

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

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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

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.

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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 “Muline” 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 1/2 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 about 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 benefaction 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.

* *

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.

* *

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.

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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?

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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.

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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.

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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.

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"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.

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"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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