

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Big Business Conspiracies.

The disclosure of "interlocking directorates" made last week by the "money-trust" committee of Congress, accounts for many a Big Business operation the strings whereof have not heretofore been generally visible. In Chicago, for instance, the "putting over" of the grafting traction ordinances of 1907, the defeat that year of Dunne by Busse for Mayor, the Big Business boulders that confronted Dunne in his administration and the Big Business traps that were laid for him, the tricky city charter that came near going through, and the mysterious influences that sprang up not only in Dunne's path but in his official household—they are all plain enough in the light of these "interlocking directorate" disclosures. "Interlocking directorates" not only stimulate business opinion in politics; they create it.



And they are still "on the job." Watch the "city beautiful" agitation. Watch the lop-sided vocational-school system which the Illinois branch of the steel trust is trying to launch. Watch the La Salle street tax exemption scheme. In them all, the "interlocking" influences may be easily detected. What the "city beautiful" lay-out, or the vocational-school hand-out, or the LaSalle-street tax amendment is to Chicago, such is the Aldrich banking scheme to the country at large. Big Business is a big conspiracy. A few shrewd rascals of the well-groomed class utilize special-privilege

laws to gain control of public service and private enterprise. A few such men, unscrupulous and masterful, can and do dominate wealth-production and distribution, and thereby political action, by placing themselves and their agents in the directorates of great financial, commercial, manufacturing and public service corporations.



Making War Against War.

In calling upon workers of every class to remain idle for a continuous period of 24 hours, the French General Federation of Labor came pretty close to the great heart of Christianity. Perhaps the leaders of French workingmen see that the crushing burden of war falls most heavily upon labor, which pays most of the money cost of war and most of its terrible cost in life and suffering. In view of the insane haste of the nations to "promote peace by preparing for war," there is a touch of sanity in the order of the General Federation of Labor where it says: "Only by complete cessation of the means of production and locomotion and of work of all kinds can labor strikingly demonstrate its firm determination to refuse to co-operate with this program of death, which is contrary to the ideas of progress and humanity." If churchmen, politicians, diplomats and statesmen, now so busy handling in gingerly fashion the problem of abolishing war, would ask the workingmen of the world to settle the matter, it would be speedily settled on the plan of Him who spoke nineteen hundred years ago for "Peace on Earth."



The Source of Meat Trust Power.

Washington opinion is reported as looking upon the Stockyards decision just made by the Supreme Court* as sweeping in its character and probable effect. Be this as it may, that decision has at any rate touched upon the raw with reference to the power of trusts. It confirms the authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission to prohibit favors by Stockyard corporations to meat packers, which is the point from which the meat trust has drawn its vitality. To control stockyards is to control the prices of animals coming in and the prices of meat going out. Abolish every other cause for abnormal prices in respect of the meat supply, and control of the stockyards would still be effective. Perhaps regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission may not be the best way of paralyzing this vital organ of the beef trust, but it is at all events a hitting out in the right direction.

*See Public of December 13, page 1187.

THE REAL FOOD PROBLEM.

The New York State Food Investigating Commission has issued a report by its Committee on Markets, Prices and Costs.

This report deals with the food problem in some of its aspects, but not in all. For example, it explains that "combinations to fix prices, whether of sellers or buyers, have only been examined incidentally as part of the economic inquiries into cost." It may be noted that the report adds little information to that branch of the subject.

Nevertheless, many of the committee's findings are interesting.

The consumer will no longer be able to lay the flattering unction to his soul that he himself is entirely blameless for the high cost of living. Consumers buy in packages when they could buy cheaper in bulk; they want choice cuts of meat and insist on eating steaks and chops, although these things are becoming extinct; they run up bills and sometimes neglect to pay; they have a weakness for trading stamps, and they want small packages sent home instead of carrying them. One flagrant instance of the last-named offense is related, which aroused a grocer to rebellion and caused him to declare that he would deliver no order of less than three eggs or of one pint of milk! It is partly owing to these mental and moral imperfections of the consumer that the retail business is so expensive; for the committee finds that while the retailer adds an average of 33½% to the price of goods, only 5% of this is profit. The rest is cost. So, from an economic standpoint, the retailer is a failure and must go. "The high operating costs of the individual retailer," says the report, "make his elimination inevitable." When he does go, it may be some consolation to him to remember that he will lose only five per cent, and be in no further danger of hearing over the telephone a soft soprano request for an egg and a half.

Wholesalers and jobbers also have their troubles. They are hampered by inadequate market, trucking and storage facilities; and this, of course, does not help to solve the problem of the high cost of living.



What of the producer?

A visitor from Mars might imagine that in this era of high prices the producer is rolling in prosperity and working overtime to increase his output. He might be if the high prices were going to him. But the Committee does not find this to be

the case. Here are some quotations from its report:

The producer seems to be receiving about forty per cent of the retail price. This is absurd. He should receive from sixty to seventy per cent. The failure to secure good prices and fair treatment for producers is very injurious to our food supply. The producer [of milk in this case] is placed in a position where he must either submit to the prices fixed by these interested dealers or go out of business. Many farmers have chosen the latter alternative.

The failure of the producer to realize an adequate price the Committee ascribes largely to lack of organization and to the fact that goods have to be shipped to commission merchants whose methods are not always above suspicion. The result is that—

producers are restive and indignant, and nearby sources of supply are drying up. Albany does not receive one-quarter of her butter, eggs, chickens, or veal from the excellent farm lands around the city. New York gets its fresh vegetables from the most distant points. Buffalo is mostly fed from the West.

The only prosperous farmers mentioned in the report are certain able agriculturists of Long Island, who sold their farms to suburban homes development companies, and have retired to live on the interest of the money. Land monopoly doesn't seem to hurt this kind of farmer, if he may be called a farmer.



But suppose we had a substantial slice of the millennium. Consider the retailer as eliminated, the consumer and the commission man reformed, the producer organized, and market and trucking and storage facilities improved up to date.

Undoubtedly there would result great economies in the business of producing and distributing food. But who would get the benefit of the saving?

The producer?

The consumer?

Or would they divide it between them?

Or would someone else step in and see that prices were kept still high to the consumer and low to the producer? The Committee distinctly recognizes this possibility when it observes in its report that "the problem of cheaper food supplies is only in part a matter of facilities, for the saving from improved facilities might be absorbed by the handlers and the price paid the producers might be so meagre as to reduce production of food."

Apparently it was not within the province of the Committee to investigate this problem. It is the real food problem nevertheless. And if it were investigated, other interests than those of food

handlers might be disclosed as the probable absorbers of savings from improved facilities.

WM. E. M'KENNA.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

A CORRECTION.

Your note on George Burnham, in the issue of December 20th (page 1211) is incorrect, and I thought you might like to correct it in a subsequent issue. The man who died was George Burnham, Sr. He was formerly the President of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, as you say; and was the father of George Burnham, Jr. George Burnham, Jr., is the man who is identified with civil service reform and who is the Treasurer of the National Municipal League. George Burnham, Jr., is also President of the City Club of Philadelphia. I am glad to say that George Burnham, Jr., is living and apparently in good health.

Haverford, Pa., December 21.

C. G. HOAG.

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 Monday, December 23, 1912.

Interlocking Directorates of Great Corporations.

At the session of the "money trust" investigating committee of Congress on the 18th, at which J. Pierpont Morgan began his testimony, elaborate charts of "interlocking directors" in leading industrial and financial institutions were exhibited. The charts are based upon reports by 30 statistical experts. [See current volume, pages 35, 172, 196.]



The concerns thus interlocked are as follows:

New York.—J. P. Morgan & Co., First National Bank, Guaranty Trust Co., Bankers' Trust Co., National City Bank, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., National Bank of Commerce, Hanover National Bank, Chase National Bank, Astor Trust Co., New York Trust Co., Blair & Co. and Speyer & Co.

Boston and New York.—Lee Higginson & Co. (with the greater banks, trust companies and insurance companies, and transportation systems, and producing and trading corporations and public utility corporations, through representation upon their boards of directors), and Kidder, Peabody & Co.

Chicago.—Continental and Commercial National Bank, First National Bank, and Illinois Trust and Savings Bank

According to the summary by the experts as reported by the Congressional committee—the firm members and directors whose affiliations

are thus shown number 180. In the aggregate they hold 385 directorships in 41 banks and trust companies having total resources of \$3,832,000,000 and total deposits of \$2,834,000,000; 50 directorships in 11 insurance companies having total assets of \$2,646,000,000; 155 directorships in 31 railroad systems having a total capitalization of \$12,193,000,000 and a total mileage of 163,200; 6 directorships in 2 express companies and 4 directorships in 1 steamship company, with a combined capital of \$245,000,000 and gross income of \$97,000,000; 98 directorships in 28 producing and trading corporations having a total capitalization of \$3,583,000,000 and total gross annual earnings in excess of \$1,145,000,000, and 48 directorships in 19 public utility corporations having a total capitalization of \$2,826,000,000 and total gross annual earnings in excess of \$428,000,000; in all 746 directorships in 134 corporations having total resources or capitalization of \$25,825,000,000.

By the experts' explanation of their charts, J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., the First National Bank, the National City Bank, the Guaranty Trust Co. and the Bankers' Trust Co., considered together, have the following "interlocked" representation in boards of directors: 118 directors in 34 banks and trust companies having total resources of \$2,679,000,000 and total deposits of \$1,983,000,000; 34 directors in ten insurance companies, having total assets of \$2,293,000,000; 105 directors in 32 transportation systems, having a total capitalization of \$11,784,000,000 and a total mileage (excluding express companies and steamship lines) of 150,200; 63 directors in 24 producing and trading corporations, having a total capitalization of \$3,339,000,000; 25 directors in 12 public utility corporations, having a total capitalization of \$2,150,000,000. In all, 341 directors in 112 corporations having aggregate resources or capitalization of \$22,245,000,000. By the same official explanation J. P. Morgan & Co., the Guaranty Trust Co., the Bankers' Trust Co. and the First National Bank together have the following "interlocked" representation on boards of directors:

89 directors in such banks and trust companies; 29 directors in such insurance companies; 78 directors in such transportation systems; 49 directors in such producing and trading corporations; 16 directors in such public utility corporations. In all 261 directors.

J. P. Morgan & Co., the Guaranty Trust Company and the Bankers' Trust Co. together have by the same official explanation —

78 directors in such banks and trust companies; 29 directors in such insurance companies; 64 directors in such transportation systems; 44 directors in such producing and trading corporations, and 14 directors in such public utility corporations. In all 229 directors.

Besides showing the above, and the affiliations

in detail of each of the large financial institutions with other institutions, including banks, trust companies, railway, steamship, industrial companies, etc., the summary further shows that—

J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Guaranty Trust Co. have 3 firm members or directors in common; that J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Bankers' Trust Co. have 3 firm members or directors in common; that J. P. Morgan & Co. and the First National Bank have 3 firm members or directors in common; that the First National Bank and the Guaranty Trust Co. have 3 directors in common; that the First National Bank and the Bankers' Trust Co. have 5 directors in common; that the Guaranty Trust Co. and the Bankers' Trust Co. have 9 directors in common; that of the 9 directors of the Chase National Bank, 5 are also directors of the First National Bank; that 2 members of J. P. Morgan & Co., 3 directors of the First National Bank, 12 directors of the Guaranty Trust Co., 4 directors of the Bankers' Trust Co. and 3 directors of the National City Bank are also directors of the National Bank of Commerce of New York.

With reference to the three "interlocked" Chicago concerns—the Continental and Commercial Bank, the First National Bank and the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank, the report shows that—

the Continental and Commercial National Bank has 24 directors in 6 banks and trust companies, namely: New York Trust Co., National City Bank, (New York); Astor Trust Co., (New York); Merchants' Loan and Trust Co., (Chicago); Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank, (Chicago); Central Trust Co., (Chicago). Total resources, \$506,000,000; gross deposits, \$343,000,000. Two directors in 2 insurance companies, namely: Equitable Life Assurance Society, Home Insurance Co. Total assets, \$530,000,000. Eleven directors in 9 railroad systems, namely: Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, Chicago, Great Western Railroad, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, Erie Railroad, Great Northern Railroad, Illinois Central Railroad, Southern Railway, Union Pacific Railroad. Total capitalization, \$3,721,000,000. Total mileage, approximately 59,000. Nine directors in 7 producing and trading companies, namely: American Sugar Refining Co., Armour & Co., Baldwin Locomotive Works, Intercontinental Rubber Co., International Harvester Co., Pullman Co., United States Steel Corporation. Total capitalization, \$1,944,000,000. Gross annual income in excess of \$792,000,000. Three directors in 3 public utility companies, namely: Chicago Elevated Railways, Commonwealth Edison Co., Hudson Companies and Hudson and Manhattan Railroad. Total capitalization, \$268,000,000. Total income, \$26,000,000. In all 49 directors in 27 corporations with capitalization or resources of \$6,969,000,000.

The First National Bank has 29 directors in 6 bank and trust companies, namely: First Trust and Savings Bank, (Chicago); Illinois Trust and Savings Bank, (Chicago); Chase National Bank, (New York); Equitable Trust Co., (New York); First National Bank, (New York); New York Trust Co., (New

York). Total resources, \$610,000,000. Total deposits, \$457,000,000. Two directors in one insurance company, namely: Equitable Life Assurance Society, having total assets of \$504,000,000. Fifteen directors in 14 railroad systems, namely: Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, Chicago, Great Western Railroad, Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, Erie Railroad, Great Northern Railroad, Missouri Pacific Railroad, New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, Pere Marquette Railroad, Seaboard Air Line, Southern Pacific Railroad, Union Pacific Railroad, Wabash Railroad. Total capitalization, \$5,866,000,000. Total mileage, 78,000. Nine directors in 7 producing and trading companies, namely: Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., General Electric Co., International Harvester Co., Lackawanna Steel Co., National Biscuit Co., Pullman Co., United States Steel Corporation. Total capitalization, \$2,041,000,000. Total income, \$926,000,000.

The Illinois Trust and Savings Bank has 12 directors in 9 banks and trust companies, namely: First National Bank, (Chicago); First Trust and Savings Bank, (Chicago); Merchants' Loan and Trust, (Chicago); Bankers' Trust, (New York); Chase National Bank, (New York); First National Bank, (New York); National Bank of Commerce, (New York); New York Trust, United States Trust. Total resources, \$1,075,000,000. Total deposits, \$778,000,000. One director in 1 insurance company, namely: Mutual Life of New York, having total assets of \$587,000,000. One director in each 5 railroad systems, namely: Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, Chicago and Northwestern, Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, Great Northern, Illinois Central. Total capitalization, \$1,779,000,000. Total mileage, 37,000. Four directors in 3 producing and trading companies, namely: Baldwin Locomotive Works, Lackawanna Steel, Pullman Co. Total capitalization, \$251,000,000. Total gross annual earnings, \$90,000,000. Six directors in 4 public utility corporations, namely: American Telephone and Telegraph, Chicago Elevated Railways, Chicago Railways Co., Commonwealth Edison, (Chicago). Total capitalization, \$907,000,000. Total gross annual earnings, \$217,000,000. In all, 28 directors in 22 companies having total resources or capitalization of \$4,599,000,000.

The grand total of these three Chicago institutions shows 156 directors in 78 companies having total resources or capitalization of \$20,726,000,000.



Governor Dunne's Policy.

At a dinner of the Public Policy League of Illinois in the City Club, Chicago, on the 20th, at which Edward F. Dunne, Governor-elect of Illinois was the guest, Governor Dunne emphasized his attitude toward questions of public policy now at issue in this State. He said he would be opposed to having any proposed Amendment to the Constitution take the right of way from the Initiative and Referendum, his reason being that the people of the State have twice advised this Amendment by overwhelming majorities, and that his campaign was made upon this Amendment as the

principal issue. He also said that the Board of Equalization should be displaced by a State tax commission or court, which, in addition to its direct functions, should have appellate jurisdiction over the Boards of Review of counties. H. H. Hardinge presided. The other speakers were John J. Sonstebly, Frank W. Jones, W. B. Owen (principal of the Chicago Normal School), Dr. Anna G. Blount and Margaret A. Haley.



The Oregon Vote on Tax Questions.

The following are reported as results of the official count on the vote by the people of Oregon at the November election on questions of taxation:

No. 304-5.—A Constitutional amendment requiring the legislature, and authorizing the people by Initiative, to make uniform rules of taxation except on property specifically taxed, and providing for separating State and local taxation by classes of property. Proposed by the legislature. Advocated by the Legislative Tax Committee and the Board of State Tax Commissioners on the basis of a recommendation of the Toronto Conference (1908) of the International Tax Association (Allen Ripley Foote of Ohio, president, and A. C. Pleydell of New York, secretary). Opposed by W. S. U'Ren and others because intended to take from the people of Oregon their Constitutional power and right to have every new State tax law referred to them for approval or rejection before it takes effect and without putting them to the labor and expense of Initiative petitions, to take from the people of every county their Constitutional power and right to make local laws to tax or exempt from tax any class or classes of property in their county, and to open the door for the legislature and the State Tax Commission to (1) still further lower the taxes on railroads and other franchise corporations, and to (2) take from the counties the school money derived from taxes on railroads and other franchise corporations. Defeated by 4,819—Yes, 51,852; No, 56,671.

No. 306-7.—A Constitutional amendment prohibiting taxes without the consent of the people or the legislature, requiring them to be for public purposes only, prohibiting surrender, suspension or contracting away of the taxing power, and requiring uniformity as to classes of property. Proposed, advocated and opposed same as 304-5. Defeated by 2,438—Yes, 52,045; No, 54,483.

No. 308-9.—A Constitutional amendment repealing the county home-rule tax amendment of 1910 (except as to poll taxes) and forbidding a declaration of emergency by the legislature on taxation bills. Proposed, advocated and opposed same as 304-5 and 306-7, but with the additional reason for advocacy that it would repeal the home-rule amendment of 1910 and thereby prevent county adoptions of the Singletax for local purposes. Adopted by 16,731—Yes, 63,881; No, 47,150.

No. 350-51.—A Constitutional amendment authorizing proportional or graduated and progressive taxation of incomes, with classification as to sources of income and with reasonable exemptions. Proposed by Initiative petition secured through Board of

State Tax Commissioners. Not advocated in official pamphlet. Opposed by W. S. U'Ren and others as unnecessary and as authorizing taxation of earned incomes. Defeated by 246—Yes, 52,702; No, 52,948.

No. 352-53.—Amending tax laws so as to exempt "all household furniture, domestic fixtures, household goods and effects actually in use in homes and dwellings, and all wearing apparel, watches, jewelry and similar personal effects actually in use." Proposed by Initiative petition secured through the Board of State Tax Commissioners. Advocated by the Legislative Tax Committee and the Board of State Tax Commissioners on the basis of an argument by Professor E. R. A. Seligman at the Richmond Conference (1911) of the National Tax Association (Allen Ripley Foote of Ohio, president, and A. C. Pleydell of New York, secretary). Opposed by W. S. U'Ren and others as not worth voting for by wageworkers and farmers and as proposed at this election in bad faith in the interest of millionaire owners of valuable water powers, franchises, city lots, etc. Adopted by 8,531—Yes, 60,357; No, 51,826.

No. 354-55.—Exempting debts, stocks, bonds and shares, except bank stocks and shares and banking capital. Proposed by Initiative petition secured through the Board of State Tax Commissioners. Advocated by the Legislative Tax Committee and the Board of State Tax Commissioners on the ground that attempts to tax credits have proved a farce. Opposed by W. S. U'Ren and others as "a bill for jug-handled exemptions, with the rich men holding the handle." Defeated by 24,049—Yes, 42,491; No, 66,540.

No. 356-57.—Revising inheritance tax laws by reclassifying and slightly increasing rates and by placing administration with the Board of State Tax Commissioners. Proposed by Initiative petition, secured by the Board of State Tax Commissioners. Advocated by the Legislative Tax Committee and the Board of State Tax Commissioners as conforming to a "model law recommended by the National Tax Association" (Allen Ripley Foote of Ohio, president, and A. C. Pleydell of New York, secretary), and "also to recent legislation on this subject in the State of New York." Opposed by W. S. U'Ren and others as "an attempt by the State Tax Commission to get more power to itself," and to exempt religious institutions and foreign charitable and educational institutions that are not now exempt. Defeated by 25,230—Yes, 38,609; No, 63,839.

No. 364-65.—A Constitutional amendment providing for specific graduated taxes, in addition to other taxes, upon all franchises and rights-of-way, lands and other natural resources in excess of \$10,000 under one ownership, and assessing water powers in the counties where situate; and exempting from taxation all personal property of every kind and improvements on in and under land, except that a county may enact a county law to tax the same. Proposed by Initiative petition secured through the Graduated Singletax League. Advocated by W. S. U'Ren and others. Opposed by the Legislative Tax Committee and the Board of State Tax Commissioners as "a slightly modified form of Singletax." Opposed by Oregon Equal Taxation League (Chas. H. Shields, secretary) as "a Singletax measure pure

and simple." Defeated by 50,481—Yes, 31,534; No, 82,015.

No. 376-77.—To assess and collect all taxes in Clackamas County from the land values, water powers, natural growths, deposits and other natural resources, and public service corporation franchises and rights of way, exempting all other classes of property, including lands used for municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious or charitable purposes, now exempt. Initiated under the home-rule amendment adopted in 1910 and repealed in 1912. (See No. 308-9 above.) Defeated by 1,980—Yes, 1,807; No, 3,787.

No. 376-77.—To exempt from all taxes levied in Coos county all personal property and all improvements on, in and under land, and all occupations, etc., except the liquor business, such occupations, etc., to be subject to regulation and chargeable with expense of licensing. Initiated under the home-rule amendment adopted in 1910 and repealed in 1912. (See No. 308-9 above.) Defeated by 796—Yes, 1,113; No, 1,909.

No. 378-79.—Exemptions by Multnomah County (the Portland county) of all personal property, all improvements in, on and under land and all occupations, business, trades and professions except the liquor business; such occupations, etc., to be subject to regulation and chargeable with expense of licensing. Initiated under the home-rule amendment adopted in 1910 and repealed in 1912. (See No. 308-9 above.) Defeated by 12,755—Yes, 11,146; No, 23,901.

[See current volume, pages 1115, 1130, 1157.]



Electoral Questions in Oregon.

Following are the official returns of the Oregon election on November 5, 1912, on electoral questions:

No. 300-01.—Constitutional amendment extending suffrage to women by giving full voting rights to all citizens of the United States, and to every person of foreign birth one year after declaration to become a citizen, upon six months' residence in the State. Proposed by Initiative petition secured by the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association. Advocated by same Association. Opposed by Oregon State Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women. Carried by 4,161—Yes, 61,265; No, 57,104.

No. 310-11.—Constitutional amendment requiring for the adoption of any Constitutional amendment a majority of all the votes cast at the election instead of a majority of those cast on the question. Proposed by the legislature. No advocacy. Opposed by Wm. S. U'Ren and others as intended to make the Initiative unworkable. Defeated by 37,391—Yes, 32,934; No, 70,325.

No. 322-23.—Constitutional amendment requiring a majority of all the votes cast at the election, in order to adopt any Constitutional amendment and to pass Initiative measures, and a majority only of the votes cast thereon to approve measures adopted by the legislature. Advocated by Majority Rule League (W. B. Glafke, president, and H. H. Urdahl,

secretary.) Opposed by the People's Power League, W. S. U'Ren and others. Defeated by 31,140—Yes, 35,721; No, 68,861.

No. 362-63.—Constitutional amendment abolishing State Senate; providing that none but registered voters be counted on Initiative or Referendum petitions; increasing State and municipal Referendum powers; making the House of Representatives to consist of 60 elective members and the Governor and unsuccessful party candidates for Governor as *ex officio* members; the Governor to introduce all appropriation bills, legislature not to increase amount thereof; four year terms; annual sessions; proportional election of members; proxy system of voting on bills, those introduced after 20 days to go to next session; control and revocation of franchises. Proposed by Initiative petition. Advocated by The People's Power League, Wm. S. U'Ren and others. Opposed by Marion County Taxpayers' League (A. M. LaFollett, president). Defeated by 40,163—Yes, 31,020; No, 71,183.



Labor Questions in Oregon.

The official returns of the Oregon election of November 5, 1912, on labor questions are as follows:

No. 332-33.—A bill for making eight hours a day's labor on public work whether done directly or through agents or contractors. Proposed by Initiative petition. No advocacy nor opposition. Carried by 16,430—Yes, 64,508; No, 48,078.

No. 368-69.—A bill prohibiting boycotting, picketing, enticing, persuading, etc., in connection with labor strikes. Proposed by Initiative petition. No advocacy. Opposed by the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity. Defeated by 10,734—Yes, 49,826; No, 60,560.

No. 370-71.—A bill to prohibit the use of public streets, parks and playgrounds in any city or town of 5,000 population or over, for holding meetings for public discussion or speechmaking purposes without a written permit from the Mayor. Proposed by Initiative. No advocacy. Opposed by the Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity. Defeated by 13,545—Yes, 48,987; No, 62,532.



Capital Punishment in Oregon.

The official returns of the Oregon election of November 5, 1912, on an Initiated measure to abolish capital punishment show its defeat by 22,627. The Yes vote was 41,951, the No vote being 64,578.



The Balkan Situation.

After delay for instructions from the home government, the Turkish envoys in London have agreed to treat with the Greeks co-ordinately with the other Allies in regard to peace in the Balkans, even though Greece has not signed the armistice. The Turks have demanded permission to revictual the beleaguered city of Adrianople, pending peace

settlements. The Allies oppose this request, not only for the reason that this would give the enemy a great advantage in event of the resumption of fighting, which would not have been earned by arms, but on technical grounds, because the delegates have not the power to reopen military questions settled by the armistice. The Bulgarians declare that if the Turks are not ready to come to terms, and if none of the Powers offers acceptable mediation, the Allies are ready to resume the war immediately. The contention of the Turkish delegates is that the admission of Greece into the peace conferences introduces an unexpected element, which is likely to prolong the proceedings, owing to the necessity of settling difficult problems like Crete and the fate of the Aegean islands, and that when the armistice was arranged they did not haggle about the revictualing of the fortresses, because they supposed that they had to deal only with Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro, and that peace would be concluded quickly. The coincident conferences of the Ambassadors of the six Powers began on the 17th. This "ambassadorial court of appeals" agreed on the 20th that their governments would accept arrangements by the peace conference which involved in principle autonomy for Albania, and a guarantee to Servia of a commercial port on the Adriatic Sea. [See current volume, page 1209.]



The war continues grimly between Greece and Turkey. Greece is still besieging Janina in Epirus, with varying fortunes, and is dealing havoc to Turkey in the Aegean Sea. The Turkish Vice Admiral, Halil Pasha, was killed in the engagement of the Dardanelles on the 16th. [See current volume, pages 1159, 1209.]



More Constitutionalism.

The Constitutionalism promised in March, 1907, by the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz is to receive final shape this year. The Grand Duke of the latter state issued a rescript on the 20th announcing that the Estates would be convoked in extraordinary sessions in 1913 to enact a Constitution for the two Grand Duchies, which have been of late the only states in Europe not possessing Constitutions. These two Grand Duchies, originally one, but separated in 1701, lie on the north of Prussia—Mecklenburg-Schwerin against the Baltic Sea. Their political institutions which are very ancient, have continued to be feudal. An attempt to constitutionalize the states was made in the year after the promise of 1907, as reported in these columns, but it would seem to have failed, owing, the dispatches indicate, to "the attitude of the privileged classes." [See vol. xi, p. 181.]

NEWS NOTES

—The primary elections for the coming Chinese parliament indicate a large Progressive majority. [See current volume, page 1210.]

—The Missouri Singletax League, for education and organization, has been organized at St. Louis, with Sheridan Webster as secretary.

—William Short, father of the charter of Edmonton, Alberta (Canada), which made Edmonton a Singletax city, has been again elected Mayor, the fourth time in the past eight years.

—President Taft sailed on the 21st from Key West for the Panama Canal Zone, on board the battleship Arkansas, for the announced purpose of determining whether conditions are suitable for establishing civil government there.

—Will Carlton, a poet of the people, died in Brooklyn on the 18th, at the age of 67. Mr. Carlton will be best remembered by his "Farm Ballads," among which were "Over the Hills to the Poorhouse," and "Betsy and I Are Out."

—By a margin of 16 votes Warrenton, Ore., elected Clara Munson its Mayor on the 19th. Miss Munson has the distinction of being the first woman mayor elected in Oregon. She was nominated at mass convention and headed the citizens' ticket.

—Sir Charles Hardinge, British Viceroy of India, barely escaped assassination on the 23d by a bomb thrown from a housetop as he made his official entry into Delhi, the new capital. He was badly injured and one of his native attendants was killed.

—The official count of the popular vote on the 32 Constitutional amendments in Colorado, completed on the 21st, shows that Colorado has adopted a ballot without the party circle, a Recall of judicial decisions, a Recall of elective officers (including judges), and a woman's eight-hour law, State-wide prohibition and a public utilities court and commission, are defeated, while the mothers' compensation act is carried. [See current volume, page 1115.]

—Charles S. Mellen, president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad; E. J. Chamberlin, president of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, and Alfred W. Smithers, chairman of the Grand Trunk board of directors, were indicted by the Federal grand jury at New York on the 23d for violating the Sherman anti-trust law. The indictment charges Mellen, Chamberlain and Smithers with having engaged in an unlawful combination to prevent the construction and completion of certain extensions of the Grand Trunk Railway into New England, and to prevent the operation of steamships between Providence and New York.

—Republican China has forsworn the old dragon designs in its decorative art. The yellow dragon, symbol of Imperial power, and the green dragon, of power only less than Imperial, are no longer embroidered on the silk fabrics, or painted upon the lacquer or porcelain articles sent out from new China. In place of the old symbols are flowers and vines, and representations of waters, plains and mountains—symbolic of beauty in language, literature

and art. This word comes through the press, and appears to obtain confirmation from the splendid embroidered garments to be seen in Christmas displays, which appear to be of Chinese manufacture. [See current volume, page 1209.]

—A protest from the State of Georgia was received by the United States Senate on the 21st against the proceedings of Congress in submitting to the States the Constitutional amendment for popular election of United States Senators without a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress. The Senate had adopted this Amendment by 64 to 24, with 7 not voting and 1 vacancy—an affirmative vote of precisely two-thirds of the entire Senate. But the House had adopted it by a vote of 238 to 39, with 115 not voting and 5 vacancies—an affirmative vote of 27, less than two-thirds of the entire House. The question raised turns upon the point of whether the Constitutional requirement of "two-thirds of both houses" means two-thirds of the entire membership or only two-thirds of a quorum. That it means the former is the contention of Georgia. [See current volume, pages 421, 469, 515, 566.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Big Business on Deck and on Horseback.

The (New York) World (Dem.), Dec. 4.—Commercial diplomacy leads straight to big armies and navies, straight to misunderstandings and quarrels, and straight to war. In fact, what we know as dollar diplomacy has no virtue over any other diplomacy except that it is backed by the military forces of the nation. It is private business entrenched in the State Department, making use of public powers, demanding flexible tariffs and able at any time to support its claims with the people's arms. In Mexico it has led to the threat of intervention twice within two years. In Nicaragua it recently made us invaders and fighters. In the Dominican Republic it has put us in armed possession of the government as a collection agent. In Honduras it is behind Wall street bankers who have money to lend if we will compel repayment. In China it places us in the attitude of forcing a loan upon a struggling republic on conditions that are humiliating. In Cuba and Panama it causes us to picket polling-places with our troops. Everywhere in Latin America it has awakened suspicion among peoples who should be our friends. Our great and growing foreign commerce is not the result of such methods. Before there was a Knox in the State Department we had a Jefferson, a Madison, a Monroe, an Adams, a Webster, a Seward, a Fish, a Bayard, and many others. In their day Americans were everywhere in trade wisely fostered and guarded, but the United States Government was not acting as a bill-collector for them. It remained for Philander C. Knox to set up a cash register in our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to boast at frequent intervals of his increased sales.



"What broke up their happy home?"

"It skidded, and struck a telegraph pole."—Life.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO THE PLUTOCRAT.

For The Public.

Should you bring before your mind
All the wrongs which you have done,
All the base, deceitful actions,
All the mean and poor infractions
Of the aim to make on earth goodwill and peace
abound,
Are you sure that you would find
That the things which you have won,—
Just mere coin and reputation
And a giddy, higher station,—
Are the things which, picked from all, are best to
have around?

Have an inventory made
On a fair and perfect plan,
With much time for calm reflection,
And the pen of introspection,
As the ledger's opened full upon your hardened
soul;
Then consider what you've paid
For your tributes laid on man;
You will certainly discover
That you never can recover
All the damage done when stuff became your goal.

Yes, you've sold and purchased men,
At a bargain,—they were cheap,—
With their aid your exploitation
Cursed a young and lovely nation,
Till the burden grew so great the Virgin swooned
and died:
In your filthy, swinish pen,
Midst the stagnant vice so deep,
You have dealt in prostitution
With no thought of restitution
For the crimes that you have done on every hand
and side.

In the work you sought to do
You concerned yourself with trash,—
Oh, you craved accumulation,
Jeered at mankind's consternation,
And you sneered when happiness was sought by
pauper weeds.
What were love and hopes to you
In comparison to "cash,"
With its glittering damnation,
And its joy eradication,—
Of oppression born and grown from hellish seeds!

PAUL MAY.



SUCCESS.

By One Who Has It to Attain.

For The Public.

I have been asking myself for some time just what success is. On all sides we hear John Doe alluded to as a success, and Richard Roe branded

a failure. From earliest infancy our parents and teachers have talked largely of success, and recommended many pleasing little epigrams and homilies whereby it may be obtained. I have read also in many places, and from the pens of many eminent men and struggling scriveners, divers rules and regulations, habits of thought and modes of conduct, which if followed will reward the aspiring one with success. I have seen multitudinous paragraphs and articles in the newspapers and magazines—usually accompanied with a Napoleonic photograph—in which the history, the growth, the work of this one and that one, is eulogized, his good points emphasized, his bad points omitted or happily smoothed over, and the individual neatly wrapped, stamped and pushed over the counter as a completely finished product—a successful man.

The impression remains with me that the overwhelming majority of these homilies, rules and paragraphs, point unerringly to one type of achievement only—the power to get and keep money. If the thrifty one is possessed of further virtues, such as honesty, perseverance, right living, charity and appreciation of beauty and art, these points are by no means neglected in the summary of his career—in fact, they are often employed as a screen whereby to hide the sordidness of the underlying and dominating factor—the status of his bank account.

It is not usual to hold up lives of shabby genius, or tragic beauty, or impecuniary happiness as successful. A young dramatist with a great play in his pocket and nothing else, confronted by a long line of managers wearily shaking their heads, is rarely dubbed a success, though his manuscript may be better than Shakespeare. He only climbs in among the elect when the bejeweled world is in the pit, the newspapers blazoning his name, and the royalties streaming in. To the thousands who go down through life, happy in right living, rejoicing in their work and their play, in the sun and the hills and the sea, unknown to fame and penniless until death—to them I have not often seen the word "success" applied. Notoriety is certainly not success—a murderer is usually more in the public eye than a poet. Genius and genuine fame are sometimes held to contain the sought-for elements, but more often I think not so. A great man dying of drink, or in an attic, or prematurely by accident or disease—such a one as Keats,—are respected and often loved; but also they are pitied, there is much solemn shaking of heads, and the word "success" is denied to their lives while granted to their works.

In fact the mode, the typical figure representing what the world calls success, seems to be an elderly gentleman of rubicund and benevolent countenance, generously bewhiskered, not slim as to abdomen, preferably in a silk hat and a long coat, who has taken money away from people with

one hand and built them institutions with the other; but has managed to overlook a few millions in the transfer. The captain of industry is your true American god of success; and before his image we of the younger generation, directly or unconsciously, are bade to worship, and then immediately to set about the fulfilling of the Biblical command, "Go thou and do likewise."

You know, that isn't my idea of success. Personally, I think these gentlemen are in the main tremendous failures. There are, to my mind, two, and only two, tests which may be applied to the candidate: First, is he personally happy? Second, does he conduct his life in a manner to make his fellowmen happy?

When one considers the tremendous back-thrust that the majority of rich men deal to humanity as a whole, not many remain to lie within the scope of this definition.

Let me make my position a bit clearer. By happiness I do not mean just physical well being and an absence of care and responsibility. The shiftless Southern Negro is often largely possessed of this enviable state; but that isn't real, true happiness.

I mean, together with the sunshine, a larger, broader, intellectual and spiritual happiness which can only come through conscientious reason, and aspiration, and overcoming. This is an element forever above and beyond purely physical and material conditions. It is this happiness which brings a smile upon the dying lips of the martyr, which buoys up the struggling genius, which consoles and inspires the reformer, which is forever greater than the surrounding sorrow and pain. I believe that Christ upon the cross was a supremely happy man; and because of this, and because of the tremendous up-thrust he gave to humanity, he is the most successful man the world has ever known.

STUART CHASE.

BOOKS

THE BIG VIEW.

The Great Analysis: A Plea for a Rational World Order. With a Preface by Gilbert Murray. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 75 cents net.

People who have thought about man and his world-situation divide themselves into two main camps. The first camp roughly agree in the general idea—however they may differ in detail—that there are certain great natural laws, eternal, inviolable, and with no degree of contingency even, which man may discern, with which he may align himself, and in whose shadow he will be free from all the contradictions and oppositions that beset him as long as he goes either blindly as the uncivilized peoples or artificially as the over civilized.

Such thinkers, for example, were and are the Platonists, the anarchists, and certain branches of the Socialists.

The other camp deny that in natural laws there is any prescriptive rectitude as they term it. They point out that a natural law is only an observed sequence of events, that we may consciously react upon a natural law in such a way as to deprive it of its assumed power over us. They think that we do not find, but determine, do not accept, but mould, our future and the future complexion of our society. Such are all those Utopians who have made of their Utopias other than mere literary exercises or sermons. Such, for a concrete example, is Mr. H. G. Wells.

It is to this second class that the sweetly reasonable, sane, logical and anonymous author of this book belongs. The fact that Professor Gilbert Murray is sponsor for the work does not of necessity argue that the author is a well known or a celebrated man who wishes to remain anonymous, but it does argue that the author is a sound and competent man, and so the perusal of his book proves. His thesis is that man should learn to regard things from a planetary instead of from a parochial point of view, should learn to take some at least of the government of his world out of the blind hands of nature and transfer it to the illumined supervision of that force which is so new in the universe, so apparently futile sometimes, and yet unique, and altogether different from matter and mechanical energy—the force, to-wit, of human consciousness. He builds his argument on the supposititious detachment of an English county, Yorkshire, from the earth, and its installation in space as a separate planet. His work is, therefore, in a way, a Utopia, but is not of the usual stripe of that ilk. Of course, there are difficulties in his idea of preliminary stock-takings of our human wants and resources, and subsequent policies based upon what they disclose; and of course, the whole ground he covers is highly debatable. But as a suggestive essay for the alert, and an awakener into thought of the sluggish, the book may be heartily commended.

LLEWELLYN JONES.

PERIODICALS

Current Literature.

The name of "Current Literature" will become "Current Opinion" with the January number, the size of the magazine being somewhat enlarged.

A. L. G.



The Survey.

To work in a cool, green suburb and live in the city slums is the topsy-turvy fashion for modern factory employes. Graham Romeyn Taylor writes in *The Survey* of December 7 about the perplexities

of this reversal consequent upon the removal of manufacturing from big city expenses. Norwood and Oakley near Cincinnati are the towns depicted in this article, the third by Mr. Taylor on "Satellite Cities." The well-drawn picture is of a scene distinctly unpleasing. All industrial interiors now-a-days offer the sinister choice between despotic meddling and savage neglect. Another article in the same issue tells of "The Servo-Croats of Manhattan," who are nearly all men between seventeen and forty-five years of age, mostly dock freight handlers, and who live respectably in well-acquainted co-operative boarding-house groups.



"She invariably hits upon some of the cleverest ideas in millinery!"
 "Indeed?"
 "Yes. Her latest is a combined hat and folding-bed, a perfectly practicable device enabling women

A. L. G.



to live in flats and yet keep approximately up with the procession."—Puck.

At the urgent request of the advertising department we reprint this bit of logic from an unknown source:

"When a duck lays an egg she just waddles off as if nothing had happened.
 "When a hen lays an egg there's a whale of a noise.
 "The hen advertises. Hence the demand for hens' eggs instead of ducks' eggs."—Unidentified clipping.

The witches were making the broth.
 "I suppose one cook is going, one staying, and one coming!" cried Macbeth.
 Three at once was beyond his comprehension.—Judge.

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