

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Reciprocity With Canada.

The fall-down of "Reciprocity" at the Canadian elections was truly humptydumtation. "All the king's horses and all the king's men," with President Taft's to boot, cannot effect a restoration—neither of Reciprocity now nor of Protectionism in the end.

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Freetraders were wise in supporting Mr. Taft's reciprocity agreement, for it was proposed and had to be defended, as even President Taft did defend it, on Free-trade principles. Protectionism was thus fractured by its friends. Wiser still will Freetraders be if they rejoice in the defeat of this agreement by Protectionists across the Canadian border, for that makes the fracture all the more disastrous.

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A "fake" of the first water was this Reciprocity agreement. Its principal purpose was to pacify newspapers on our side of the border, which with one accord were screaming in pain over the extortions of the protected print-paper trust. Incidentally, it was intended to put the insurgent Republicans into a political hole, by forcing upon them the alternative of opposing important financial interests of big newspapers, while President Taft "slid from under," or of offending agricultural constituencies in the Northwest, where, from Protectionist points of view, the Reciprocity agree-

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ment would have "hit hard." The Canadian elections have mussed up all these pretty political plans. Although Mr. Taft did secure a chorus of friendly newspaper shouts with his Free-trade policy for print-paper, and although some insurgent Republicans were temporarily embarrassed, the Canadian elections clear the atmosphere in American politics; not to the satisfaction of Mr. Taft, to be sure, but for the public good. Nor is there any loss in popular value of a single one of the Free-trade arguments that President Taft and the newspapers have advanced in support of Canadian reciprocity.



If Canada had adopted that agreement, our newspapers might have been satisfied to continue their championship of Protection robbery in other than print-paper transactions, but it is hardly likely that they will do so now. Already reports are current that indicate higher prices for print-paper in consequence of the defeat of Canadian reciprocity. So newspapers will probably have to continue taking "pot luck" with other American consumers in this game of forcing excessive price burdens upon consumption for the benefit of monopoly interests in production. They are more likely, therefore, than they otherwise might have been, to grow in grace in all Free-trade directions.



Not only was this particular Reciprocity agreement a "fake" for fooling voters with, but reciprocity itself, as a principle of international trade, is a false principle, and in practice as an international policy it would be dangerous. It is a false principle because it rests upon that fallacy of Protectionism that free trade countries are at a disadvantage in their commercial relations with protection countries, which is obviously unsound in doctrine and evidently untrue of experience. It would be dangerous as a policy of international trade because it doubles the opportunity for special monopoly interests to manipulate for special protection. This danger is exemplified by the Canadian reciprocity agreement. First, there was a joint commission to formulate the agreement. The commission may not have manipulated in behalf of special interests, but its opportunity was good. Then the officials in power in both governments had to be consulted and satisfied with compromises between interests; and by the same token, so had their party supporters in business circles. Then the agreement had to go through Congress, where special interests might pull all sorts of secret wires. And after that, if by any

possibility the agreement had been unsatisfactory to dominant special interests, those interests could fight it all over again in Canada as in this case they did. All reciprocity agreements must pass through those possibilities of corrupt manipulation, the almost inevitable result of which would be agreements that serve such special financial interests as are involved, and at the expense of public interests. Every consideration that weighs against Free-trade weighs against Reciprocity agreements, and many more; every consideration that can be urged for Reciprocity agreements is a stronger one for Free-trade. Only special interests are benefited by Protection, and only the most influential special interests can be benefited by Reciprocity agreements.



None the less though were those Free-traders in the right, both as to principle and policy, who supported the Canadian reciprocity agreement while it was conspicuous as an issue. It would have been suicidal for them to reject a measure of Free-trade offered by a Protectionist President. It would have been unfortunate for their cause if an anti-Protection Congress had defeated the agreement. And, affirmatively, if the agreement had been confirmed on both sides of the border, their cause would have had the benefit of an object lesson for Free-trade. They were striking at a weak place in the fortifications of Protection. But the defeat of the reciprocity agreement by Canada, by Protectionists in Canada, by the reactionary tory party of Canada, should be worth more to Free-trade than its confirmation would have been. The circumstances taken together can hardly fail to break the ranks of the Protection legions and throw them into hopeless confusion. Even as an object lesson, the higher prices of food on the American side, following upon the heels of the Canadian election, must have a salutary effect upon the opinions of American consumers. Meanwhile, President Taft may have opportunity to reflect upon the political advantages and other values of his veto of a home measure for free trade in wool, and of the veto by Canada of his overtures for reciprocity.



Labor Strikes and Hunger Strikes.

Familiarity with labor strikes has obscured their essential meaning, a meaning which the consumers' food strikes of Europe are now bringing to attention. Economically, the classes in each kind of strike and their interests in the matter are the

same. A labor strike is economic warfare by impoverished producers for better pay, or for better working conditions (pay in another form); a food strike is economic warfare by impoverished consumers for cheaper subsistence. One is a strike of the working classes as *producers*, the other is a strike of the working classes as *consumers*.

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There is also a growing understanding of the necessity for strikes. Labor strikers are looking for their enemy beyond the employer, often as poor as the poorest among them, as hard-worked and as solicitous about keeping his job and of putting up bars against competition. Similarly, food strikers are looking beyond "the middleman." Evidence of resistance to conditions rather than persons comes out on all hands. Higher wages for work regardless of employers, lower prices for food regardless of middlemen. These demands are one in substance. Once intelligently unified in the minds of the people, and they will sound the knell of all those subtle privileges, little and great, whereby the producing masses are impoverished by low wages as producers and by high prices as consumers, in order that parasites may live luxuriously in the sweat of other folks' faces. Let wages and products for consumption be once fairly recognized as identical, and there will be no longer any necessity or temptation for strikes of any kind. Privilege will disappear, for the unprivileged will not support it; and each man's wages for consumption will rise or fall with his service in production.

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The essential demand of strikes, of labor strikes and hunger strikes alike, is simply *opportunity to work and live*. They may often be unjust in their modes and details, apparently or in fact, but on the whole their impulse is just and their purpose orderly. If this were not so, how would it be possible for a few families to live safely in ease and luxury in the midst of overwhelming millions who work hard and live poor? There is economic malpractice in social affairs, ladies and gentlemen of luxury and ease; and the malpractitioners are not the working poor who go upon strike.

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Land Values and Public Utility Rates.

In a few words Edward W. Bemis has shown where the increased land values of a public utility's plant properly go, as matter of corporation book-keeping. It was in his testimony in the gas case at Des Moines. Corporations have been putting

those values into investment account and thereby making a basis for increasing rates of service. It is one of the claims of railroad companies, that their rates must be kept up or made higher in order to pay dividends on additional "capital"—the additional "capital" being higher values of their land, due to social growth. In the Des Moines gas case, the company had paid \$35,000 for its land, and according to its demands the value of the same land, irrespective of improvements, had increased in value to \$200,000, wherefore the company claims the right to rates for gas high enough to yield dividends on this \$200,000 of land value. But Mr. Bemis testified that the difference in value is not to be considered for rates, but for distribution as dividend in case of sale of the land.

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Isn't it plain enough that he is right? If the stockholders in case of sale get the increase in value—in this instance \$200,000 less \$35,000—and meantime get dividends from higher gas rates, they get two dividends on the same investment: One of about 500% on the investment of \$35,000 in land; a second in higher rates for gas calculated upon the increase in the value of that land; and neither is earned by the company. Increased land value is due to the progress and increasing necessities for land of the whole community. But by treating it as an "investment," corporation bookkeepers are able to fool the public into the absurd belief that rates for public utility service must rise with falling cost of service. Mr. Bemis has put his finger upon a tender spot in corporation accounting, one which is felt far beyond Des Moines and in the family of corporations far outside of gas companies.

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An Argument that Slops Over.

That judges would degenerate into mouthpieces of the mob if subjected to popular recall, is an argument which proves too much for its purpose. If that is the moral make-up of our judges, they would degenerate into office boys of corporations without the recall; and of the two, mouthpieces of the mob are preferable on the bench to corporation office boys.

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And what is this mob that would recall crooked judges? Isn't it the same lot of folks who decorously vote on election day? And wouldn't they vote as thoughtfully and decorously on the recall of a judge as on the election of a President? But when Mr. Taft wants votes, he doesn't speak of

the citizenship of the country as a mob, no matter what he may think. By the way, what does he think on that point? Are the voters on election day a mob in his mind, and is he only playing the game and concealing his contempt when he addresses them coaxingly?

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The California Referendums.

Not only on woman suffrage but on twenty-two other questions of Constitutional change is California to vote at the referendum election on the 10th of October. On all those questions, woman suffrage included, the Sacramento Bee advises the voting citizens of California to vote Yes. This advice is worth a volume of argument; for the Sacramento Bee is one of the few newspapers of California—of the whole Union for the matter of that—which has won and deserves public confidence. It is thoughtful, wise, disinterested, clean, courageous, and democratic. But the Bee does not avoid argument. In this matter as in all others it candidly gives its readers the reasons for its faith.

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Of the 23 proposed amendments to the California Constitution, the Bee says that they were—adopted by an honest, able legislature bent on reform, and devoted to the public welfare as distinguished from the rule of corporations, bosses, monopoly and privilege.

It adds that Governor Johnson favors all these amendments and “predicts their acceptance by the people without exception.”

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Among the amendments are many of only local interest. Some of these give the legislature power in its own discretion to regulate inspection of merchandise and weights and measures, liability of employers for injuries to workmen, tenures of office and merit rules, the placing of all public utilities under the jurisdiction of the Railroad Commission, and the establishment of petty courts; others require the legislature to take a recess of thirty days after being in session a month, give rights of eminent domain to logging railroads and place them under the jurisdiction of the Railroad Commission, take away the power of appellate courts to set aside criminal convictions on technical grounds not causing a miscarriage of justice, fix four years after adoption as the minimum period for retaining school books, increase the number of Railroad Commissioners from three to five, give free transportation to Railroad Commissioners and their employes and peace

officers, require appointment of Supreme Court clerk by the judges instead of his election, make certain judges (now exempt) subject to impeachment, exempt war soldiers and sailors from taxation on property to the amount of \$1,000, and regulate railroad rates so as to strengthen the power of the Railroad Commission. The remainder of the amendments are of universal interest. Among these is one giving local self-government to counties. Another facilitates the local making and amending of city charters, another gives cities greater control over public utilities, still another advances their power to elect local officials by majority instead of plurality vote, and one gives the recall to San Francisco as a consolidated city and county government. There is also the woman suffrage amendment, which we discussed last week; and in addition there are amendments proposing the Recall (including judges), and the Initiative and Referendum.

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Commenting upon this series of progressive amendments, of which those at least that we have distinguished as of general interest are democratic, the Sacramento Bee says:

It is the duty of voters to study the proposed changes in the Constitution on their merits. And each elector will soon receive by mail an official blanket sheet containing all the amendments in full, with arguments for and against each, thus enabling him to vote understandingly. But merely to read all this matter is no small task, and it is to be feared that only a very small proportion of the electors will even attempt it. Some of the Amendments are exceedingly long, and the arguments likewise. The Bee has given careful scrutiny and consideration to all the Amendments, and while some of them are not entirely free from objection, there is none as to which the benefits to be expected do not, in the opinion of this paper, much outweigh the possible disadvantages. Accordingly it is enabled to recommend them all for popular approval. This is said with particular relation to those Amendments whose purpose and effect do not appear on their face, and as to which voters may have neither time nor patience for proper investigation; hence are compelled to rely upon some advisory source. . . . It seems to The Bee that no mistake can be made by voting for all of the Amendments, without exception. And in view of the great importance and exceeding value to the State of many of these proposed changes in the Constitution, every progressive and public spirited voter, without regard to party, should make a point of going to the polls on October 10th and stamping on his ballot the X of his approval. The reactionaries, and the evil and corrupt elements of the State generally, will be mustered out to the polls in the effort to defeat many, if not all, of these Amendments. Let the good citizens do their duty by going to the polls early, and voting in accordance with their convictions.

How can any thoughtful citizen read that editorial advice to the people of California without realizing the vast difference for the better between the new way under Initiative and Referendum and the old way under delegated authority? Compare this campaign for Constitution-making in California with that in Ohio, if you wish to realize the difference. Progressivism may be defeated in California, but if defeated the reason will be that the people as a whole are not progressive; but it may be defeated in Ohio, no matter how progressive the people, merely because prostitutes of Privilege know how to get delegates and how to handle them when they get them, and also how to get slush funds and other help from "good people" with which to do it all.

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The Court of Public Opinion.

The noted Judge Grosscup of Chicago formally announced his intention last week to resign from the Federal bench at an early day. One of his reasons, apparently the decisive one, he expressed carefully in these words:

The world, politically, is trying to catch up with the world's radically changed economic conditions. The "formative" period is approaching. Next year's Presidential election will, I believe, be the last one on the old lines. And the settlement for the future will not come through the courts of law, but through the court of public opinion. I wish no office—expect never again to hold office—but I wish greater freedom than the Bench gives to do my part in this court of public opinion.

Judge Grosscup's career after resignation would have been as interesting to sociological observers as the peculiarities of a new star to astronomers, but he has decided now *not* to resign!

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"Good Men in Office."

The Boston Common is an excellent editorial antidote to the notion, still prevalent in the East but well out of the fight in the West, that all we need to make government good is to elect good men to office. This plan has been pretty well "tried out" in the West, and with no good results other than a sort of "whitened sepulcher" effect; and experience with it in the East, however, good it may seem there, doesn't look so good at this distance. Wherefore we say that the Boston Common is a good antidote in the East; it is **not** fooled by the plutocratic slogan of "good men in office." "Good men don't necessarily mean good measures," it warns its readers, for "many good men stand for very bad measures." So The Common advocates Direct Legislation, and that it

does it vigorously this quotation shows: "When the people can vote measures up or down on their merits it won't matter so much whether the men in the representative assemblies are good, bad or average—*there can be no betrayal of the public welfare without the people knowing it.* And they can quickly correct their own mistakes."

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Charles Battell Loomis.

This literary humorist who died at Hartford, Connecticut, on the 23d, leaves behind him more than an accumulation of books bearing his name as author. He was a humorist who, like Mark Twain, was also a philosopher and of the sincerely democratic variety. While amusing his readers he probed unobtrusively and tenderly for the democratic in their own minds and hearts.

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Land Value Taxation in Rhode Island.

In the line of the Oregon pamphlet comparing taxes under present taxation with probable taxes under land value taxation,* but concentrated on one city and greatly expanded in detail, is an Eastern pamphlet of some half a hundred pages prepared by John Z. White and published by the Rhode Island Tax Reform Association of Providence. This pamphlet classifies by name all the taxpayers of the city of Woonsocket, Rhode Island. In one class, 1,851 in number, are named those taxpayers who would save money by the land value tax; in a second class, 28, and a third, 30, are those whose taxes would be raised less than \$1 and \$2 each, respectively; and in the fourth, 23, and the fifth, 34, are those whose taxes would be raised from \$2 to \$3 and from \$3 to \$5 each, respectively. There is a list also of those, 29 in number, whose taxes would be raised from 1 per cent to 10 per cent each. The above facts are more especially interesting to the individual tax payers of Woonsocket, except as they are suggestive to the tax payers of all other Rhode Island towns and cities; but here are some percentages of general significance and interest:

Of the total taxes, vacant land bears.....	4.75%
Of the total taxes, improved land bears.....	24.22%
Of the total taxes, improvements bear.....	53.46%
Of the total taxes, personalty bears.....	17.55%

Those figures are worth thinking over by all industrious taxpayers who pay for making land speculation profitable to the non-industrious. Another valuable contribution to the statistics of land value taxation, this pamphlet shows in much greater

*See The Public, volume xiii, page 843, and current volume, page 844.

detail than any previous publication, what all the others show, that land value taxation, even in its first applications and only as a fiscal reform, is of greatest benefit to the greatest number and that the industrious are the classes benefited by it.

* *

A Safe Universe Ought to Be Grateful.

Notwithstanding the failure of William Randolph Hearst to carry the Canadian elections, readers of the Hearst papers are kept abreast of the news that he continues, nevertheless, to run the universe.

* * *

SNAPSHOTS OF A PRESIDENT ON THE ROAD.

One or another of three views with regard to President Taft is entertained by almost everybody.

Some believe that he is a big, smiling, good-natured "chump," who has filled his cabinet with grafters and is taking their advice.

Others believe that he is entirely honest but was brought up in an atmosphere of wealth, surrounded by men who had secured their fortunes by exploiting labor, by buying franchises, and by securing the appointment of judges to protect their interests, and that he honestly believes the best form of government is a government of, for and by the corporations, and the only thing sacred under our civilization is property, and that judges are sacred because they are guardians of property rather than guardians of human rights, whereas the people are incapable of self-government and unsafe to decide whether a judge shall be recalled or not, because it tends to mob rule. In other words, that the citizens of this country are unreliable and irresponsible, and that power should be as far as possible removed from their control. Entertaining those views honestly, the President conceives, in the estimation of these apologists, that it is his absolute duty as President to select judges who will carry out such views, to pack the Supreme Court in the interest of the corporations, and to assist the rich to become richer in order that they may bestow charities. A benevolent feudalism is his ideal form of civilization, according to this estimate.

There is still a third class of people who regard him as utterly dishonest, as absolutely corrupt, as aiming to use his great position as President of the United States to enrich his family by granting concessions and privileges, with his brother as a go-between, to the rich and great combinations of this country; and they instance the fact that as Roosevelt's secretary of war he went to Rome and

purchased of the Pope, or the Catholic Church, a vast area in the Philippine Islands for which he paid several millions of dollars, at \$18.50 an acre, and after he became President sold to the Havemeyers, or the sugar trust, 65,000 acres of the very choicest of these lands at \$6.50 an acre, his brother Charles acting as the go-between, and Wickershams, his attorney general (who before he became attorney general was attorney for the sugar trust), giving his sanction as the law officer of the government. These critics also cite the instance of Controller Bay in Alaska, where President Taft released several thousand acres from a forest reservation in order that the lands might be entered by Ryan and the Guggenheims as terminals for their coal roads, giving them a monopoly of this entrance to Alaska that should have been retained by the public. He also gave them notice in advance as to when he would open this country, and they had their men on the ground the very day that he signed the proclamation in Washington, so that no one else could possibly interfere.

These three views, one or another, seem to be the views which, on the whole, are entertained by the people of this country. Undoubtedly they make President Taft a typical Standpat Republican candidate for re-election. Therefore the great newspapers owned by the great combinations are now declaring that there is no question about his nomination by acclamation.

R. F. PETTIGREW.

* * *

A FINANCIAL WATERMELON PATCH.

An analysis of the first 40 annual reports of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, filed in compliance with the New York statutes, shows that a *clear net profit* of a fraction over 24 cents remained to be divided among the owners of the bonds and stock, *from every dollar of income* from all sources during the entire 39 years and 8 months of operations covered by those reports.

Aggregating the operating expenses during the first 40 years of this company's corporate existence—

included in which expenses are—
liberal amounts alleged to have been expended for repairs to—

road bed,
rolling stock and
buildings—

together with prodigious sums reported to have been paid for printing and

advertising,
 insurance,
 legal expenses,
 all costs for damages to persons and property,
 the clearing of all wrecks,
 the generous salaries paid to officers,
 millions for oil and
 waste for locomotives,
 other millions said to have been paid for water
 for locomotives,
 many millions reported to have been disbursed
 but for what specific purposes does not appear
 except that they are said to have been paid for
 "other expenses,"—

and to this aggregate add—

all disbursements for purposes other than oper-
 ating expenses,
 the aggregate taxes of 40 years,
 rentals for leased lines,
 considerable sums reported as real estate expenses,
 and

*several millions reported to have been set aside
 to redeem financial obligations without explaining
 how or when they were redeemed or offering evi-
 dence that they ever were redeemed;—*

adding all those disbursements together, all which
 are indicated above, *all of them*, and deducting the
 grand total from the aggregate income or revenue
 reported for the same period, and the remainder
 shows the *profit of twenty-four cents net on each
 dollar of income.*

It is a *clear profit* of several thousand dollars
 in excess of 457 millions—about \$1,315 for *every
 hour, day and night*, from October 31, 1869, to
 July 1, 1909.

LEVI STEVENS LEWIS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

Toronto, Sept. 22, 1911.

When the news came to us that President Taft had
 offered reciprocity to Canada, it seemed too good to
 be true; and when the items were given, I must
 confess my astonishment at the generosity of the offer.
 It was truly a parting of the ways. After a period
 of half a century of unneighborly, unbrotherly, ob-
 struction of trade between these two contiguous na-
 tions, a proposal to remove that obstruction, though
 only partial, seemed so good that I never dreamt
 that the Dominion would do anything but accept it
 most joyfully.

Here was a step, though not very large, towards
 that peace and good will for which we have been
 praying during the long ages. Besides that we are
 rapidly approaching the hundredth anniversary of
 the peace at the conclusion of the war of 1812. The

proposal had gone forth that there should be a grand
 love feast to celebrate this centennial of peace, that
 at that celebration the flags of the two nations should
 be entwined, the hands of the representatives should
 be grasped, that a pledge of eternal peace should be
 entered into, while the nations would join with heart-
 est joy in the song, "Blest be the tie that binds."

Some of us had visions that the two countries by
 that time would have come to recognize the grand
 truth, that this world is the gift of God to all the
 members of his family, and that the terrible injustice
 of allowing one part of the race to charge
 the rest for occupation of the surface of
 the planet would have ceased, that taxation
 would so far absorb community values that the de-
 spoiling speculator would have been converted to the
 enriching producer, so that all the relics of barbarism
 in the shape of custom barriers, would have disap-
 peared, leaving each location to do its best for the
 rest of the world. But what is our disappointment
 when we see over here the friends of freedom re-
 jected, the Presidential offer of good will treated with
 scorn, and a policy of severance and hostility adopted
 amid the acclaim of the multitude. This is not the
 first time that the people have turned their backs on
 truth and progress. We all have read of a famous
 election when the overwhelming majority called out
 for the robber Barrabas and rejected the Prince of
 Peace.



The province of Ontario is a peninsula wedged into
 the United States. To the south, the east and the
 west she is within easy access of a number of cities
 close to her borders, cities which are her natural
 markets. The farmers with their eggs, butter, fruit
 and vegetables can gaze on the cities of Buffalo and
 Detroit, and yet in many cases, for commercial pur-
 poses, with a double tariff barrier, they might as well
 be a thousand miles away. At any time within a
 few hours her vegetables, grains or fruits could reach
 millions of people in the States; under these circum-
 stances who would ever imagine that a population of
 a little over two million people would of their own
 free choice vote in favor of excluding themselves
 from their best markets? With an everlasting wilder-
 ness to the north and the finest market in the world
 just at their doors to the south, they have voted to
 cut themselves off from their very best customers,
 and in degree make the south practically a wilder-
 ness, too.

Paralyzed on one side, Ontario has voted for paral-
 ysis on the other side also. A natural blockade of
 snow and ice isolates her on the north, then she puts
 up another blockade to cut herself off from the south.
 Had a similar vote been presented to any group of
 two million people in the United States, can we im-
 agine that half a dozen people could be found to
 vote "yea"? Yet this Province of Ontario elects sev-
 enty-one representatives in favor of blockade and
 isolation, and only fourteen in favor of greater free-
 dom.

The appeals of the papers and politicians of the
 obstruction cast were of the most disgraceful charac-
 ter. President Taft was represented as having some
 ulterior and sinister motive. Free trade with the
 States was spoken of as a kind of slavery or robbery,
 —that the people of your Republic would get com-

plete control of our markets. The old prejudices in favor of the "Old Flag" were worked for all they were worth. We were threatened with cheapness and abundance. In argument the adversaries of reciprocity were bankrupt, and mentally they were derelicts. Nevertheless, they carried the day.

Outside of Ontario, in the rest of the Dominion, the friends of freedom have the majority. The influence of the manufacturers and millionaires seems to have gained the upper hand in this Province.

We are a country of churches, many churches, and we are a good churchly people; but we don't fail to devour the widow's house. Wisdom will have to cry and utter her voice in the streets a good many Sundays before she finds ears that will hear.

W. A. DOUGLASS.

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THE NEWER IDEALS OF SUFFRAGE.

New York, Sept. 24.

Gov. Hay of Washington made a strong plea for Direct Legislation at the meeting in Cooper Union,* arranged by the Women's Political Union, and at which the speakers were the Governors of the five suffrage States—Wyoming, Utah, Washington, Idaho and Colorado. All of them told of improved conditions in their States, due, in their opinion, to the part taken by women in politics, but Gov. Hay showed how woman suffrage was only one of the innovations which have proved so beneficial in the youngest among the States. Hand in hand with it went the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Others of the Governors told of the good done by direct primaries, and all emphasized the fact that the women voters were as a rule solid for any innovations that would mean more direct and honest rule by the people.

This brought the suffrage talk at the meeting more in touch with other necessary political reforms, of which woman suffrage is merely one, than it usually is. Altogether the meeting was an occasion of high political importance and spoke well for the immense strides taken by organizations of women in the last few years. An interesting advance in public enlightenment was shown in the temper of speakers and audience, but most particularly in the temper of the audience and its manner of reacting to the sentiments expressed by the speakers.

It was the first opportunity several of the speakers have had of addressing a New York audience, and they made the most of it. But in spite of the large attendance of suffrage sympathizers, the audience was characteristically a Cooper Union gathering, which, it may be said has laws of its own. It took no interest whatever in platitudes concerning our country's "glorious past." But it was keenly alive to anything concerning the questions of the day and sensitively aware of how backward New York is in matters of State and city housekeeping.

It was also interesting to note that even the suffrage women had lost their enthusiasm over some arguments which they themselves used strongly but a few years back. When one of the Governors appealed to the audience to say why Mrs. Hearst, Mrs. Harriman and other women controlling large estates philanthropically should not be accorded the privi-

lege given men in their employ at ten dollars a week, or even, dreadful thought, accorded the loafer on the street in front of their palaces, not a hand was struck in the audience or on the platform. The women heading the suffrage movement of today have realized that this sort of argument is of no value and is for them of doubtful taste and more than doubtful logic. Woman has been the "under dog" politically so long that she is beginning to understand she must cast in her lot with the other under dogs, and that it will do her no good to claim political rights and duties by appealing to any property qualification she may possess. She must ask for them on the ground of simple justice alone.

Another reflection called out by this meeting was the backward-mindedness of the New York dailies in persisting in having a "women's club meeting," no matter of what character, reported by young men just trying to make good as novices, or by women who do "society notes" and the like. The true significance of this particular meeting would have been best understood and brought out by a writer of considerable political insight. Possibly that was why it was treated by most papers as it was. It was a "women's meeting," and also it concerned political innovations in the Western States. It appears to lie in the interest of most journals in this city to keep their readers in pleasing ignorance concerning Western political innovations.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

PROTECTION FOR WOOL GROWERS.

Kansas City, Mo.

Many voters and their wives and children shiver in cold weather for want of woolen clothing and blankets. They know that the tariff on wool and woolen goods makes consumers pay \$1.75 for each dollar's worth of woollens; and while they cannot afford to buy, they take some consolation from the fact that though they and their little ones shiver, wool-growers get a benefit.

And wool-growers—they vote year after year for tariff taxes on everything, with the idea that they receive part of the robbery in the 11 cents per pound of tariff on wool. They fool themselves. Since the wool trust organized in 1876, wool growers have never received a penny a pound of benefit out of the 11-cent tax.

Yet consumers pay as much for manufactured woollens as though wool growers received that 11 cents. We export some fine wool, but we could not do so if it was worth 11 cents per pound more at home than in London.

We import some 200,000,000 pounds of coarse carpet wool, hair of the alpaca goat and camels' hair, commodities we do not produce in this country. On the imported wool and hair, the wool trust pays a duty. But that does not mean that it pays the American wool growers 11 cents a pound extra for tariff tax. Wool is worth no more in this country than in Australia or New Zealand where there is no tariff tax.

The following quotations on wool ought to con-

*See last week's Public, page 979.

vince any wool grower that he does not get any benefit from the tariff tax of 11 cents per pound:

- Chicago Record-Herald, July 17, 1911:
- Kan., Neb., Minn. and Dakota—fine unwashed wool 10 to 15 cents per pound.
- Mont., Utah and Wyo., 10 to 15.
- Colorado and New Mexico, 10 to 13.
- St. Louis Republic, July 17, 1911:
- Choice unwashed wool, 20½.
- Light fine unwashed, 16 to 17.
- Heavy fine, 14.

Now, if the American wool growers do receive 11 cents per pound more for wool on account of the tariff, then if the tariff tax of 11 cents were abolished they would receive 11 cents per pound less than the above prices in Chicago and St. Louis. But if the 11 cents protective tax were subtracted from the above prices, we should find that Colorado and New Mexico wool would be worth from nothing to 3 cents in Chicago; and if you subtract freight, what would it be worth on the ranch where they haul it 50 to 75 miles to railway?

If this does not open the American wool grower's eyes, let him read London quotations:

- Public Ledger (Philadelphia), July 15, 1911:
- London wool market.
- Victoria, greasy (unwashed), 11½ to 25.
- Tasmania (unwashed), 16 to 28.
- New Zealand (unwashed), 13½ to 26.
- Cape of Good Hope (unwashed), 12 to 23.

Of course freight must be taken from these prices to get what the wool is worth in the different countries.

R. T. SNEDIKER.

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, September 26, 1911.

Revolution Prevented in Spain.

The Spanish government has checked the rising revolution reported last week. Workingmen's committees and political agitators have been arrested by the government, under the decree suspending the constitutional guarantees. The two towns which had proclaimed the "commune" have been occupied by troops. A general strike announced for the 21st fell flat under the pressure of the government. [See current volume, page 976.]

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More Partitioning of Africa.

Tripoli, lying on the north coast of Africa between Egypt and Tunis, and extending far down into the desert of Sahara, has been under the domination of Turkey since the 16th century. The states lying west have passed or are passing under the control of European nations on the north side of the Mediterranean. France controls Tunis and Algeria, and France, Germany and

Spain are all trying to obtain dominance in or portions of Morocco. Now Italy, which has been discreetly silent over the Moroccan question, is making preparations to establish a protectorate over Tripoli, for the commercial advantages involved. The Italian army is being mobilized, and Italian warships have proceeded to the Tripolitan coast. The Italian socialists and the extreme radicals are opposed to the expedition, but the business classes of Italy are understood to approve the proposed "assimilation." The Turkish government has appealed to the Powers to restrain Italy from hostile action in Tripoli. [See current volume, page 855.]

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Rejection of Reciprocity by Canada.

At the general Parliamentary elections throughout the Dominion of Canada on the 21st, the Conservative party was defeated by the return to the Dominion Parliament of 137 Conservatives to 84 Liberals. As the Liberals had made and stood for the reciprocity agreement with the United States, and the Conservatives opposed it, this election in effect is a popular defeat of that measure by Canada. [See current volume, page 803.]

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In Ontario the Conservatives increased their representation from 51 in the eleventh (or immediately previous) Parliament to 73 in the twelfth, and the Liberals fell off from 35 to 13. But all the Provinces but one also increased their Conservative representation. In Alberta alone did the Liberals escape a loss, and there they scored a gain. The reported table of changes is as follows:

	Twelfth Parliament		Eleventh Parliament	
	Con.	Lib.	Con.	Lib.
Alberta	1	6	3	4
British Columbia	7	..	5	2
Manitoba	10	..	8	2
New Brunswick	5	8	2	11
Nova Scotia	8	10	6	12
Ontario	73	13	51	35
P. Edward Island.....	2	2	1	3
Quebec	28	37	12	53
Saskatchewan	2	8	1	9
Yukon	1	1
	137	84	89	132

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Progressive Republicanism.

A national conference of Progressive Republicans is announced for October 16th at Chicago. All Progressive Republican Congressmen and Governors of States are expected to attend, and among the prominent unofficial persons expected are Gifford Pinchot, James R. Garfield, Louis Brandeis, Charles R. Crane, and Rudolph Spreckels.

Senator Walter C. Jones, Progressive Repub-

lican candidate for Governor of Illinois, returned to Chicago on the 23d from a six weeks' campaign through the State, in the course of which he made 180 speeches and enrolled 20,000 Republican supporters. A "welcome-home" luncheon was given him at the Grand Pacific Hotel on the 26th.

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Initiative and Referendum in Illinois.

A State meeting of the Initiative and Referendum League of Illinois is announced for October 3 at the I. O. O. F. Building, Springfield, to which the public are invited, and at which there will be the following program:

2:30 P. M. Address by the Chairman. Report of Committee on Amendment, by Harold L. Ickes, Chicago. Discussion.

8 P. M. Address of Welcome, Mayor John S. Schnepf, Springfield. Addresses by Judge Edward F. Dunne, Chicago, on "The League's Position on the Amendment"; Edwin R. Wright, President Illinois Federation of Labor, Austin, on "Organized Labor and the I. & R."; Senator Frank W. Burton, Carlinville, on "The I. & R. in the Last General Assembly," and Senator Walter Clyde Jones, Chicago, on "The I. & R. the Issue in the Next Campaign."

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Attacking Direct Legislation in Oregon.

Enemies of Direct Legislation in Oregon have begun legal proceedings to secure such an interpretation of the Direct Legislation laws of that State as would make them practically ineffective. The point has to do with two petitions for a vote against certain University appropriations. Fraud and forgery in obtaining signatures to the petitions is charged. This would be unimportant in itself, since it would raise only a question of fact in a particular instance; but the cases are so brought as to call for a construction that would require the Secretary of State to verify the authenticity of every signature to an Initiative or Referendum petition, and thereby practically to nullify the whole system.

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W. S. U'Ren was appointed by the Secretary of State to assist the Attorney General in defending the suits mentioned above. The propriety of this appointment was bitterly questioned by the lawyers who brought the suits and who are locally believed to have another and further purpose than the throwing out of the particular petitions involved. On that score the Secretary of State is reported as saying:

I have enlisted the support of Mr. U'Ren in the legal struggle because I consider the very existence of the Initiative and Referendum to be at stake, and have selected him as the one man in Oregon most worthy of the defense of these laws. If the courts should uphold the case of the University through the allegations specifically directed at the Secretary

of State's office it would practically put the Oregon system out of business for once and all. The complaint alleges that this office should pass upon the legality and the validity of all the signatures attached to Initiative and Referendum petitions. The absurdity of this plea will be appreciated when it is remembered that for three months or more the University people have had lawyers, detectives, photographers and experts at work, trying to pick out the alleged forged signatures on the University petitions. If the court should hold that the Secretary of State must determine the validity of signatures, it will mean that the office would have to be closed and the entire force sent out on gumshoe expeditions to pick the bad names from the good on all petitions filed hereafter. In my opinion, the death knell of these measures would be sounded should the courts rule the appropriation petitions off the ballot on the technical grounds set forth by Judge Slater. If there has been fraud perpetrated in obtaining these signatures sufficiently to disqualify them, they certainly should not be allowed to go on the ballot. With this alleged fraud I have absolutely nothing to do, nor will Mr. U'Ren. I am not asking the assistance of these men because I am opposed to the University appropriations. In fact, I am highly in favor of them. But there have been numerous minor and petty allegations made in the complaints directed at the office of the Secretary and at the mode of procedure in filing referendum petitions.

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The first contest in court was over a motion by Mr. U'Ren to compel the plaintiffs to make their complaint more definite by specifying the signatures alleged to be forged, fictitious and fraudulent. The lower court judge denied this motion on the 16th, and his decision will be reviewed in due course by the Supreme Court of the State. The trial on the main questions will probably begin this week or next.

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The Singletax Fight in Oregon.

Upon the application of the Clackamas County Initiative petitioners to the Secretary of State of Oregon to put the Singletax question upon the ballot in that county for referendum-voting at the Fall election of 1912, the question went to the Attorney General for an opinion, and he has ruled against them. [See current volume, pages 824, 844.]

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This ruling enables the Initiative petitioners to go into the courts themselves and at once, and thereby to secure through mandamus a decision on the question at issue in time to avoid any judicial obstruction to their policy that might have been pursued by the opposition had the Attorney General's decision been favorable to the petitioners. In the latter case the adversaries of the petition could have decided whether and when to resort to the courts. They might have waited until the eve of

the campaign and applied for an injunction forbidding the vote in every county, or until the adoption of the measure by several counties and then attacked its validity. Meanwhile, the friends of the measure would have been in the dark as to the precise view the highest court might take, and thus lose the opportunity, now secure, of correcting any detail the Court might find legally objectionable. Should the Supreme Court now sustain the Attorney General's ruling, there will be time to vary the present policy in behalf of submitting the Singletax to popular vote in Oregon at the election of 1912, in such manner as to conform to the Court's decision.

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The Attorney General rules that the Clackamas County petition for submission of a Singletax bill—the only county petition yet presented—be filed in the Secretary of State's office the same as any general Initiative measure, "and be placed upon the ballot at the next regular biennial election to be voted upon by the voters of Clackamas County only," is "not in compliance with the Initiative laws and is not entitled to be filed." The Attorney General's argument is that the county option taxation amendment, "while it purports to confer power upon each county to determine upon what particular species of property taxes shall be levied and collected," prescribes no mode of procedure "directing the manner in which the power shall be exercised," and that "no rules or means for its exercise are provided in the Constitution or by statute." On this point the opinions of several leading lawyers of Oregon were obtained before the county option amendment was submitted. All were to the effect that existing statutes do provide a mode of procedure, and that the Supreme Court of the State has already held that this statute would be effective in such a case as that of Clackamas county; but the Attorney General rules that these statutes do not affect counties. That is the question, therefore, which can now, in consequence of the Attorney General's ruling, be carried immediately through the courts and—no matter which way the decision runs—in time to prevent a miscarriage of Singletax plans in Oregon.

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Grand Junction Plan in Pueblo.

Another city to adopt the most advanced form of commission government is Pueblo, Colorado, where the Grand Junction plan was carried on the 19th by 5,286 to 1,326. One of the leaders for this form of charter was the editor of the Pueblo Leader, Roy E. McClintock, formerly of Grand Junction. The Pueblo charter provides for the Recall, for five commissioners, for the Initiative and Referendum, and for the preferential system of voting. [See current volume, page 854.]

A Business Movement in Religion.

A men's forward movement for religion, having the financial support of J. Pierpont Morgan and other wealthy religionists, has begun a nation-wide campaign "to bring the Christian life to men and boys." One of the spokesmen for this movement made the following explanation of it to the press at New York on the 17th:

For more than a year preparations have been made under the general direction of the committee of 97, representing foremost financiers, merchants, manufacturers, and men of affairs in the United States. They are going to put through this religious campaign with the same energy and thoroughness with which they have put through great undertakings in the business world. The movement is thoroughly undenominational.

Trained workers are to divide into groups for the smaller cities and unite for the larger ones. It is designed that they work in unison to show men that the principles of Christianity are applicable to every day life and modern business affairs. One of the group leaders engaged for eight months by the general committee is Raymond Robins.

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A Socialist Equal Suffrage Amendment.

A petition for equal suffrage regardless of sex is in circulation under the direction of the Socialist Party of the United States. It is in this form:

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, over 21 years of age, hereby request you to submit to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, an Amendment to the national Constitution which shall enable women to vote in all elections upon the same terms as men.

This petition is circulating in factories, stores, offices, schools, churches and homes throughout the United States; and labor unions, women's clubs and other progressive organizations are working for it. The Socialist Congressman, Victor L. Berger, is expected to present the petition to Congress and in response to its demand to introduce the necessary Constitutional Amendment.

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Discussing Woman Suffrage in Persia.

An impassioned plea for votes for women was made to the horror-stricken National Council, or parliament, of Persia last month by Hadji Vakil el Rooy, deputy for Hamadan. The Springfield Republican quotes the following from a dispatch describing the exciting episode:

Now Vakil el Rooy has hitherto been a serious politician, and the House listened to his harangue in dead silence, unable to decide whether it was an ill-timed joke or a serious statement. The orator called upon the Ulema [the priesthood] to support him, but support failed him. The Mujtehid [chief priest of the Shiah sect of the Mahometans], whom he invoked by name, rose in his place, and solemnly declared that he had never in a life of misfortune

had his ears assailed by such an impious utterance. Nervously and excitedly he denied to women either souls or rights, and declared that such doctrine would mean the downfall of Islam [the Mahometan religion]. To hear it uttered in the Parliament of the nation had made his hair stand on end. The cleric sat down, and the Mejliss [the parliament] shifted uncomfortably in its seats. The president put the clause in its original form, and asked the official reporters to make no record in the journals of the House of this unfortunate incident. The Mejliss applauded his suggestion, and turned with relief to the discussion of subjects less disturbing than the contemplation of the possibility that women had souls. Yet perhaps some members have their doubts, occasionally privately expressed, whether, after all, woman may not somewhere have a soul.

NEWS NOTES

—Failure of the rice crop in the Philippines threatens famine in those islands.

—The National Eucharistic Congress of the Roman Catholic church opens in Cincinnati on the 28th for a four days' session.

—Reports of the failure of the ex-Shah of Persia to regain his throne, and of his death or capture, persist, but exact news is still lacking. [See current volume, page 957.]

—Dmitry Bogroff, the assassin of Premier Stolypin, was tried by court martial on the 22nd, and sentenced to death by hanging. Sentence was carried out on the 25th. [See current volume, page 976.]

—The French battleship *Liberte* was wrecked by an internal explosion, from unknown causes, in the harbor of Toulon in the early morning of the 25th. About 235 seamen are believed to have lost their lives.

—Lawson Purdy, president of the Tax Department of New York city, spoke at Minneapolis on the 25th and at the Municipal Congress and Exposition in Chicago on the 20th. [See current volume, page 979.]

—The annual convention of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association will be held on October 31 and November 1, in Decatur. The Rev. Anna H. Shaw, the national President, will be the speaker on the first evening.

—Ensign Chas. E. Hozey, commanding the little gunboat *Pampanga*, has been killed on Basilan Island in the Philippines, by the Yacans, a primitive Malayan tribe, and three members of his party wounded. [See vol. xiii, p. 1163.]

—Continuing his speaking tour, President Taft was at Kalamazoo on the 21st, at Peoria on the 22nd, at St. Louis on the 23rd, at Kansas City, Missouri, on the 25th, and at Hutchinson, Kansas, on the 26th. [See current volume, page 979.]

—At the opening session of the third Conservation Congress on the 25th at Kansas City, Missouri, the principal feature of the occasion was President Taft's speech on conservation of the soil. Judge Ben B. Lindsey made a plea for the child. Governor Hadley

of Missouri offered the address of welcome. [See current volume, page 932.]

—A referendum vote submitted by the Illinois Federation of Labor to the labor unions of Illinois, the result of which was announced on the 21st, decides overwhelmingly against the formation of a Labor party. The vote has not yet been tabulated.

—General Antenor Firmin, hero of many Haytian revolutions, and candidate against General Le Conte for the Presidency of Hayti at the forced election last month, died at St. Thomas, in the Danish West Indies, on the 19th. [See current volume, page 877.]

—An ouster suit was brought in the Supreme Court of Kansas on the 23d by the Attorney General to expel from office the four councilmen of Hunnewell who obstruct the Mayor, Ella Wilson, in the performance of her official duties. [See current volume, pages 958, 971.]

—A general strike on the railways of Ireland was called on the 21st by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. The reported cause is the dismissal by the companies of railway employes for refusing to handle the shipments of concerns whose employes are on strike.

—Benjamin Fay Mills announces resumption of his Sunday morning lectures, under the auspices of The Chicago Fellowship, at the Whitney Opera House, Chicago, at 11 o'clock Sunday morning, October 1st, his subject for that date being, "If Christ Came to Chicago!" All seats are free.

—The disturbances in the Chinese province of Szechuan continue, but it is reported that the city of Chen-Tu did not fall into the hands of the rebels, as announced last week, but has been relieved by government forces. Foreigners have not been molested. [See current volume, page 979.]

—Obadiah Gardner, for several terms master of the State Grange of Maine, and a contestant for United States Senator when Senator Johnson was elected, was appointed on the 23rd by Governor Plaisted to the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Frye. [See current volume, pages 62, 82, 854.]

—Sayed Ahmed Arabi Pasha, leader of the military insurrection in Egypt in 1882, died on the 21st at Cairo, Egypt. After his complete defeat at Tel-el-Kebir, Arabi was exiled to Ceylon, but was permitted to return to his home land in 1902. He was 70 years old at the time of his death.

—A coroner's jury at Kissimee, Florida, has held Egbert Gillette, head of the Shaker colony at Ashton, Florida, to await the action of the grand jury for murder. He had administered chloroform to a dying member of the colony, Sadie Marchant, to relieve her of the intense pain she suffered in her dying hours, doing so at her request and with the intention on the part of both to hurry the end.

—Prohibitionists are demanding the retirement from President Taft's cabinet of Secretary of Agriculture Wilson, for consenting to be an honorary vice-president at the forthcoming Brewers' Congress at Chicago. Secretary Wilson was reported on the 19th as explaining that the Brewers' Congress is international, that one of its subjects is agricultural (the cultivation of barley and hops), that his honorary vice-presidency comes to him ex officio as Sec-

retary of Agriculture, and that he will have no actual presiding to do.

—Indictments by the Federal Grand Jury at Boston were presented on the 19th in which the officers and a large stockholder of the United Shoe Machinery Company are charged with criminal violation of the anti-trust laws of Congress. The officers indicted are Sidney W. Winslow, Edward P. Hurd, George W. Brown, William Barbour and Elmer P. Howe, the indicted stockholder being James J. Storow.

—Henry George, Jr., Congressman from New York, spoke in Chicago on the 20th at a dinner of Single-taxers and their friends at the Grand Pacific hotel, on the 22nd before the City Club, and on the same days, respectively, at the Lane technical high school and the Hyde Park high school. He was at Milwaukee on the 21st and 22nd, and at Minneapolis on the 23rd, 24th and 25th. [See current volume, page 934.]

—Margaret A. Haley of Chicago, who went to San Francisco during the summer to attend the convention of the National Educational Association and was detained by the managers of the Woman Suffrage movement in California to campaign the State in behalf of the pending equal suffrage amendment, has been there ever since, speaking from two to three times a day to audiences ranging as high as 3,000 people.

—At a conference of Tory leaders at Belfast, Ireland, on the 25th, resolutions were adopted declaring that they would not acknowledge the authority of any home rule government in Ireland, and a committee was appointed to devise a provisional government for Ulster, to become operative on the day that the Irish home rule bill is passed. The leader of the movement is Sir Edward Carson, member of Parliament for Dublin University.

—A Recall election was held at Wichita, Kansas, on the 25th, at which Mayor Graham and Commissioner Leach were recalled. Commissioner Campbell, against whom the Recall was also directed, was retained in office by the small majority of 38. The successful candidate for Mayor was W. W. Minick, who displaced Mayor Graham by 1,885 majority. Neglect of the prohibition law was the principal ground alleged for the recall.

—The Presidential elections in Mexico come off on next Sunday, October 1. Francisco I. Madero is the candidate of the Progressive and the Catholic parties. General Bernardino Reyes was nominated by a party which took their name from his, but he has since withdrawn from the race, giving as his reason that the country will not be at peace at this time, and that the elections will therefore be illegal. [See current volume, page 933.]

—The case involving the Constitutionality of the Initiative and Referendum as now in force in Oregon with the sanction of the Supreme Court of Oregon, which has long been pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, is expected to come up for argument during the fall or winter. It is the case of the Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Company, upon which a tax of 2 per cent on gross receipts was imposed by Initiative. The company raised the question of Constitutionality under the Federal Constitution. Pillsbury and Sutro of San Francisco are expected to make the argu-

ment for the corporation, and Attorney General Crawford of Oregon, Jackson H. Ralston and George Fred Williams for the people of Oregon. [See current volume, page 302.]

—Sir Robert Hart, Inspector General of Customs in China from 1863 to 1908, when he retired from the Chinese service and returned to England, died on the 20th in the 77th year of his age. It is said of him that he was the most potent link between China and the Western world. He created its customs service; he gave China a comprehensive tariff, and was behind practically every commercial treaty that China made prior to 1908. [See vol. xi, p. 10.]

—The first naval airship to be built for the use of the British government was wrecked on the 24th, within thirty minutes after starting to get it out of the hangar. The first effort to fly the huge craft, which was 512 feet in length, was made last May, when it was found to be too heavy to rise. Alterations in construction were then made. The second trial ended in a collapse, the exact cause of which is not known, but apparently the framework was too weak. The ship cost more than \$400,000.

—At the fourth International Good Roads Congress in session at Chicago last week, a resolution was adopted on the 19th which proposes that "all persons serving sentences in any State penitentiary or in any county, city or town jail, shall be compelled to work upon the public roads during the terms of such service." This resolution was proposed by Wilburn Fairchild of Tacoma, Wash. It was supported by Governor Shafroth of Colorado with the added suggestion that the convicts be rewarded for their work. Mayor Kern of Belleville, while not disapproving the employment of convicts in roadmaking, argued that they should be compensated out of the consequent increase in the value of neighboring lands. Congressman Borland urged on the 24th, the construction by Congress of a national highway from Washington to Gettysburg in memory of Lincoln, instead of an additional monument to the mortuary collection at Washington. New Orleans was chosen for the next convention.

PRESS OPINIONS

Get Ready to Jump.

The (Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.) Progression (ind.), Sept. 11.—The progressives of all parties should be ready for prompt and effective action in the possible if not probable event that the standpatters succeed in naming the candidates for both of the old parties. There is plenty of good progressive timber in both the Republican and Democratic parties, and with two reactionaries in the race a live-wire friend of the people would do some running that would make Wall Street tremble.

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The Recall Is Not a Toy.

The Aberdeen (Washington) Herald (ind.), Sept. 11.—The failure of the attempt to recall Mayor Dilling of Seattle explodes the theory of the opponents of the recall law, that such a law may be easily in-

voked and any officer be recalled by diligent work of his enemies. The attempt in Seattle was well financed, and the effort—which was supported as much to discredit the law as to remove Mayor Dilling—was the last gasp of the old gang to regain control of the city. Its failure is a source of gratification to the friends of clean government, as well as the recall provision.

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The Singletax Movement.

Houston (Tex.) Post, Aug. 15.—The Pacific Coast city of Seattle has unwillingly become a convert to the advisability of supporting the Singletax movement, through the action of Vancouver, a Canadian rival of that city. For five years past Vancouver has been reducing the tax on other property than land, and recently these other taxes have been wholly removed, so far as the city taxes are affected, the land being made to bear it all. Since then the effect has been wonderfully manifest in the impetus given to factory and home building and other improvements, with a corresponding increase in population. . . . The people of Seattle could not close their eyes to the growth and development of Vancouver under the operation of such a tax, and the result has been a growing sentiment in favor of the plan of taxation for that city. Indeed, the movement has gained such strength that five of Seattle's councilmen are pledged to it, and steps have been taken to revise the city charter in order that the Singletax plan may be tested.

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Arizona's Sin.

The (Phila.) Saturday Evening Post (ind.), September 2.—A really big question is involved in Arizona Statehood; but with that question the recall of judges has nothing whatever to do. The real question is that of the right of the people of Arizona to govern themselves within the limits of the Federal Constitution. A veto of the Arizona Statehood bill is a flat denial of that right. The Arizona Constitution is progressive. It provides for initiative and referendum; for the recall of legislative and executive officers who have betrayed the trust reposed in them; and it may easily be amended by the people in any particular at any time. All this, naturally, is highly offensive to the reactionary mind that turns with admiration to the exceedingly conservative and almost unamendable Constitution of New Mexico. But all of these features are found in the constitutions of other States, and the right of the people of a State to frame such government as they choose—provided it is not in conflict with the Federal Constitution—is so clear that conservatism would not have ventured to deny Statehood to Arizona upon any of those counts. No one could seriously argue that recall for judges, any more than recall for governors, violates the Federal Constitution; but that further provision in the Arizona Constitution afforded conservatism a means of expressing its abhorrence of the spirit of the whole document. Being progressive is Arizona's sin.

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The Independence of Judges.

Chicago Examiner (Hearst), August 17.—The American people want an independent judiciary, and

will have it. It is to that very end that they are interested in the Recall. Judges must be made independent not only of executive and legislative officers, but also of money and mobs. The only way to secure aloofness from rival powers and corrupting influences is to bring the judiciary closer to that common sense of the people which is the sovereign and sole reliance in this country. If "judges are not popular representatives" they ought to be. The judges are not a sacred caste, superior to the people, and no good can come of importing the dead language of feudalism into American state papers. The notion that the people of the United States must be safeguarded against themselves—that they are feverish and moblike in political action—is a notion of philosophers who live in books and do not use their eyes. The recorded facts of many generations of American history are all against it. The remedy against the occasional foolishness of majorities is not to be found in bureaucratic obstructionism, the rule of red tape or the interminable tenure of questionable office. The kind of men who aspire to be just judges should embrace the principle of the Recall of the judiciary, because it promises to free that kind of judges from evil communications and give them fresh strength. Americans expect judges to know more about law than majorities do, just as they expect physicians to know more about medicine. An honest judge, with a record behind him, will always be free to decide a legal question differently from what the majority has expected. The Recall will be used not against judges who enlighten the people, but against those who betray the people.

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Prostitutes of Privilege.

The Cincinnati Post (ind.), Sept 13.—If the people of Ohio are eternally vigilant from now until the polls close on November 7th, in respect of their selection of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, they will render the very best possible service in the cause of good government. It is not going to be the simplest thing, this separation of the sheep from the goats among the many candidates for delegates to this Convention. Everything possible will be done by the privileged interests of the State, through their organization, the State Board of Commerce, to mislead and befuddle the voters. The candidacy of "leading citizens," whose reputation for personal rectitude and probity is without taint, but who are known by Privilege to be reactionaries at heart, will be encouraged, in the hope the average voter will be willing to trust to such men the making of a new Constitution. Such men are one of the greatest menaces to the cause of progressivism. . . . A reactionary Constitution will be none the less reactionary because it has been made by "leading citizens" of spotless character and reputation. . . . Between now and election day the voter will be met with all sorts of specious arguments concocted by smooth, plausible, high-salaried prostitutes of Privilege against progressive candidates and principles. An enormous slush fund has been created by the 2,000 corporations and individual capitalists composing the State Board of Commerce to be used where and in what ways it will

do the most good to control the Constitutional Convention in the interest of dollars as against human rights and progress. There is not money enough in Ohio to convert any considerable number of voters away from progressive principles. That is not the danger. The danger is that the shrewd, calculating men behind this movement will succeed in fooling voters into supporting for delegates reactionary wolves wearing sheep's clothing. There is one way and only one way to prevent this; that is for every voter to personally inform himself as to the mental attitude and record of each candidate and the motives which inspire his candidacy.

* * *

The American Moses of Privilege.

The Boston Common (ind.), August 26.—Mr. Taft is the first President within our memory who has contended deliberately that the judiciary should be lifted above the legislative and executive departments and removed from responsibility to the people. His professed fear is that sensational muckrakers and demagogues would so use the recall for judges as to bamboozle the majority of voters and deter strong men from seeking the judicial office. He sees no way to avoid letting the people elect law-makers and executives, but he does not trust them to pass upon judges. He surmises that a judicial autocracy picked by select men would be less dangerous to the public welfare than a judiciary held to a popular accounting and removable at the popular will. This aristocratic point of view is consistent with much in the present administration which has pleased the conservatives and driven liberal Republicans into revolt. It is the old moth-eaten doctrine that a few are wiser and safer than the many—a doctrine especially attractive to the few. But it is not the teaching of history nor is it in accord with the present trend of human progress. A people who are insisting upon more and more democracy—who resent the choosing of candidacies, the whip-cracking of caucuses and the manipulation of legislation by privilege-serving political machines—while casting off these shackles upon the law-making and law-enforcing branches of government, are unable to see why they must make no improvements in the law-interpreting branch, notwithstanding that many judges are creations of the same discredited machines, and are steadily usurping the power to alter the laws which the people have made and are prone to favor the rich and influential. The people cannot reconcile such advice with the democratic conception of government, and they have reason to question, not to resent, the assertion that they are so liable to be bamboozled or that their average instincts for perceptions of justice are inferior to those of any small group holding power without accountability. History shows that Americans in a mass are exceptionally patient and conservative. It is our belief that with the recall over judges they would be more conservative of real justice than the wisest law that Mr. Taft could name. They become dangerous only when fretted; and it is fretting many of them to see their President contemptuous and obstructionary. They do not want their Chief Executive to be so energetic a fighter of Privilege's battles.

Race Hatreds

The Coming Nation (Charles Edward Russell, Socialist), August 12.—Race prejudice is the biggest nonsense in the world, the most venerable of fakes and the most foolish, harmful and preposterous. . . . I have heard Prof. Wilder of Cornell demonstrating on two or three hundred human brains, show that there was no possible difference among them, whether the skins of their former owners were black, white or yellow. Other scientists have shown that the blood that flows through all the veins of all the world is one and indistinguishable. It is proposed then that because of some difference in the color of the skin or the curliness of their hair I shall go to hating somebody. I think I shall have to be excused. . . . If there is anything that life has taught me it is that the hatred of any human being upon any ground whatsoever does not pay. I have no moral sermon to utter about it, but just as a practical proposition it doesn't pay. There is nothing in it for any one but pain and loss, disaster and decline. It costs too much. . . . A Negro in my deliberate judgment, is just like a white man, entitled to exactly the same rights and the same treatment. . . . But if these gentlemen feel that they cannot get along without hating, I can tell them something to hate that will be worth while. Let them hate the system that made of the Negro a slave, and denied to him the opportunity and a chance to live, that still fills the hearts of many men with hatred against him, that still denies him education and equality—hate that. Hate the system that all over the world inflames the hearts of men against one another, fills the world with hatred instead of love and darkness instead of light—hate that. Hate the system that robs every worker of four-fifths of his toil; that enables parasites to live upon his labor; that makes him as truly a slave today as ever the unfortunate African was; that produces war, crime, insanity and epidemics; that is responsible for the slum and all the curses that flow from it; that is responsible for the infinite murders and abominations of child labor; that goes through the world dripping with blood—hate that. Hate the system that is everywhere the foe of democracy, peace and good-will among men; that limits education, knowledge and culture to one little group of the fortunate; that thrives best where the slum is rankest; that corrupts government, overturns liberty, controls courts, rots politics and breeds everywhere one vast cloud of misery and wrong—hate that. Hate the system that produces paupers and millionaires; that surfeits a few with idiotic luxury and deadens the many with drudging toil—hate that. Hate the system that in a world full of abundance reduces three-quarters of the inhabitants to insufficiency and practical destitution—hate that. Hate a system that drives men into prison and women into prostitution—hate that. If they will discover a way by which they can sufficiently and adequately hate this monstrous and diabolical thing that darkens the world and tears at millions of hearts, they will find that they will have no time to hate anybody—not even the Negro.

* * *

We all have to learn, in one way or another, that neither men nor boys get second chances in this

world. We all get new chances to the end of our lives, but not second chances in the same set of circumstances; and the great difference between one person and another is how he takes hold and uses his first chance, and how he takes his fall if it is scored against him.—Thomas Hughes.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

HIS PEOPLE.

For The Public.

Written with the scenes of the Westmoreland County (Pa.) Strike in mind. See *The Public* of June 23, 1911, page 580.

O God, Thy People!

Beyond us sings the thrush the song learned in the solitude of pines and hemlocks,
Where granite rocks and oaks stand living in the hillside.
Below—Thy waters in the purple lights of sunset wait motionless the calling of Thy Spirit.
The wind which goeth where it listeth at Thy command is still.
In the blue distance the far mountains stand ready for the night.

Thy People, God, Thy People!

The day is done, and with the silence and the darkness
Their hands are raised in prayer to Thee, the Father,
Asking Thy gifts of wisdom and of power to serve,
That right may fill the desert places of this world
Where wrong is powerful, and make it blossom as
the rose with beauty and with holiness.

Thy People, God, Thy People!

Who patiently have borne the heat and burden of the day and now beneath the stars cry unto Thee aloud for justice and for hope.
They ask of Thee the right to perfect manhood,
That in Thy likeness they may fill with love Thy world,
Casting the greed and selfishness of lonely action
Into the sea which burns as glass and makes men shine as with the light of heaven.

Thy People, God, Thy People!

O Father, with the tenderness of one who is a mother,
Stretch out Thy strong right arm and softly lead those who have only Thee to succor.
With all the beauty of Thy love comfort and strengthen them,
That they may see with gentle eyes the travail of their souls,
And in their suffering find the meaning of Thy Joy,
and in Thy Peace find perfect satisfaction.

The moonlight floods the world. The song of birds is hushed.
A little breeze comes sweetly through the darkness of the trees,
And God is with His People.

ESTHER T. FOX.

SOME REMARKS ABOUT FUN.

Made by Old Tom Harder.

Yes, sir, it's a fact. Tomkins was laughin' so hard he could hardly breathe. I thought I'd laugh a bit too till I saw what it was all about. There way down the road was a thin miserable lookin' dog with a tin can tied to his tail. He was tryin' his best to git away from the can by puttin' on his high speed, but the can stayed right with him an' his actions was calculated to make you laugh if you didn't stop to think. I didn't say haw-haw mor'n twice till my thinker spoke up an' said: "S'pose you were the dog, would it be funny?"

Yes, things looks different on the other side. It pays to turn 'em over before you laugh too hard. What's awful funny to one man may be terrible sorrowful to the other feller. Boys gits lots o' fun stonin' frogs. If we should ever hear from the frogs their opinion would be some different. Grown up men, old enough to be grand-fathers, seem to git a lot o' fun a shootin' little birds. If they would put themselves in the birds' place a minute or two, an' take an imaginary dose o' bird shot, the funny part of it would vanish.

When I was a small boy I laughed myself most to death hearin' 'em tell about tyn' the boys' clothes in hard knots while they was in the swimmin' hole. I didn't see how there could be any-thing funnier on earth. When I was bigger I tried the joke on my chum. He caught me at it, an' while I was laughin' good an' plenty, plum full o' joy, he climbed out o' the water, an' took a heap o' fun himself in givin' me a black eye an' a bloody nose. I didn't see anything to laugh at for a week after that amusin' episode.

Most things we laugh about ain't half way funny if you turn 'em round an' look on the other side. Most o' folks is brought up to be always lookin' out for a good time. If they are fixed so they can get the good times when they think they want 'em, they get gorged with the fun, an' in the very nater o' things git sour an' crabbed an' can't enjoy anything at all.

Then there's a whole lot o' the people that think the way to have fun is to break all the laws o' morality an' decency, an' spend all the money they can beg, borrow or steal a smashin' the ten commandments into little bits an' some more. The real funny thing about it is that these fellers think they are enjoyin' themselves, an' feel reel grieved when the peace officers interfere with the cold bottles an' the hot birds an' other funny things that go long with 'em.

How'd an' ole farmer like me know about such things? By readin' an' listenin' an' thinkin'. Tomkins was tellin' me jest the other day 'bout his chum. This feller had sich an appetite for hilarity he couldn't satisfy it round these diggin's an' went to Chicago to lay in a stock. Chi-

Chicago's next to Parce in the minds o' some kinds o' fun hunters. So the chum went to the city to investigate them redlight precincts that makes policemen so sleepy they can't see anything wrong goin' on. He had a hundred dollars saved up, an' he remarks to Tomkins that them Chicago fellers would find him wide awake an' comin' all the time. He expected to bring back more money than he started with. The fun he had won't all bear tellin', but it seems he went to one o' them big hotel rooms that's copied after ole Babylon or Pompay, where people knew how to be wicked in more ways than our 'ristocrats have invented yet. There he met a nice man that used to go to school with his gran'pa. Gran'pa's friend asked him to have a little wine, an' then introduced him to some 'ristocratic ladies, that was awful sociable but didn't spare the wine when it went round. Gran'pa's friend borrowed what money the chum had with him, an' the party went to see the redlights. The police picked the chum from the sidewalk where he was sleepin', the next mornin' about sunrise, an' he telegraphed Tomkins for carfare.

I couldn't see anything 'specially ludicrous in a man losin' all his money an' senses an' goin' to sleep on the sidewalk. The fact that bad men an' women got the better of the feller that wanted to be bad because he thought there was joy in bein' bad, didn't seem so awful funny to me, but Tomkins laughed about it so much he gained ten pounds in a week.

Well, I suppose we was made to laugh as well as to cry. It's likely we was intended to have a little joy as we go 'long; but the puzzle of it to me is why we should laugh at the misfortunes of others, an' how it comes that so many folks think there is joy in doin' the things that the experience of the ages shows to be wrong. Yes, sir! Some things is too deep an' wide for my feeble understandin'.

GEORGE V. WELLS.

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A MODEL OBITUARY WITH A MORAL.

Tribute of the St. Louis Mirror of September 14, by William Marion Reedy, to the One-time Boss of St. Louis.*

Much solemn passing of editorial judgment has there been upon the death of Edward Butler, once this city's undisputed Democratic boss. But why judge him? Edward Butler was a good man, according to his lights; a better man than most who

*We are sure that neither the spirit in which the brilliant and thoughtful editor of the St. Louis Mirror wrote this unique obituary, nor ours in reproducing it in The Public, will be misunderstood by any reader of good feeling and good sense. It is not one of those hollow tributes to a departed enemy of society with many surviving friends, which are in the spirit of the maxim that only good may be said of the dead. Its spirit is that of

laud him, with careful reservation. He was, as I knew him, truer to his ideals than most of those who fought him. He never was a hypocrite, condoning sins he had a mind to, while damning those he was not inclined to. He "played the game" as he learned it from the "best" people. He was a man of strength and acumen and he believed in taking all that those qualities might get him. He had a powerful mind and a strong will and he allied himself with like men to accomplish their purposes, which they deemed good for the community because they were good for themselves. Edward Butler laid claim to a large share of the credit for developing this city. By his political power he aided in the development of great properties. He used his political power in the only way that political power could be used for such ends. He employed force or strategy as either seemed better fitted to achieve results. And upon the results of his work were erected great fortunes, some of the beneficiaries of which today hold Butler to have been a bad man. But while they held Butler to have been a bad man, it is not noticeable that any of them are giving up their fortunes.

Butler was as good as the best of us who "play the game," better than most of us, for he had not our light. He was a real Super-man in the materialistic sense; he was "beyond good and evil" because he did not see them. Be sure he never thought he corrupted anyone. Most men were corrupt to begin with and through that they could be "got," so he "got" them. If he used human tools, he did not despise them. They were simply "human, all too human."

Butler was a personality of much attractiveness. He had a head and face like Aesop, the philosopher fabulist. Its granitic ruggedness was shot through with great comedic lines and his eyes went twinkling through you as he spoke. He was a humorist and a wit and those gifts carried him through many an ugly fight. He could "size up" a situation or a man in a sentence. He could prevaricate like a Bengali, but when he took to truth-telling, other folks "took to the woods." He had an adorable cynicism as to proclaimed motives and a titanic scorn for reformers, especially as most reformers had, at various times, profited by those labors of his which they affected to condemn. In a caucus he would prick a pretentious bubble reputation with a word and strip a hypocrite to his very bones. He went after an enemy, in his earlier years, like an Indian and nothing was too desperate to be done to accomplish that ene-

simple justice to a man of the type of Boss Tweed. In no respect minimizing his deadly faults, it nevertheless marshals forth his primitive virtues in due proportion; and it gives him merited credit, moreover, for his public service in ultimating the social canker that festers at the heart of society. Mr. Reedy is to be congratulated for an obituary which is in substance as frank, yet fair, as it is novel and tender in conception and brilliant in form.

my's ruin. On the other hand, he was a Providence to an army of people and forgot nor friends or favors. Often he kept his word to his financial hurt, and often he did his best in politics for men he knew would lose, or, worse, for men he knew would not reward his services. There was a large vein of geniality in him and he was a curt conversationalist whose talk would put one of our modern epigrammatists to the blush. He bore denunciation, especially when it came from those he thought had no right to denounce him, with a comico-philosophic resignation. He would "let 'em rave" for a while and then he would go and get himself interviewed and the interview would make the town rock with ironic laughter against his enemies. But when his parish priest denounced him from the altar for countenancing evils that made for political power, he said nothing, except that politics and religion were two different things. His Standard theater shows were denounced, but he said no one was compelled to see them, and there were fashionable shows that were worse. If he bought a franchise, how else was he to get it? And there's no answer, so long as franchises are given. He was no sociologer or political economist. If men were to give, to men who would pay for it, what belonged to everybody, he didn't see that the givers had not as good a right to a profit as the receivers. And his way of carrying an election was different from the other fellow's only in that it was more often successful.

"Col. Ed." was typical of his extremely pragmatic day and generation. He had all the picturesque virtues, as a politician; courage, loyalty, and fortitude in trouble. In private he was a most devotedly affectionate husband and father, and a friend who bore an Atlas weight of his friends' infirmities. He commanded a vast devotion and was much beloved by men of power like himself and by people of no power, but their helplessness. It was his character that compelled people. Whatever he may have been, he was himself, without trappings or disguise, without, as Stevenson said, capitulation. His gentler qualities will be longer and more deservedly remembered than his qualities of power, so often misdirected. Those latter qualities were misdirected by the forces of the time into which he was born. He made himself, from a journeyman blacksmith, a big man in politics and finance, and he did it in the ways followed by other men. In doing it, he taught us gradually how and why it was wrong, though he could not be brought to see it. So, in his big, finely baronial way, he too served, and at the end not a few of his antagonists of old could say, with heart in their words, the world had better spared a better man.

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The greatest danger of the man who has a command of language is, that ere he is aware, language will have command of him.—Puck.

BOOKS

CONGESTION IN NEW YORK.

Industrial Causes of Congestion of Population in New York City. By Edward Ewing Pratt, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Economics and Statistics, New York School of Philanthropy. Published for Columbia University, by Longmans, Green & Co. New York City, and P. S. King & Son, London. 1911.

Professor Pratt's thesis in the Political Science studies (Vol. x, No. 1) of Columbia University, concentrates attention upon the industrial causes of congestion of population, using the term "industrial" in a rather narrow sense and applying it to New York City alone. But so extensive is his work, even within that restricted sphere, that this thesis occupies 250 pages of printed matter.

The author distinguishes "concentration of population" from "congestion of population." *Concentration* "describes the movement of population from the thinly populated districts to certain large centers." He accounts for this fundamentally by (1) improvements in agriculture necessitating less labor relatively for food production, (2) growth of commercial centers with development and improvement of transportation, and (3) growth of industrial centers with improvement in productive processes. But *congestion* is caused by (1) concentration of industries, (2) dependence upon proximity of means of support, (3) poverty, (4) faulty systems of taxation and assessment, (5) speculation in land values, (6) gregarious habits of nationalities, races and classes, (7) the "perverse individualism" or "pseudodemocratic sentiment" which lets men use their property so as to yield themselves the greatest benefit and to live as they see fit regardless of overcrowding, (8) physical peculiarities of location, (9) converging of transportation routes, (10) lack of proper city-planning, (11) ignorance, (12) lack of adequate rapid transit. Evidently the author's strong suit is not generalization, although he makes a halting essay at it with a classification of the foregoing causes of congestion into *positive and negative* and *economic and social*. But generalization seldom is and possibly ought never to be the strong suit of fact-gatherers—except, of course, such rudimentary forms of generalization as will prevent the fact-gatherer from mixing up his facts. Professor Pratt's thesis is naturally enough valuable especially for its collection of facts.

When he comes to remedies, the influence upon him of habits of thought as a professional philanthropist is strong. He thinks there must be "a general, broad, inclusive program," wherein the remedies most to be emphasized are "city planning in its full significance, the establishment of sub-

urban centers, the provision of low-rent homes for workmen, and the improvement of transit facilities."

One of the author's most significant tables with reference to congestion shows an average in all the Boroughs of New York of less than 24 persons to the acre, and in Manhattan alone (the old city) of only 166 persons. At an average 24 persons means only 5 families, and 166 persons only 30 families. Why should any city land be congested with population if only 5 families to the acre, or even 30 families, live upon it? Certainly not from insufficient space. Of course allowance must be made for streets, parks, public buildings and business and factory space; but if you cut out 50 per cent for full allowance, and an enormous allowance it would be, you still have only 60 families to the acre for Manhattan and only 10 for the whole city of New York. This would allow those 60 families a flat apiece in a three-story house on a lot 20 by 100 feet after making that enormous allowance for streets, etc., or the 10 families a whole house apiece on a lot 40 by 100 feet. Yet we find from Professor Pratt's facts that congested spots run to as high an average as 1,000 and even 1,700 persons—equal to from 200 to 300 families—to the acre.

Only one further collection of facts is necessary to furnish the basis for a valid inference as to the fundamental cause for that otherwise inexplicable congestion. It is the area and value of the vacant land in Manhattan and also in the whole city. But these facts, highly important even if inconclusive, are not tabulated in Professor Pratt's otherwise rich collection of statistics—perhaps because his interpretation of the term "industrial causes" would exclude their consideration from a thesis thus limited. In that case it is to be hoped that either he or some other investigator for the Political Science department of Columbia may in another thesis expand the scope of the inquiry in its explanatory aspects.

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AN ALLEGORY INRELIEVED BY HUMOR.

The Horroboos. By Morrison L. Swift. The Liberty Press, Boston. Price, \$1.12.

The critic who searches for the motive of this narrative must carry a lantern and scrutinize all the dark passages of the cavern of horrors which is supposed to have a reason for being. If, after diligent quest, he finds a "moral" in the caricatured reflection of the white man's civilization, he can only wish that the picture might have been drawn with more direct and fewer strokes, as becomes the brush of the savage artist.

The mythical story is supposed to be told on the last night of the century by a man who, aspiring to become a multi-millionaire, goes out as a missionary to a tribe of cannibals in the gold fields of

Africa. By a series of stratagems the hero of this blood-curdling tale succeeds not only in escaping the horrible persecutions that threaten him but he gradually becomes an intimate of the King of the Horroboos, who instructs him in the religion of his tribe, while the pseudo missionary assumes to teach the ethics of civilization and Christianity with a sardonic significance and a diabolical application of principles that destroys the similitude which a lighter touch would have brought out.

The allegory proceeds with a succession of stereopticon views of infernal scenes in which the ignorant and savage hordes are brought under the control of the self-seeking master, who with pious preachments converts them to the practical doctrine of "the necessity of the Fat Few for the existence of the Lean Many."

It is needless to follow the sickening details of a "missionary work" which at length realizes the multi-millionaire's dream—a veritable nightmare in itself. The fabulous fortune in gold and diamonds could logically serve only as a temptation to other robbers; but the murderous retribution must be searched out by the courageous reader of a parable which, all in all, is fit amusement for the inmate of an insane asylum.

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Social Reform and the Constitution. By Frank J. Goodnow. American Social Progress Series, volume 7. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Making Both Ends Meet. The Income and Outlay of New York Working Girls. By Sue Ainslee Clark and Edith Wyatt. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York, 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

A Letter from the Minister to the People of the First Congregational Society of Jamaica Plain (Mass.). By Charles F. Dole.

Money and Currency. Some Definitions and Some Deductions. By D. W. Ravenscroft. Published by the Author, Petaluma, Calif., 1911. Price, 50 cents.

Labour Unrest. By R. L. Outhwaite. The Young Liberal Policy. Published by the Dumfriesshire League of Young Liberals, Newbie, Annan, Scotland. Price, one penny.

The Real Meaning of Protection. By B. G. M. Baskett, Secretary to the International Free Trade League. Published by Knight & Forster, Water Lane, Leeds, England, 1911.

Indirect Benefits of Sugar-Beet Culture. Letter from and data prepared by Truman G. Palmer. Senate Document Number 76, presented by Mr. Smoot. July 25, 1911.

Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The Veto and the Recall. Speech of Hon. John A. Martin of Colorado in the House of Representatives, August 19, 1911. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

PERIODICALS

The American Journal of Sociology.

The first part of a study of "The Relation of Fatigue to Industrial Accidents," by Emory S. Bogardus, appears in the American Journal of Sociology (Chicago) for September, this paper consisting, besides the introduction, of a "sketch of the fatigue processes" as the physiologists and psychologists describe them.

A. L. G.

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The American City.

"Is there any special reason why the state is concerned about education in the school sense and is not concerned about the general problem of the welfare of the child?" asks Henry S. Curtis in the September issue of "The American City" (93 Nassau street, New York), now under new editorial management. There should be in every city, he contends, co-ordinate with the fire, police and other departments, a child welfare department to represent the interests of the children.

A. L. G.

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Canadian Reciprocity.

Amos Pinchot's "Reciprocity Illusion," in Success for October, is an instructive and opportune funeral sermon on Mr. Taft's reciprocity agreement, now deceased. It tells what the deceased was and why it was; but not where it is, having got into type before the Canadians killed it. This makes Mr. Pinchot's article all the more appropriate, however, and none the less useful. You know from the newspapers that the reciprocity agreement was killed in Canada, and if you don't know what it was and why, Mr. Pinchot's article will tell you.

† †

Tom L. Johnson and Senator La Follette.

La Follette's autobiography begins in the October American and Tom L. Johnson's continues in the October Hampton-Columbian. The experience of these two men in politics was astonishingly alike. Every detail differs, but they were hunting in the same jungle and under the constant menace of the same Beast. Many of La Follette's observations cut to the core; such, for instance, as his warning that "tyranny and oppression are just as possible under democratic forms as under any other," and his lesson that "democracy is a life" and "it is only as those of every generation who love democracy resist with all their might the encroachment of its enemies that the ideals of representative government can even be nearly approximated." Like Johnson, La Follette fell early under the influence of Henry George's writings. Although the circumstances were different and the particular effects not

quite the same, a true man was developed out of the experience in each case. This first installment of the La Follette autobiography—which, by the way, is written for the purpose not merely of relating events of the author's life, but "of exhibiting the struggle for a more representative government which is going forward in this country and to cheer on the fighters for that cause"—brings the narrative down to the close of the author's second term as district attorney and his election to Congress. Episodes of his subsequent career, which serve also as a brilliant sidelight on the man's whole character, will be found in last week's Saturday Evening Post of Philadelphia, from the facile pen of Herbert Quick. The October installment in the Hampton-Columbian, of Tom L. Johnson's story of his nine years' war with Privilege, is devoted to the three-cent fare fight in Cleveland. True in every word of it, this story is a complete refutation of the anonymous falsehoods that have been published about Johnson since his death, and is besides an intensely interesting account of a successful fight against enormous odds. Like a word from beyond the Great Divide is Johnson's message in this story to the friends he has everywhere left behind him: "This is the first thing to be kept in mind—that the battle is not a battle against persons, but against unnatural conditions, against a wrong social order."

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Land Values of New York.

The Record and Guide (11 to 15 East 24th St., New York), in Section Two of its Brooklyn Long Island edition for September 16th, publishes a complete set of the land value maps of the city of New York for 1911, as prepared by the New York Department of Taxes and Assessments. These maps, as explained by Lawson Purdy, president of that Department, are designed "to show at a glance the land values in different neighborhoods as assessed for the year 1911." Indicated in the streets on the maps are "the values per front foot of normal lots 100 feet deep, which are not subject to corner influence," and "in the case of land held as acres, the price in dollars per acre is marked at a point to indicate approximately the center of the tract," while along the water front "the bulkhead line is valued per lineal foot, and the figures are placed as nearly as possible on the line." Although "prepared for the purpose of assisting in the consideration of applications for reduction," and "generally in order to bring about a more uniform assessment of land values," these maps will be found highly useful, especially in agricultural communities, as documents and data for making converts to the Singletax idea. For example, on the easterly Broadway front of the block between Wall street and Pine, the land value is given at \$25,000 per front foot of 100 feet depth. This being without regard to the influence of street corners, it is the value at the central point between Wall and Pine. Think of what that exhibit would mean to a working farmer who supposes that the Singletax on land values would raise farm taxes and lessen city taxes—of what it would mean to him if he once grasped the fact. How many farms like his would it take to equal in value that little strip of Broadway land, 100 feet long and 1 foot wide. That little strip of building site, worth

at least \$25,000, is equal in value to 10 or more ordinary farming sites; and a small building lot of such land would be worth 200 such farm sites. These values, which are the basis of the Singletax idea, show a ratio of \$200 in land value taxes on the Broadway lot for every \$1 of such taxes on the ordinary farm. Though that example of city valuation is extreme, the maps show ratios ranging downward to lowest levels of city land values, and even these indicate taxes (under the Singletax) of about as much for a single acre in New York as for a whole ordinary farm. No better Singletax propaganda material could be desired, whether for farmers or villages or small cities—yes, or large cities—than such maps, if accompanied with appropriate local applications and explanations. The price is \$1; by mail \$1.15.



The Twentieth Century.

Charles Howard Shinn writes in the September Twentieth Century Magazine on "The Greatest Common Denominator of Reforms." "Evidently, the proper selection of one's reform is even more essential to happiness than the choice of one's profession. The young person wanders questioningly about, making shy acquaintance with all kinds of causes, some clad in silk and some in homespun. He goes on for a while in his erratic way, with conservation, equal suffrage, singletax, city government and everything else that smiles upon him, until he finds one of these, or some other and particular reform, which takes the strongest hold upon him. Sometimes I feel tempted to whisper: 'These high matters of loyalty are excellent, young sir, but let me add that when you find and go courting your truly radiant

reform, you must not neglect to make sure that she will be neighborly with her neighbors.' It is true that each must run his own furrow, but all of us are plowing the same earth, nevertheless, and under the same skies." In the same number, J. Bellangee has an excellent and beautifully illustrated article on "Fairhope the Forerunner," in which he tells the story of this singletax colony down on Mobile Bay; and incidentally comments as follows: "Undoubtedly, Fairhope is making good in her demonstration of her principles. If she has not completely illustrated them, she can at least truthfully maintain that no experience that has been met in her work has indicated that one of her claims, nor one of the claims of Singletaxers in general, has been cast in doubt. What she has so far done would be more convincing if it had been possible to have kept her work a little more clear-cut in character. To explain: She has many things in advance of other towns similarly situated, but among them all there is nothing but her telephone system, I think, that has been paid for entirely by ground rents. To that the individual users attach their own 'phones and bear one-half the cost of switching, or \$3 per year. The trouble has been that kind friends have been too eager to patronizingly assist us to demonstrate the Singletax, by carrying in part the expenses that should have been paid out of ground rents. The results were thus confused, so that critics, with more justification than we relish, point to the fact that donations as well as land rentals have been the sources of improvements that we enjoy. . . . Meanwhile Fairhope, on the firm foundation that she has built, will patiently and persistently continue her work, . . . by her mistakes teaching the thoughtful, and by her successes convincing the world that the

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Unahted States. No, suh, dey don'. Dey talks foreign an' English. English, yes, suh. An' dat English, dat ain't de same as what we all talks. No, suh. Dey says down dah, dey say 'ahn't' for 'a'n't' and 'cahn't' for 'can't' an' such like doin's. Yes, suh. An' you wan' to know how come dey talk dat fool talk? Why, suh, when de English done busted away f'um de Unahted States, day was so 'shamed de'd evah belonged to us dat they traht to get eben, and jes' out'n spite dey done change de pronouncement of de whole language."—Sunday Magazine.

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