Americans, were killed and several mission houses were destroyed, during an outbreak against the Manchus, 8,000 of whom were slain by the Chinese.



Prince Chun, Regent for and father of the little Emperor, abdicated on the 6th. This office was given jointly to Shih-Hsu, a Manchu prince and former president of the National Assembly,

and Hsa-Shi Chang, vice president of the Privy Council. Shih-Hsu has accepted the post. Hsa-Shi Chang declined, but acceptance has been insisted on. An Imperial edict was issued on the 7th, sanctioning the cutting off of queues. [See current volume, page 1243.]

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A Republican conference of representatives of 14 Provinces is in session at Shanghai, organizing a provisional government. And another conference of representatives from eight Provinces has been in session at Wu-Chang, drafting a constitution for the "United States of China." According to the Associated Press reports, the draft, besides providing for the election by the provisional governments of a Provisional President, says that he must call a convention of the people within six months to confirm the constitution. All the acts of the National Assembly, which is to be composed of representatives appointed by the provincial governments, must be confirmed by the President of the Republic before going into effect. The President of the Republic is to be commander in chief of the army, and is to possess the power, with the concurrence of the National Assembly, of declaring war, making treaties, appointing diplomatic representatives, and providing courts of justice. [See current volume, pages 1171, 1195.]

NEWS NOTES

—The Governors of Western States were at Washington on the 7th, at Baltimore on the 8th, and at New York on the 11th. [See current volume, page 1245.]

—Thomas Ball, the sculptor, died on the 11th at his home at Montclair, N. J., in his 93d year. Among his best known works are the equestrian statue of Washington, in Boston, and the statue of Daniel Webster, in New York.

—Ex-Governor J. M. Brown, candidate of the "wets," was nominated for Governor of Georgia on the 7th at the primaries, which, in Georgia and in other States that suppress the Negro vote, are treated as final. The election to follow will be only a formality.

—After lecturing at Los Angeles (California) on the 16th and 17th, Charles Frederick Adams is to lecture under the auspices of the Henry George Lecture Association of Chicago, at Santa Barbara (California), on the 18th and 19th, and at Santa Cruz on the 20th, 21st, 22d and 23d.

—Burt H. Franklin, an investigator employed by the defense in the McNamara case at Los Angeles, was held on the 11th by Justice William P. Young to answer to charges of bribing a juror, in the case of the younger McNamara before the latter's plea of guilty. [See current volume, page 1240.]

—The Supreme Court of the United States having refused to stay proceedings in the trial at Chicago of a criminal indictment against members of the

beef trust, the trial began before Judge Carpenter of the Federal court at Chicago on the 6th. A jury has not yet been secured. [See current volume, page 1219.]

—Victor Berger, the Socialist Congressman from Milwaukee, introduced in the House on the 4th a bill to repeal the Sherman anti-trust law and to provide for the social ownership and operation of industries which are controlled by any combination to the extent of 40 per cent of the total output in the United States.

—The great Durbar, or ceremonial reception of the King-Emperor George and the Queen-Empress Mary at Delhi, India, on the 12th, was carried out with unparalleled magnificence. The King-Emperor crowned himself Emperor of India. Announcement was made of the transference of the Imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi. [See current volume, page 1172.]

—Between one and two hundred miners were trapped by a gaseous explosion in the Great Cross mountain coal mine of the Knoxville Iron Co., near Briceville, Tenn., on the 9th. Only three men came out of the mine alive immediately after the blast. Five men were got out on the 11th. It is feared that no more can be reached before they perish. Twenty-two bodies had been got out by the 11th.

—An agreement between the Illinois Central Railroad and the South Park Commissioners of Chicago, made public on the 12th but still subject to approval by the City Council and the Federal Government in some particulars, makes an adjustment of boundaries, titles, etc., whereby it is designed to afford opportunity to the railroad company to erect a new station below Twelfth street, and to the city to connect Jackson Park with Grant Park by a water front park-boulevard.

—At a meeting of the national committee of the Prohibition Party held at Chicago on the 6th, Atlantic City, N. J., was chosen for the national convention next year, the chairman, Charles R. Jones, being instructed to call it for a date between June 20 and July 20, and in a week other than those of the Democratic and the Republican conventions. A vote by the committee of confidence in the chairman, 33 to 18, was followed by the organization of "The Progressive Prohibition League."

—Socialist advices of the 7th from Stockholm report that at the elections to the upper house of the Swedish Parliament, 12 Socialists were elected, making a gain of 8 over the number in the last House. Members of the upper house are elected by the legislatures of the different principalities and the councils of the large cities. The new House will consist, according to the same advices, of 87 Conservatives, 51 Liberals and 12 Socialists, against 114 Conservatives, 30 Liberals and 4 Socialists in the old House.

—At their meeting at Washington on the 12th, the national committee of the Republican party named Chicago as the place, and June 18 as the time, for holding the next Republican national convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. Ex-Governor John F. Hill of Maine, was elected chairman of the committee, in place of Frank H. Hitchcock, resigned.

A motion by Senator Borah to call for the election of delegates by popular primaries in all the States not having primary laws was defeated.

—The 19th National Irrigation Congress was in session from the 5th to the 9th at the Auditorium Theater, Chicago, with an unparalleled attendance, including delegates from all parts of the world. Among the speakers were A. B. Fowler, president of the Congress, Gifford Pinchot and Jas. R. Garfield; Arthur P. Davis and C. J. Blanchard, both of the Reclamation service; Manuel Gonzales of Costa Rica, and Niel Nielson of Australia. One of the results of the Congress was the formation of a National Drainage League, which is to hold its first meeting in New Orleans in February. [See current volume, page 1245.]

—Decrees dissolving the Reichstag and fixing the date of general elections for the new Reichstag for January 12, were published on the 8th in the Imperial Gazette of the German Empire. What is known in Germany as "Prince von Bulow's Reichstag," which was elected in 1907, is thus ended. The preceding Reichstag had been summarily dissolved, owing to its adverse vote on appropriations for military operations in southwest Africa. An edict read in the Reichstag December 5 last merely prorogued, it did not dissolve the body, the government desiring to call it together again if certain emergencies arose. [See current volume, page 539.]

—By unanimous vote the Vreeland board of inquiry into the cause of the sinking of the American battleship "Maine," in Havana harbor just before the war with Spain, have reported, as published on the 8th by the Secretary of the Navy, that the disaster was caused by "an outside explosion." This bears upon the dispute between Spain and the United States over the question of whether the explosion was from the inside of the vessel, implying that the blame rested on the American navy, or from the outside, implying that the vessel had been attacked by secret enemies in what was then a Spanish harbor. The loss of life from the disaster was 260. [See vol. xiii, p. 444.]

—Thomas E. Mitten resigned on the 11th as president of the Chicago City Railway Company and its connecting lines. His resignation, to take effect December 31, has been accepted. In a review of the work under his administration of the City Railway Company, Mr. Mitten stated that the city's share, 55 per cent of the net receipts, would amount for the current fiscal year to more than \$1,000,000, and that the "earnings are now sufficient to amply justify the regular dividend of 10 per cent per annum upon the capital stock." At a meeting of the directors on the 11th, an extra dividend of 1½ per cent was declared out of the surplus. This property is owned by the Pierpont Morgan interests. They came into control under the compromise ordinance of 1907 which was adopted over Mayor Dunne's veto. [See current volume, page 806.]

—Dr. R. J. Campbell, the radical democratic preacher of the City Temple, London, who has been speaking in New York and Cincinnati and elsewhere in this country, made several addresses this week in Chicago. At Cincinnati he spoke on the 4th for Herbert S. Bigelow from the platform of the Vine Street Congregational Church, and in Chicago his principal

address was at Orchestra Hall, on the 11th. An idea of his point of view may be had from this quotation from his talk to clergymen at the Y. M. C. A. auditorium on the 11th: "The church as an institution does not have the influence over the world that it once had, and the movements which once were distinctly religious are now just as distinctly social. The reason for this is the social unrest of Christendom, the dawn of a new internationalism, and the decline in power of the church as an institution. The world is rapidly shrinking and the barriers of race prejudice are being broken down, due to democratic methods, and we are about to experience a great social revolution in which the whole earth will be one complex, but uniform, civilized class."

PRESS OPINIONS

Lesson of the Los Angeles Case.

The Boston Common (ind.), Dec. 9.—The killings done by these dynamiters in their misguided zeal for the cause of labor, horrible and inexcusable as they are, do not, in numbers, equal those which are done in greed each year by owners of abominable tenements, adulterators of food, pedlars of quack nostrums, exploiters of the toil of women and children, owners of unguarded dangerous machinery, and others who cheat, brutalize or imperil their fellow men, but who are often socially eminent and commercially in esteem. No campaign can be waged with success against one of these groups which does not carry with it recognition of the interrelations among all; which does not see that the power of society needs to be put beneath all correctively and preventively. This means progressive-mindedness; it means progressive politics and progressive legislation; it means, above all, democracy and the sense of human brotherhood. Those who confine their lecturing to working people see only a fraction of the Los Angeles lesson.

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Canadian Farmers and Their "Farmers."

The (Winnipeg) Grain Growers' Guide (agricultural), Dec. 6.—If the farmers in the West were allowed to use the vacant land that is being held out of use by speculators, there would be no person living more than ten miles from a railway, whereas some are now one hundred miles away. This dog-in-the-manger land policy is making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

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A Scientific Prophet in Politics.

The (New York) Nation (ind.), Nov. 8.—The delightful simplicity of Mr. William Allen White's analysis of the Republican Presidential situation must commend it to all devotees of the science of political prophecy. A few bold strokes of insight, and poor Taft's business is settled. He can't be nominated without getting the Southern delegates, and he can't get the Southern delegates if Wall Street wants to take them away from him, and Wall Street will take them away from him, because it knows he can't win. The circle seems quite complete. But let us see. Wall Street hates La Follette like poison and cannot, etc., etc.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

PARLIAMENT OF MAN.

Read by the Author, Robert Cumming, at the Sunday Evening Meeting of the Recent Singletax Conference in Chicago.

The nations were not born like men to die,
Nor like lone hives to swarm and multiply,
Were not designed to be like beasts of prey,
As are the mighty of the earth today.
'Tis not democracy, 'tis class-rule crime
Bestrews with nations dead the shores of time.
Let every people rule themselves alone,
Let special favors be annulled—unknown—
Then true democracy—each people free—
Will live and flourish while the world shall be,
And civilization like a vine spread on,
Trade weaving all the nations into one,
The Parliament and Brotherhood of Man,
The full fruition of the Social Plan—
State, village, hamlet, free, through all the years,
To guide, as each sees fit, its own affairs.
Nations may live as long as human kind;
In passing, leave their progeny behind.

Oh, who can tell what Liberty will bring,
What seer will prophesy, what poet sing!
To prophesy aright the state to be,
When Justice reigns and men are truly free,
He unto whom prophetic power is given,
Must tell of Freedom what is true of Heaven.
Eden itself, with its perennial bowers,
Could not be fairer than this world of ours.
Each but to will, to be with fig-tree blest,
Its blissful shade inviting him to rest,
None to molest and none to make afraid,
None to command whose will must be obeyed,
He of all greatest who most serves the free,
He least of all who would the master be.

No slavish task will freemen's powers employ,
Their chosen work will be their constant joy.
Love's labor making pleasant pathways bear
Fruit for the pilgrim breathing incense there.
Though scenes like these may tempt him far to
roam,

Sweet memories then will lure the wanderer home.
Oh, who can tell what Liberty will bring,
What from the Order Heaven planned will spring!

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OUR UNJUST TAXATION.

Address Delivered by W. A. Douglass, B. A., in Willard Hall, Chicago, November 26, Before the Singletax Conference.

Some years ago I noticed a sign over a store with the cabalistic words, "Fels-Naptha." Now, I know what "naphtha" meant, and I knew enough of German to be aware of the fact that "Fels" meant a rock. This, therefore, I inferred, is some "rock naphtha." But after some time I

learned my mistake, and found that it was some kind of soap. But, subsequently, I learned a most marvelous fact; namely, that this was the most wonderful soap that had ever been compounded, and the most wonderful that would ever be compounded. Why do I make a statement so extraordinary? For this reason: That soap will not merely wash out the stains from your garments, but it will work this miracle: wash out the blots of our civilization—poverty and the slums.

The last visit I paid to your city was in the year 1893. I came for a double purpose. I wanted to see your magnificent exposition, where were displayed the latest triumphs in science, and also to meet with that band of true reformers whose aim was to secure to every man the heritage that God had provided for him, by applying community values to community purposes.

The sight of that exhibition I shall never forget. Standing after nightfall in the Court of Honor, gazing on that majestic group of buildings, so magnificent in their proportions, so beautiful in their details and so unrivaled in their harmony; looking with exalted admiration on the galaxy of electric lights, strung as pearly necklaces on pediment, tower and eave, following the illuminations on the Lake; then beholding with rapture the illuminated fountains, now glowing as burnished silver, then again changing to the beauty of gold, finally transforming into the varied colors of the rainbow—verily, it was a fairy land, manifesting the triumph of human ingenuity, the victory over the physical forces.

At the same time, however, I witnessed another exhibition. As I passed daily through the Park by the Art Institute, I saw a crowd of men, stranded, out of work, not knowing where they were to get their next meal. Amid unparalleled wealth, at a time when improved processes enabled men to produce the necessities of life in greater abundance than ever before, here was a multitude of people in abject destitution. Like the Ancient Mariner,

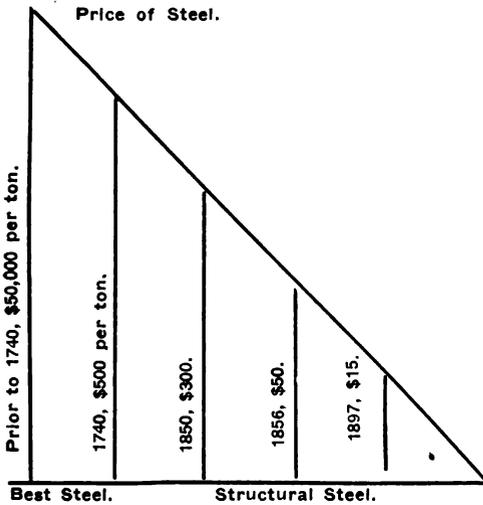
Water, water, everywhere,
But not a drop to drink.

The contrast between these two exhibits could not well be greater. On the one hand, physical science had progressed at a rate truly amazing. On the other hand, the science that treats of man's higher relationships, the religion of the Golden Rule, the religion that enjoins us to render to every man his due, was marking time in the wilderness. The church was still enacting the part of the priest and the Levite, leaving to the despised Samaritan the rescue of men from the thralldom in which they were held by bad social adjustments.

The one exhibition was the glory and triumph of the ages; the other was the reproach and disgrace of our civilization. When dealing with iron, steel, electricity or steam, our success eclipsed all

past ages, but when dealing with the adjustments of society, of man's right to the earth, and of man's obligation to man, could our failure be more pronounced?

Let me call your attention now to another contrast. In the year 1740 the best steel sold in England at the rate of \$50,000 per ton. A man named Huntsman, after some seven years of experiments, produced a superior steel which he could sell at the rate of \$500 per ton. A century afterwards Bessemer invented the conversion process, whereby he reduced the price of structural steel from \$300 to \$50 per ton. Steel rails have since that sold as low as \$15 per ton. Look, if you please, at this diagram. Here is a base line. Let this tall vertical line on the left represent \$50,000, the next to the right \$500, the next \$300, the next \$50 and the last \$15. Now we will draw a line through the top of these up-rights and you have a marked descent from \$50,000 to \$15, more than a 1,000 to one.



Let me now tell you the story of a wonderful board bill, just as wonderful as the story of the widow's cruise of oil or Pandora's box. Early in the last century a British officer, when about to leave the country, found that his funds were insufficient to pay the arrears of his board bill. The chances are that his bill did not amount to a hundred dollars, but he managed to satisfy the claimant in a very peculiar way, which I must explain.

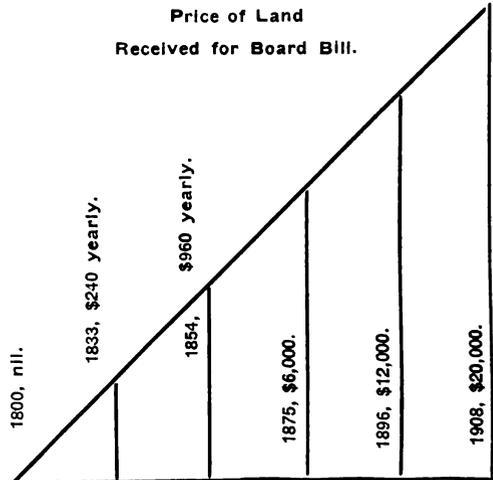
The farmer supplies food to the clothier, and the clothier supplies clothing in exchange. This closes the transaction. If the farmer were to come back the following year and demand a second payment from the clothier, the latter would laugh him to scorn. If he were to come again the next year and again repeat his claim, the clothier would laugh still more scornfully.

Well, the officer did not say that he would furnish some equivalent service or product in ex-

change; but he said to the boarding house keeper, "Here is a piece of land, an eighth of an acre in extent, one of the best corners in the city. Now, if you take this lot you can charge the people who come there to do business, and from them you can collect the payment of your bill." The offer was accepted and the man soon began to collect. I cannot tell how much he collected during the first few years, but from the year 1833 he obtained a rental of \$240 for twenty-one years, a little over \$5,000. Then he raised the rent to \$960 for another twenty-one years, something over \$20,000. Then he raised it again to \$6,000 for another period of twenty-one years, which amounted to more than \$120,000. After that he raised his demand to \$12,000 which he collected for ten years, another \$120,000, when he, or rather his heirs, sold the land so as to realize them \$20,000 yearly. And after all these payments, that board bill is still unpaid. Though the people who have done business on that lot have had to pay to that boardinghouse-keeper and his heirs, a sum of more than a quarter million dollars to settle an account of less than a hundred dollars, they and their successors, if the law is not changed, will have to pay and pay a larger and larger amount to the end of all time.

We have here an illustration of that monstrous injustice which compels a vast multitude of people, placed under an increasing and unending tribute, to pay an account which originally they had nothing to do with.

Let us draw another diagram, erecting on a base line a series of perpendiculars representing, successively, \$240, \$960, \$6,000, \$12,000, \$20,000. Through the top of these vertical lines let us draw an inclined line rising higher and higher indefinitely.



The first diagram represented a downward and downward direction as improved methods made the steel cheaper and cheaper. The second diagram

shows the higher and higher price of the land as population made it more and more scarce.

Is there any man, woman or child here who does not see the essential difference between these two things? Let him stand up.

[The speaker waited a few seconds, but no one responded. Mr. Joseph Fels then jumped up and declared, "The people of the United States do not understand that difference."]

For centuries legislatures and parliaments have been discussing taxation; but this distinction, so important and so essential, has been ignored. Let an accountant ignore the difference between a plus and a minus, a debit and a credit, or an asset and a liability, and his mistake would be no more fatal than that of the legislature which confounds the value of the land caused by the community, and the value of the crops or buildings made by the individual.

I ask you for a few minutes to look at the manner in which we impose our taxation at the present time. Some time ago I appeared before a tariff commission appointed by the Government of Canada, to which I pointed out the following facts: The statistics show that the workmen in this country receive on the average less than five hundred dollars yearly. If, however, I owned an acre of land well situated in this city I could easily collect fifty thousand dollars' ground rent yearly. Without doing the first productive act I could collect as much in one year as the workman with his toil could collect in a hundred years. In adjusting your tariff you find almost every article in that workman's home, so that whether waking or sleeping, working or eating, he is subject to some tax. When he goes to buy tools, food, clothing, furniture, bedding or any other commodity, while he pays for the goods he also pays a tax. The nominal rate is thirty or thirty-five per cent. But with the additions of the wholesaler and the retailer it mounts up to fifty per cent. Thus you compel him by an insidious method, by an occult process, to pay three dollars for two dollars' worth of goods. Very often by your tax you take from him every third day's work. With such meagre pay, without a dollar or an hour to spare, you compel him to make a large sacrifice every year for the support of government. On the other hand, I could collect my fifty thousand dollars yearly without spending the first hour in productive effort. I have both money and time to spare, in superfluous abundance. Now I wish you gentlemen to look at this monstrous injustice. You search that workman's home for the minutest article, that you may put a tax thereon, where there is nothing to spare, while my land with its enormous value does not appear in your schedules at all. You can find the little mole-hill, while you cannot see the mighty mountain. Look for a few minutes, please, at the social effect of this method of tax-

tion. That man goes forth in the morning, heroically determined to secure for his wife and little ones the advantages which this civilization should afford. He exerts his skill and produces abundance; but by processes which he sees not, I deprive him of the wealth he has produced. He produces abundance, but by my extortion I send him to a home of scarcity. His ambition is to give that lad the intellectual and physical development that will produce not a mere industrial machine to maintain a meagre animal existence but that his mind may be fitted to revel in all the luxuries of science, art, philosophy and literature—not that he may be a mere accumulator of lucre, of the earth, earthy; but that he may develop a full-orbed noble manhood. But I stand in the way. The wealth which he has honestly earned I appropriate to add to the glory and ostentation of my stately home. I drive that child from the school to the factory. A stunted intellect, a dwarfed life, a perverted existence is his doom. I drive him towards the degradation of the Beggars' Alley or the misery of the Slum. Then when I have thus thwarted his ambitions, blasted his hopes, deprived him of his rights, and stripped him of the glory of a full-orbed manhood, with the wealth which I have exacted I erect a temple, majestic in its proportions, with pointed arch and lofty spire. Then I procure the tongue of eloquence to proclaim: "Dearly beloved brethren, let us come to Jesus."

+ + +

A PLEA FOR FREE TRADE.

For The Public.

South of the Lakes the Stars and Stripes
Float proudly on the breeze.
While Britain's standard waves supreme
North of these inland seas.
The accidents of politics
Divide, for ill or good,
Two peoples of a common race,
One in both speech and blood.

But why should Yankee or Canuck
Look with suspicious eyes,
Each on the other one whose home
Beyond the boundary lies?
Tear down your custom-houses both!
Antipathies will fade
Upon improved acquaintance,
That will follow with Free Trade.

J. K. RUDYARD.

+ + +

"See here, Mr. Casey," said Pat to the tax assessor, "shore and ye know the goat isn't worth \$8."

"O' m sorry," responded Casey, "but that is the law," and, producing a book, he read the following passage:

"All property abutting on Front street should be taxed at the rate of \$2 per foot."—Boston Transcript.

BOOKS

ANOTHER VIEWPOINT.

The Call of the Carpenter. By Bouck White, Head Resident Trinity House, New York. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. Price, \$1.50.

We have had vivid pictures of the reception Jesus would receive at the present day if he should appear in some of our modern cities preaching the Gospel which, after 2,000 years, has failed to take root in the human soul. But Mr. White reverses the order by packing his grip and going over into Galilee, where he picks up the records of a carpenter of world-wide fame and fits his celebrated sayings and doings deftly into a pre-conceived idea that forms the purpose of a book dedicated to the cause of the workingman.

For the author of "The Call of the Carpenter" experiences no difficulty in converting the mission of the Son of Man into the revolutionary office of a Labor Leader, devoting his life to uplifting the common people from the slavery and oppression long imposed by a ruling federation of aristocracies. There is no denying that he gives to Mary, the mother of Jesus, a dignity and purpose quite distinct from the passive character of the saint whom the Church has recognized only as a divinely appointed instrument. She is "one of the strongest-minded women known in history, and played a part in the drama of the world's affairs which refuses to be ignored. . . . Mary, in a mud-plastered hut, hid in the Lebanon range, founds a dynasty of free spirits more enduring than the dynasty of the Cæsars." On fire with the enthusiasm of the old prophets she early sows the seed of the revolution which John the Baptist and Jesus carry later into effect.

Mr. White shows a careful study of the laws and customs of the times and governments of which he writes, and he bends them skillfully to the plan which he works out with careful detail. His aim is more practical than that of Renan, but he deals with his subject less reverently. The Carpenter, from his view point, is a jolly good fellow who delights in a free intercourse with publicans and sinners and loses no opportunity to denounce with unsparing judgment the ruling powers that lay grievous burdens on men's shoulders and will not themselves lift them with a finger.

In contrast to the atoning Savior of men so long presented by the Church Mr. White gives us a walking delegate with life devoted to the elevation of the laboring-man, whom he chooses as his follower, and whom he instructs in the divine ethics of the brotherly life in symbols that appeal to the understanding of the humblest mind.

While the author's interpretation of the his-

torical records of Jesus may rudely jar the orthodox believer in the plan of salvation worked out by his Church, he will not be harmed by taking with open mind the view point of one who deals with his subject as man to man, and brings out of his analysis a lesson that may serve the cause of practical, work-a-day Christianity.

Thrown into the mass of literature designed for the benefit of the working classes today "The Call of the Carpenter" may lead the heretofore indifferent, or even scornful unbeliever to a thoughtful study of the Gospel narratives in which he may find the Leader, not of social revolution alone, but of the deeper more interior revolution of individual thought and motive which is the true basis of all effectual and lasting reforms.

A. L. M.

+ + +

A CHRISTMAS STORY.

The Fourth Physician. By Montgomery Pickett. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

The science-frozen heart of a successful young physician is melted into human compassion by the combined fires of his friends' love—sadly mis-directed love, the reader believes to the end. An old class-mate, a devoted old Negro, a philanthropic young woman whom the physician hopes to make his wife, all together apply the torch to his chilly soul, until finally—at the risk of failing a great opportunity to announce his medical discovery to the world—he is persuaded to visit the dying slum child and try his remedy. The child dies, the discovery is proved worthless, the hero repents of his arrogance and wins back his sweetheart.

All this happens in Chicago at Christmas time—along with a great many other seasonal sentimentalities.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

+ + +

THE STORY OF JESUS.

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

For her Sunday morning class of boys to show the "simplicity and nobility" of Jesus' character "shorn of its theological trimmings" Mrs. Rawson has written this little book. Whatever the writer's own convictions, certainly she thinks the extreme Unitarian view the suitable one to present to youth. This attitude granted, the reader has before him an hour of delight.

For in these pages Jesus lives: as a boy in Nazareth, interested companion of his father at the carpenter's bench, or free and happy wanderer over the hills near his pretty home town; as a youth, visiting Jerusalem and the far-famous temple; as student of his nation's problems and preacher of his people's salvation—in all his busy

human life, most lovable. The chapter on Jesus' Travels and the one on Jerusalem—the whole book, for that matter, is most ably written by one who plainly knows and cleverly uses what of political and geographical setting modern scholarship offers. The clear little maps of Palestine and Jerusalem and the well-chosen copies of the master artists' pictures of Jesus add their share to the book's perfections.

One might wish the simple story had closed with Jesus' death or at least with the clever, but perhaps unnecessary, chapter on "Wonder Stories," where the miracles are gathered up and interpreted. For the legend of Sir Galahad and the Holy Grail—however well told—can be nothing but an anti-climax to the story of Jesus and the cross.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Marselite. By Robert de Mars. Published by J. F. Ryan, Chicago. 1911. Price, 50 cents.

—The Boy with the U. S. Census. By Francis Rolt-Wheeler. Published by Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston. 1911. Price, \$1.50.

—The Law of the Employment of Labor. By Lindley D. Clark. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.60 net.

—Report of the Commissioners of Taxes and Assessments of the City of New York for the Year Ending September 30, 1910. Printed by Clarence S. Nathan, 9 Franklin St., New York.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received by us are the following:

One Year and Eight Months under Commission Government in Memphis, Tennessee.

Activities of the Board of Public Welfare as shown in the Kansas City Child Welfare Exhibit, Nov. 3-11, 1911.

Second Annual Report of the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, Missouri. From April 19, 1910, to April 18, 1911.

Legislative Reference Lists, 1912. Compiled by E. G. Swem. Published by the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia, 1911.

A Book on Capital and Labor. By W. S. Smith. Published by the Author, 824 Sandusky St., North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. Price, 50 cents.

Review of Labor Legislation of 1911. American Labor Legislation Review, October, 1911. Published by the American Association for Labor Legislation, 1 Madison Ave., New York. Price, \$1.00.

+ + +

A member of Congress ordered soft-shell crabs, but when they were set on the table the member complained as to their size.

"Why, these are the smallest crabs I ever saw,"

he said to the Negro waiter, "and they don't smell fresh."

"Yas-sah, yas-sah," said the waiter, only half-apologetically. "I'se sorry, I is, but I done reckon if they'se not fresh it's good dey is small."—Philadelphia Times.

+ + +

Recently in Seattle in a cigar stand appeared the sign, "We give \$15 for 1909 Lincoln pennies." No less a person was attracted by this than Judge Watson. He walked up to the counter and laying down a penny triumphantly asked for \$15. The clerk took

One of The Public's Friends

Who has been confined to her bed for nineteen years, offers to make a **silk quilt** to be sold for the benefit of Mr. Kiefer's **Public Sustention Fund**, provided other friends will send her suitable pieces of silk, already pressed, for its manufacture.

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SEND FOR CATALOGUE

Newark Cut Glass Co.

17 WEST PARK ST., NEWARK, N. J.

Factory: 60-62 Arlington Street

the penny, examined it closely, asked if it were genuine, and after several minutes sighed and said he guessed it was good.

"Certainly it is," answered the Judge. "Where is my \$15?"

"Where," said the clerk. "are the other 1908?"—Life.

✦ ✦ ✦

"This sword came from the battlefield of Waterloo. An interesting anecdote goes with it."

"It is a fine anecdote," said the other man after

listening carefully. "I bought the same anecdote once with an old musket."—Washington Herald.

✦ ✦ ✦

Mr. and Mrs. Aschenbrenner were touring Europe and had just arrived at Pisa. Mrs. Aschenbrenner was all excited upon reaching the leaning tower of Pisa, and eagerly pattered up the spiral stairway, leaving her husband languidly awaiting her return.

As she weighed a shade over the 200 mark her husband always dug up an excuse when it came to

PURITANISM

America and England inherit from long-past economic and historical conditions a peculiar disease from which the wage-workers of other countries are usually free, but from which American wage-workers must cure themselves by a conscious effort. This disease is called **Puritanism**, and its cause and cure are not by any means generally known.

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He was just pondering on the beautiful flow of intelligible language used by their guide when on the topmost rampart came the "Hi-lee, Hi-lo" call of his wife, who was leaning far out and waving scarf.

Mr. Aschenbrenner obligingly looked up and then came to life with an anguished roar:

"Gretchen, for your life get back. You're bendin' the building!"—Harper's Magazine.

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Everybody Makes Big Money

A New Country Where All Men Have Even Chances

When a country becomes so-called "highly civilized," the chances to make money seem to be concentrated in a way that the rich grow richer and the poor poorer, but in a pioneer territory everyone starts with practically an even chance.

Pioneer days in the United States are now nearly over, but up in certain sections of Western Canada there are a few places left where pioneering has just begun.

And everywhere up there the pioneer investor succeeds. Calgary, with its wonderful growth in a few years to 40,000 people, and a jump in city lot prices from \$200 to \$10,000, and even \$30,000, pointed the way. Prince Rupert, Edmonton and the other cities have done as well. The owners of original lots have made big money, regardless of whether they wore overalls or broadcloth. It all depended on getting in ahead of the railroad.

Fort Fraser is the latest outpost in British Columbia to feel the force of the approaching locomotive. It is called "The Hub" of British Columbia, and occupies a strategic point, commanding the trade by land and water for 40,000 square miles around. The great, new Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad is stretching out its mighty bands of steel toward this future metropolis and already has grading camps within a few miles of the townsite. When the road finally comes in 1913—probably sooner than that, and likely within a year—the history of Calgary will be repeated in Fort Fraser, and a new set of fortunes will be made by those who had the foresight to get in while the opportunity was young.

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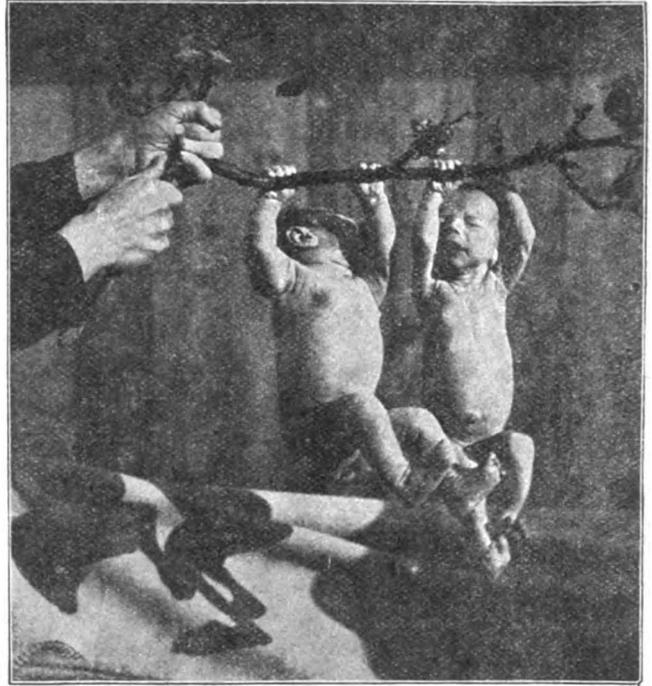
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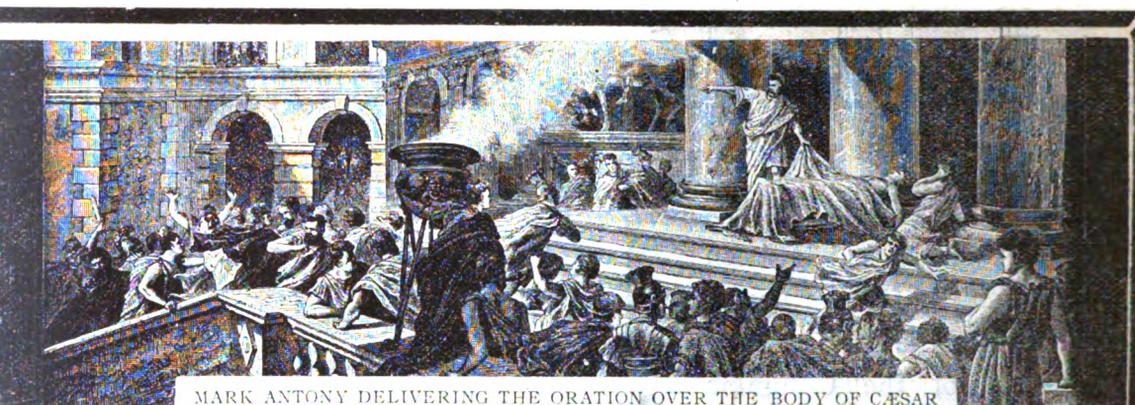
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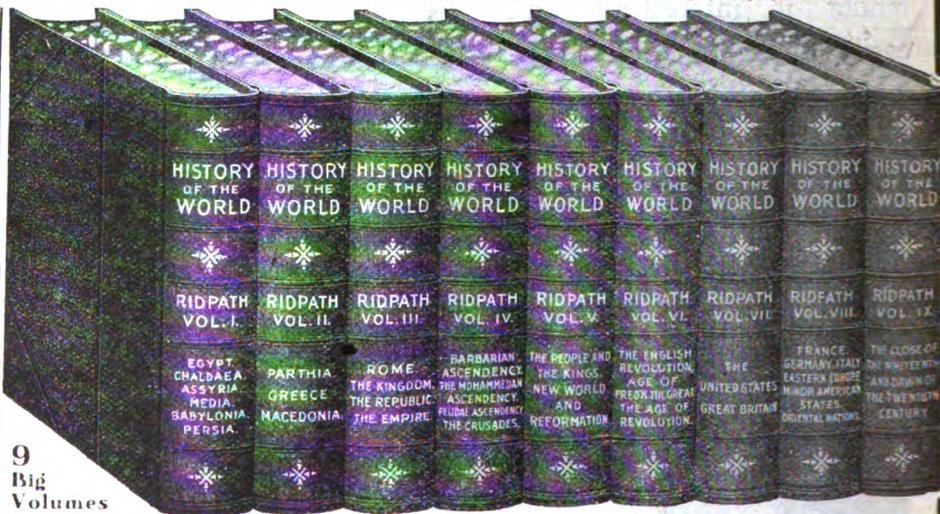
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Vol. XIV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1911.

No. 716

Published by Louis F. Post

Ellsworth Building, 537 South Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents

Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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A Favorite Performer in a Familiar Part.

Opie Dilldock of Oyster Bay is about to mount his steed again. So they say. Hurray! Hip, hip, huray!

+ +

A Chance to "Play Politics."

Talking about "playing politics," why don't the Republicans in Congress "play a return match" with the Democrats? Sulzer's Russian resolution would offer a fine opportunity if the Republicans were "nervy" enough to answer the play in kind, which they probably are not. With a preamble modeled upon the splendid democracy of the Sulzer resolution abrogating a treaty for exclusion of American Jews from abroad, what a mighty demonstration could be made against the disfranchisement of American Negroes at home. A bill beginning with a reassertion in the terms of the Sulzer preamble, adopted 300 to 1, that "the rights of American citizens shall not be impaired *at home* or abroad because of *race* or religion," might make lively reading matter for the Congressional Record if it were framed to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment.

+ +

The McNamara Case.

While waiting to get a true angle on the McNamara case, its mysteries and its significance, instead of lobbying at "hand-me-down" conclusions as so many newspaper writers are doing—

from Roosevelt in *The Outlook* to those lazy editorial writers, especially in the South, who work over for their own papers editorials from New York papers—we should like to know if some classes do get indulgences for crime. Whom do we mean? Well, at this moment we especially mean bankers, and our allusion is to the following statement which we quote from the *Chicago Tribune* of December 14, 1911, page 6, first column, first paragraph:

George M. Reynolds, president of the Continental and Commercial National bank, told the national business congress last night in an after dinner speech that bankers have to violate the law in times of stress.

Is that confession true? If it is true, why are not bankers punished? Do they escape because they violate the law only "in times of stress"? But every other criminal who confesses would make that plea. The McNamaras make it. What, then, is the difference between the McNamaras on one side, and the president of this great bank and his banker brethren on the other? Is it that the criminal McNamaras kill people by their kind of crime, whereas criminal bankers protect people by theirs? There may be such a difference, to be sure, but isn't it a dangerous difference to base any other appeal upon than an appeal for mercy and lighter punishment? Any community which allows some classes to "violate the law" for the public good, must expect to suffer from violations of the law from baser motives. And who shall decide what is for the public good—law makers or law breakers? While you are thinking over the McNamara case with its sinister significance—and sinister indeed it is—would it not be well to consider whether it is true that our laws punish McNamaras but exempt Reynolds. If it be true, then is it not high time for a housecleaning, and not in trade unions alone as dilettante moralists urge but throughout society?

* *

The Assault Upon Lloyd George.

It may be that the cable reports which attribute last week's assault upon Lloyd George to the violence wing of British woman suffragists, are in that respect untrue; but the act itself, the hurling of a box into his face with evident intent to do him physical injury, is so manifestly in line with the tory policy of that group as to make their responsibility for it fairly probable.

*

Whether this inference against them and their leaders be valid or not, there is no obvious escape from the conclusion that the assault could not

have been inspired by any democratic purpose. When attacked, Lloyd George was coming away from a Liberal meeting at which he had been speaking for woman suffrage. His speech was made in a campaign for equal suffrage for adults regardless of sex, which he is leading and which has every reasonable prospect of immediate success if the House of Lords do not use their limited veto—of success during the life of the present Parliament if they do. Tories are opposed to that policy, for tories stand for the classes and against the masses always. Those that oppose woman suffrage, want property suffrage for men alone; those that favor woman suffrage, want property suffrage for men and women alike; and both are opposed to adult suffrage. The special ire of both kinds of tory is excited against Lloyd George at this juncture because he is campaigning for adult suffrage on a democratic basis and is likely to succeed.

*

Lloyd George demands the abolition of "plural" voting, and in this the whole Ministry are with him, while the tories of both sexes are against him. He demands manhood suffrage, and in this also the whole Ministry are with him, while the tories of both sexes are against him. He at the same time and through the same Parliamentary bill demands woman suffrage along with manhood suffrage. On this the Ministry is divided, but the tories of both sexes are a unit against him. The difference between the two is that the Ministry have agreed to acquiesce if he gets the support of a majority of the House of Commons (which he has undertaken to do and doubtless will succeed in doing if violence by woman suffragists doesn't have the effect of driving away his weaker supporters), whereas the tories of both sexes are determined to thwart him if they can, to the end that the highly prized privilege of government by property instead of people may continue. This is the otherwise inexplicable meaning of the revival of systematic violence by a certain group of woman suffragists in Great Britain. It is the meaning, too, of the assault upon Lloyd George last week at the close of his London speech for adult suffrage regardless of sex.

* *

Death of John R. Waters and Herman V. Hetzel.

These are names that have been known in the American Singletax movement since long before it took that name—Mr. Waters especially in New York and Mr. Hetzel especially in Philadelphia. For ten years they were associated in the business of fire insurance through individual and recip-

cal underwriting, a method of mutual insurance of which Mr. Waters was the pioneer and leader in this country. Both were well known in that connection from coast to coast. Mr. Waters died on the 7th of December and Mr. Hetzel on the 14th. Their contributions to the cause in which both were deeply interested for thirty years, differed as the men did. Of reserved disposition and executive in habits, Mr. Waters helped largely by personal and business intercourse and through the distribution of literature, one of his contributions having been an extensive distribution of "Progress and Poverty" over a wide field of his own selection. But Mr. Hetzel, a personal "mixer" and a public speaker, will be remembered better by the spoken word with which he sowed seed broadcast. As a "stump speaker" he had few equals. His power to draw crowds by the charm of his speech, and as they grew to hold them by the spell of his thought, was phenomenal. Although he came to be less aggressive in this method of propaganda as the years went by, none of its value was lost; for he was always ready to answer a call for service on the "stump," and between calls he lost no reasonable opportunity to show others in personal discourse the star that he himself had seen. This was true also of Mr. Waters, in his own quite different way. Both were reckoned by Henry George among his personal friends.

+ +

Jurors and Judges.

When we applauded a woman-jury in California for refusing to obey the judge who had ordered them to acquit a prisoner they believed to be guilty,* we had no expectation that a man-jury would so soon vindicate the function of juries against similar judicial usurpation. But that this has been done, and how, may be seen in the News Narrative of the present number of *The Public*. A judge had commanded a jury in St. Louis to find a verdict for the defendant in a civil case, but the jury defied him by finding a verdict for the plaintiff.

+

As this judge explains, the law does not give judges authority to order non-suits in the kind of case on trial before him and that jury. The very fact that the law gives no authority to order a non-suit is highly suggestive of the intention of the law to leave the decision to juries, a purpose which this judge seems to have intended to evade by his order to the jury. Think of that! Twelve men are impaneled to decide a lawsuit, and their decision must be unanimous; but if the judge, one

man, doesn't agree with them, and the law doesn't allow him to take the case away from them, he may compel them to find a verdict to suit him! Could anything ostensibly reasonable be more preposterous?

+

What else is needed to disclose the tendency of judges to do what Thomas Jefferson said they always do—draw power little by little away from the law unto themselves. That trained lawyers honestly approve this tendency, and that some of them argue as to the very case we are writing about that the judge could have punished the disobedient jury for contempt of court, confirm Jefferson's judgment. So of those who argue that it was the duty of the jury to obey the judge whether he could compel them or not. It all goes to show how judicial usurpations work their way surreptitiously into the warp and woof of the law—the law is taught in the schools and at the bar. Of course we are not insisting that a jury's verdict must be absolutely binding under all circumstances. The law may very well give to judges, since it must place it somewhere, the power to non-suit for total lack of legal proof. It may very well allow judges to set aside verdicts where there is evidence of a jury's corruption or prejudice, or where either may be reasonably inferred from a verdict flat in the face of the proof. But that judges should arrogate to themselves, by judge-made law, the authority to command a jury to bring in a verdict to suit him and not them, is irrational and despot.

+

The jury in that St. Louis case, by refusing to find the verdict the judge ordered, and by returning one on their own conscience and according to their own judgment, have performed a badly needed and most useful service. It remains now for some equally sensible and brave jury or juror to resent in open court the next instance of a common practice—some judge's insolence in rebuking a jury in open court for finding a verdict their way instead of his. Jurors in a panel are as truly officers of the court as is a judge on the bench; their function of finding verdicts is as high as his in interpreting law; and a rebuke in open court by him to them for finding a verdict he disagrees with is as truly of the nature of contempt of court as if they could punish it. If the judge who is guilty of it won't punish himself, as a judge with any sense of humor who had blundered into excoriating a jury for its verdict would do, the jury ought to go at least as far as to protest in the name of American citizenship and the law of the land. A judge may indeed denounce a jury

*The Public of December 1, 1911, page 1211.

when he gets into his private room. That would be only a variation of every defeated lawyer's right to go "into the tavern woodshed and cuss the court." But what we are contending for is the right of every jury which returns its own verdict on the oath and conscience of its own members, to be free from any insolence from the judicial bench for having done so. If the jury system is bad or worn out, let's get rid of it by law, and not by judicial usurpation.

* *

Poverty's Causes.

"Intemperance and immorality are no longer the chief causes of poverty in New York City." So runs an Associated Press dispatch of the 9th in transmitting its account of a report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Intemperance and immorality never were the chief causes of poverty, in New York or anywhere else. If intemperance and immorality were the chief causes of poverty the greatest poverty would be among the rich. Is that a paradox? Then make the most of it. Heretofore as well as now it has been true, as the above named society reports for the current year, that "poverty due to industrial conditions is far in excess of that produced by vices." Nor are these conditions accidental or unavoidable. Poverty among the industrial poor is caused by the wealth of the idle rich. Every dollar that goes to anyone who doesn't earn it, is extorted somehow from others who do earn it.

* *

Doctrinaires and Dunces.

When one person derisively calls another a doctrinaire, it is "better than an even bet" that the former does not understand the latter's doctrine and is too lazy to try to.

* *

Specialization and Generalization.

Intense specialization was a normal reaction from too much *a priori* generalization, and a good thing it was. But indolence, which is to human tendencies what inertia is to those that are purely physical, has made the fad for specialization as much an obstacle to progress as lazy generalization ever was. The effect is often shown in a species of contempt for generalization, a contempt which takes no account of whether the generalizer is generalizing with a wish-bone or on the basis of facts. Such critics are not only not generalizers, they are not even specialists; for specialization is useless except for purposes of generalization. The mere specialist belongs in the infant class,

where a horse is not classified as a quadruped but is considered as an animal with one leg at each corner, and a centipede would be regarded as altogether too complex for leg-classification.

* * *

A CHRISTMAS STOCKING FOR "U. S."

In building the Panama Canal *we* are learning to do things for ourselves instead of turning the job over to syndicates and higher-up financiers, and paying them millions to do what *we* can do better—plus other millions of interest and dividends on the values *we* create.

We are learning to co-operate for the Common Good and for our common wealth in our Panama Canal task. We are doing that job far better than any "private enterprise" could do it, and that is natural; for public enterprise can do a public work better than private enterprise can, because the latter is interested chiefly in private profit, while public enterprise is concerned with public service.

Our public servants down at Panama are engaged in and are carrying to completion the greatest engineering work of modern times, the greatest of all ages. They are digging that public canal without "contractors," thus giving flat and conclusive denial to the myth that men must have the incentive of private profit to do good work; they have taken the straw out of the bogie that warns us against trying to do anything unless we get the consent of money-lending Oliver Twists who continually demand "more."

Just think of it—the spirit of Common Good has taken hold upon the laborers at Panama, and two gangs of common laborers, or Common-Good laborers, working on different dams, are engaged in a great Marathon race to see which crew shall have the honor of completing its work more quickly, more efficiently and at lower cost. One of the gangs has the advantage by one-eighth of a cent per cubic yard of concrete laid, and the other is striving to reduce that lead. Ever see two street paving contractors engaged in such a race for the Common Good?

* *

Panama was once "a place where white men can't live," but our sanitary corps in our little army of the Common Good down there has put the morbidity rate and the mortality rate below that of any city in the United States. We have learned why it was once true that white men couldn't live at Panama, and now we are begin-

ning to apply to our States and cities the knowledge gained in preventing disease at Panama. The village in Kansas will be more sanitary for that knowledge.

+

In some other matters we have "butted into" the temple of holy private enterprise by our Panama experiment—for it is an experiment, based on scientific calculations.

We have learned that *we* can run for ourselves a line of steamers; *we* are running a line between New York and Colon, making the run one day quicker than private enterprise is running its steamers, and last year *our* profit on *our* line was \$150,000. Yet—is this too "radical"?—wouldn't it be even more profitable to *us* if we ran the line at cost? And still more profitable if we ran it free, as "business men" run elevators in their office buildings, and *pay the cost out of our land values?*

Then, on the Isthmus are two little railroads, owned by "us." On the cars and locomotives is the legend "U. S.," and that spells *us*. Our railroads down there show gross earnings of a little more than \$6,000,000; and since passenger and freight cars that travel up and down in high buildings are run free of direct charges, the service being paid for in rentals, can't we do the same with our back-and-forth passenger and freight cars, and pay expenses of service out of our increased land values? Is a system that is conservative enough for conservative business men too "radical" for *us?*

We are doing still more down there at Panama.

The great and good government of the United States has actually burglarized the Socialist platform—*we* are the burglars, mind you—and is conducting at Panama and along the route of the canal, publicly owned, Common-Good hotels, laundries, machine shops, bakeries, boarding houses, stores, et-cet-e-ra! Lost our minds, haven't we? And the Supreme Court hasn't issued a single injunction against us, so what we are doing at Panama must be judicially reasonable, even if it be commercially wild-eyed.

And again, worse and more of it.

Those of *us* who are doing *our* work at Panama get the best food for themselves and their families at anti-race-suicide prices. At our experiment station down there we are showing that we can do our Common-Good housekeeping honestly and efficiently without skinning ourselves, or permitting some of *us* to skin the rest of *us* with the knife of "public enterprise for private profit."

It's quite a jump from Panama to Alaska, and there's some difference between digging a canal and digging coal. But we can make Alaska an experiment station, and "difference" is a big factor in scientific experimentation.

We have vast coal fields in Alaska; great coal fields owned by *us*. We are actually running a coal mine owned by *us*, and private enterprise has shown *us* how not to mine coal as well as how to mine it.

Any reason why we can't dig our own coal in Alaska, out of our own coal deposits? Any reason why we can't build and operate our own railroads in Alaska, running them into *our* coal fields and bringing *our* coal in *our* cars over *our* tracks to *our* shipping ports, there to be loaded into *our* ships, brought to *our* public docks on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, and sell it to ourselves out of *our* coal bunkers?

Long ago Brutus said, "I pause for a reply." Well, that's what I'm doing.

This coming winter, and the next and the next, we shall need coal at reasonable prices more than we need the Panama Canal. We don't need a canal to furnish heat; we can't cook breakfast with a canal; and possibly that's the reason the Guggenmorgans permitted us to build our own canal.

+

Then, we have a few water-power sites left unmorganheimed, and they mean heat, power and light. Can't we do something for ourselves with our water powers?

Crazy? Of course we are.

But having made a good beginning, and since we are getting a reputation for craziness, let's make a good job of it.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

ELEMENTARY POLITICS IN FRANCE.

Paris.

France is an old nation; her literature has lived for eight centuries; her past, glorious as it may be, weighs her down. She has borne so long the monarchical yoke, that it may seem still an open question to know whether purely democratic institutions may now suit her. Experience has yet to give its verdict. But so far, after many changes in governmental sign-posts and labels, France has known nothing but the worst features of autocratic and really irresponsible government. The present day regime is no exception to the rule.

France is nominally a republic; but that republic is, in fact, nothing else but an autocracy of vested interests. Parliament is filled with defenders of

Privilege and hirelings of Monopoly. The nation at large has been embruted by a deeply calculated system of materialistic education; immorality of every kind has been, on purpose, cultivated as a fine art; the entire press is sold or to be sold; and every care is taken in order that no news as to the real progress of other nations may filter through the density of official teaching.

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Meanwhile, taxes grow incessantly, the needs of the state apparently going up with the financial difficulties; the process not being carried on without much rhetorical talk in the Chambers.

Practically everything is taxed, mainly the necessities of life. Salt is taxed up to 50 per cent of its value. Besides the customs at the boundaries, there are octrois at the entrance of every town. State monopolies (matches, tobacco, among other things), sell infamous goods at fancy prices. A fine is put upon attempts at hygienic improvements, in the shape of a tax on doors and windows. Another fine is placed upon attempts at enjoyment, in the shape of a tax of 10 per cent, topping the value of theater tickets. The antiquated poll-tax has not aged in France; it is still in the prime of vigor, and claims but 9 francs from every citizen per year. It must be added in fairness that this poll-tax is not levied with due respect to the praiseworthy principle of "Egalité."

The working population of Paris is not called upon to pay the poll-tax; it is surmised that there would be difficulties concerning that payment. But the peasants, even the poorest, being of an easy-going temper, have to submit. As a matter of fact, there is no equality in France so far as taxation is concerned. The customs tariffs recognize "zones." Besides, some parts of the country are favored at the expense of others: the Departments of the north are paying at least one-half of the share of those of the south, in excess of their own burden. To this, the island of Corsica proves an exception; she is overloaded with tariffs to such an extent that she has to send her products to France through Italy, in order to obtain better terms. The unfortunate island is threatening revolt.

Protectionism produces its baneful effects; unemployment is rife. The public debt increases; all told, it goes up to 50 milliards of francs; of course, the sinking fund has been sunk. The cost of living is rising, the population decreases, and poverty and corruption, under all their forms, gnaw at the heart of the nation. Everywhere there is decay, material and moral. It is utterly impossible for France to exist in 10 years from now, if she does not mend her ways.

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And this would mean practically an upheaval. The French, up to the neck in the slough of political imbecility, have not, as a rule, the slightest idea of a life different to theirs. They know that they suffer; but they do not even suppose that means have ever been discovered of allaying those sufferings.

As a matter of fact, the French, who boast of their having freed the world, do not suspect what sort of thing freedom may be; they understand it neither for their neighbors nor for themselves. Every man is begging for special rights, every class

clamoring for privileges. The dream of the average French citizen is to become a state official in order to make a show of authority, and to tie a ribbon at his button-hole in order to make a show of superiority.

As for women, they have no rights whatever. Girls without a dowry are practically debarred from marriage. Thrift, practiced as it is in the teeth of dire penury, has become a national calamity; enterprise at home finds no encouragement and no capital.

Law in its worst forms maps out beforehand the life of every Frenchman, and even at the point of death the unfortunate Gaul is not released from its grasp, for the code gives him strict orders about his will, and forbids him to dispose freely of his own.

It can be said that the average Frenchman has lost the sense of public and even of individual life. Protracted and made-up agitation about Anticlericalism has rendered him impervious to anything with a practical meaning. He has been artfully led to believe that "priest-eating" will, in some unexplained way, fill his hungry stomach; and, wonderful to relate, although starving he still believes it. His faith is unabated, too, in the "laïque" schools; establishments from which every reference to religion is carefully banished and which, nevertheless, turn out every year an ever-growing number of vicious and ignorant children.

French colonies are extensive, and many of them of great value. Still they cost much to the metropole, and give nothing in return—except to a gang of well-known speculators. It is that gang which has been sending France to the sly conquest of Morocco.

The governing bodies, wholly innocent of the most elementary knowledge in political and social economy, and deep in the pay of vested interests, have no remedies to offer, save worn-out shams, spurious panaceas which have been tried elsewhere long ago and found wanting.

For instance, discussions have dragged on for years, and are still dragging on now, in the political world, about the application to France of the income tax—which, as has been well said, makes but liars and thieves of people; and that Income Tax is considered, among French shining lights, as a great and striking novelty.

Practically the whole of taxation is indirect; which leads to sophistication on the one hand, and to official squandering of public money on the other. So-called social laws, continually enacted under the pretense of helping the poor—and which have no other effect than to augment the frightful number of Jacks-in-office—add to the financial entanglement.

To sum up, France suffers from Protectionism and from Indirect taxation because she suffers from Indirect government.

Centralization has been carried to its extreme length. Local government exists nowhere, even the smallest municipalities living under the club of the representative of the Central Power. The legislature is elected—in the most trumped-up fashion—every four years, and, with the exception of the fortnight during which the elections take place, the electorate is unable to utter a word; it has no control whatever upon the acts of its representatives. There is not even the shadow of Initiative and Referendum. Notice, it is the legislature which nominates the

Executive power—making thereby, of the President of the Republic, its most grateful and obedient tool; and it is also the legislature which designates the Ministers, the holders of any great office in the state. The legislature being held in golden bondage by Monopoly and Privilege, the consequences can easily be drawn.

Furthermore, the fact must not be overlooked that France is over-ridden by secret societies, the goal of which, although not very clear, is certainly to uphold the conditions, social and political, now obtaining; and which count among their members the very great majority of the official people. These secret societies, of which Free-Masonry is the foremost, have the upper hand everywhere; they form a kind of tie between the many vested interests, and they are up in arms against any new idea concerning political economy being brought to the notice of the French people. They permeate the whole Press. They have established a permanent and ubiquitous system of spying, and they stick at nothing in order to keep unbroken the ignoble spell which they have thrown over France.

Individual activity is admitted nowhere in public life. For instance, Paris, with its 3,000,000 inhabitants, is ruled by the unchecked will of the representative of the state—the "Prefet de la Seine." This high official is the absolute master of everything. He is a perfect autocrat, and owes not the smallest account of his acts to the Parisians! Paris boasts, it is true, of a Municipal Council (with 80 members), but that so-called Council has not the right to make any decision without the authorization of the "Prefet"; this official having an unlimited right of vetoing (without stating his reasons for it) any deliberation of the Council.

Amongst the results of this are: the unsafe and dirty state of Paris; the utter indifference of the citizens to public affairs—as spirited and intelligent discontent is only kept alive by uninterrupted action, and is fatally deadened by prolonged inactivity; and, above all, the shameful dissipation of public money. The town of Paris has recently floated a loan of 900 millions of francs; the money is now being squandered in a way which is heart-rending, considering the hopeless misery and degradation of the masses.

All this goes to show how political difficulties, in France, are entangled with economic difficulties; and points out that no economic progress is possible without some political progress.

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There is one more consideration which cannot be left untouched. By the side of the obstacles created by the general conditions of the country, be they political or economic, there is another barrier across our way in the shape of financial institutions peculiar to France, and the main effect of which is to bind the people, by the ties of interest, to the existing state of things.

One of these institutions is the "Credit Foncier," half a state establishment and half a private one, the object of which is to lend money to landholders in need and to impoverished municipalities. The "Credit Foncier" represents several milliards. In order to get the money which it loans, the "Credit Foncier" issues bonds bearing interest, chances of

drawing lots at yearly lotteries, and which offer special guarantees; on account of this, these bonds are held by the majority of French people; no small tradesman, no petty official, who is not in possession of some of them. The effect of that possession, of course, is to make the bondholder, indirectly, a usurer—a moneylender who has advanced his money upon this pledge of the land; and, who accordingly has the greatest interest in opposing bitterly any idea attacking the system of land-tenure and mortgages, which makes all the security of his pledge.

It is sure that, as soon as the idea of the taxation of land values is brought to the front in France, the "Credit Foncier's" bondholders—and they are legion—will create disturbances.

Such is the state of things prevailing now in France. Long-winded prattle about traditions, prestige, and what-not, cannot dispel the significance, just outlined here, of unquestionable facts.

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The so-called Republican Party, now still in power, became the victor after the disasters of 1870-71, and has since lived on the spoils. The opposition is formed by Socialism on one hand, and by the old Dynastic parties on the other.

French socialism has no idea, no system, cannot indicate either a practical way or a definite goal. It is a mixture of all kinds of blind discontents, rolled into a lump, and wrapped up in the stuff which dreams are made of. Orthodox Socialism is weakened by the attacks of Anarchism, and by the onslaughts of Syndicalism which reduces the whole social question to a rise in wages—and which contrives, naturally, to bring about a rise in the cost of living at large.

As for the old Dynastic parties, they are fretting away in the sorry rags of their worm-eaten traditions. An Emperor! a King! Such titles may have had a meaning in days gone by; but now, what significance do they carry?

It is not an empty formula that is wanted, but a clear, logical idea of far-reaching economic reform—such an illuminating social philosophy as that which the Physiocrats brought out in the middle of the 18th century. Their teaching has been forgotten, drowned in the human blood so vainly shed during the French Revolution. But their whole conception of the Singletax has been found again, never more to die, by that great American, Henry George. And today it is another American, Joseph Fels, who is instrumental in bringing back to the French people the truth without which they can no more exist—as a nation cannot live without common-sense and without justice.

France is wholly ignorant, nowadays, of the land question. She will be quite a new field to be tilled by the plough of the Singletax. And who knows whether that plough, once it has driven its steel to the deep of the ground—a ground which is neither industrial nor commercial, but mainly agricultural and artistic—will not call forth quite unexpected harvests? The land question is a very far-reaching question, and the horizon it opens stretches itself away much beyond the region of purely economic interests.

GEORGES DARIEN.*

*Mr. Darien is the editor of the French Singletax Review, *La Revue de l'Impot Unique*.—Editors of *The Public*.

THE ONTARIO ELECTIONS.*

Toronto, Ont., Dec. 16.

The Provincial elections are over and the Conservatives have again secured a large majority.

No sooner had Sir James Whitney announced that a new election would take place than some of the Conservative papers proclaimed their belief that, in consequence of his opposition to local option in taxation, it would be well for the country to have a stronger Opposition. At the same time the Liberal party came out unequivocally in favor of this local option; and the leader of that party, Mr. N. W. Rowell, in his opening meeting gave his approval to the proposal and was heartily applauded for it by the audience.

To those who have had to fight the politicians, often with very little encouragement, thus to see one political party and some of the members and papers of the other political party endorsing this all important measure has been a cause of great rejoicing.

The two Conservative candidates for the city of Ottawa, I presume under the influence of the Southam brothers of the Ottawa Citizen, pledged themselves publicly to support a measure for local option in taxation, so that in spite of the opposition of Sir James Whitney, the leader of their party, a bill to grant power to municipalities to remove taxes from improvements will be introduced in our next Parliament.

During the election Sir James was induced at last to notice the criticism of some of his own supporters, and in a communication to the press, he assumed a case in which two men bought farms for \$4,000 each, on which one man erected a home worth \$1,000 and the other a home worth \$16,000. "Now," he said, "the proposal is made to give the one man an exemption of \$16,000 and the other an exemption of only \$1,000." Then he continued: "I shall not argue this point at all, but will say that when the farmers of Ontario make it clear that they desire the imposition on themselves of such a rank and manifest injustice, no government will stand in their way."

In making this assumption, he very carefully avoided the case of the man who, by holding a single acre in any of our commercial centers, without spending an hour in the production of anything, can secure the crops of a hundred farms every year.

In this same communication he promised that there would be a special committee to deal with assessments at the close of the next session of the local Parliament. The question has now obtained so strong a hold on the minds of the people, and has received such hearty support from a large portion of the press of both parties, that it will not down.

Twenty-one years ago the Parliament of Manitoba, in consequence of the representations of the farmers, who saw the speculators reaping the benefit of their pioneer work, amended the assessment act with the following words: "All land in rural municipalities, used for farming or gardening purposes, shall be assessed as it would be assessed if it were unimproved." Shortly after that the Province of British Columbia passed a measure which allowed the taxation of improvements to the amount of only

half the value, and as much less as the municipalities might choose. Saskatchewan and Alberta followed with similar legislation, while the Province of Ontario, which prided and boasted itself as the most progressive, populous and wealthy of the Provinces, has been clinging blindly and stupidly to an antiquated and unjust method, which aroused, often to a white heat, the spirit of speculation, and time and again brought on financial cataclysms that swept the country, in spite of its fertility and the skill and industry of its people, with epidemics of bankruptcy.

W. A. DOUGLASS.

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AUSTRALASIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, Oct. 27.

Mr. George Fowlds has resigned his position as the Minister of Education in New Zealand, as he considers Sir Joseph Ward's ministry not sufficiently progressive. He found that as a Minister he was hampered in the expression of his views, and he felt he could serve the people better as a private member. He will advocate that the tax on land values be increased by a penny in the pound, and that customs duties on the necessaries of life be remitted.

A general State election was held in Western Australia last month, when the Labor party was returned by a large majority. At present, there is in force in this State a land value tax of one penny in the pound, with exemptions. The Wilson ministry, which was defeated, had proposed to abolish this tax, and to increase the income tax. The Labor party supports a land value tax without exemptions. It is much sounder on land value taxation than the State Labor parties of Victoria and New South Wales.

The budget of last year, submitted to the State parliament of South Australia by the Verran (Labor) ministry, was passed by the lower house, but defeated in the Legislative Council. [See *The Public*, current volume, p. 79.] The Ministry is trying to pass a veto bill, somewhat similar to that recently enacted in England. This year's budget was lately presented by the Treasurer, Mr. Crawford Vaughn. Like that of last year, it is on Singletax lines, the increased land value tax being in substitution for existing taxes. It is proposed to increase the tax on land values by one-half penny in the pound. Against this, railway freights are to be reduced, the income tax exemption raised from £200 to £300, and stamp duties on receipts abolished.

In Victoria, local government taxation is levied on the annual rental value of land and improvements. The State Ministry has introduced a bill making it optional for municipalities to tax land values instead, and providing that if a Council does not adopt this method, a poll of taxpayers may be taken to decide the question. But the conditions laid down in the bill will make it very difficult to obtain the holding of a poll, and plural voting is not abolished, so the bill is a very disappointing measure. As a general State election is to be held in November, it is doubtful if the bill will be proceeded with this session. At this election, a system of preferential voting will be used for the first time. The State is divided into 65 constituencies, each return-

*See *Public* of December 15, page 1267.

ing one member, as previously, but an elector will now vote for the candidates in the order of his preference, instead of voting for one candidate only. This method is an improvement on the old one, but is much inferior to the system of proportional voting in force in Tasmania.

The McGowen (Labor) ministry in New South Wales started with an absolute majority of two, but owing to some by-elections the parties became equal and for some time there was a deadlock. Another by-election has now restored the Government majority. The Ministry proposes to reduce the income-tax exemption, and to restore the stamp duties on checks and receipts, which were abolished a few years ago. The New South Wales budget is thus a great contrast to that of South Australia.

The Federal graduated land-value tax, in its first year of operation, produced nearly £1,400,000, in spite of the high exemption of £5,000. The Federal government intends to establish a Commonwealth bank, which will conduct all ordinary banking business.

ERNEST BRAY.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ORGANIC EDUCATION.

Fairhope, Ala.

Whoever heard of a grower of fine plants or animals, making requirements of those plants or animals? Instead, the wise student of nature studies the symptoms of health or disease and works in harmony with those symptoms. Whenever the plant or animal responds unsatisfactorily, the treatment is changed at once. So also with the wise physician. He does not blame the patient when results are undesirable, but changes the prescription!

In our school work, however, it is different. We do not study the needs of the child as evidenced by the symptoms; but we plan a course of study and exercises which are designed to help him, but under which he often languishes or becomes restive, indifferent or even vicious. When this occurs we do not change the treatment, but console ourselves with blaming the child.

When the little child grows nervous, near-sighted, and round-shouldered, we put on glasses, give a few "corrective" exercises which often still more exhaust the nervous system, and continue to require the child to spend his time in an unwholesome room, working in an unwholesome way at needless employment.

When the girl's nature does not respond to the requirements in arithmetic, she is counted dull or stupid, or possibly abnormal, but the nature of the requirement is not changed. When the boy grows indifferent, languid, or vicious, refusing to do his best at school, acquiring a distaste for grammar or languages, the school "fails" him, exhorts him to greater effort and brands him "different"—but never once does it enter the minds of the authorities to change the requirements.

Why should education insist upon being uneducational? Our insane desire to "educate" is a fatal barrier to development which is the only true education. Could a child's conscious striving and over-

eating make him taller or broader? Neither will conscious striving and over-study make him wiser or better.

Why not act as reasonably in education as in other things? If the nature of the little child requires freedom, why not give freedom instead of requiring him to sit at stationary desks and be silent? If his nature requires out of doors, fresh air, why not give that? Can't he "learn" anything out of doors? If his seeing should not be at close range, why give him a book at so young an age? Can't he learn anything without books? If his nervous system requires the larger movements first, why put him at writing so young? Are there no other "educative activities" in which he may more safely engage?

We know that many children "fail" in school. We know that many grow indifferent and unhappy. We know that some are not strong enough to meet the "requirements." Then why in the name of education should we continue the treatment when the response is unsatisfactory? Why not sanely and bravely look the little child in the face, and throw away all of the "traditions of the elders" and all of our unrighteous requirements, and simply and religiously meet *his* requirements? How shall we know them? By the symptoms of his response or reaction. For the test of the environment is the reaction of the child. The test of a school is the condition of the child—bodily, mentally, spiritually.

What does the body need? Fresh air in out-of-doors, play, freedom, no stationary desks, no enforced silence, but quiet—only when the occupation requires it; much choice in occupation, physical coordination through creative handwork.

What does the mind require? Time to observe, investigate, think and reason out a few things—often help and guidance from the teacher, but rarely ordered attention; experiences and activities in harmony with age and interests—that is, things of sense in the early years, books, experiences of others and abstractions in the later years.

What is necessary for the spirit? Joy in work, a genuine desire to do it; work which enlists every part of the entire organism. In fact, all half-hearted work is insincere, and we often cultivate dishonesty in the child when we try to develop "will power" by arbitrary requirements.

True education is organic—that is, it develops, strengthens and improves the body, makes the mind more intelligent and the spirit sweeter—in fact perfects the entire organism.

But can it be done? Why not? What is to prevent our taking the desks out of the room, allowing only twenty pupils to the teacher, and removing the "intellectual requirements" of the first grades in any city? Instead of desks, have tables at which the children may work. Instead of requirements in reading, writing, numbers, etc., let the children sing and play, make things of paper card board and textiles, taking care that the nervous system is not injured by too close work. Let them have gardens in which they may plant what they choose, and which they may care for in their own way with the sympathetic assistance of the teacher. Let them have stories of geography, history, and literature. Give them an opportunity to learn to speak some other modern language than their own. Let them have

water colors and clay which they may freely use. Allow the teacher to take them out of doors at any hour she may wish, taking them to parks and museums for the pleasure and profit of going and seeing, rather than to prepare them to "pass" any particular examination. Let them gain fundamental conceptions of numbers by the use of the rule, handling things, counting, estimating, weighing, measuring, etc. Let them hear beautiful poems recited by the teacher, and allow them to recite them also, but do not force the committing.

One year spent in such occupations and activities will make every six-year-old child in any city stronger, sounder, more beautiful of body, more intelligent, alert, and responsive of mind, and sweeter of spirit, even though he has not learned to read or write or "do" arithmetic. He has learned to think and observe and reason as well as a six-year-old mind is able. The integrity of the nervous system has been preserved and the body improved in every way, and the spirit has been happy and has grown finer and more responsive. Is not this education?

Then why not continue the same general scheme for the second, third and fourth grades, enlarging the scope, and using books as soon as they are needed to explain, verify, or broaden the child's experiences?

The School of Organic Education at Fairhope, Ala., is making an effort to literally meet the demands of the child. No requirements are made in the first six years. No so-called "lessons," no grades, marks, or examinations, no home tasks given.

The children come to school to have a good time—to do things—to find out about things; and incidentally they learn many things. The day is full of activity—singing, playing, working, investigating, observing, story-telling, gardening, using numbers and materials, art work, and nature study. No books are used by children under the tenth year, except as the child himself desires to learn to read. No writing is required, no formal numbers nor spelling. At ten the children begin to use books, learning to read very quickly because the desire to read is strong and the nervous system has been strengthened instead of weakened during the previous years. From ten to thirteen all books—literature, geography, and history—are used *with* the teachers, for the simple purpose of enjoying what the book may contain—never as a task to be learned and recited. Learning the true value of books in this way, with the assistance of a sympathetic teacher, a real love of books is acquired.

Formal arithmetic is begun at ten, and with the growth of the fundamental conceptions attained in the previous years, very little difficulty is experienced.

At thirteen and fourteen regular formal work in the seventh and eighth grade studies is begun, but the children have learned to think and reason, have learned to use books, and are keen to get everything possible from the books, so that there are no real "school tasks" even in the grammar department.

At fourteen or fifteen the children begin high school work. Four years of serious, earnest, enthusiastic—for it will be more enthusiastic than ever if the previous years have been well spent—work in mathematics, science, history, language, and litera-

ture, with gardening, manual training, music and art continued, constitutes the high school course.

No "passing per cent" is required in the high school, but if the work is pursued seriously and earnestly, the youth gets from it all that is possible for him to absorb or digest at that time, and what can be the value of forced study or mental indigestion?

Institutions to be educational must meet the demands of the individual, rather than make requirements which he must meet. An institution has no right to ask, "What do you know?" "What have you done?" "Where are your credentials?" But must ask, "What do you need?" "How may we serve you?" The "standards" of an institution are measured by its service, not by its requirements.

Unless the individual emerges from the institution stronger of body, more intelligent of mind, sweeter and more helpful of spirit, the process has not been educational.

MARIETTE L. JOHNSON.

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, December 19, 1911.

Russian Relations with the United States.

Under the leadership of Congressman William Sulzer of New York, the House of Representatives adopted on the 13th the following concurrent resolution:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion; that the government of the United States concludes its treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens, without regard to race or religion; that the government of the United States will not be a party to any treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate, between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the government of Russia has violated the treaty between the United States and Russia, concluded at St. Petersburg Dec. 18, 1832, refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citizens on account of race and religion; that in the judgment of the Congress the said treaty, for the reasons aforesaid, ought to be terminated at the earliest possible time; that for the aforesaid reasons the said treaty is hereby declared to be terminated and of no further force and effect from the expiration of one year after the date of notification to the government of Russia of the terms of this resolution, and that to this end the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the government of Russia.

The purpose of this resolution was to terminate a

policy of discrimination enforced by the Russian government against Jews with American passports who visit Russia.

Prior to the adoption of the foregoing resolution by the lower House of Congress, its presentation by Mr. Sulzer had precipitated a Cabinet meeting at the White House on the 5th, at which the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, was directed to advise the Russian ambassador at Washington, George Bagmetioff, that the President would recommend abrogation of the treaty of 1832 unless Russia recognizes the right of American Jews to visit Russia pursuant to the first Article of the treaty, which is as follows:

There shall be between the territories of the high contracting parties a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation; the inhabitants of their respective states shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places and rivers of the territories of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce.

It should be explained that the Russian government interprets the above Article by a clause of the treaty which makes the sojourn of visitors from either country in the other conditional upon "their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing," and therefore argues that all Russian restrictions applying to Jews living in Russia may be enforced against American Jews visiting Russia. By the American State Department under both political parties it has long been urged that the United States cannot acquiesce in religious tests; but to this point the Russian government responds that it does not exclude all Jews nor act toward any Jews with reference to religious tests. It refers the matter to questions of internal civil order which necessitate barriers to "certain categories of foreigners," thereby bringing the Russian policy within the principle of the American policy of excluding "anarchists." According to an editorial in the St. Petersburg newspaper "Rossia," of the 7th, described as a "semi-official" paper—

the prohibition of foreign Jews, irrespective of nationality, from entering Russia as well as Russian Jews who emigrated without permission, was established by law on March 23 and Aug. 11, 1824. The Russo-American treaty eight years later contains no provision with respect to a modification of the existing law in favor of American Jews. American Jews err in supposing that Russia has introduced new restrictions with regard to them. On the contrary, Russian legislation of 1835-'39 granted admission to certain selected categories. Regula-

tions adopted on March 27, 1891, empower the Russian consul to vise passports of heads of business firms and also their commercial travelers, representatives and clerks without limitation, with respect to admission to the pale and without preliminary sanction by the Minister of the Interior. The passports of other Jews are vised with the sanction of the Minister of the Interior. Thus all Jewish business men and all others engaged in an occupation not regarded as undesirable may enter and reside in Russia for six months. But the sovereign right not to admit undesirables cannot be disputed, and is exercised strictly by the United States itself. Only Jews emigrating through the agency of the Jewish Colonization Society are permanently excluded, in accordance with the rules of March 21, 1892. Of the eleven American Jews applying for a vise during 1910 only three were rejected. The laws for the readmission of foreign Jews cannot be changed as a result of demonstrations of groups of American Jews nor as a result of friendly representations on the part of the United States. The United States government, of course, does not possess the right of interference in the home affairs of Russia. The repeal of the treaty of 1832 has been suggested, but all the disadvantages of such a step would fall upon the United States. Russian customs statistics from 1905 to 1910 show that the Russian exports to America amounted to \$20,500,000 and imports to \$177,000,000. The figures in the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington put the Russian exports at \$85,000,000 and the imports at \$113,000,000. Furthermore, the American imports into Russia are constantly growing. They amounted to \$20,500,000 in 1905 and \$36,500,000 in 1910. It is to be regretted if the traditional friendly relations between true born Americans and Russians are disturbed.

A mass meeting which demanded the abrogation of the treaty upon one year's notice was held at Carnegie Hall, New York, on the 6th, the speakers advocating abrogation being Senator O'Gorman, Governor Wilson, Speaker Clark, William McAdoo, William Randolph Hearst, Congressman Sulzer, Congressman Francis Burton Harrison and ex-Congressman Bennet. Andrew D. White, former ambassador from the United States to Russia, spoke against abrogation and in favor of inviting Russia to arbitrate at The Hague. He argued that preemptory demands would lead to indignant rejoinders regardless of justice.

Congressman Sulzer's concurrent resolution was agreed to unanimously on the 12th in the House Committee on Foreign Relations, of which he is chairman, and was accordingly reported favorably to the House by him on the 13th. Congressman Olmstead of Pennsylvania then moved to amend so as to make the resolution complain of Russia's interpretation of the treaty instead of charging her with violating it, but this motion was lost by 115 ayes to 184 noes. Thereupon the Sulzer resolution

was adopted without alteration by 300 to 1, the one dissenting vote having been recorded by Congressman Malley of New York. The resolution went at once to the Senate, where it was discussed on the 14th, but without action of any kind.

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Meanwhile representations had been formally made on the 16th to the American State Department by the Russian ambassador, to the effect that approval of the Sulzer resolution in its original form as adopted by the House would be regarded by the Russian government as an insult to Russia and be followed by a severance by Russia of all friendly relations with the United States. The President thereupon decided to make a dead letter of the Sulzer resolution by giving formal notice at once to Russia of the desire of the United States to terminate the treaty under a clause of the treaty which provides that it shall continue in force until January 1, 1839, provided that—

if, one year before that day, one of the high contracting parties shall not have announced to the other, by an official notification of its intention to arrest the operation thereof, this treaty shall remain obligatory one year beyond that day, and so on until the expiration of the year which shall commence after the date of a similar notification.

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Accordingly on the 18th, President Taft sent to the Senate a special message in which he explained that instructions had been given on the 15th to the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in accordance with which "there was given to the imperial Russian government under date of the seventeenth day of December, 1911, official notification on behalf of this government of intention to terminate the operation of the treaty of commerce and navigation of December 18, 1832, between the United States and Russia upon the expiration of the year commencing on the first of January, 1912." Upon the Senate's receiving this message, the Senate committee on foreign relations, of which Senator Lodge is chairman, reported a substitute for the Sulzer resolution. This substitute, after summarizing the terms of the treaty in respect of its duration, proceeds:

Whereas, on the 17th day of December, 1911, the President caused to be delivered to the imperial Russian government by the American ambassador at St. Petersburg an official notification on behalf of the government of the United States announcing intention to terminate the operation of this treaty upon the expiration of the year commencing on the first of January, 1912; and whereas, said treaty is no longer responsive in various respects to the political principles and commercial needs of the two countries; and whereas, the constructions placed thereon by the contracting parties differ upon matters of fundamental importance and interest to each; Therefore be it resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress

assembled, that the notice thus given by the President of the United States to the government of the Empire of Russia to terminate said treaty in accordance with the terms of the treaty is hereby adopted and ratified.

After debate, the foregoing substitute resolution was adopted by the Senate by a unanimous vote.

✦ ✦

Election in Arizona.

The election that determines Arizona's Statehood and chooses State officials in case of a popular vote satisfactory to President Taft on the Recall, came off on the 12th. Officials voted for were the Governor, two United States Senators (subject to election by the legislature), one Representative in Congress, several judges, State Senators and members of the lower house of the legislature. Three tickets were in the field with the following candidates: Republican, Edward W. Wells; Democratic, George W. P. Hunt; Socialist, P. W. Galentine. A heavy vote was polled—about 26,000. There was much "scratching" and the exact returns are not yet available, but there was a Democratic landslide. The Recall was modified as President Taft required, by an overwhelming majority. Explaining the result the Chairman of the Democratic State Committee said on the 13th that—

the people of Arizona simply refused to indorse Taft's dictation. While they voted to eliminate the Recall from the Constitution, as they were obliged to do in order to gain Statehood, they showed at the same time that the Recall would be placed back in the Constitution as soon as it possibly could be done.

[See current volume, pages 866, 875, 930, 971.]

✦ ✦

Judicial Dictation Defeated.

A successful revolt of a jury against dictation by the judge in a trial before them is reported from St. Louis. It exemplifies an editorial in *The Public* of December 1, 1911, at page 1211. The suit was over the will of Bridget McDermott. Her daughter, Mary Farrington, brought suit to annul the will in order to acquire certain real estate which under the will had gone to her mother's priest, the Rev. John White, a Catholic. Mrs. Farrington is described as having been a nurse in a lunatic asylum at a salary of \$25 a month, out of which she had saved \$3,000 and bought a home, taking title in her mother's name. Through her mother's will this property went to Father White, and she sued to set aside the will on the ground that her mother had been unduly influenced by him. There appears to have been no direct evidence of undue influence, but the jury were unanimously of opinion that undue influence had been shown by circumstantial evidence. Religious considerations do not appear to have entered into the controversy be-

tween the Judge and the jury; for, although the Judge is a Roman Catholic, so were about half of the jury. The question raised seems to have been purely one of general public policy, namely, Shall judges be allowed by juries to coerce them into rendering verdicts against their own judgment and conscience?

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The case came to trial before Judge Withrow and a jury of twelve men at St. Louis, and on the 12th Judge Withrow instructed the jury to return a verdict in favor of Father White on the ground that undue influence had not been proved. This the jury refused to do and a deadlock continued three days. The Judge explained (as reported in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of the 15th) that—

a suit to set aside a will is quite different in nature from any other civil case, in this, that it cannot be dismissed by the plaintiff, nor can a non-suit be properly entered by the Court. The case must proceed to final verdict. As the plaintiff had failed to prove her case, by its instruction requiring the jury to find a verdict sustaining the will, the Court relieved the jury of all responsibility and left nothing for the jury to decide. The signing of the verdict by the jury was merely a formal act to complete the record.

But on their side, according to the same newspaper report—

the jurors several times in court defended their stand with the claim that they are maintaining their rights as American citizens to return a verdict as their consciences dictate.

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After refusing for three days to sign a verdict for the defendant as directed by the Judge, the jury on the 15th returned the following verdict for the plaintiff:

We, the jury in the above entered cause, find in favor of the plaintiff, for the reason that from the circumstantial evidence of the witnesses examined, we believe there was undue influence exerted over Bridget McDermott prior to and at the time she executed the instrument in question, and that it was not her last will and testament.

Examining this verdict and consulting several passages in law books he had sent for, Judge Withrow said:

Gentlemen, although you have found in violation of the Court's instructions, the Court will accept this as your verdict, which, on the motion of either side for a new trial, the Court may set aside.

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Singletax Rivalry.

As the result of a challenge by A. B. du Pont of Cleveland, made at the Singletax conference at Chicago last month and accepted by George A. Schilling of Chicago, a competition between Cleve-

land and Chicago has begun for raising contributions for the Joseph Fels Fund, the prize to the successful city being Miss Buchanan's statuette, "Votes for Women," a copy of which Mr. du Pont and Mr. Schilling have bought for the purpose. The test is to be the amount raised in each city in proportion to its population. [See current volume, page 1217.]

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Pursuant to this challenge, organizations have been effected under Mr. Schilling's direction in Chicago and under Mr. du Pont's in Cleveland. In Chicago the organization has taken the form of a committee, with Theodore J. Amberg as chairman and treasurer, James B. Ellery as secretary, and Otto Cullman, George V. Wells, and Frank D. Butler as executive committee. In addition to the work of this organization, Mr. Schilling, as a member of the national Auxiliary Committee appointed at the Conference, is pushing the movement for financial support throughout the State of Illinois. In Cleveland, where the managers have set themselves the "task" of raising at least half a cent per capita of the city's population, a Singletax Club has been organized with J. B. Vining as president, Dr. J. E. Tuckerman as vice president, and Martin F. McCarthy as secretary and treasurer.

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Chinese Conferences.

A peace conference between Wu Tingfang, the foreign secretary of the Republicans, and Tang Shao Ya, representing the Imperial Premier, Yuan Shi-Kai, each accompanied by five delegates, opened at Shanghai on the 18th. The peace terms offered by the Republicans were announced in advance to be as follows: the Manchu dynasty to be abolished; a republic to be established, with Yuan Shi-Kai President and Sun Yat Sen, Vice-President; the first cabinet to be selected by the revolutionists, and the second-term President to be elected. In the meantime a revolutionary convention sitting at Nanking, composed of delegates from fourteen provinces, has elected Dr. Sun Yat Sen President of the new Republic. [See current volume, pages 1075, 1267.]

NEWS NOTES

—The British Parliament was prorogued on the 16th until February 14th.

—Ella Flagg Young was re-elected by the Board of Education on the 13th as Superintendent of the public schools of Chicago. [See vol. xiii, p. 1203.]

—After successful experiments with a few of the public school buildings in Chicago, a general policy of utilizing them for social neighborhood centers has now been adopted by the Board of Edu-

caution. [See vol. xiii, p. 636; current volume, page 111.]

—The Governors of Western States ended their Eastern tour on the 16th at St. Paul, where they spoke at the Northwestern Land Products Show. [See current volume, page 1268.]

—Louis Forrer, Vice-President of the Federal Council of Switzerland, was elected on the 14th President of the Swiss Republic. [See vol. xiii, p. 1213; current volume, page 1123.]

—Notice was given by the British war office on the 15th that pending beef trust trials in the United States none of the concerns involved will be allowed to bid for British army contracts. [See current volume, page 1268.]

—The Sherwood pension bill passed the House in Congress on the 12th by a vote of 229 to 92. It gives a pension to all surviving United States veterans of the Mexican and Civil War, allowing \$1 a day to those who served a year or more.

—The formal transfer of the British telephone system from private hands to government ownership and operation will take place on New Year's day. It is announced that the government will begin large improvements at once. [See vol. xi, p. 580.]

—A national protest committee of Negroes was organized at New York on the 12th for the purpose of sending from 5,000 to 10,000 Negroes to Washington next March to demand of President Taft the suppression of mob violence against Negroes.

—The seventh annual convention of the American Civic Association was held at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., on the 13th, 14th and 15th. One of the papers, by Frederick C. Howe, was on the subject of building cities for people in Germany.

—Under the management of the Henry George Lecture Association at Chicago (Frederick H. Monroe, manager) Charles Frederick Adams is to lecture at San Francisco from the 24th to 27th, and at Red Bluff (California) on the 28th. [See current volume, page 1268.]

—The Lloyd George bill for labor insurance—against sickness and unemployment—passed its third and final reading in the House of Lords on the 15th, and went to the King for his signature in the form in which it had come from the House of Commons. [See current volume, page 1267.]

—William C. Reick has purchased control of the New York Sun. The negotiations leading up to the purchase were conducted by James M. Beck. Mr. Reick was a close personal friend of the late H. H. Rogers and he numbers among his friends such powerful financiers as James Stillman and Clarence H. Mackay.

—While five years ago there was not a school in Kansas teaching domestic science, and only five teaching agriculture, today, according to Henry J. Waters, president of the State Agricultural College, out of 7,886 rural schools, there are more than 7,000 teaching agriculture. Out of 500 high schools more than 400 are teaching agriculture and 200 are teaching domestic science.

—“Starved Rock,” scene of Indian battles and the explorations of the early French missionaries, passed into the control of the State of Illinois on the 15th.

The State paid \$146,000 for the tract of 290 acres. This new preserve lies ten miles west of Ottawa on the south bank of the Illinois River. In addition to “Starved Rock” proper, it comprises precipitous cliffs, canyons and glens, said to rival many of America's most famous scenic wonders.

—A referendum vote on Dominion-wide prohibition was announced in New Zealand on the 11th. It was found that 55.93 per cent of the total vote was cast for the prohibition measure, while 60 per cent was required to make it a law. Thus, though a majority favored it, it was defeated. The next referendum on this question will be taken in 1914. Had the proposition won, the nearest saloon would be 1,200 miles away from New Zealand.

—John Bigelow died at New York on the 19th, at the age of 94, having been born November 25, 1817. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1839; was associated with William Cullen Bryant as an editor of the New York Evening Post in the early '50's; was American minister to France in the '60's; held the office of Secretary of State of New York in 1875-76; was a distinguished author, a leading Swedenborgian and a public-spirited citizen of pronounced democratic principles.

—Several women, arrested in connection with the violence near the House of Commons, London, on November 21, were arraigned at the London Sessions December 12. Nearly 200 had been summarily sentenced by the police magistrate on minor charges. The accused who are indicted have to answer charges of maliciously damaging property. All pleaded not guilty. The first group were convicted and, refusing to undertake to refrain from similar acts in the future, were sentenced to two months in jail. [See current volume, page 1218.]

—David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, was reported by cable dispatches of the 16th as having been injured while leaving a women's Liberal meeting at London at which he had just made an address favoring the inclusion of woman suffrage in the manhood suffrage bill of next year. A man described as “a male suffragist” hurled a brass-bound box at Mr. George, which struck him full in the face. This man, who gave his name as Allan Ross McDougall, was sentenced on the 18th by a police court to two months in prison at hard labor.

—A singletax conference for Pennsylvania is announced to be held at Hotel Henry, Pittsburgh, January 23, 1912, the delegates to be entertained in the evening by the Young Men's Democratic Club of Alleghany County. Among the Singletax leaders announced to speak are John Z. White, Henry George, Jr., Henry H. Wilson, Charles Eckert, Charles S. Prizer and Frank Stephens. The question of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in Pennsylvania is to be the principal subject for discussion. Classification of assessments, equalization of school taxes, and taxes on machinery having been abolished in Pennsylvania by the last legislature, this Singletax conference expects to open a campaign for exempting real estate improvements or for local option in taxation.



Only the truth which the soul appropriates gives life.—Phillips Brooks.

PRESS OPINIONS

Roosevelt Redivivus.

The Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Dec. 16.—Colonel Roosevelt visited Boston to attend a meeting of the Harvard overseers. He made no speech, gave no interview, dropped no hint regarding current politics. He was cheered by multitudes on his arrival as well as his departure. At New York, on his return, a crowd of cheering men greeted him and he made his way through the station with difficulty. "Does this look like a dictator's homecoming?" asked the Colonel, alluding to the just reported remarks of "Boss" Barnes, chairman of the New York Republican State committee, on the national political situation. . . . Yet cheering multitudes in Boston and New York, suspecting nothing and deaf to Barnes' cries and warnings, hail Roosevelt as a friend of the people!



Judges versus Juries.

The Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Dec. 17.—There is nothing surprising in the "victory" of the "striking" St. Louis jury. When the judge who had threatened the jurors with fines and jail sentences for "contempt" examined the Supreme Court decisions of his State—and of other States, no doubt—he found that the jury was not bound to render a "directed" verdict. A judge has the right to take a case from a jury. He has the right to set a verdict aside as being contrary to the weight of the evidence. But he has no right to "direct" a verdict, if the jury disagrees with him. The directing of verdicts regardless of the jury's own opinions and sentiments is an abuse. It makes a mockery of trial by jury. The St. Louis jury may have been wrong in its view of the case. But it was right in insisting on giving its own verdict. It was justified in "standing on its legal rights" and resenting dictation and usurpation.



A Pointed Question.

The Boston Common (ind.), Nov. 18.—Columns are being written to prove that the great recent gain in the Socialist vote—the upstanding fact in the late election—doesn't mean Socialism. All agree, however, that it means discontent; widespread, profound, growing discontent. One fact should be remembered. The Socialists have a program. Agree with it or not, you have to face it, for in politics you cannot beat something with nothing. No longer can this discontent be pooh poohed. It may be guided. But Standpatters cannot guide it. The discontent is because of their guidance. Middle-of-the-road moderates like President Taft aren't guiding it—it is thrusting them aside. The more radical Progressives want to guide it, but haven't agreed very far upon a program. That is what they will have to do soon if it is not to get beyond their reach, also. . . . If the wise men who reject the ultimates of Socialism wish to avert them, it is high time for them to begin to point out better paths. If not Socialism, what?

Mayor Baker of Cleveland.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), Oct. 30.—Critics of Newton D. Baker call him a dreamer—at least they did before his opponent had indorsed so many of Mr. Baker's campaign arguments. Since then not so much has been heard about dreaming. Mr. Baker himself has not denied the charge, and there is no reason why he should. The progress of the world is written in the deeds of dreamers. The epochal achievements of all ages are built upon the acts of those who have had the breadth and courage to dream. There are thousands of people in Cleveland who five years ago were calling Tom L. Johnson an impractical dreamer, but who are now willing to acknowledge the success with which he wrought. The best Mayor this city ever had was a dreamer and gloried in it. No man ever dreamed more persistently, and few ever saw more of their dreams come true. . . . Unless a man is a dreamer he is a plodder. Unless he can see beyond the needs and demands of one day to the possibilities of the day to follow, he is a plodder. Plodders, of course, have their useful role to play, but no wide-awake city wants one for Mayor. . . . Mr. Baker a dreamer? Let no one attempt to deny it. And Cleveland needs a dreamer of his type in the mayor's office.



Joseph Fels in St. Louis.

The St. Louis Daily Times (ind.), Dec. 2.—Whenever Mr. Joseph Fels comes to St. Louis there is occasion for publishing in the local news columns some of those theories which are as sound as a demonstration in Euclid, but which the country still insists upon regarding as a fine theory which cannot be put into practice. Mr. Fels has recently had something to say on the theories enunciated by the late Henry George. He deprecates the practice, followed by thousands of individuals, of buying land and waiting for other men to make it valuable, as a means of attaining riches. There can be no reasonable doubt that this universal evil is based upon injustice and is a hindrance to the growth of every community. There are scores of acres of land within the city limits of St. Louis, as in other cities, which are greatly needed for homes and factories, but which are held at a prohibitive price. Their value is increasing steadily; not because the owners are doing anything to make them more valuable, but because thousands of men who sorely need a little land are coming to the city every year—and paying a good part of their earnings for rent, and are living unwholesome lives in many cases. That a man is a better citizen when he owns his own home is a very likely proposition. That speculators are doing all in their power to prevent home-owning is plain. The "unearned increment" is not one of those dark and mysterious theories which thrive in the dark. It is an economic principle which describes, simply, the process by which the masses of the people are denied a portion of the wealth which they help to create. Mr. Fels does not pretend to bring us a new thought. Still, he is performing a worthy service in that he is reiterating a principle which ought to be proclaimed and expounded until it is made plain to all men.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

HAD I BEEN ONE OF THOSE.

Had I been one of those
Who watched their sleeping flocks by night
And saw the heavens, joy-faint with light,
Beneath fair Bethlehem's rose;
Would I have known, could I have guessed,
Would I have followed with the rest
Upon that far strange quest?

And had I been
A guest in that small crowded inn
Where Mary and the child enstabled lay,
Would I, adoring too, have knelt to pray?

And had I heard
The hillside Preacher's word—
"Come unto me," and "Blessed are the meek,"
Would I have guessed, would I have known
This was the One we came to seek;
This is Messiah—He alone?

Would I have loved upon his breast to lean,
Or coldly asked, "Who is this Nazarene?"
In wrath for Him have raised the sword—
Incarnate God, the Spoken Word—
Yet thrice denied Him in one day,
Mayhap have kissed His life away?

Had I been one that day
To stand on Calvary's way,
Would I have joined the cry,
"Away with Him" and "Crucify";
And helped to plait the crown of thorns,
And held to Him the cup of gall,
And deemed Him lost whom the world scorns,
And said, "This is the last," and "This is all"?

How easy in these safe and pleasant days
To worship and to praise!
But if a sleeping babe now lay
Within a manger filled with hay,
And God's star pointed out the way,
Would I believe? Would I obey?

How many great hearts silently
Seek their Gethsemane
To pray and weep,
While we, forgetting, sleep!
For Truth is mocked and scourged away,
And Love is crucified each day.

Yet Love and Truth abide!
Love bursts the tomb and breaks the bonds of Death
And Hate, as ancient prophet saith.
Sweet Bethlehem's star
Still shines afar;
And Christ himself doth dwell
In every heart that doeth well.
So keep we still our Christmas-tide.

CELIA PARKER WOOLLEY.

DO WE REALLY CARE FOR PEACE?

Suggestions for Christmas.

For The Public.

As Christians do we care for Peace? Do we believe in a "Gospel of Peace"? We celebrate Christmas in honor of him who is rightly called the "Prince of Peace", whose disciples we profess to be. With our lips we join in singing the song which the angels in the skies are said to have sung at his birth: "Peace on earth, Good Will to men!"

Is all this only a mere empty form of words on our part? Or are we sincere and in earnest? If we are, what evidence of it do we give? What are we doing to check the unchristian spirit of militarism in the world, and to promote the Christ-spirit of peace? Christendom is an armed camp, with the death-dealing batteries of so-called Christian nations everywhere turned against other Christian nations. On every ocean the so-called Christian powers have fleets of fighting ships which are the most costly and perfect machines the world ever saw for wholesale murder; and the murder primarily contemplated is not simply of human beings, but of fellow Christians. Could anything be more shocking or more insane? Has not the time come for us either to stop singing the angel song, stop celebrating Christmas, stop pretending that we are Christians, or else speak out, and by actions as well as words, against this crushing burden on the backs of men, this crime against civilization, this standing insult to Him whose gospel we profess to accept? Shall we not this year have a Christmas season used as never before for real Christmas ends,—to do something actually to promote peace on earth?

What shall we do? I venture to suggest.

1. Shall we not, first of all, see to it that our Christmas gifts to our children, and to the children of others, include no toy soldiers; no swords or pistols or guns, toy or real; no soldiers' caps or uniforms or decorations; not only nothing that glorifies war or tends to make the soldier-idea attractive, but nothing that can even suggest soldiers or war?

2. Shall we not call to mind the very great psychological power of suggestion, especially upon children, and as a consequence proceed at once to take down all war pictures from the walls of our homes? And also shall we not resolve to do what we can, from this time on, to get all such psychologically evil pictures removed from public places, especially from school rooms and school buildings? We are told that Napoleon attributed his ambition for military glory to the silent influence of a battle scene which hung as a picture in the living room of his home during the susceptible years of his childhood. War pictures and military statues, wherever seen, are powerful influences in promoting the military spirit.

3. Shall we not at once, if we have not done

so already, rid our libraries and book shelves of all books that extol fighting, and that paint army life in attractive colors, and fill their places with others which will teach our boys and young men (yes, and our girls and young women, too,) that the truest field for patriotism is peace, that the noblest heroisms are those of peace, and that the glory of our flag lies in making it everywhere the emblem, not of war and destruction, but of progress, and human service, and Christian civilization?

4. If any of us as Sunday school superintendents or teachers, have failed to give our schools or classes proper instruction regarding peace, war, international arbitration, The Hague Court, and the like, or if any of us as ministers have been neglectful of our responsibilities to our congregations relating to these important matters, shall we not avail ourselves of the approaching Christmas season as a fitting time to make good our omissions, and to do our duty?

5. Last but not least, and as especially pressing at the present crisis time in our national history and in the progress of the cause of arbitration and peace among nations, shall we not at once set about doing whatever lies in our power to give our United States Senators at Washington to understand that the intelligence, the patriotism and the enlightened conscience of this country demand the prompt ratification of the just, reasonable and immensely important treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and France, which only await senatorial assent to become the most conspicuous and inspiring land-marks in the progress of the peace cause that the world has ever seen?

Having done these five things, that is to say, having thus proven our sincerity by turning in some measure our words in praise of peace into intelligent efforts to promote peace, we shall have earned the right to celebrate Christmas without appearing to be hypocrites, the right to call ourselves in some true sense disciples of the "Prince of Peace," the right, without blushing with shame, to join in the angels' song of "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men!"

J. T. SUNDERLAND.



HARMONY.

For The Public.

Harmony—beatific word! Among the legion of sounds from the tongues of humanity can we find one more expressive, comprehensive and beautiful?

Doubtless when "the Lord spoke to Moses" admonishing him as to his leadership of Israel's children, that word, or its Hebrew equivalent, was the keynote of his discourse.

Where is the condition of life where harmony is not as necessary to effective action as the air we breathe? Yea, if we cannot harmonize with

our proper environment 'twere better we did not live.

As a commonplace illustration, take any business firm, shop or factory employing help; the most indispensable officer or manager is the one who has mastered the technique of business harmony, especially in its application to his own conduct towards subordinates.

The personality of the orchestra leader reflected in harmony in each member of his band, from first violin to the banger of drums and cymbals.

If the head of a business firm fails to cultivate and apply the principles of that magic word, the symptoms are in evidence from his general manager to the woman who mops the office floors. If he is a martinet, a task-master who grudges faithful employes proper remuneration or periods of vacation to relax, keeping them always keyed up tense and disgruntled, he is throwing his business keyboard out of alignment, and the result is destructive discord and discontent.

The sulking employe, balking at a little extra duty, or grouchy at needed and saving reproof, becomes a fly in the commercial ointment, or like a slippery fiddle-string which must be tightened or snapped.

If harmony could be injected into every marriage relation, every home, whether flat or mansion, would be a cooing dove-cote, and divorce lawyers and judges would be available for useful and productive employment.

Could honest harmony be established in politics and government, grafters, bosses and lobbyists would disappear like the bloodthirsty pirates of old, and we might be able to prevent the conditions which breed in one generation the criminals which we have to build jails for in the next.

The whole world groans and travails for peace 'neath the tread of the gun and bayonet-bearing martial host, armed and drilled to slay brothers. Could we inoculate the warring nations and their rabid dogs of war with the blessed serum of harmonious peace, rifles could be seen only in museums, and battleships would be selling for a trifle per ton as curious and antique junk.

It is not sacrilegious to suggest that even the church needs harmony to make consistent the Babel of creeds and dogmas, so that a reasonable faith would not be a rarity, and the prophecy of "One Church, one Shepherd" might be fulfilled.

If a cut-and-dried recipe for harmony could be marketed it would be more valuable than radium, and would be sought for like an elixir of life. Yet the great quality can be cultivated into a habit of mind. Such mental habit had those wise, immortal leaders, Washington and Lincoln, whose watchwords in practice were Truth, Forbearance, Reconciliation, Justice, Mercy, honorable Peace; all crowned with the winning kindly tone and smile that smoothes the frowns of discordant fol-

lowers, who must involuntarily follow, and lay the vibrant chords of their hearts open to the master's touch.

Many of us are often lost in the thick mazes of life, bewildered by a myriad roads which seem to lead nowhere. If at such times we allow the venom of morbid discord to settle on our mind it will affect the whole physique, even to clogging the intestines and depressing the circulation; and all the pills and potions on earth will not heal until we seek the hygienic sunlight of harmony where the winds of peace blow freely.

The weird and fairy music of the æolian harp is dumb unless it is placed in the silent window nook where peaceful zephyrs are blowing; the human being is the most wonderful instrument, full of emotional sensitive strings on which the winds of Life must play.

Deep in the great soul of the Universe there is evidence of a central organ of all action from which emanate only perfectly harmonious chords, as when that mystical inner voice in the midst of jarring discord whispers, "Peace, Peace, be still." If we obey in silence we shall share the vibrations of that Great Harmony which is in truth the acme of Peace—"the essence of things hoped for, the substance of things unseen."

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

BOOKS

A FELLOW-SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE.

My Story. By Tom L. Johnson. Edited by Elizabeth J. Hauser. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1911. Price \$2.00, postage 20 cents.

To every personal friend of Mayor Johnson's—and no one knows how many thousands look upon him as a personal friend—there may come at first regret in the reading of his book. For this is not in the usual sense an autobiography. It is not "the story of my life" but "the story of my nine years' war against Privilege." So boyhood and manhood and incidents and intimacies are touched upon in the narrative only to make clearer the mayoralty period. With the true editor's insight and the friend's divination, Miss Hauser has in her introduction and final chapter compensated for the book's impersonality. She is very right to open with an appreciation of Mr. Johnson's character and the conditions under which he worked, and to close the book with a brief and beautiful account of how he bent to his life's purpose those last hard months on earth. Any remaining regret at not being told by himself more of what manner of man Tom L. Johnson was, is speedily lost in the inspiring story of what he did and how he did

it. And at the book's end it flashes upon the reader as he thinks over the story that better than by relation of incident or diary of thought and emotion, has the man been revealed in his works.

The first third of the book—a hundred pages—is about Mr. Johnson's life before he was elected Mayor of Cleveland, his life as a monopolist, he calls it. His younger childhood was spent in Kentucky during the war. "Joe Pileher and I," he writes, "were playing on the floor with a Noah's ark and a most wonderful array of painted animals. . . . After infinite pains and hours of labor my playmate and I had arranged the little figures in pairs, according to size, beginning with elephants and ending with the beetles, when one of the young ladies of our household, dressed for a party, crossed the room and with her train switched the lines to hopeless entanglement in the meshes of the long lace curtains, two of the animals only remaining standing. Joe, who was somewhat my senior, burst into tears, while I smiled brightly and said: 'Don't cry, Joe; there are two left, anyhow.' My mother never tired of telling this story and its frequent repetition certainly had a marked influence upon my life, for it established for me, in the family, a reputation as an optimist which I felt in honor bound to live up to somehow. I early acquired a kind of habit of making the best of whatever happened. In later life larger things presented themselves to me in exactly the same way. Nothing was ever entirely lost. There was no disaster so great that there weren't always 'two left anyhow.' My reputation for being always cheerful in defeat—a reputation earned at such cost that I may mention it without apology—is largely due to this incident, trivial though it may seem."

Of his first monopoly, when at the end of the Civil War a train-conductor carried papers for him only, and he made eighty-eight silver dollars in five weeks, he says: "The lesson of privilege taught me by that brief experience was one I never forgot, for in all my subsequent business arrangements I sought enterprises in which there was little or no competition. In short, I was always on the lookout for somebody or something which would stand in the same relation to me that my friend, the conductor, had."

The magically rapid rise in the business world through invention, manufacturing and street railway manipulation, the lessons learned at Johnstown from the flood, the chance reading of social problems which resulted in lifelong devotion to Henry George and his teachings, are all briefly told. His little comment on Henry George is one of those rare remarks which show how sympathetically conscious of its intent one great soul is of another. "It is this, this disregard of self-interest, this indifference to one's personal fate, this willingness to 'raise hell' for the sake of a cause or to give one's life for it that the world can not

understand. And it is because the world has never understood that men like Henry George in all the ages have had to pay so big a price for just the chance to serve."

Mr. Johnson's experience in Congress was to him something like what college is to most young men: "It gave me an acquaintance with men of many types from all over the country, broadened my outlook, enlarged my vision, and increased my sense of responsibility." The final resolution to end his career as a monopolist came partly from an interview of which he tells. A business friend called upon Mr. Johnson late one evening. He was worth many millions, and with his simple tastes couldn't spend his income.

"Yes, yes," he said, "I ought to stop business. I know it and I've tried it. My family seems to get some joy out of life and I ought to. But I can't get away from the office. I have stayed away for weeks at a time as a trial, and then I get so blue that I have to rush back. Then after I've been at the grind awhile I am overwhelmed with the awfulness of it all, as I was to-night when I had to come down here to see you."

"Well," I answered, "if you will play the game, you've got to take the thumps." He answered that he saw no relief in any course he could now take.

That incident set me to thinking seriously of my half-formed resolution to give up business. I asked myself whether it was possible if I continued in it that I should come to be possessed with the insanity of it as this unhappy old man was. Would it become a habit with me, like a drug? Would I find myself powerless to give it up, as a gambler is powerless to stay away from his games? I was young and strong and I dearly loved the stimulation that went with the fight. But I decided that I must get that stimulation some other way. I knew I "was as other men" and I foresaw that in the end business would control my destiny; that I should not rule it, but that it would rule me. No, much as I enjoyed the game, I wasn't willing to take the thumps, and having reached this decision I threw all my energies into my efforts to get out of the various things I was engaged in. This sounds easier than it was, and I never did get out entirely, but from the night of that old financier's visit I never lost sight of the fact that I must give up the money-making game.

Then comes the story of that great war upon Privilege in Cleveland which in the eyes of the public and in its most dramatic aspects centered in the traction question, but which as Mayor Johnson never forgot and often emphasized, was fundamentally a question of taxation. "The greatest of all privileges," he used to say, "is the privilege of having another man pay your taxes."

To give "good government" in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term, wasn't the thing I was in public life for. It was a part of our policy from the beginning of our work in Cleveland, it is true, but as a side issue, merely. While we tried to give the people clean and well-lighted streets, pure water, free access to their parks, public baths and comfort stations, a good police department, careful market in-

spection, a rigid system of weights and measures, and to make the charitable and correctional institutions aid rather than punish wrong doers, and to do the hundred and one other things that a municipality ought to do for its inhabitants—while we tried to do all these things, and even to outstrip other cities in the doing of them, we never lost sight of the fact that they were not fundamental. However desirable good government, or government by good men may be, nothing worth while will be accomplished unless we have sufficient wisdom to search for the causes that really corrupt government. I agree with those who say that it is Big Business and the kind of Big Business that deals in and profits from public service grants and taxation injustices that is the real evil in our cities and the country to-day. This Big Business furnishes the sinews of war to corrupt bosses regardless of party affiliations. This Big Business which profits by bad government must stand against all movements that seek to abolish its scheme of advantage. It was these fundamental wrongs that I wished to attack.

Because he believed his experience in Cleveland typical of fundamental reform's experience in any city, he was persuaded to write his story and write it in detail. This is why his story is so valuable. To men enlisted in similar wars? Yes, but who is not? Soon or late, consciously or unwittingly, must everyone take his stand for or against Privilege. And one great thing this book will do for every reader is to teach him the better and the sooner to recognize the contest and knowingly to choose sides. "My Story" will help to do just what in his fascinating chapter on his municipal co-workers, Mr. Johnson says the Cleveland movement did. It will "make men."

Living, Tom L. Johnson, alone in the United States, frightened the moneyed Interests into full use of their repressive and vindictive power; dying, he has left behind him a guide-book straight into their fearful souls. That this book was not suppressed must be for the same reason that Mayor Johnson kept gaining headway against Big Business. Big Business could not perceive the nature or extent of the new injury until after it had been inflicted, nor could it guess his next quick move. So now Privilege thinks that few will read and none can put the book into practice. Gratitude once more for that everlasting weakness of Mammon—its underestimation of the mighty moving power of Truth!

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

+ + +

THE WOMEN CLERKS AND THE CHRISTMAS SHOPPERS.

Miss 318. By Rupert Hughes. Published by Fleming H. Revell & Co., Chicago. 1911. Price 75 cents, net.

Thanks to the operation of our new ten-hour law for women, Mr. Hughes' sympathetic and witty picture of the shopgirls' hardships during

the Christmas season is no longer true for Illinois. The author seems to blame the shoppers and their perversion of the Christmas spirit; but it occurs to his shopper-reader that two or three daily shifts of clerks for the holiday rush would solve the problem. Exactly that change the ten-hour law has brought about; and the storekeepers, treated all alike, make no loud complaint.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Crux. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Published by the Charlton Co., 67 Wall St., New York, 1911. Price, \$1.00.

—The British Consuls in the Confederacy. By Milledge L. Bonham, Jr. Whole Number 111, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Published by Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York, 1911.

PERIODICALS

Henry George in the Twentieth Century.

B. O. Flower's series of personal recollections of liberal and progressive leaders, begins in the Christmas Twentieth Century (of Boston), the second issue under the editorship of Charles Zueblin, with an excellent characterization of Henry George. "Among the great politico-economic writers," Mr. Flower ranks George as "entitled to a foremost position as a fundamental thinker, a clear-visioned and rigidly logical reasoner," but beyond and above this, as "dominated by moral idealism" which "made his work germinal in character." It may be that Mr. Flower did not quite catch Henry George's reason for distrusting a "get together" program suggested to him and others in 1892, which was that if the group of varied leaders present could not agree upon an immediate program (as was the case) the nebulous discontent of the time could not be expected to crystallize upon a practical issue with efficient voting strength in national politics. But Mr. Flower has put this conference on record with a recognition of its significance and in the same interesting style that marks his whole article.

+ + +

The New Girl: "An' may me intended visit me every Sunday afternoon, ma'am?"

Mistress: "Who is your intended, Delia?"

The New Girl: "I don't know yet, ma'am. I'm a stranger in town."—Harper's Bazar.

+ + +

"It's a shame the way they crowd these cars. The passengers should rise up and insist on getting a chance to sit down."

"You may send me up the complete works of Shakespeare, Goethe, and Emerson—also something to read."

"I'd like to dance, and I should dance, only the

music puts me out and the girl gets in my way."

"Yes, her husband robbed her of every cent she had—and just think, she only married him because she was afraid of burglars!"

"Hello! Is this the butcher? Well, you may send me up a roast of beef, and remember, please, butcher, to have it rare. That's the only way my husband can eat it."—Boston Transcript.

+ + +

Customer: "How much for that suit of clothes, if I pay cash?"

Tailor: "Forty dollars."

Customer: "How much on credit?"

Tailor: "Eighty dollars, half of it down."—Toledo Blade.

+ + +

"I should like to open an account at this bank, if you please."

"We shall be glad to accommodate you, madam. What amount do you wish to deposit?"

"O, but I mean a charge account, such as I have at the big dry goods stores."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

"Mr. and Mrs. Witcherley seem to be such a happy couple."

"I think they merely pretend to be happy."

"Why do you say that? Have you any reason for believing they don't get along well together?"

"Oh, they may get along all right together, but they certainly can't be happy. She's getting stout

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The Arden Printery
Arden, Edge Moor, Del.

and he's beginning to lose his hair."—Chicago Record-Herald.

+ + +

"Is this the kind of weather you generally have out here in Oregon?" inquired the dyspeptic easterner.

"This is about the kind we've had all summer," said the hotel clerk.

"Why don't you use the Recall on it?"—Chicago Tribune.

What Time

on washday do you get through with your washing?

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Other new countries have been developed before, but with comparative slowness, because the railroads have been slow to extend their lines, but in Canada things are not done that way. When they once start they never stop until the job is done and the tremendous energy and wealth of the people drive every project through with almost incredible speed.

Consider the new Grand Trunk Pacific railroad, which is almost literally stalking across Canada with seven-league boots. Begun only a short time ago, it has fairly leaped forward until now it is all completed except the last four hundred miles. Grading camps are already within two miles of Fort Fraser, which is destined to be one of the largest cities in this rich territory.

Everything points to an even greater development here than in Calgary, which, a few years ago, was opened up by the Canadian Pacific Railway and now has 40,000 people—and original \$100 to \$500 lots are now worth from \$1,500 to \$30,000.

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Vol. XIV.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1911.

No. 717

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

Single Copy, Five Cents Yearly Subscription, One Dollar

Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITORIAL

Politics in Playacting.

As for playacting in politics, anyone who likes it can thoroughly enjoy himself by keeping his ear to the wire that runs to Oyster Bay; but politics in playacting, which is quite another matter, reaches a high level in "The Woman." A new political play true to the life, "The Woman" comes from the pen of Wm. C. de Mille. It has the advantage of staging by David Belasco. Highly successful in New York, this play gives promise of similar success in Chicago. As it is presented at the Chicago "Olympic," the characters are portrayed with such perfection of art as to be readily recognizable, not as individuals but as types. The corporation lawyer who "manages" his clients' affairs, and his coadjutor who tries their law cases, two distinct species of the New York lawyer, are marvelously true to type; so are the timid Kansas Congressman who fears his "butting-in" constituency, the cynical Pennsylvania Congressman who expects his to "know its place," and the Illinois Congressman who typifies "your Uncle Joe" variety. Back of them is "the woman," between whom and the schemes of the others is a veritable telephone girl who uses her mind, the interests of all being linked together by the leading "insurgent" Congressman, who is unexpectedly encouraged by the "standpat" hopeful, a young "insurgent" in the making. Every part is true in action as well as in thought and

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speech—a faithful study and convincing picture of American politics. What has “the woman” to do with it? No one who sees the performance will need to have that explained. Politics is the theme, the whole theme of the play; but politics serves as the background for a unique domestic plot which catches and satisfies the interest of the audience. One of the many artistic touches is the incidental reduction to absurdity, a pathetic absurdity in this case, of the vain masculine notion that politics involves complications which “a woman can’t understand.” Great power, great greed, great graft, a great game with no toleration of “pikers” or “mollycoddles,” a great catastrophe, great humiliations, great loyalty to purpose (bad purpose and good), are skilfully worked out in this play and acted out in its performance. An intensely interesting story impressively told, it has a political moral, a complexity of political morals, to which no one points on the stage but which the audience feels. Nor will intelligent auditors from the “average” class of citizenship fail to see their own not altogether flattering image as faithfully reflected as are the images of powerful politicians and highly trained lawyers.

+ +

Is Murder Murder?

From Associated Press reports of the 23rd from Donaldsville, Ga., it appears that—

Town Marshal C. A. Roberts was shot and killed this afternoon by John Warren, a Negro, who was captured shortly and lynched by a mob that had followed the officer who went to arrest Warren.

The killing of the town marshal may or may not have been murder, but what about the killing of the Negro? Are there any circumstances in which a murder is not a murder if it is a lynching?

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“Grapenuts.”

What are “Grapenuts”? Apparently they are as food what “Murine” is as eye lotion—a simple and innocuous product which anybody can make at trifling expense but which big advertisers alone can sell for prodigious prices. A distinguished medical professor describes the first as a solution of borax and water sold at a profit of nearly 300 thousand per cent, and an admirer of Charles W. Post (the Labor baiter) boasts of the other as a pennyworth of brown-bread crumbs transformed by a “business genius” into many a pennyworth of miraculously nutritious food. We are informed that one of the joys of domesticity is the production of “grapenuts” at home. Why any one should bother about it as long as there are livelier household games we are sure we don’t know, but

it is said to be simple and as a curious experiment it may be worth while. To wit: Buy one loaf of Boston brown-bread; cut it into thin slices; put the slices into a warm oven to dry and harden; crush to crumbs with a common kitchen roller; serve to suit—being careful, however, not to call the dish “grapenuts,” which seems to constitute the miraculous quality of the product as you buy it at the store ready-crumbed and boxed. There is said to be a prize in waiting for anyone who can tell the difference between the store crumbs and the home crumbs without the aid of the name.

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Bad Theater Business.

Theater managers complain of bad business and wonder why it is bad. There are several reasons, any one of which is so near at hand that it would bite these managers if it were a snake. First, foremost and all-enveloping is the fact that business generally is bad. We are in the midst of a period of hard times, which began in 1907* and will continue until a general smash knocks the bottom out of speculative investments. Everybody really knows this. Each one realizes that the times are hard for himself; but the “boosters” make him believe that he is unlucky alone. Under these circumstances theater business would be poor in spite of everything the managers could do. But theater business is worse than it need be for reasons for which the managers themselves are responsible. Theater prices are too high for the general public. Only a small class can afford the luxury, and these are caught only by special plays or famous actors. Add to all those considerations the fact, that in consequence of collusion between managers and ticket brokers many folks find the prices for good seats higher than they are advertised, and the further fact that the fraud upon theater patrons involved in this arrangement is resented, and you have a sufficient explanation of bad business for theaters. No doubt the invasion of moving picture shows plays a part, but not much of a one. While they serve as a sort of substitute for theaters, they can hardly be prejudicial to theaters, but rather the reverse, except in so far as high prices at theaters may make picture shows tolerable by contrast.

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JUST TAXATION.

Like the poor—who are always with us—so is the question of taxation; and in the minds of many the injustice of the latter is in a great measure responsible for the condition of the former.

*See The Public for January 11, 1908, page 963.

That the burden invariably falls on those least able to bear it, is evidenced by the fact that nearly all our present methods of taxation are so adjusted as to make it possible for the first payer to shift the ultimate payment to some less fortunate individual, or evade it altogether.

The tariff tax is doubly iniquitous in that it enables domestic manufacturers to mulct the American people on all their output in an amount equal to the tax on imported articles, without any return to the government; while the American importers add the tax to the cost of their goods and charge it up to the wholesaler, who, in turn shifts it to the retailer with a percentage of profit on the amount of the tax as well as on the original price of the goods, the retailer in his turn duplicating this action of the wholesaler, so that the ultimate consumer foots the total bill.

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There can be only two reasons for collecting taxes: First, in order that governmental or social services may be properly administered; and, second, that proper protection may be afforded to life and property through governmental or social agencies. For these two purposes, the disciples of Henry George contend that the social or communal values created by society as a whole would be ample, if they were converted to public uses. Social services should be paid for—or in other words, taxes should be raised—from socially created wealth. In this way this wealth would be returned to society. Taxes would thereby be put where they belong.

It has been conservatively estimated that it would not take 75 per cent of the socially created increase in the value of land to pay the present taxes of the country. The taking of these social values for governmental purposes would relieve industry from all the burdens from which it is now suffering. It would also compel speculative owners of vacant land to put it to its best use, and thus throw open opportunities for employment—self-employment, hired-man employment or co-operative employment, as they wished—to countless thousands who are at present deprived of the chance to earn an honest livelihood. A premium would be placed upon industry instead of idleness, by making it more profitable to use the earth than to speculate in it; and not a single individual would be deprived of a dollar of his own creation.

LOUIS NASH.

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Truth is as impossible to be soiled by any outward touch as the sunbeam.—Milton.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PUBLIC UTILITIES IN GLASGOW.

GLASGOW'S POPULATION IS SHRINKING.

An Article from the Denver Times, as reprinted in the Morning Press of Santa Barbara, Cal., for May 18, 1911.

Glasgow is the largest city in Scotland and the second largest city in Great Britain. Its activities in municipal ownership exceed those of even the cities of Australia and New Zealand. It owns and operates the street car system. It owns and operates the water system. It has more than six thousand acres of public parks; a proportion three times greater than that of New York. It has free hospitals; a free university; free public bath houses; free laundries; municipal lodging houses and municipal gas supply. For a time the city attempted to own and operate its telephone system, but the loss on that experiment was so great that it had to be abandoned. The city also undertakes to raze unfit tenement houses and build in their place new ones, which it rents direct. And, having indulged itself in all these collective enterprises, Glasgow is now confronted by the fact that alone of all the cities of Great Britain its population is declining, and declining at a momentarily rapid rate. In the last decade the shrinkage has been considerable; there seems to be evidence that the loss is continuing; and the conclusion is being reached that the socialization of public utilities and the intervention of the municipality in fields of work that belong properly to private enterprise are responsible for the condition.

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An Answer from Glasgow.

Glasgow.

Glasgow citizens are accustomed to receive from abroad wondrous tales of the result of their activities in municipal development. A year or two ago we were told by some admirers in the United States that the measure of success which had attended our efforts to secure for the municipality itself the right to conduct public services of a monopolistic character was attested by the fact that the resulting "profits" admitted of all taxation in Glasgow being abolished. The "fact" was not a fact, and in reality the statement failed to appreciate the governing principle of the municipal public services of Glasgow.

Each money-earning department—water, gas, tramway, electric supply, etc.—is called upon to furnish the best and most efficient service of which it is capable at the lowest possible charge to the citizens. If the annual budget shows that a substantial balance of revenue is likely to remain after all proper provisions are made, assuming that the charges for services of the previous year are continued, the practice uniformly followed has been to make a reduction in the charge. In this respect the Corporation* of Glasgow have not followed the practice of some English corporations who utilize these surplus revenues (sometimes erroneously described as "profits"—a word incorrectly applied to

*Wherever the word "corporation" appears in this letter, it means municipality. In Great Britain the word "company" is used to express what is usually meant in the United States by the word "corporation."—Editors of The Public.

the balance of revenue of municipal services) to reduce the rates* which would otherwise require to be levied for the requirements of spending departments—police, public health, statute-labor, roads, sewage, libraries, parks, etc. The Glasgow argument is that the greatest efficiency and economy of administration are to be obtained by each commercial department doing its utmost to produce the best and cheapest possible service, and by each spending department being called upon to charge and justify the full bill for the public duties which it performs.

A recent attempt to depart from this principle of administration by appropriating the surplus revenue of the Tramway Department to reduce the rate levied for the upkeep of public parks has been condemned by the majority of the Town Council and the proposal is not likely to be repeated.

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The news now conveyed to us from our friends in the United States is on altogether different lines.

We are told that the population of our city is decreasing and that responsibility for this sad condition of things lies at the door of the Corporation in respect of their having been so ill-advised as to undertake work which they ought to have left to private enterprise. The precise words of the indictment are:

"In the last decade the shrinkage has been considerable; there seems to be evidence that the loss is continuing; and the conclusion is being reached that the socialization of public utilities and the intervention of the municipality in fields of work that belong properly to private enterprise are responsible for the condition."

The "conclusion" of this indictment collapses because its foundation is rotten. Let it be said in the first place that there is no division of opinion at all among the citizens of Glasgow in respect of the maintenance by the Corporation of the public services which they at present undertake. Controversy on that point is altogether at rest and no responsible citizen would venture to suggest reversion to private control of any of these services.

But the critic has evidently been ill-informed on the question of the Glasgow population, and his criticism is best answered by a statement of the facts drawn from official records.

The municipal city of Glasgow as it exists to-day is within boundaries which were fixed nearly 20 years ago. Just about that period the municipality took over the working of the tramway system, which it had previously owned, but which had been worked under lease by a private company. The system has been greatly developed, and in all directions the lines of the Corporation service have been extended far beyond the municipal boundaries. The population has been carried outside the municipal area with the result that the Glasgow Corporation is now preparing a bill asking Parliament to reconsider the boundaries of the city and

*"Rates" is the British term for what in the United States we would call local taxation or taxes for municipal purposes.

The quotation is from the item reproduced at the beginning of this article as appearing in the Santa Barbara (California) Morning Press of May 18, 1911, and credited there to the Denver Times.—Editors of The Public.

to include the surrounding populous districts identified with it and practically depending upon it for all communal wants.

This simple statement provides the explanation of the comparatively small increase in population within the municipal area during the last decennial period, but the true position is ascertained if comparison be made of the population of the parishes constituting the area of greater Glasgow. Both sets of figures are given hereunder. The parishes embraced in the table of greater Glasgow nearly cover, but do not entirely cover the area served by the Glasgow corporation tramway system. Glasgow water and gas supply also run throughout.

	Census. 1901.	Census. 1911.
Population within municipal area..	761,709	784,455
Population of greater Glasgow—		
City Parish	571,615	578,478
Govan Parish	341,450	362,724
Cathcart Parish	28,358	46,688
Eastwood Parish	18,900	24,515
Rutherglen Parish	21,011	28,343
	<hr/> 981,334	<hr/> 1,040,748

It is to be observed that the City Parish, which may roughly be regarded as representative of the more central part of the municipal area, shows a trifling increase within the decennial period. The strong movement has been to the suburbs and is indicated by the largely increased populations of Govan, Cathcart, Eastwood and Rutherglen parishes, and in some measure also by other parishes still farther out and of which no account is here taken. If these were included the increase of the population of the area served by Glasgow's public utilities would be found to be still greater than indicated by the table.

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The only public utility which Glasgow has undertaken and which it does not now control is the telephone service of the city, but the Corporation has no reason to regret its action in that department of public work.

The municipal service was established because of the dear and ineffective provision made by the National Telephone Co. The moderate charge for the municipal service forced the National Telephone Co. to improve their service and to offer within the Glasgow area much more favorable rates than they charged in other districts. With the deliberate intention indeed of stopping the development of the municipal service they established an extremely cheap service without regard to its being remunerative.

The further development of this cheap service was terminated when the municipal service ceased. The Corporation were not only subject to this exceptional competition, but they were unable to make proper arrangements for the future development of the service because of the refusal of the Government to give them assurance of control beyond the end of the year 1911, at which period the general license of the National Telephone Co. would cease and the Government contemplated undertaking the whole national service. Under these circumstances the municipal service of Glasgow was

transferred a few years ago to the Government and has been conducted since by the Postal Department.

The telephone accounts of the Corporation ultimately showed a deficit of about \$70,000, but that amount has been covered many times over by the comparatively cheap and efficient service which the intervention of the Corporation has provided in the city of Glasgow.

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It may be of interest to add a few statistics bearing on the public services of the Glasgow Corporation, and for the convenience of readers in the United States the equivalent figures are stated in U. S. currency :

Tramway Service:

Double track mileage of whole system.....98 miles
Last year's revenue.....\$1,675,000

[The greatest part of the revenue is derived from the passenger paying 2 cents, who is entitled to travel 2 miles. For 1 cent the traveler is at present conveyed about ½ mile, but this distance is likely to be extended at an early date to 1 mile.]

Water Department:

Last year's revenue.....\$1,310,000

[The charge for domestic purposes is 1.66 cents per dollar of rental; for public works the charge is by meter, viz., \$8 per 100,000 gallons.]

Gas Department:

Last year's revenue.....\$3,200,000

[The highest charge is 50 cents per 1,000 cubic feet, modified to a bout 41 cents in the case of the largest customers.]

Parks Department:

[The area of the parks is 1,257 acres, and the up-keep requires an assessment of 1.45 cents per dollar of rental.]

Public Baths and Washhouses:

These are not free. The charges are:
Swimming ponds.....2 to 4 cents each person
Private hot baths.....6, 8 and 12 cents each person
Washhouses with boiling, drying and wringing facilities.....4 cents per hour

It may be added that the public hospital system of Glasgow is under diverse control. The Parish Councils, who are administrators of the Poor Law, possess rate-supported hospitals for the needs of the poor people who come under their charge. Infectious diseases are treated in rate-supported hospitals under the administration of the Corporation. Public infirmaries maintained by endowments and by annual voluntary contributions receive patients requiring serious surgical or medical aid.

The public libraries are maintained by the Corporation and involve an annual assessment of 2-10 cent per dollar of rental. The cost of erecting the district libraries has for the most part been provided by Mr. Carnegie.

Glasgow University is not a local institution. It is one of the national universities of Scotland and all offer similar facilities to students. Bursaries from many sources are available, and through the beneficence of Mr. Carnegie the students who find it necessary to make application receive the assistance of the Carnegie Trust to the extent of payment of their class fees.

JOHN GORDON.

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Trust Magnate: "Yes, this certainly is glorious weather, even if I do say it myself."—Life.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ON "THE SAVING OF MONEY."

Washington, D. C., Dec. 10.

The statement is made on page 1237 of The Public for December 8 that "it is impossible for us all to save"; that "the abstention of any one person from consuming all of what that person produces means simply that some one else must have the opportunity of enjoying less."* This view is not unusual. But what is meant by saving? Is there any way of saving part of what one produces except by the consumption of what the saver or some one else has produced? None occurs to the writer.

Let the man earning \$1,000 a year save \$200, and what becomes of it? Let him keep it in money, and that is so much gold consumed. But if he is wise, he won't keep it in money. Let him pay dues in a building and loan association, and the \$200 is used in the purchase of materials for building a house. Let him deposit the \$200 in a bank, and the money is loaned to a merchant to buy stock in trade. The money saved may pass through several hands before it is used to purchase commodities. Part of the money loaned by the building and loan association will be paid in wages to the carpenters and others employed in building the house, and it will be they who use it to buy commodities. Let the man with the \$200 buy shares in a corporation. That will release \$200 to the former holder, who may wish to use it toward the purchase of an automobile, or who, in turn, thinks he sees another investment in which the \$200 may be more profitably employed. In the end, the \$200 saved will reach somebody who will wish to use it for buying things for his personal use or enjoyment, or else it will go into the purchase of materials to be used in industry; perhaps to a man who, with others, wishes to buy machinery to develop a new mine.

And there need be no fear that too much will be saved or that too many will save. There is unlimited use for money saved. Every dollar saved tends to reduce the rate of return on every other dollar saved. When money demanding 5 per cent interest meets all demands for money at that rate, an immense demand for money which asks only 4 per cent interest awaits every dollar saved. Railways which cannot be expected to pay more than 4 per cent on the investment will be built if the man with money to invest will invest at 4 per cent. So long as a new canal remains to be built which would earn in tolls more than the cost of maintenance, interest will be paid for money which can be used in its construction. It remains unbuilt today because capital can find more profitable employment elsewhere.

Let every worker save 20 per cent of his income,

*In the article by E. J. Shriver on "Old Age Pensions" in The Public of Dec. 8, 1911, pages 1236 to 1238. This is one among several criticisms of Mr. Shriver's paradox on saving, all of which have wrested a sentence or two from the context and based upon these a criticism for which there would have been no basis at all if they had considered the context. Mr. Shriver's point was that what is called "saving" is in truth acquiring obligations to be repaid from the production of the future.—Editors of The Public.

and the money saved will be used in the purchase of commodities; part of it directly, by the next man to whom its use is intrusted; that part of it which is paid out in wages, by the next man. None of the money saved remains idle many days before it is on its way toward the purchase of commodities.

R. S. ALBEE.

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, December 26, 1911.

Presidential Messages.

Prior to the Congressional recess taken on the 21st until January 3, 1912, President Taft submitted two special messages in addition to those already reported. [See current volume, pp. 1242, 1266.]

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In one of those messages, submitted on the 20th, the President recommends a revision, "immediate" and "scientific," of the wool tariff, in conformity to the principle of enough protection and not more than enough to "equalize the difference in cost of production at home and abroad. He bases his recommendation upon a report of the tariff board, which he transmits, and which finds that—it costs more to grow wool in the United States than in any other country, the average charge against the domestic wool clip being about 9½ cents a pound, whereas the average charge in South America is between 4 and 5 cents, and in Australia "a very few cents" a pound.

The duty of 33 cents a pound upon scoured wool is prohibitory and operates to exclude the importation of clean, low priced wools of inferior grades. It is possible for only the following articles to enter the country in consequence of the high duties of the Aldrich law: Raw wool, men's wearing apparel of very fine quality, lightweight dress goods for women, and oriental rugs.

Compensatory duty for numerous classes of goods is much in excess of the amount needed for strict compensation.

The cost of manufacturing woolen and worsted yarns and cloth in the United States is much higher than in Europe, the domestic manufacturer having no advantage in the way of special machinery or more efficient labor to offset higher wages.

The cost of turning wool into yarn in the United States is about double that in England.

The cost of turning yarn into cloth in the United States is more than double what it is in England.

The tariff does not enter as largely as is popularly supposed into the high prices of woolen manufactures. While American manufacturers enjoy an average duty of 133 per cent, competition has reduced the actual rate to 67 per cent.

[See current volume, page 874.]

In his other special message, submitted on the 21st, President Taft discusses naval problems, postal administration, Federal courts, the Panama Canal, the Lakes-to-Gulf waterway, Philippine government, civil service and monetary reform, laying special stress upon the last, in connection with which he recommends legislation along the lines proposed by the Aldrich "central reserve association" plan. [See current volume, pages 1162, 1169.]

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Roosevelt and the Corrupt Election of 1904.

Further explanations of the Harriman corruption fund raised for the election of 1904 were published on the 22nd. The publication was in the form of a letter to Mr. Roosevelt, from George R. Sheldon, dated the 15th, and Mr. Roosevelt's reply dated the 19th. Mr. Sheldon is treasurer of the Republican National Committee. In his letter he thus explains his object in writing it:

Ever since the election of 1904 the story has been continuously published and never denied, except by you, that you asked E. H. Harriman to contribute money to aid in your election, and that he thereupon raised or contributed \$250,000 to the national committee fund. Knowing this to be untrue, I several times suggested to my superior officer, C. N. Bliss, then treasurer of the national committee, that the facts in the case be plainly stated. Mr. Bliss always believed the books and accounts of the national committee were private, and, although always carried on by him with the highest sense of integrity and honor, he never, like all of his contemporaries, would consent to any publicity. This feeling has been changed in the last few years by the laws requiring full publicity in elections. It seems, therefore, to me that now, in justice to you, the facts in the case ought to be known.

Following this preliminary explanation Mr. Sheldon says:

Every one knew and conceded that in the election of 1904 you would carry the State of New York by a large plurality, but it was generally believed that Mr. Higgins would be defeated. The Democrats centered their efforts on the election of their candidate for Governor. About a week before the election Mr. Odell, then chairman of the New York State committee, came to Mr. Bliss and told him that unless he had \$250,000 from the national committee, the State ticket would be defeated. Mr. Bliss told Chairman Odell that he had no money to give, but would see what could be done. He visited E. H. Harriman at his office and explained to him the urgency of the situation as told by Mr. Odell. Mr. Harriman thereupon called up several of his friends on the telephone and next day handed Mr. Bliss \$160,000. Mr. Bliss himself raised \$80,000. This sum of \$240,000 was handed directly to Chairman Odell and never in any way went into the treasury of the national committee, which had charge of the Presidential election. I have personal knowledge of all the within mentioned facts.

Mr. Roosevelt's acknowledgment of Mr. Sheldon's letter thanks him for it and adds:

I never directly or indirectly, in any shape, way, or form, asked Mr. Harriman or anybody else to contribute a dollar to aid in my election. Moreover, on the only occasion on which Mr. Harriman ever spoke to me on the subject at all he did so of his own initiative, and so far from there being any request from me to him, he made to me the request that I would aid him in getting the national committee to contribute some of its funds for the campaign expenses of Mr. Higgins. He at the time stated to me that my own election was assured, that the election of Mr. Higgins, in which he was especially interested, was doubtful, and that he earnestly hoped that the national committee would divert some of its funds from the national to the State campaign, where the need was great, and where he believed the election of Mr. Higgins to be in jeopardy. As shown in your letter, this was precisely what the national committee did.

This version of the matter is in conflict with the version of the late Mr. Harriman in a letter to Sidney Webster, revealed in 1908. Mr. Sheldon's explanation of the circumstances leading to his writing the letter are as follows, as published in the Chicago Tribune of the 23rd:

Col. Roosevelt and I were aboard a train together some ten days ago and this matter came up in conversation from something in the news. I said: "Why was the truth never told about this whole business, so that it could be shut up?" Col. Roosevelt said: "Why can't you tell it now?" That is all there is to it.

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Roosevelt's Presidential Candidacy.

A primary petition duly signed under the Nebraska law was filed on the 21st with the Secretary of State of Nebraska, by John O. Yeiser, making Theodore Roosevelt a primary-election candidate in Nebraska for the Republican nomination for President of the United States. The petition was accompanied with notice of intention to file a supplementary petition naming sixteen Republicans as Roosevelt delegates from Nebraska to the national Republican convention, these names to be placed upon the official ballot at the approaching primary elections in Nebraska.

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Trial of the Meat Trust.

In the Federal court at Chicago before Judge Carpenter a jury was secured on the 20th in the criminal proceedings against the packing companies and their alleged confederates, and on the same day the trial began. District Attorney Wilkerson made the opening address to the jury, describing the nature of the alleged crime and the circumstances which the prosecution expected to prove. Upon the basis of his statement, one of the lawyers for the accused, Levy Mayer, made certain technical motions which the Court subse-

quently overruled; but in making them Mr. Mayer explained that they were subsidiary to a controlling motion, to be made in behalf of the accused at a later stage in the trial. "That motion," he said, "goes to the vitals of this case, and will be that the Court instruct the jury to find the defendants not guilty upon the ground that the statement made by the District Attorney makes no case under any of the five counts of the indictment, or under the anti-trust statute as it has been interpreted by the Supreme Court. The meaning of this is that upon the *obiter dicta* of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, to the effect that the act of Congress in forbidding combinations of trade did not mean to forbid such trade combinations as are "reasonable," this case cannot be prosecuted criminally. When Judge Carpenter had overruled the technical motions, Geo. T. Buckingham explained the defense to the jury. He began with admissions in detail of an attempt of the meat packers to form a pool in 1902, under legal advice, and in imitation of the Steel trust and the Harvester trust. Pursuant to that attempt the Swift, Armour and Morris corporations secretly bought other concerns to merge in the pool. But certain financiers who were their "co-adventurers" refused to provide the large sums they had promised in order to perfect the pool, and these secret purchasers were left with their acquisitions on their hands and burdened with debts for purchase. Therefore, and under legal advice, they formed a new corporation, the National Packing Company, which was financed by Kuhn, Loeb & Co., E. H. Harriman and others. In 1905, having paid their borrowings, they divided the stock of that company in the agreed proportions. Prior to 1902, therefore, Mr. Buckingham admitted, there had been pooling arrangements between different concerns, but he stated that since then the business has been that of a single corporation. This contention for the accused implies that such acts as may be forbidden by the law were done prior to 1902 and are therefore protected by the statute of limitations. In support of their conduct since the statute of limitations has ceased to protect them, the accused contend that the mere size of a business does not make it a criminal trust, that the packers make only 10 per cent, that it is impossible in the nature of the business for them to fix the price of meats, that representatives of the three great branches of the business (Swift, Armour and Morris) meet only as directors of the National Packing Company and to regulate its affairs, and not as criminal confederates restraining trade, and that the accused are open and active competitors in every branch of their business. The taking of evidence for the prosecution in the case began on the 26th. [See current volume, pages 1268, 1294.]

Singletax Progress in Canada.

Premier Sifton, leader of the Liberal party in the Province of Alberta, Canada, and head of the Provincial government, introduced a municipal Singletax bill in the legislature on the 20th. It is described by the Canadian dispatches as "one of the most progressive pieces of legislation ever brought forward by a Liberal government." The bill, which is intended as a complete municipal charter, contains 377 sections. In its Singletax sections it is reported to provide that the Singletax principle shall be progressively adopted by all existing municipalities so as to be in complete operation within seven years, and that in municipalities hereafter established it shall be in full operation from the beginning. By "full operation" is not meant that all land values shall be appropriated to municipal use, but that all municipal revenues shall be derived from land values. [See current volume, pages 876 and 892.]

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Persia Forced by Russia.

In face of the entry of Russian troops into Persia, including the dreaded Cossacks, the gallant little National Council (the Persian parliament) refused to yield to the demands of Russia in the matter of discharging the American, W. Morgan Shuster, who has been Treasurer-General of Persia since last spring, and also in regard to related matters, until, under a twenty-four hours' ultimatum, with the last march of Russian troops to Teheran immediately before them, the Cabinet prevailed upon the National Council on the 21st to appoint a commission with plenary powers to handle the situation. Even then it was difficult to proceed, since the task of the commission was so unpopular that no one wished to serve on it. At last, however, the Council gave way, and on the 22nd yielded to the ultimatum, but public announcement of the fact was not made immediately, so opprobrious to the populace was the thought of surrender. Official notification of his dismissal was given Mr. Shuster on the 25th. A popular indignation meeting was held in the streets when the fact became known, but the police dispersed the crowds, opposition newspapers were suppressed, and martial law proclaimed. In the meantime little encounters between Russians and Persians in the cities of Resht and Tabriz, and elsewhere, in which each side accuses the other of the first aggressive acts, are being followed by the sternest reprisals by the Russians. The director of the Persian section of the Russian foreign office at St. Petersburg, said on the 21th: "Russia will take justice at Tabriz, Resht and Enzeli, into its own hands, and will show no mercy;" and further, "The lesson we intend to give will long be remembered." Official Persian telegrams received in London on the 25th, state that in Resht on Sunday 500 Persians were killed by the Russians,

many of them being women and children. "The people of Persia," says one dispatch, "are stupefied at the attitude of Russia, especially as these outrages have followed immediately on the acceptance by Persia of the second Russian ultimatum, and when Persia has shown every desire and disposition to conciliate Russia and establish friendly relations." [See current volume, page 1267.]

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China.

The peace conference at Shanghai is at a deadlock. Wu Tingfang, representing the revolutionaries of the south, stands for a republican form of government for the new China. Tang Shao Ya, representing the Imperial Premier, Yuan Shikai, has agreed that the future looks republican; but telegrams sent by him to the Premier bring insistence upon the preservation of the monarchical form of government, though in limited form. Great Britain and Japan are said to support the idea of a limited monarchy, and it is also reported that the United States is being won over to the same position. In the meantime the Republicans complain that the Imperial generals are breaking the obligations of the peace armistice by continuing to fight at convenient points. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, upon whom all Republican groups seem agreed for President in the event of the establishment of a Republic, has arrived at Shanghai. [See current volume, page 1293.]

NEWS NOTES

—James Hamilton Lewis of Chicago announced his candidacy on the 23rd as a Democrat for United States Senator from Illinois.

—Oklahoma City has been chosen by the Socialist party, by referendum vote, for the next national convention, the time for which is set for May 12, 1912.

—In a decision made on the 21st the Supreme Court of Illinois sustained the constitutionality of the Illinois commission form of municipal government.

—The Fairhope Single Tax Corporation will celebrate on New Year's day its seventeenth anniversary with a banquet at the Fairhope (Ala.) auditorium.

—The Paraguayan revolutionists are said to be meeting with success. They have succeeded in investing the capital city of Asuncion. [See current volume, page 660.]

—President Emilio Estrada of the Republic of Ecuador died suddenly at Guayaquil on the 22nd. President Estrada was inaugurated September 1st. [See current volume, page 957.]

—Three members of the Hunnewell, Kansas, Council have resigned, Governor Stubbs having ordered ouster proceedings against them. This leaves the Mayor, Mrs. Ella Wilson, in control of the at-

fairs of the little town. [See current volume, page 1004.]

—Six hundred Moros, surrounded on the top of a mountain in the island of Jolo, were forced to capitulate through hunger to the American troops last week. [See current volume, page 1004.]

—President Taft, on the 21st, signed the Lodge resolution, adopted by the Senate on the 19th and the House on the 20th, which approves his abrogation of the Russian treaty of 1832. [See current volume, page 1290.]

—The California Senate passed on the 22d a Presidential preference primary bill, without a dissenting vote. It provides for the election of delegates to national party conventions by a State-wide popular vote, the entire group being pledged to a specified Presidential candidate.

—Mrs. Elroy M. Avery, editor of the official organ of the Daughters of the American Revolution, died at Cleveland on the 22nd. She was the first woman member of the Cleveland Board of Education, and wife of Elroy M. Avery, author of Avery's American History. [See current volume, page 497.]

—The destruction by fire of the Open Board of Trade building in Chicago on the 19th ejected twenty-one labor unions from their headquarters and burned most of their records. Among them was the Women's Trade Union League, which loses a fine library of industrial and other publications, but is protected with insurance on replaceable property.

—A memorial in honor of the late Catherine Helen Spence of Australia has been established by some of her Australian fellow citizens, with the co-operation of the government of South Australia. The memorial takes the form of associating her name with a series of scholarships of the State University and placing her portrait in the National Gallery at Adelaide. [See vol. xiii, p. 341.]

—The Chicago Single Tax club on the 22nd elected the following officers for the ensuing year: President, George V. Wells; 1st Vice President, Otto Cullman; 2nd Vice President, A. A. Worsley; 3rd Vice President, E. Goedde; Treasurer, H. L. T. Tideman; Secretary, James B. Ellery. The former Secretary, Mr. A. Wangemann, announced that he will hereafter conduct the Henry George Press Bureau of Chicago. [See current volume, page 1148.]

—San Francisco celebrated Christmas Eve, as last year, with an open air choral program. In the heart of the city, where Market, Kearney, Geary and Third streets meet, a trained chorus and members of the French opera company were placed on a low stand. The city's traffic was held in check. Jan Kubelik played his violin to the vast audience assembled to hear. David Bispham sang, and a hundred thousand people joined with the chorus in the "Adeste Fideles."

—The efforts at revolt against the government of President Madero have come to an end with the capitulation of General Bernardo Reyes. General Reyes had failed to obtain more than a handful of followers. As he said himself of his efforts: "I called upon the army, I called upon the people, and no one responded." Finally on the 25th he rode alone into Linares and surrendered himself, and

telegraphed a formal capitulation to General Trevino, who had charge of suppressing the insurrection. [See current volume, page 1220.]

—After spending a night in the State prison of Tennessee to observe the condition of convicts besieging him for Christmas pardons, Governor Hooper announced on the 21st that striped clothing should come off all but the worst prisoners next Spring, and that thereafter stripes would be used only as a means of punishment. Schools are to be started in the prison, and Governor Hooper indicates his intention of granting a number of conditional pardons. He also wants a law giving convicts' dependent relatives some benefits from work in prison.

PRESS OPINIONS

Roosevelt Redivivus.

Rockford (Ill.) Republic, Dec. 18.—It is probable that Mr. Taft will have enough delegates to nominate him on the first ballot. If he has not, then look out for the stampede candidate, Col. Roosevelt. The Colonel's right to "stampede" privileges in the convention will be kept legal and regular by periodical declarations of his non-candidacy. His last positive refusal to become a candidate will naturally be made by some friend of his in the convention just before the final stampede which forces the nomination upon him.

✦ ✦

The McNamara Case.

Seamen's Coast Journal (San Francisco), Dec. 13.—As for lawless methods, does any fair-minded person deny that the unlawful acts claimed to have been committed by or on behalf of organized labor are but insignificant when compared with the long list of lawless deeds committed under the auspices of that element known as Big Business? Whenever shown to exist within the movement, organized labor has promptly repudiated and condemned lawless methods and persons. Has Big Business done likewise?

✦ ✦

Competition Versus Monopoly.

Orem's (Boston and Salt Lake City) Weekly Bulletin (mining and finance), Oct. 21.—The next great world-wide struggle, which is showing itself at present in political unrest everywhere, will be between Competition and Monopoly; between those who want a free field and no favor in the production and the distribution of goods, and those who believe in restriction, monopoly and privilege. As between Competition and Socialism we are for Competition, but we want it free and unrestricted—not jug-handled, the kind we are getting now.

✦ ✦

The Political Forgettery.

The (Omaha) Chancellor, November.—How amusing to the onlooker is much of this "spiel" among certain elements in the Democratic party about "forgetting the past and allowing by-gones to be by-gones"! There is even an element of tragedy in

it which the casual observer does not see. . . . I wish never to be resentful nor unkind, nor even disposed to keep things in the path of the storm, and yet I am certain that were Bryan again to be called to lead the Democratic party in a national campaign, many of these elements that now are crying for "forgetfulness" would rear to their hind legs, snort like wild steers and produce a stampede in the other direction. While no one could wish for peace more than I do, still I would rather have war, and to the finish, than ever to surrender to the Interests that have polluted government, that so long have controlled the political parties of this country, and now, as they behold an outraged people rising against their infamies, cry peace. They cry peace because they are trying to substitute a tractable watchman in place of the intractable one—Bryan. I regret to say that most of their pleas for peace are too near akin to the "hush" of the night raider and assassin.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE HAPPIEST MAN ON EARTH.

For The Public.

Away with parasites and thrones,
For Tyranny is dead!
He is a king among the drones
Who earns by toil his bread.

Life is a fight—what is it worth
If you your duty shirk?
Ah, the happiest man on earth
Is he who loves his work!

HENRY COYLE.

* * *

THE UNITED STATES OF CHINA.

Editorial in Cleveland Plain Dealer of November 21.

For a clear understanding of conditions in China it must first of all be recognized that the "Middle Kingdom" is a federation of states or provinces. The provinces accept the authority of governors appointed from Peking, but they nevertheless maintain great independence in local affairs. The present revolution, in fact, was precipitated because of the interference of the Peking government in matters that the people of Sze-Chuen province believed to appertain wholly to themselves. Instead of allowing Sze-Chuen to build its own railways, the Peking government undertook to assume the responsibility. That the great upheaval should have originated from so insignificant a cause is a good indication of the basic democracy of Chinese society.

The provincials throughout China, who do not even understand the language of Peking, have borne with the Manchu rule because of the large degree of freedom granted by the central govern-

ment. Chinese, not Manchus, have been sent as governors. The most absolute monarchy of the world has actually stood upon a foundation of democracy.

Yet, with all these concessions, there has always been smoldering discontent against the Manchu rule. The dishonesty of the governing classes. Chinese proteges of the Manchus, as well as the Manchus themselves, has year after year become more unbearable. In time race hatred would have flamed forth in rebellion. Even without the small incident of the railway troubles in Sze-Chuen!

It is just this independence, this sense of democracy, which is characteristic of the Chinese. That will be the greatest difficulty in the establishment of a republic. Such a condition is doubtless paradoxical, but it none the less exists. The Chinese sense of independence is wholly provincial. Not different dialects, but actually different languages, are spoken in the different provinces. Common hatred of the Manchus has been strong enough to bind the Chinese together in the present war, but with the removal of the Manchus, dissension and disorganization would be inevitable. With men of great ability at the head of affairs these difficulties may in time be overcome, but it will be a work of years and patience. An entirely new governmental idea and an entirely new conception of patriotism will have to be taught. China will have to be changed from an agglomeration of independent and unsympathetic provinces into a strongly united nation.

When the idea of a Chinese republic was first suggested, Europe and America joined in a laugh. The thing was preposterous. It was declared that the Chinese, after their countless centuries of despotism, could have no conception of liberty.

Exactly the opposite is true. The Chinese have a very keen conception of liberty. It is so keen that it carries with it a lack of conception of national unity. The Chinese are not to be taught republicanism, but merely a larger patriotism.

If a Chinese republic is to be established, Europe and America must exercise patience and forbearance. Undoubtedly the Chinese masses would prefer to see the empire split up into a dozen wholly independent states, thereby abandoning the promise of future greatness and offering a fine field for the land grabbers of Europe. Whether or not the occidental powers will aid in the process of coalescence and assist the Chinese to become a great and powerful self-governing nation depends wholly on the point of view. Selfishness would suggest that such a consummation is not desirable.

* * *

Bookworm: "Yes, I have about three thousand volumes. These in this corner are the ones I read."

Visitor: "But what are all the others?"

Bookworm: "Oh, those are the books no library is complete without."—Life.

BOOKS

THE PROFIT PROBLEM.

Pay Day. By C. Hanford Henderson. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass. 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

Mr. Henderson thinks that society can be regenerated by the elimination of Profit in "its three forms—rent, interest and dividends." The workman is asked to render "rent" and "interest" and "dividend" inoperative by withdrawing his own labor-power from the field of exploitation; but one naturally wonders how the workman can do this. The individual profit maker is told how to help, but as he must first repent, his co-operation may not go far. Then there is proposed a campaign against rent, by means of a "discrimination tax," its object being "the return of the land to the people and only incidentally the raising of revenue." But just as we are left in ignorance as to how the workman is to get sufficient money to buy a house or a chicken or dairy farm, or as to the best method of turning Rockefeller into a "repentant profit-taker," so we are left without explanation of the "discrimination tax." When one comes to the end of Pay Day, one is in a mental condition to appreciate its assurance that Mr. Henderson's remedy is made public more as a suggestion than as a final pronouncement.

STANLEY BOWMAR.

✦ ✦ ✦

Citizen: "What do you want? Money?"

Outcast: "Why, if yer got a plate er hot soup in yer pocket, it'll do as well!"—Puck.

PAMPHLETS

Elementary Politics.

The Elements of Political Truth (by Paul Kersch, Rock Island, Ill.), a broad, clear and acute analysis of politics as a science. Expanded into a volume, this pamphlet would be of inestimable value. The pamphlet itself proves its author's fitness for such a work; indeed it is difficult to understand how the subject could be treated so well in the narrow compass of a pamphlet of 20 pages except as a condensation of a much larger work already done.

✦ ✦ ✦

"I never use slang," said the precise young woman.

"Yes," replied the self-satisfied girl. "I noticed as soon as I heard you honk that your conversational model was one of those highbrow dialects."—Washington Star.

✦ ✦ ✦

"Mamma, the Smiths live in the town where we—"

"I think I should use the word 'reside,' Tommy."

"Well, they reside in the town where we reside before we moved here, don't they?"—Chicago Tribune.

✦ ✦ ✦

"Allow me to hand you a true story which I have been carefully treasuring.

"One of my bright but appreciative daughters said: 'Papa, do you have to pay for having your poems printed in the magazines?'

"'No—not often,' I answered, modestly.

"'But, papa,' she cried, with an evidently outraged sense of justice, 'you use their space!'"

—Ted Robinson in the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

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