

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Confiscation.

You may burden the industrious all you please without exciting the wrath of the privileged, but if you touch Privilege except with tenderness and a fostering hand, the privileged are as ready with verbal darts as a frightened porcupine with its arrowy quills. And the dartiest of all the darts in their vocable quiver is "Confiscation!" The use of this word as quoted in another column from the London Standard, an organ of the privileged classes of Great Britain, would hardly be understood in the United States. The Standard thinks it "confiscation" to levy taxes on "capital value" and not on "revenue"; but as we are more accustomed in this country to levying taxes on capital values than on revenues, no excitement could be caused here by calling that policy "confiscation." Our privileged classes apply the word differently. But wherever the cry of "confiscation" goes from the lips or the pens of touters for Privilege, the wide-world over, examination will show that "confiscation" means some novelty prejudicial to legalized graft.



The Great Issue in British Politics.

Our News Narrative reports of last week from British papers, together with Press Opinion extracts from the same sources, and the like material which we produce this week supplemented by Mr. Garrison's letter, make it very clear that recent by-elections have forced the Liberal party farther on

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toward the crucial industrial question of Great Britain, and indeed of all other countries—the question of land monopoly.



Not that all Liberals needed this pressure. All did not. But the survival of whiggism within the party, like bourbonism in our own Democratic party, had been obstructive, and the loss of by-elections had weakened the radical element. With the victory, however, at North-West Norfolk, which Hemmerde achieved by pushing the land question boldly to the front, the radicals in the Liberal party were given an advantage; and Arnold's victory at Holmfirth on the same question, following closely upon Hemmerde's and supplemented by Outhwaite's at Hanley, has so strengthened radical influence within the Liberal party as to make the early adoption of the land question by the Liberals *the* issue before the country.



One feature of Arnold's victory, and also of Outhwaite's, is of collateral importance and significance. In each constituency there was a three-cornered contest, caused by the naming of a candidate by the Labor leaders. This action of Labor partisans was due to a partisan spirit strictly. The Liberals had not nominated a candidate hostile to Labor in either constituency. Mr. Outhwaite, to whose candidacy Labor leaders were especially opposed, stands for every substantial demand of the Labor interest. But as he is not a member of the Labor party, the officials of the Labor party opposed him. Their explanation is that the member of Parliament whose death had made the vacancy was a Labor member and that therefore the Liberals should have left the vacancy to the Labor Party. In fact, however, Hanley was only in name, and this through the past courtesy of the Liberal Party, a Labor Party constituency. The late Labor member who represented it, elected years ago by Liberal voters, had been continued in office by them at every election since. But for them to acquiesce in the nomination of a new man by the Labor Party would have been quite another matter. That the Labor Party had no substantial party claims to the seat is evident from the enormous plurality that Mr. Outhwaite polled over the Labor candidate. It was not at all a question of Labor Party or Liberal Party at the recent election at Hanley. It was a question, so far as concerned those parties, of Labor partisanship or the land monopoly issue.

As the general situation now appears, the Lloyd George Budget of 1909 was but an entering wedge. The land taxes it imposed are perhaps too light to accomplish much for the abolition of land monopoly; but it has given to the British democracy something the importance of which can be but barely understood by Americans. It has given them what in this country we have always had—a systematic valuation of the land. This achievement will serve as the great broad basis for the now developing campaign against land monopoly. That the Lloyd George Budget was not Lloyd George's Budget—not as Lloyd George wanted it—is an open secret, he having intended a more drastic application of land value taxes. But whiggery in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons was then influential, and he had to yield or make no headway at all. Now, however, come Hemmerde and Arnold and Outhwaite—anti-land monopolists and pro-land-value taxationists all—with their significant victories, and Lloyd George's hands are strengthened for the next campaign.



Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

The inevitable reaction against suffragette violence in Great Britain seems to have set in, and with the result unhappily of further postponing the extension of voting rights to British women. That this postponement is due to the organized lawlessness of one great branch of the British suffrage movement is a reasonable inference from all the circumstances. Not that men who believed in woman suffrage have been driven by these outbreaks to change their minds on the subject, but that men whose inclinations were favorable to the reform were repelled by the indefensible behavior of its conspicuous advocates. Public opinion is moved in mass, not in detail. The influence upon a civic cause of organized violence as wantonly conceived and criminally executed as that of the British organization that still directs it, could not reasonably be expected to produce any other result upon the public mind than reaction against the cause thus entangled in crime.



The principal excuse made in the United States for those campaigns of wanton violence, that in Great Britain, differently from the United States, democracy can advance only through violence, is an unreasonable contention. Considered psychologically, the springs of public opinion are not so different in either country from the other. (It will be observed that through editorials and tracts and

speeches for and against woman suffrage in Great Britain there run chords of thought to which the American reader is no stranger.) Considered historically, Mrs. Mead, whose recent discussion of the subject in the Independent we reproduce this week in our department of Related Things, has left nothing of moment unsaid.



Discriminatory Panama Canal Tolls.

Americans with a sense of national honor should blush at the efforts of some of their representatives to pettifog something into a treaty which isn't written there, wasn't intended to be there, and couldn't have been put there by agreement when the treaty was signed. We refer to the move to refund canal tolls paid by American vessels.



The argument that this would be a "subsidy" in the sense in which Great Britain subsidizes ships, is too gauzy for more than passing mention. If the United States were to reimburse out of its own governmental treasury the amounts paid for Panama Canal tolls by American vessels, *that* would be a subsidy, which, merely as an international question, the American government would have a clear right to grant. But in such case the money would go out of the general treasury, whereas the proposed remission of tolls would take the money out of the canal fund.



On questions of international law, the experts must of course decide; but it seems to be conceded all around that the final experts—the Peace tribunal at The Hague—would probably decide against the United States if tolls were refunded out of canal receipts to vessels of the United States. In common sense there would seem to be no escape from that conclusion under this clause of the treaty:

The Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation or its citizens or subjects in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable.

And did not Senator Bard of California, when the treaty was before the Senate—did he not offer an amendment reserving to the United States the right to discriminate in favor of American vessels, and was not that amendment defeated by 43 votes to 27? Inasmuch, then, as the treaty would probably stand in the way of the discriminatory

tolls now proposed, were the question to go to The Hague, our government is urged to make the discrimination nevertheless and to defy The Hague tribunal. Right there is where the national blush should come in.



One of the reasons given for an act that would rival Roosevelt's Panama-republic performance, is the intimation that Great Britain, in protesting, has been influenced by American railroad interests. There is a worm at the core of that apple of argument. It is the theory that the American railway monopolists would be shielded from water competition if American vessels paid tolls, but would be disadvantaged by that competition if the tolls were remitted. This argument, which looks smooth on the surface, would offer no reason for the bad faith proposed in our international relations, even if it were sound to the core. But it is not a sound argument. Much more likely would railroad monopoly be to profit by the proposed discriminatory tolls, than if the tolls were the same on all vessels or there were no tolls at all. If there were no tolls, world-wide competition would tend to keep water freights close to the level of cost, leaving no margin for railway monopolies to prey upon. If tolls were equal, the same world-wide competition would tend to keep water freights close to the level of cost plus tolls, likewise leaving no margin for railway monopolies to prey upon. But if foreign shipping paid tolls while American shipping paid none, American shipping would have a margin of profit—limited on the one hand by cost of carriage and on the other by that cost plus tolls—upon which railway monopolists might prey.



MAKING WORK.

The protective spirit, as Buckle well named it, finds many manifestations, graduated all the way from a protective tariff to a franchise monopoly, and from the closed shop to the licensed lawyer or doctor; but one of the strangest yet noted is that discovered by a writer in a recent number of *Lippincott's*. The claim is made that burglary in the United States furnishes employment for 75,000 honest people; which, allowing six hundred dollars a year to each, means a salary list of \$45,000,000. And after showing in detail how conservative this claim is, the writer asks: "What would become of these men and women and all the millions of invested capital should the burglar hearken to the teachings of morality and religion, cease stealing and turn to honest pursuits?"

Here is a clean-cut proposition.

There may be some excuse for the confusion of the average citizen when he attempts to unravel the protective tariff snarl—for there have been so many interested in “mussing it up”—but this is a simple, concrete statement that should come within the mental grasp of all. Behold! If there were no burglars there would be no need of the “25,000 good American citizens earning their livelihood as private watchmen.” Nor would there be any occasion for the manufacture and sale of the burglar alarms, burglar-proof safes, etc., etc. Hence, it is as plain as a pikestaff that since it is desirable that honest men should be employed, burglars are a benefit to society.

The converse also is true:

Whoever reforms a burglar, or in any way discourages burglary, strikes at the welfare of seventy-five thousand honest American citizens. And as it is a fact recognized by all Protectionists that the Freetrade advocates in this country are in the pay of the Cobden Club and other foreign organizations that are seeking to destroy our industrial system, so it is equally clear that the men and women who are engaged in the work of reforming burglars are in the pay of the enemies of this Republic.



An excerpt from the article in question is quoted in an editorial by the New Orleans Picayune, one of the papers that has made such an ado over the proposed free sugar bill in Congress.

To remove the duty on sugar, says the Picayune, means the throwing out of employment of many thousands of honest men and the annihilation of many millions of capital. And why should this be? Because God has been so partial in making sugar lands that whereas the cane has to be planted about every nineteen years in Cuba, it must be planted every two or three years in Louisiana. Therefore, every washerwoman and every day laborer throughout the country who would sweeten a cup of coffee must pay six cents for four cents' worth of sugar.

That is to say, should one boat persist in steaming up the middle of the river where the current was four miles an hour, while another hugged the shore in a current half as strong, it would be necessary to protect the former from the competition of the latter. To prevent shippers from giving all their patronage to the cheaper boat the state would have to add a special tax to its rates. It would require more boats and more men to carry the freight up the middle of the river; hence, it would be the part of wisdom for a paternalistic govern-

ment to see that the cheaper boats were properly handicapped.

It may be noted in passing that there is a peculiar fitness in the sugar duty. Being the largest single item of import revenue, it is fitting that it should be levied upon citizens not in proportion to their ability to pay, nor yet according to the benefits received from the government, but according to their necessities. Thus, the laboring man uses as much sugar as the millionaire, and hence, will contribute as much toward the maintenance of the government—and the support of the Louisiana cane- and Colorado beet-growers. Indeed, the poor man, or the washerwoman, with several children, will contribute a good deal more than the millionaire bachelor. This is according to the eternal fitness of things; for, as the peculiar development of flesh on the person of the child shows nature's intention that it should be spanked, so the broad back of labor proclaims that it was intended to be taxed.



It is inspiring to contemplate such profound thoughts as the sugar bounty, and the protection of burglary. Once before, the protective spirit stirred a man into the utterance of a similar great truth. It was when the head of the Knights of Labor advised the Knights to break the beer bottles after emptying them. This, he said, would make work for the bottle blowers. Here was another simple proposition that proclaimed a great underlying principle. When you have finished dinner, smash the plates; after a spin in your auto, dump it in the ditch; when you have used a horse, kill him. Thus you will make work for labor and so promote the prosperity of the country.

In trying to determine the nature of a distant object some are disposed to look into the small end of the spy-glass. But not so the Protectionist. He insists upon putting his eye to the large end of the glass. And then, because the object looks so far away, he insists that his brother man shall carry him to it.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Grasmere, England, July 6.

The nomination of Woodrow Wilson has caused great satisfaction in England, especially among those whose sympathies are with the great democratic upheaval which is in progress the world over. This happy development in America is paralleled on

this side of the water by the emergence again of the land question as the burning issue of the day.



The great measures which are occupying Parliament—Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment and the Franchise Reform Bill—do not begin to stir the pulse of the people as does the hope of freeing the land from the grip of feudalism. Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment are instalments of reforms long overdue which may safely be left to take their course towards the statute book. The Franchise Reform Bill, important in itself as a democratic advance and a curb on privilege, is moreover open to an amendment granting votes for women. Unfortunately the tactics of the physical force party, or Suffragettes, have lessened the chances of such a development as successfully as if inspired with that purpose.

The doctrine of Henry George has taken a firm hold on a people wise enough to suspect the socialistic expedients which they have been offered, and a discussion of their rights to the soil of their native land rouses enthusiasm. Since my letter of May 29* two by-elections have been fought on this issue and both seats retained by the Liberals. Mr. E. G. Hemmerde, an ardent Singletaxer and at one time president of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values, was returned for North-West Norfolk and is now, with Mr. Arnold, his successful colleague, in the House of Commons giving impetus to the agitation.



Two more contests are in progress, one at Hanley in the potteries district of North Staffordshire, made familiar by Arnold Bennett's vivid stories of the Five Towns, and the other at Crewe. The vacancies were caused by the death of Mr. Enoch Edwards and Mr. Walter McLaren, both of whom underwent a great strain during the recent coal strike settlement. Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, who is contesting the Hanley seat for the Liberals, needs no introduction to Singletaxers. The Liberal candidate at Crewe is Mr. Harold Murphy, a supporter of the land reform policy. The delegates who selected him were reported as "aroused to enthusiasm by his outspoken utterances, his quiet humor and his clear and convincing exposition of the great policy of land reform, towards which Radicalism seems assuredly to be tending."

The harmony that existed between the Liberal and Labor groups in Parliament has been somewhat strained by the determination of the Liberals to contest Hanley, which was considered by the Labor Party as one of their preserves. The result will be a three-cornered fight in both the constituencies mentioned, to the great delight of the Tories. The Labor Party has even threatened to withdraw its support from Government measures in the House, but has not yet done so.

Mr. Outhwaite, whose sole purpose is to advance the cause to which he has long devoted his energies, explained that he had hitherto refused to come into conflict with the interests of the Labor Party.

*See The Public of June 14, page 562.

†Mr. Outhwaite has been elected. See The Public of July 19, page 678.

"I took this action," he said, "because I did not want to prejudice the cause of the taxation of land values. I was doubtful whether the Liberal Party would introduce this great and drastic reform. I felt that Whig influence might be too great and that ultimately we should have to look to the Labor Party. The events of the last few weeks have completely altered my view. We know that Mr. Lloyd George is preparing the way for a great campaign on this issue, using the valuation now proceeding as an instrument of reform. If Labor members do come down in a body to Hanley they will see such support from the workers for this principle as may induce them to be more enthusiastic about it in the future."



The Land Song, the *Marseillaise* of peaceful revolution, is a feature of the political meetings and seems to have taken a spontaneous hold upon the popular imagination.

F. W. GARRISON.

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, July 23, 1912.

The Land Question in Great Britain.

An editorial in the London Standard (Tory) of the 5th, discloses with special clearness the development of the "land-for-the-people" question which recent by-elections have thrust into British politics as the next dominant issue. [See current volume, page 678.]



In the course of that editorial the Standard says that—

Mr. Lloyd George's land confiscation programme is still in the "unauthorized" stage is pretty certain. No member of the Cabinet, apart from the author, has given countenance to the scheme in public, though it is claimed that the new movement has the full sympathy of the Prime Minister. However that may be, evidence accumulates to show that the Woodford speech was no empty threat. Unionists must be prepared for an attempt to debauch the electorate surpassing in scope and wickedness all Mr. Lloyd George's previous achievements. Today we publish further extracts from the "British Weekly," which seems to be entrusted with the task of preparing public opinion for the Chancellor's plans. Mr. Hemmerde, in his character of favorite disciple, has also added a few illuminative hints, and from these and other sources it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear understanding of the main outlines of the scheme. A tax of a penny or three-halfpence in the pound on land values [about from 2 to 3 cents on \$5 of land value, improvements exempt—or, say, from 4 to 6 mills in the dollar] is to provide the sinews of war. With the millions

raised from this source, according to Mr. Hemmerde, local rates [taxation for local purposes] are to be relieved of the greater part of the burdens now resting on them. Education, main roads, poor relief, police, and asylums, are all to be paid for out of the Imperial exchequer. . . . A land tax of the kind suggested, levied on capital value and not on revenue, is nothing less than legalized confiscation. But the revenues of the landowner are also to receive further attentions from a Minister who seems bent on extinguishing the whole class that has been so misguided as to invest its capital in real property. . . . Under the new conditions the position of the landowner becomes at once impossible, and Mr. Lloyd George clearly intends to make it so. The scheme is robbery, naked and unashamed.



British Suffragette Violence.

Violence in connection with the riotous policies of the British suffragette movement broke out in Dublin on the occasion of the visit last week of the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, to attend a home-rule demonstration. While he and Mrs. Asquith were in a carriage with John Redmond, a hatchet was thrown at them by Mary Leigh. According to one report the hatchet struck Mr. Redmond, cutting him over the eye and covering his face with blood from the wound; but another report attributes his injury to an accident in the jam of a crowd entering the hotel at which the Ministerial party was stopping. Mary Leigh, Gladys Evans, Lizzie Baker and Mary Coffey were committed for trial on the 19th on criminal charges in connection with the affair. Mrs. Leigh is reported to have been convicted for the eighth time in London last November for smashing windows and sentenced to two months in jail without the option of a fine. The magistrate warned her then that if she were again convicted she would be sent to jail for a term at hard labor. [See current volume, page 640.]



According to a dispatch of the 20th in the Chicago Sunday World, the Sunday edition of the Socialist daily, the London police are—

convinced that the "votes for women" militants have entered upon a campaign of arson and homicide. There is no question that an attempt was made to burn the home of one member of the Cabinet. The hangings of the Dublin Theater, where Premier Asquith spoke last night, were actually set on fire. That the gunpowder found in the rooms of a party of suffragette demonstrators was intended to blow up the theater, the suffragettes themselves do not deny. It is agreed that the heavy hatchet thrown by a suffragette at the Premier in Dublin yesterday narrowly missed killing or seriously injuring him. The Women's Social and Political Union issued a statement commending all these demonstrations. It is feared that this will inspire further violence. Premier Asquith, Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George, Home Secretary McKenna,

Minister of the Navy Winston Churchill and other cabinet ministers have received the most ferocious threats, anonymously, of what will happen to them unless they declare for equal rights at the polls. Not only are they assured that they are in danger of being killed, but that the burning of their homes and the kidnaping of their children are planned. "There is only one thing to induce us to declare a truce," announced Miss Annie Kenny, who is acting as head of the Women's Social and Political Union during the period of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst's convalescence from her recent experience as a hunger striker in Holloway prison, "and that is the passage of a law giving us the ballot. We did declare a truce twice while the Conciliation Bill, which provided part of what we demand, was before Parliament, and then the Government calmly killed the bill by denying facilities for its passage, though it had received a large majority of votes on its first reading. We do not propose to be deceived again. And even if the Union were to agree to a truce, it has no power to restrain the many individual women who are determined to continue militant methods until we win." Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd George and Minister of the Navy Winston Churchill, among the cabinet members, favor votes for women, though this has not saved them from attack by the suffragettes. Premier Asquith is strongly opposed to equal electoral rights for both sides. Returning from Dublin, Premier Asquith was attacked by suffragettes during a stop at a railroad station today, but was rescued by the police before he suffered serious annoyance. The suffragettes were arrested. At Chester, another stop, two suffragettes rushed toward him, saying: "Be warned in time!" A clergyman saved the suffragettes from an angry mob.



News dispatches of the 21st from London told of a suffragette demonstration in Finsbury Park, organized by Sylvia Pankhurst, the younger of the two daughters of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, which ended in a riotous demonstration against the holding of the meeting. Says this report:

Ten thousand persons surrounded the four platforms from which addresses were made. It was obvious from the outset that a majority of those in attendance were hostile to the cause. The insistence of the women orators in continuing their speeches in defiance of the hooting and cheering and singing eventually aroused the anger of the crowd and led to fighting. The people were thrown down in successive rushes, and many women and children were with difficulty rescued from being trampled under the feet of the mob.



Mr. Roosevelt's Third Party.

Progressive Republicans of Michigan, in convention at Jackson on the 20th, decided to place in nomination a full ticket, including Presidential Electors and State, Congressional, and legislative candidates. The decision, almost unanimous, is reported to have been made at the direct request of Mr. Roosevelt, conveyed to the delegates by

Senator Dixon. These were the nominations: For Governor, L. Whitney Watkins of Jackson; for United States Senator, Theodore M. Joslin of Adrian. Friends of Gov. Osborn protested against the indorsement of a candidate for Governor, and when the convention indorsed Senator Watkins, Osborn petitions were put in circulation immediately. The platform demands the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall in both State and nation; direct election of Senators; government ownership and operation of express and telegraph service; physical valuation of railroads; equalization of taxes on a property basis; universal parcels post; extension of postal savings banks; extension of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission; "maintenance of the protective tariff for the benefit of the industries and the laboring men of the United States, except where competition in trade has been destroyed by monopoly and the tariff is used to exact an unjust tribute from the people and unjustly increase the cost of living"; conservation of natural resources and rescue of public property and public rights from private hands; adoption of the equal suffrage amendment to the State Constitution; a Statewide primary law for all offices; the right to vote directly on the choice for Presidential candidate; election of national committeemen of political parties by direct vote of the people, and for removal of the judiciary from politics. [See current volume, pages 658, 682.]



In Illinois the question of a straight-out new party, such as that now organized in Michigan, has given rise to serious dissensions. A committee in the interest of the new party having asked a statement from Governor Deneen regarding his position, he replied on the 22d to the effect that as he had been regularly nominated for Governor at the direct primaries last winter by the Republican party, and had accepted the nomination and endorsed the platform, he has no moral right to change his status as a candidate, and that it seems to him a strange conclusion for Illinois Republicans who feel that they cannot support the national ticket to think that therefore they must also oppose the election of State candidates "whose nominations they do not question and who derive their credentials directly from themselves." Lieutenant Governor Oglesby, the Republican candidate for lieutenant-governor, makes a like response and so does Cornelius J. Doyle, the candidate for Secretary of State. This decision of Governor Deneen and his co-candidates seems to assure a full third party ticket in Illinois, State as well as national.



Democracy in Delaware.

The city of Wilmington, Delaware, has recently had an experience which indicates the trend of

public sentiment toward direct legislation. Five years ago the people of Wilmington voted on the following question:

Shall the Mayor and Council memorialize the next legislature of the State to enact a law enabling the people of Wilmington to govern themselves, delegating to the Mayor and Council subject to the Initiative and Referendum as full powers of government for municipal purposes as are vested in the Governor and legislature for State purposes?

This proposal was carried, 10 to 1, indicating that the people of Wilmington very decidedly wished their charter to contain the Initiative and Referendum. But the legislature of 1909 paid no attention to their wish. The Legislature of 1911, however, passed a law authorizing the Governor of Delaware and the Mayor of Wilmington to appoint a charter commission to draft a charter for the city. This commission was accordingly appointed, five Democrats and five Republicans, but all reactionaries, and it held its meetings behind closed doors. After considerable labor it presented a charter which did not contain any provision for the Initiative and Referendum and did cut out the rather imperfect form of Initiative which the people of Wilmington already had. After it was too late, according to law, to make any amendments, the Commission announced that they were prepared to educate the people as to what they had done, and called a meeting for that purpose. The result was a tremendous meeting at which public disapproval was expressed from beginning to end of the meeting, the objections of nearly all who spoke being directed at the arbitrary methods adopted in preparing the charter and at the fact that the popular will had been disregarded. Other meetings of the same general character were held subsequently, and on June 1st of this year the charter election was held. The charter was defeated by 7,699 noes to 991 yeas.



The Referendum in Oregon.

The Initiative petitions for county or municipal local legislation, filed in Oregon on or before July 4, the last day of filing for the November election, are on the following subjects:

(1) To establish the Singletax in Clackamas County under the local option amendment of 1910; (2) to prohibit the building of a proposed Harney County courthouse; (3) to establish a national bank in Jackson County to assist in financing the construction of good roads; (4) to abolish the county high school in Wallowa County; (5) to amend the law providing for the method of electing members of the Port of Portland Commission; (6) to establish the Singletax in Multnomah County (the Portland City county), under the local option amendment of 1910, and (7) to establish the Singletax in Coos County under the same local option amendment.

For Statewide direct legislation there are

28 Initiative proposals (4 of them set on foot by the legislature and 7 by the Governor), 6 references to the people by the legislature of its own bills, and 4 referendum petitions against legislative bills, making 38 questions for the people to vote upon. Altogether, they are as follows:

Constitutional Amendments:

(1) Extending the right of suffrage to women; (2) creating the office of Lieutenant-Governor, etc.; (3) regarding a uniform rule of taxation; (4) regarding taxes upon different classes of property at different rates; (5) respecting the county option tax amendment adopted in 1910; (6) requiring for the adoption of any proposed Constitutional amendment a majority vote of all the electors voting at the election, instead of a majority of those voting on the amendment only; (7) regarding personal liability of stockholders in banking corporations; (8) requiring for direct legislation a majority of all voting at the election, instead of a majority of all voting on the measure; (9) limiting powers of State to contract; (10) limiting powers of counties to contract; (11) relating to the taxation of incomes; (12) regarding home rule for counties as to building and maintaining roads; (13) extending people's power in government; (14) permitting graduated land value taxation.

Statutes:

(15) building appropriations; (16) building appropriations; (17) public utility service; (18) building appropriations; (19) organization of a new county; (20) educational appropriations; (21) road building by counties; (22) organizing a department of State highways; (23) placing State Printer on salary; (24) hotel regulations; (25) laborers' liens; (26) creating a department of corporations; (27) employment of State convicts; (28) employment of county and town convicts; (29) to create a State road board; (30) providing county bonds for road construction; (31) regulating consolidation of contiguous cities and towns; (32) tax exemptions; (33) exemptions of debts; (34) taxation of gifts, inheritances, etc.; (35) regulation of freight ratings; (36) abolition of the death penalty; (37) to penalize boycotting; (38) to prohibit street speaking.



Memorial to Tom L. Johnson.

On his fifty-eighth birthday, July 18, Tom L. Johnson's memory was celebrated in Cleveland, at Luna Park, with sports and games. "Tom L. Johnson died with a smile on his face," the Plain Dealer's report begins; "and the people of Cleveland last night honored his memory by spending the evening in pleasure and amusement at Luna Park," Mayor Baker encouraging them in his address by saying that this was "as Mr. Johnson would have wished it." Except for the brief memorial speeches of Mayor Baker and Harris R. Cooley, the evening was given over to enjoyment, the crowd having accepted Mayor Baker's interpretation of Mr. Johnson's views of life. All the profits of the day's business at the park, including

gross gate receipts and gross receipts at all amusements controlled by the Luna Park management, had been donated in advance to the Tom L. Johnson Memorial Fund. The waiters in the restaurant and cafe contributed their services to the same purpose. In consequence the fund was increased by some \$20,000. [See current volume, page 611.]



"Cleveland citizens remember him," said Dr. Cooley as the Plain Dealer reports his memorial address, "when they go upon the public highway and realize the streets belong to them; when they board street cars or go to the parks or play grounds; they remember him when they see the better chances given those who are down, the aged and the crippled and the infirm, cared for in a home in which they may live their declining years in comfort; they remember him when they see that the boys are given a better and fairer chance in life. It is well at a time like this to come with a smile on our faces to remember him. He always liked to see the children smile. The story Mr. Johnson told of how he would prefer to have children playing over his grave after he was dead to having a monument built to himself, was related by Mr. Cooley, who also said:

The people of Cleveland must remember he belonged not alone to Cleveland. More and more municipal and national questions are influenced by the things he taught. To the outer country the soul of Tom Johnson has gone, and it speaks for right and justice and fair play. It spoke at Baltimore. This great audience is a wonderful tribute to him. No man ever knew Tom Johnson that he was not a better man for knowing him. We must honor his memory not simply by these gatherings, but by carrying on the great struggle he began against privilege and for the unprivileged, for equal rights for all and special privileges to none. We must honor the memory of Tom Johnson by making Cleveland the best and freest city in which to live. We must never be satisfied with the accomplishments of the past, but in his spirit go forward fighting for the common weal so our city will become the best and freest on earth.

"He got it from Mr. Johnson," said Mayor Baker, alluding to Dr. Cooley's address upon coming forward to supplement it:

Tom Johnson was the great forerunner, the great prophet, the great originator of the free city to save our institutions. You and I follow along in the path he showed us. Our hearts are inspired by the ideals he taught us. You and I will write the monument to Tom Johnson. I was but a boy when the great Luray cave in Virginia was discovered. Three men walking in a field stumbled into a hole in the ground. One, a little more venturesome than the others, crawled in. He found it dark and yelled for a candle. The others, more timid, fearful of following, finally tendered a candle, and when he had lighted it, followed him in. The venturesome man,

leading the way with the candle in front of him, found the great cave. So Tom Johnson, the bold man, the first man to go with the candle, showed us the way, and came out and proclaimed the truth. Some fifty years from now, or perhaps twenty-five, when Cleveland is a city of a million people, the people will say, "Let us pass over and forget the history prior to 1900. Let us begin there." And when they write that history it will be of a free and happy city. We will do away with the old-fashioned selfishness. It will be a history of a useful city with a larger measure of happiness, the heritage of each because of Tom Johnson having lived among us.



When Mayor Baker had finished, he requested the audience to remain sitting while the lights were turned out and an illusion was shown. As the band played the "Star Spangled Banner" a papier-mache figure representing Tom L. Johnson was shown from the rear of the stage. The figure caught the audience by surprise and it voiced its pleasure in cheers that lasted as long as the figure was visible. The crowd then scattered to the various places of amusement.



Rubber Industry in Peru.

Atrocities in the prosecution of the rubber industry in the Putumayo district in Peru, reported widely in the press of the United States during the last two weeks, have been under discussion in Washington and London. The Peruvian minister to the United States, Mr. Pezet, says that his government is proceeding rapidly with measures looking to a suppression of the practices against the Indians. Reiterating the statements made in behalf of Peru by the Peruvian minister in London, Mr. Pezet said: "The atrocities were committed years ago. They occurred not later than 1907. Things are different now and the Peruvian government is in entire control. Peru has sent two investigating commissions into the Putumayo district. Their reports disclose that conditions are not nearly so bad as they were, and improvement is continuing." That the actual perpetrators of the outrages are not now in control of the situation, had been indeed admitted in the original news exploitation of the atrocities; consequently reasons for the publicity were not at first clear. Perhaps the following from the dispatches may aid in discovering these reasons. In answering questions in the House of Commons on the 17th, F. D. Acland, Parliamentary undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, said that he hoped the publication of the blue book by the Foreign Office would stimulate private enterprise to establish a mission to help the victimized Indians. As the Peruvian government states, we learn elsewhere, that it is against the Peruvian Constitution to admit Protestant faith into the country, the purpose is to establish a Catholic

settlement of Christian teachers in the rubber district. The wide exploitation of the news is not, however, thus accounted for. But when speaking in the House on the 19th Mr. Acland is further reported to have referred to the question raised by the United States government as to whether Peru is a suitable state to have control of a district like the Putumayo, or whether that government should not be forcibly dispossessed of it; and he promised that His Majesty's government would do anything it possibly could to help any action the United States may take. One of the objects, Mr. Acland added, of the British Foreign Office in publishing the blue book on the subject was to influence public opinion in the United States, and he thought it would no doubt produce that effect. Emphasis to the suspicion that the United States is expected to pull the Putumayo rubber "chestnut" out of the Peruvian fire, for the Rubber Interests, is added by the demand of the Berliner Tageblatt of the 20th, that the United States intervene, as the atrocities committed against the Indian rubber collectors have created a situation which is variant to the Monroe Doctrine, under which the United States can bring pressure to bear on a South American republic failing to observe the standards of culture and morality. [See current volume, page 685.]



Turkish Complications.

A flotilla of Italian torpedo-boat destroyers attempted on the 19th to enter the straits of the Dardanelles. A severe bombardment from the Turkish forts and ships drove them back. Internal disorders in Constantinople furnished ground for a rumor, later found to be incorrect, that the reported appearance of the Italian boats was a ruse on the part of the Turkish government, planned with Turkish boats bearing Italian flags, to arouse a sentiment of loyalty in the face of a foreign foe, for at the moment of the Italian attack the government was disorganized in consequence of trouble between the army and the Committee of Union and Progress. The Cabinet had resigned on the 17th. Tewfik Pasha, Turkish Ambassador at London, was appointed Grand Vizier, but stipulated the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, to which the Sultan would not agree. On the 21st Mouktar Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier, and formed a Cabinet with Nazim Pasha Minister of War in place of Mahmoud Shefket, and with Kiamil Pasha Minister of Foreign Affairs. The latter appointment gives satisfaction to the army. [See current volume, page 567.]



"Will-son and Mar-shall!" How's Will and Shall for the beginning and end of the ticket?—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

NEWS NOTES

—Martin B. Madden, the discredited labor organizer of Chicago, better known as "Skinny" Madden, died on the 22nd.

—The Emperor of Japan, Mutsuhito, who is now 59 years old, is exceedingly ill and may not recover. [See vol. xiv, p. 934.]

—Dr. J. Silas Harris of Kansas City, Mo., was re-elected president of the Negro National Educational congress at St. Paul on the 17th.

—Subject to approval of the Federal government the National Packing Company (beef trust) was voluntarily dissolved on the 19th. [See current volume, page 301.]

—Andrew Lang, poet, essayist and teller of fairy tales, died in Scotland on the 20th. Mr. Lang was born and educated in Scotland, but lived most of his life in England. He died in his 69th year.

—Violent "cloudburst" storms caused the death of nine persons near Jacobs Creek, Pa., on the 17th; and of nine or more persons at Mazuma, Nev., on the 18th; and the wiping out of Seven Troughs, Nev., on the same day, with a loss of 20 lives.

—The Chinese Premier, Tang Shao Yi, appointed by President Yuan Shi Kai in March, left Peking last month, and later resigned his office on the plea of ill-health. Lu Cheng Hsiang has been appointed in his place. [See current volume, pages 278, 639.]

—At the second annual meeting of the Initiative and Referendum League of Illinois, held at Chicago on the 18th, George E. Cole of Chicago was elected president, Dr. George Tupper of Mount Vernon vice president, George E. Lee of Springfield secretary, and George E. Hooker of Chicago treasurer.

—Judge Robert W. Archbald of the United States Commerce Court, charged with misconduct by the House of Representatives, appeared before the impeachment court of the Senate on the 19th and was given until July 29 to answer the charges made against him. [See current volume, page 684.]

—Followers of the Mexican bandit insurrecto, Zapata, attacked a passenger train between Mexico City and Cuernavaca on the 20th. After overturning the engine with a mine, the Federal guard in the coaches and the passengers were shot down and murdered with hand weapons; 84 persons were killed. [See current volume, page 684.]

—Attorney General Stead of Illinois advises Governor Deneen that he cannot appoint to the Lorimer vacancy in the United States Senate during the interval between sessions of the legislature because the vacancy did not occur with Mr. Lorimer's removal, but has existed since the expiration of Senator Hopkins' term, the Senate having decided that Mr. Lorimer's election was void from the beginning. [See current volume, pages 674, 682.]

—In the midst of the Congressional investigation with a view to his impeachment and at the beginning of important testimony tending apparently to reveal improper judicial relations with New York and Chicago railroad and banking interests, Judge Hanford of Seattle telegraphed his resignation as a Fed-

eral Judge to President Taft on the 22nd. The investigation by the sub-committee was thereupon ordered by the chairman of the judiciary committee by telegraph from Washington to be suspended. [See current volume, page 639.]

—The Chinese Republic reduced telegraph rates on June 1. Messages in Chinese cipher, or in any foreign language, are now transmitted between any two points in China at the uniform rate of 12 cents Mexican per word, equivalent to 5½ cents gold. Ordinary Chinese messages and foreign press messages are 6 cents Mexican per word (2¼ cents gold), and Chinese press messages at 3 cents Mexican (1½ cents gold) per word. Within the limits of the same Province messages are just half the foregoing rates. [See current volume, page 639.]

—Congressman Rainey of Illinois, who killed six Congressional bills granting water power rights, which were favored by the House committee on inter-State and foreign commerce, explained as follows on the 15th: "My reason is a general one. I did not investigate any one of the six propositions thoroughly to discover whether there was individual merit or not. I did look at the bills, however, and I found there was nothing in them which distinguishes the beneficiaries from the great power trust. Also there was nothing in the bills pertaining to compensation for the government."

—Following the expulsion of Mr. Lorimer from the Senate, this resolution, proposed by Senator Bailey of Texas, was adopted on the 16th in the Senate by 35 yeas to 23 nays: "Resolved, That any attempt on the part of a President of the United States to exercise the powers and influence of his great office for the purpose of controlling the vote of any Senator upon a question involving the right to a seat in the Senate or any other matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Senate would violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution, and invade the rights of the Senate." [See current volume, page 682.]

—The Democratic national campaign committee, which will have supreme charge, was named on the 18th by Governor Wilson. It consists of 14 members, with William F. McCombs, the chairman of the Democratic national committee, as chairman. The other members are: Robert S. Hudspeth (N. J.), Josephus Daniels (N. C.), Willard Saulsbury (Del.), Robert L. Ewing (Ia.), A Mitchell Palmer (Pa.), Joseph E. Davies (Wis.), Will R. King (Oregon), Senator Thomas P. Gore (Okla.), Senator James A. O'Gorman (N. Y.), Senator James A. Reed (Mo.), Representative Daniel J. McIllicuddy (Me.), Representative Albert A. Bursleson (Texas), William G. McAdoo (N. Y. City).

PRESS OPINIONS

Newton D. Baker.

The (Creighton) Nebraska Liberal (dem. Dem.), July 19.—When Newton Baker, the young Cleveland, Ohio, mayor, arose to speak before the restless Baltimore convention, every eye was held for a moment; and when the challenge to the Harmon element in

Ohio politics rang about the ears of the audience every noise was stilled. The great Tom Johnson bequeathed his mantle to Mayor Baker and it will never be trailed in the dust. Mayor Baker could not be tempted from his work by the offer of the Vice Presidency. When you meet a man with the force of Mayor Baker and study the fight he has waged, you forget some of those small potato politicians who sell their constituents out the first time they see a few thousand dollars in one pile.



Violence and Votes.

The Boston (Mass.) Herald (ind.), July 5.—The new outburst of suffragette excesses in England, including the smashing of windows at the postoffices in Manchester and other cities, and the outrageous assault upon Premier Asquith at the reception in London, are likely to alienate whatever sympathy was left for these fanatical women in the thoughtful public. A dispatch from London states that Ramsey Macdonald, the leader of the Labor members of Parliament, who, like all the members of his party is an ardent woman suffragist, has been moved by this last insane exhibition to a strong protest. These "militant" tactics, he says, threaten to kill the cause. . . . There was never a movement so foolish and, as it at last transpires, never one so disastrous to a great cause, which at the time of this unhappy departure was in a more hopeful condition in England than in almost any other country in the world. Our American conditions are such that a similar movement here was not likely; but it cannot be forgotten that the excesses in England have found many apologists in woman suffrage circles here, and that many of the mischievous and anarchic English arguments have been given wide American currency.



Another Superstition Exploded.

Collier's Weekly, July 20.—With each succeeding year of development more of the hasty generalizations concerning woman's unfitness for a life of affairs are relegated to the pleasant land of myths. One of the last is that of woman's inability to see with sane and unexaggerated feelings a public issue for which her enthusiasm is very much aroused. Many still expect a movement supported almost entirely by women to be conducted with hysteria. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association has just sent out a circular letter to its members and others whose financial assistance it wishes to enlist. The letter reads:

A country, a people, must progress if it is to continue strong. We believe that woman's suffrage is part of the progressive movement toward a more efficient and real democracy.

We believe that tax-paying women need the vote to protect their financial interests.

We believe that mothers and home makers need the vote to enable them to secure legislation concerning sanitary conditions, food supply, educational and moral conditions.

We believe that working women need the vote to give them power to effect legislation determining the conditions and hours of their work.

We believe that all women need the vote because it is the accepted method of individual self-expression in matters concerning all.

We believe that the State needs to utilize directly the knowledge and experience of women in those matters of social welfare in which they are especially interested, just as it needs to utilize directly the knowledge and experience of men in those matters in which they are especially interested.

We believe that a representative government should represent all classes of a community which cannot be definitely shown to be a menace to the community.

That is all, except a few simple details concerning the sending of remittances. How many man-managed organizations have surpassed this for sanity, clarity, restraint and completeness in the statement of a complex and difficult issue?



Speaker Clark and the Democratic Candidacy.

The (San Francisco) Star (dem. Dem.), July 13.—Before the Democratic national convention met, The Star sincerely hoped that Champ Clark would be the nominee for President. During his long career in Congress, he has ever been a warrior for the right—for unadulterated Jeffersonian principles. As Speaker of the House, he has advocated, fought for, and secured the adoption of measures which will redound to the benefit of all the people. In the war against privilege and plunder he has been a man among men and a leader of leaders. His private life is lovable and stainless, as his public life was free from all "entangling alliances" with any of the forces of evil, until William Randolph Hearst was thrust upon him by wily selfseekers in the disguise of friends. In his laudable ambition to be President, Clark weakened at the crucial moment, accepted the advice of these false friends, and lost the coveted honor when it was almost within his grasp. When Alton Brooks Parker was suggested for temporary chairman, Clark was given the same opportunity as Woodrow Wilson to disapprove a selection so notoriously unfit by a convention claiming to be progressive. Had Clark boldly embraced that opportunity, as Wilson did, we sincerely believe that he would today be Democracy's standard-bearer in the Presidential fight. But Hearst's advice or dictum prevailed. Clark wrote a non-committal letter, and most of his supporters in the convention voted for Parker against Bryan—the latter being a candidate only when other Progressives had declined to be. Nor was that all. The Hearst papers, with brutal but characteristic disregard for truth, published page after page of slanderous and gratuitous attacks upon Bryan, which were resented by the people and many of the very delegates who were for Clark. If ever a man had reason to exclaim, "Save me from my friends!" that man is Champ Clark; for it was they—misled, as some of them were, by schemers—who caused his defeat. That fact is as certain as is this other fact: It was William Jennings Bryan, who, by his courageous denunciation and manly defiance of Morgan, Ryan, Belmont, and all their scurvy crew, cleared the way for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson. We are led to these remarks by the continued attacks upon Bryan, for his course in the convention.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

Charlotte Porter in the New York Call.

Across the paces of the rolling World—
 O have ye then not heard!—
 A Nation's voice in travail onward hurled,
 To hope of new life stirred?
 An ancient People to the youngest sues,
 And bids true hearts take heed
 How once more, like the Phoenix, renews
 Herself, and for her seed,
 Out of her nest's decay would rear a free-born
 breed,
 Tow'rd growing self-strength spurred.
 Heirs of our Western Past! Nestlings of Free-
 dom's bird,
 Have ye no Eagle-word?
 Hail, hail! Republic of the Rising Sun,
 Ancient, reborn Cathay!
 Through long distrust and darkness, we, too,
 won
 Up the Worlds' crags our way
 And mewed our callow wings in living light—
 The father-fount of force—
 Above the cautious levels, shut to might
 That wells from its self-source.
 Shall now the true-bred eaglets fail to eye thy
 course
 Straight to the unveiled ray?
 Nor dare their birthright test by greeting thy
 New Day,
 Ancient, reborn Cathay!
 Ah! but the profit-serving vulture-brood of preda-
 tory mind,
 The base-born nurselings, whose degenerate
 mood
 The old stock undermined,
 Flinch from confronting the unhooded blaze
 Of thy Republic's rise:
 The craven not the kingly sight delays
 That fire to recognize—
 That sacred self-born fire no eagle eye decries!
 How long to sunlight blind
 Shall sticklers wait and thy Republic seem to
 find
 A Sister State unkind?
 All might, dominion, happiness and power,
 Ancient, reborn Cathay!
 Find root within thee and within thee flower,
 A good, self-grounded, may!
 Birthrights peculiar to thy race accrue
 In measure all unknown
 Unto thy Many, not unto thy Few,
 Nor only to thine own!
 Tenacious, long-lived force, with this new vigor
 shown,
 In thine old veins have sway!—
 Arcestral wisdom, mingling, through thy young
 blood play,
 Ancient, reborn Cathay!

CHINA'S NEXT STEP.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen at Shanghai, April 18, 1912. As
 Published in the Independent (New York)
 of June 13, 1912.

The republic is established in China, and though I am laying down the office of Provisional President, this does not mean that I am going to cease to work for the cause. After laying down my office, still greater affairs demand my attention. China has been under the domination of the Manchus for 270 years. During that time many attempts have been made to regain independence. Fifty years ago the Taiping rebellion was such an attempt, but this was merely a revolution of the race (Chinese against Manchus). Had the revolution been successful, the country would still have been under an autocratic government. This would not count success.

Some years ago a few of us met in Japan and founded the Revolutionary Society. We decided on three great principles: (1) The (Chinese) people to be supreme as a race (*i. e.*, not to be under the dominion of an alien race). (2) The people supreme in government. (3) The people supreme in wealth production. Now the Manchus have abdicated, we have succeeded in establishing the first two of these principles, and it now remains for us to accomplish the revolution of society. This subject is being much discussed in the world today, but many people in China are ignorant of what is involved in such a question. They suppose that the aim of the regeneration of China is only that this may become a great and powerful country, on an equality with the great Powers of the West; but such is not the end of our effort. Today there are no wealthier countries than Britain and America; there is no more enlightened country than France. Britain is a constitutional monarchy; France and America are perfect republics; but the gap betwixt the poor and the wealthy in these countries is too great. And so it comes to pass that thoughts of revolution still rankle in the minds of many. For, if this revolution of society be not effected, the many cannot enjoy complete joy and happiness. Such felicity is only for the few capitalists. The mass of laborers continues to suffer bitterness and cannot be at rest. Now, the revolution of the race and the revolution of government are easy, but the revolution of society is difficult. This is because it is only a people of high attainments that can work out a revolution of society. Some will say, "We have succeeded so far in our revolution, why not be content and wait? Why seek to accomplish what Britain and America, with all their wealth and knowledge, have not yet undertaken?" This would be a mistaken policy. For in Britain and America civilization is advanced and industry flourishes. It is therefore difficult to accomplish a revolution of society. In China we have not yet reached this

stage, so such a revolution is easy for us. In Britain and America capitalists with their vested interests are entrenched and it is therefore difficult to dislodge them. In China capitalists and vested interests have not yet appeared; hence the revolution of society is easy. I may be asked, "To accomplish such a revolution as you foreshadow, will military force be necessary?" I reply, "In Britain and America it will be necessary to use military force, but not in China. The coal strike in Britain is a proof of what I say. Yet the coal strike cannot be called a revolution. It is merely that the people desire to get possession of the sources of wealth and can only do so by violent means. Although the revolution of society is difficult to accomplish today, the time is surely coming when it will be an accomplished fact, but by what desperate means it shall be accomplished and through what dangers the state shall pass, it is difficult to prognosticate. If we do not, in the beginning of our republic, take thought for the future, by-and-by, when capitalism is developed, its oppression may be worse than the despotism which we have just thrown off, and we may again have to pass through a period of bloodshed. Will not that be deplorable?"

There is one point to which we ought to give the greatest attention. When the new government is established it will be necessary that all land deeds shall be changed. This is a necessary corollary of the revolution. If we desire to forward the revolution of society, then when the change is made a slight alteration should be introduced into the form of the deed in order that the greatest results may be achieved. Formerly, people owning land paid taxes according to the area, making a distinction only between the best, medium and common land. In the future, taxes ought to be levied according to the value, not the area, of the land. For land varies much more than in the ratio of these three degrees. I don't know by how much the land in Nanking differs in value from land on the Bund in Shanghai, but if you rate it according to this old method of three degrees you cannot assess it justly. It would be better to tax it according to its value, the poor land paying a low tax and valuable land a high tax. The valuable land is mostly in the busy marts and is in the possession of wealthy men; to tax them heavily would be no oppression. The poor land is mostly the possession of poor people in far back districts; nothing but the lightest taxes should be levied on them. For instance, a piece of land on the Bund pays taxes at the rate of a few dollars to the acre and a piece of land of equal area in the country pays an equal tax. This is far from being just. If the tax were levied on the value of the land then this injustice would be done away with. If you compare the value of land in Shanghai today with what it was one hundred years ago, it has increased ten thousandfold. Now, industry in China is about

to be developed. Commerce will advance, and in fifty years' time we shall see many Shanghais in China. Let us take time by the forelock and make sure that the unearned increment of wealth shall belong to the people and not to private capitalists who happen to be the owners of the soil.



DR. SUN YAT SEN.

Editorial in the *Independent* (New York) of June 13.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen is one of the world's most historic men. By consent of Chinese belief it is he that has overturned the old Manchu rule of centuries, and, more than that, has replaced by a modern republic the imperial government of thousands of years. He has done it in the simplest, most original and yet most ideal way, not by leading an army, not having ever commanded even a single company of soldiers, and with the slightest effusion of blood; just by going about for years in China, among the Chinese of this country, consorting with the Chinese students in Japan, talking to them, of human rights. So quietly did he do this that the outside world did not know that such a man existed; and yet he was undermining the very foundations of the ancient evil institutions of the nation and re-establishing them on the new foundation of equal rights for all men. Incredible would have seemed the purpose, if we had known of it, and yet it succeeded; and when this house of cards, these walls of Jericho, fell down, by universal acclaim this unheralded, insignificant, unknown dreamer, this impractical reformer, was made first President of the new Republic of China. Others had done the visible work of overthrow, but his was the inspiration, his the dynamic, ethereal current that had conveyed the compelling message all over the twenty-two provinces of China.

Then he was elected leader of the successful republic; and then he resigned. Why? This address tells us.*

He has a yet greater task on hand. He would not only create the republic, he would create the new social institutions of the country. He sees not only the wrongs of imperial tyranny, but the evils which endanger the civilizations of the West, and he would escape them. The perils of accumulated wealth and galling poverty he has observed in Europe and America, and he would teach a better way to his own people. Our civilization is seething with the passion of class hatred. We call it the "unrest" of the working people, who are threatening by violence to seize the reins of government, to destroy old vested rights, to deny the claims of property to rule, and, we fear, to raise a civil war whose end we cannot guess. Can it be that our boasted civilization rests on double foundations of sand and rock, on both democracy

*See preceding page of this Public.

and plutocracy, on principles that in the end will be found inconsistent, unstable, and that must involve disaster to the civilization that rests upon the two?

So Dr. Sun believes. Such danger has he seen in these Western lands, and this danger he would avoid for his new republic. What we cannot reform without civil war, perhaps, he would have China guard against at the very beginning. Can she not, he says, give the republic a real democracy which has in it no danger of rule by selfish wealth?

Such has been, and is, his double task, to create the republic, and to create a social order that shall make the republic secure. We honor our Washington, who led the armies which achieved our independence, who was the first President of these United States, and who taught the feeble nation to avoid entangling alliances. Greece honored Solon, who gave her laws and institutions. It is not ambition, not the love of personal glory, but pure patriotism and extraordinary wisdom which made this Chinese statesman seek the regeneration of his country, not by arms, but by the dissemination of ideas, and who lays down the display of power that he may again go about, a new Solon, a new Confucius, telling rulers how they should master greed and assure a contented people.



LITTLE TALES OF FELLOW TRAVELERS.

No. 8. Some Chinese Laborers.

For The Public.

The boy of the last one of these stories began to grow up in the place which was known on the maps as Green Valley, but which a few people called in their hearts "The Place of Peace." The other boys called him "Johnny;" the Indians' name for him was "Boy John."

He worked on his father's farm by the creek, near the foothills below the old adobe mill. He sowed seeds of many plants and trees; he wrote letters to far-off countries, he went swimming and read books, broke colts and collected postage stamps. Mostly, however, he went to the little old brown school-house in the middle of the valley. But Saturdays and vacations were given to hard work on the farm.

After awhile he noticed that their farm was differently managed from other farms in the valley. Once he had to punch a boy's head for calling it a "menagerie." Fleda Fillibron named it "a circus" one recess, but you couldn't do anything when girls said such things. It was all right, this old farm of theirs, and very interesting, too, because so many different sorts of people lived there more or less of the time.

First, were the Indians on their island in the

willows. The boy liked them exceedingly, and they taught him lots of new things.

Then there was a little bunch of Canton Chinese with their "boss-man," who had a neat little camp under a sycamore. His father said that several of these Chinamen had been twenty years on the farm. They were fine workers in the nursery and garden; they could bud, graft and take care of young plants.

Nor was this all. He could look across the fields from the top of the barn and see a number of Portuguese, Italians and Chilenos running chisel-toothed cultivators; he could go through the vineyard, orchard or dairy and find Frenchmen, Swiss, Scotchmen and sturdy Americans from Maine, New Jersey, Missouri and elsewhere, all getting along together in great cheerfulness. One year half a dozen Negroes got in the hay crop.

The boy's father hired anyone that happened along, only asking each group to choose its own "boss-man," and everyone was contented; the same people kept coming back year after year.

There was nothing quite like this anywhere else in the valley. One land-owner used only Indian labor. He complained, however, that they got drunk too often. Another rancher depended entirely on Portuguese, but he said they had too many feast days. A stately Virginian had a row of cottages on his land for the families of his Negro laborers, but he acknowledged that it was impracticable to get white men to work with them.

One evening the boy told his father that he wished some Dyaks, Zulus and Patagonians would happen along. The old farmer smiled, as if he had somewhat expected this; he kept fairly good track of the youth's reading.

"Last year," he said, "you wanted Greeks to tell you the Homeric legends, and Hungarians to sing you the songs of Arpad. The year before that you had the lame little sailor from Finland who gave us so much of the Kalevala."

But as no more "new neighbors from strange countries," as the farmer's wife called them, came along that summer, the boy had to make the most of his Asiatic friends the Chinamen—Chue, Fot, Tye, Sing and three or four others. One of them had carried him around when he was a baby. Another had sent to China every year for seeds and even plants, which were now growing comfortably on the old farm—a tea-shrub, a camelia and a lichee, a cum-quat, a bamboo and a cinnamon. A third had twice been back to China, and had brought porcelain cups to the farmer's wife and treasures of jade to the boy. Big Tye had once pulled the boy out of a creek in wild flood, when the bank crumbled with him, for Tye had been a river boatman, and could swim like a Mandarin duck.

Every now and then the Chinamen invited the boy to take supper with them, and he always had

a first-rate time. Then he sat in their house, told them all sorts of stories out of his books, listened to theirs in return, and was perfectly at home with them.

Very gradually they confided to him their small ambitions. One hoped to return to his native province, and there become like Kai Lung, a famous story teller of stories about strange lands, peoples and events. Another knew where he would buy two whole acres of rice-land, seek a wife in orthodox Chinese fashion among his own people, and so settle down near to the graves of his ancestors. A third, one night said to the boy: "Bad man, good man everywhere."

"Yes," the boy answered.

"'Merican bad man very bad; 'Merican good man very good."

"Guess that's the way of it."

"Yes, that way. But 'Merican know heap. 'Merican gov'ment very good, indeed. Always treat China square. Me go back China—me 'member good 'Merican; me forget bad 'Merican."

He struggled awhile with his English, then he broke forth: "Special, me 'member you fader, you moder an' you. Me send you things ev'y year. Me like you come see me. Not long way."

It was in Kearney days, and when the anti-Chinese agitation began to spread over California it took some curious forms which its leaders probably did not expect nor desire. The little village store and post office of the valley contained a number of noisy and lazy "agitators." They organized and passed resolutions against all who employed Chinese. Their Committee waited on the old farmer, and gave him twenty-four hours to "fire those Chinamen."

The farmer invited them into his office, and called his boy in, too. Then he brought out his accounts.

"Now, gentlemen," he said, "these books show that I have regularly employed on this place five white men for every Chinaman; they also prove that the Chinamen have been carefully used for kinds of work in which no white men who ever came here are expert, and that they have thus enabled me to hire more white men. They have given me good service, and when they go back to China they will strengthen the bonds of good-will between the two countries."

"If we get hold of them they won't," said one of the agitators.

"That is quite enough for thee to say," said the old farmer with a sweet and yet tingling firmness, as he closed the interview.

As the Committee went past the Chinese camp one of them threw in a stick of stove-wood, wrecking their dishes. The Chinamen came home from the field and cleared up the kitchen without a word. Then they took the afternoon off, went down into the Creek bottoms, where the Indians lived, with revolvers and ammunition which they brought out

from some secret recess. There Tye and Chue took the lead, and the bunch practiced shooting for hours at a board on which they had drawn with charcoal the outlines of what Chue said was: "One lazy, no-count bummer; he say, 'Chinese must go!'"

Soon there came the rumor that some people had said the farmer's big alfalfa hay-stacks and new barn would be burned if he kept his Chinamen.

When this reached the latter, one came to the farmer, and said: "You like, me go; you like, me stay; me whip hoodlum man."

Saturday afternoon, a little later, the wise old farmer sent again for the village Committee. He had a little wagon; he took the three men in and drove them down to the Chinese shooting-grounds, where five men were faithfully improving their marksmanship. It was wonderfully good shooting, too. Then the farmer drove the Committee around to his big hay-stack.

"Here," he told them, "are some unknown person's tracks; he went all around the other night. But here at this corner stood an armed Chinaman, unknown then to me, keeping guard. If that fellow had fired the stack the Chinaman would have shot him."

The farmer went on, in his quiet way: "Now, friends, we live together in this beautiful valley, and its interests are ours. I want to quiet down those Chinamen and have them bud more peach trees for me to sell to the neighbors. We need more orchards here. We can't have anybody hurt. If you boys will persuade your side to let it drop, I'll take away those pistols and get that budding done."

The spokesman laughed, a short little laugh. "I never supposed that a Chinaman would fight. I never thought he had any feelings. But I know these fellows would stay right with you, and I really don't understand it."

"At bottom, Hal, they are just like the rest of us. The Almighty made Asia as well as America." He put his hand in his pocket and drew out an envelope.

"Now, Hal," he said, "you remember when your little nephew died, and my boy went over and found you crying out by the barn door, and sat down and talked to you and told you how sorry he was."

"He's a mighty good boy," said Hal.

"Well, one day I found Chue out in the orchard, flat on the ground, crying. He had just heard, through his Company, that his little nephew in China, an only child, was dead, and the Company sent him a picture. He had it in his hands. You can see the tear-stains."

The farmer drew the picture out of the envelope and gave it to Hal. It showed a beautiful boy, eager and lovable. Hal handed it back, nodding his head slowly, shook hands with the farmer and went off with his companions.

"Go down and tell Tye that the trouble is all over," said the farmer to his son, "and ask him

please to bring their pistols and cartridges to me, and then take their budding knives and work extra hours!"

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN



"THE CITY OF THE CIVIC MIND."

From Report of the Recent Conference of Charities and Corrections, in the Survey of July 6.

Cleveland has a way of revivifying one's faith in the city as the "hope of democracy." Fifteen hundred members of the National Conference of Charities and Correction last month caught something from its spirit in helping to expand the range and democratic emphasis of their own body.

It was this city which contributed to the National Conference the largest audience which it has ever known. It was the press of this city which, at a time when the political grist was the most plentiful in the history of parties, opened its columns to a greater quantity of Conference news than any papers ever had done before. But it was not only the Cleveland of oil refineries, of steel specialties and of automobile parts that did this. It was the Cleveland of three-cent street-car fares and of the lowest death rate among the large American cities. It was the Cleveland which boasts of a larger home use of its public libraries than Chicago and a larger per capita circulation than Boston or New York, Philadelphia or Cincinnati. It was the Cleveland that has already expended \$12,000,000 on a "group plan" of public buildings which when completed will cost upward of \$25,000,000. It was the Cleveland which insists that more of its residents own their own homes than is the case in any other city of equal size. It was, finally, the Cleveland which claims a greater amount of intelligent acquaintance with civic affairs among its citizens than can be found elsewhere in the United States. The tent meetings during the traction campaigns a few years ago were great schools of public questions, and night after night the people listened to presentations of the law and the facts, transfused with the vision of the city that was to be. At the Mayor's Luncheon, held under the auspices of the Conference committee on standards of living and labor, when the spirit of the late Tom L. Johnson, Mayor and man, was vivified by his successor and associate, Newton D. Baker, this story was told:

A man once came to Mr. Baker and said: "My town is going to have a street railway fight. I want to know all about Cleveland's."

"I shall be only too glad to tell you all I know," said Mr. Baker, "but unfortunately I have appointments until one o'clock. Will you come back then?"

"How can I most profitably put in the two

hours until that time?" asked the stranger.

The answer was: "Go out on the public square, sit down by the most unlikely man you can find—the one who looks most as if he didn't know the difference between a franchise and a double track. Ask that man to tell you about Cleveland's street railway fight, and when you come back I will tell you whatever you haven't been able to learn from him."

The man came back at the end of two hours. "I needn't keep my appointment here," he said. "I found an old chap whose feet were out of his shoes, whose elbows were out of his shirt sleeves, and who looked as if he had just sobered up for the first time in a month—in short, I found the unlikeliest looking individual at large. I put one question to him and he started right in at the beginning and filled in all the details and brought me down to date. There's nothing for you to tell me unless you know what's going to happen. He hasn't been let in on that."

This coming together of the expert and the man in the street, which has been characteristic of the militant city movements of the past decade, is scarcely less true of the fields of social concern treated by the National Conference. It would be impossible to interest an entire city in the book-keeping of a car barn as such, but when this is lifted into a place in the city's program of achievement, then the capacity of the people to study and understand is well-nigh limitless.



VIOLENCE AND VOTES.

Lucia Ames Mead in *The Independent* of June 27, 1912.

We have recently seen the private property of neutrals destroyed without compensation in the "war" in which English suffragets have engaged in London. Their violence was by no means the result of impulse, but was coolly planned and executed, and they did what is prohibited by all codes in actual war.

The primary reason why these women, many of them refined ladies of social position, engaged deliberately in such lawlessness, at the word of command from headquarters, was chiefly that their judgment had been warped by misinformation persistently drilled into their minds for years by leaders whose devotion and ability were unquestioned and whose statements and unfounded inferences were adjudged to be equally unquestionable. Two statements were reiterated vehemently on all occasions—one, that extension of the suffrage to men had usually been achieved through violence, and only so could a stubborn Parliament be made to yield; the other, that all peaceable methods had been exhausted and nothing but violence, under the euphemism of "direct action," remained as the alternative to abject failure and submission. In

explaining the situation to Americans, the militants always added a further argument, accepted by many Americans as valid: "This is only what your forefathers did when they threw the tea overboard."

As an earnest suffragist of a lifetime, permit me to review the real history which concerns this matter and which, if truly understood by these militants, would have tempered their vandalism with discretion and prevented a most humiliating exhibition of fanaticism and much futile suffering in consequence.

Devotion to a cause, willingness to suffer pain and ignominy for it, must always command a sincere respect, either when the Hindoo mother throws her babe into the Ganges, when the Mexican *penitente* scourges himself with bloody whips and submits voluntarily even to crucifixion, or when a woman starves herself in prison to help attain the suffrage for her sex. Self-inflicted suffering will always win respect for sincerity; but inflicting suffering on the innocent is quite a different matter. The first, in the English situation, inspired admiration and brought accessions to the cause; the second has inspired a revulsion of feeling, in which not only the guilty suffer, but the great body of law-abiding suffragists are compelled to suffer also, to see the Conciliation Bill defeated, and to see their cause brought into ill repute.

A teacher who has promised her class a boon whenever the head master should announce the time for it had come is hardly to be blamed if she withholds it still, after that time arrives, if a part of the class, enraged at having to wait, seeks to intimidate her by smashing schoolroom windows. In like manner, a pledged majority of the House of Commons turned into a minority because they felt that Parliament must not yield to intimidation, lest it put a premium on violence and ensure its continuance through every successive stage. Parliament, in the last century, in extending suffrage to men, in 1832, in 1867 and 1884, never did so because of intimidation. There was some violence, but never any organized by reformers. It was wholly the result of momentary impulse and generally from the lowest orders of society. It was in absolute contrast to the organized, deliberate violence of the suffragets.

In 1831, the Reform Bill passed the House of Commons without any violence after a long period of oppression and suffering, in which there had been riots over the introduction of machinery which threw men out of work. The hostility to the Reform Bill by the House of Lords, however, did irritate the masses. Nottingham Castle, about which the militants talk so much, was set on fire and partially destroyed. A mob of vagrants broke into wine-cellars in Bristol and, after becoming intoxicated, set fire to many buildings, and some, too drunk to escape, perished in the flames. This, says one historian, was done by men "probably not

one in twelve of whom had ever heard of the Reform Bill." All of the writers upon this subject show the utterly rude and irresponsible character of these mobs. Some of the rioters perished on the scaffold for their offense. In connection with this largely irrelevant and always sporadic violence, immense lawful pressure was brought to bear on the Lords, and, finally, the threat to create more peers won the day and the bill became law in June, 1832.

Granting, for the sake of argument, that these mobs had some influence and really affected the Lords and the King with precisely the reverse emotions from those with which violence usually affects authorities, and, instead of making them more stubborn, made them more lenient, one must ask, is this hooliganism of hungry, drunken mobs eighty years ago a precedent for the deliberate, organized violence of women in this age who have ten times the political and industrial rights which those down-trodden, illiterate men had in those days?

There was rioting over the Chartists' claims in the forties. But absolutely nothing was gained by it. One of their demands—universal suffrage—is not yet granted, and others were slowly conceded after all violence had ceased.

So late as 1866, three men out of four in England were as unable to vote for Parliament as women are today, and most of them lacked the municipal suffrage which many English women now possess; yet none of their leaders advocated or were responsible for any violence in the effort for the extension of the suffrage.

In March, 1866, Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill. On July 23, the reformers, being refused what they thought to be their right to assemble in Hyde Park, quietly withdrew and went elsewhere; but it was afterward shown that their claim to hold their meeting in the Park was legal. However, certain of their rank and file together with "mischievous boys and ordinary London roughs" (McCarthy), crowding around the palings, felt one of them yield and impulsively made a rush, knocking the palings over for half a mile. This was spectacular and therefore much talked about. It was one lawless among a hundred lawful and orderly measures which brought about the passage of the bill thirteen months later, in August, 1867; as already said, it was utterly unauthorized by the reform leaders and without any previous knowledge on their part. It is grossly inaccurate to attribute the passage of the bill to this incident, which was almost accidental and with which the reform leaders had nothing to do. The further extension of the suffrage, in 1884, was unaccompanied by violence.

As to the throwing of the tea overboard in Boston, a supposed precedent, cited *ad nauseam* by English militants here, there was a slight superficial resemblance, but the difference was essential

and fundamental. The act was not vandalism, committed merely as a hostile demonstration. The serious men of Boston waited anxiously until the twenty days required by law had nearly expired, beyond which no cargo could remain on shipboard. The successful landing of the tea would have defeated the whole contention of the colonists in their great struggle. The captain of the "Dartmouth" had yielded and consented to take the tea back to England, but the Governor commanded the ship to be fired on if it sailed without a proper permit. This was not to be obtained. The eyes of all the colonies were on the men of Massachusetts, who were acting for them all. They acted solemnly and, assembling in the Old South, waited until they had lighted the candles, "determined not to act until the last legal method of relief should have been tried and found wanting," which situation came with the refusal from Governor Hutchinson to grant the permit. The future of the country was at stake. Then, and only then was the tea destroyed, not because the men of Boston wanted to destroy it, but because it was made impossible to return it to England or to leave it on shipboard, and to land it meant the overthrow of their liberties. Had it been sugar, or flour, or anything but tea, it would have been wholly different. Mere destructiveness as intimidation was the last thing thought of. But it was a matter of indifference to the English militants what they destroyed, so long as it was easy for them to smash it. There was scarcely a point of resemblance between their vandalism and this historic event. History has justified that event. Will history justify the destruction of private property on Regent and Oxford streets when women, armed with hammers in bags, at a signal smashed windows in order that by a spectacular demonstration they might get the suffering owners of the property to rush to the House of Commons and espouse their cause? They reckon ill who leave out human nature from account, as the result proved.

The appeal to the example of the American Revolution by the suffragets in justification of their course is of all things most unwarranted. The temper and method of the two movements were absolutely unlike. The famous watchwords of the Boston Revolutionary leaders, "Do not fire unless you are fired upon," "Always keep the enemy in the wrong," etc., are expressions of the scrupulous lawfulness and self-restraint which marked the whole trying decade preceding the hostilities, which they did not begin. Students of history will remember the condemnation by the responsible men of Boston of the mob which sacked the house of Governor Hutchinson. They will also remember that no less a man than John Adams promptly offered his services to defend the British captain after the Boston massacre, to ensure the lawful and orderly disposal of the case. It is as unfitting for the patriotic American to sanction

the appeal to the leaders of the Revolution in this matter as it is unworthy in every suffragist, American or English, to seek to trace apostolic succession from the hoodlums of Nottingham Castle, Bristol and Hyde Park.

Men, to be sure, have committed far worse crimes and been punished more lightly by English judges than these women, who have just cause for impatience. But two wrongs never made a right. Do not the condoners of their vandalism show an astonishing incapacity to perceive relative values when they cry out that "Parliament should remember that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church"? Pray when have martyrs ever thrown stones at the men who sent them to the rack and stake? Was it not their Christlike willingness to suffer without reprisal that placed the halo around their heads? The perverse ratiocination which creates euphemisms like the word "protests" for throwing brickbats, which conjures up visions of thumbscrews and Iron Virgins by the word "torture" as applied to forcing nourishment upon would-be prisoners and would-be suicides, does not commend the militant sense of fairness to the public, which is inclined to ask, "If they choose voluntarily to go to prison, why don't they act like good sports and not complain when they get what they want?"

Spite of our pity for their suffering and gratitude for the great help they earlier gave the movement, loyalty to our cause and love for certain militants who may be charming personally does not require us to repress our condemnation of recent methods, never deliberately employed by English men to attain their vote and never by English women in attaining the political rights that they already possess, which include sitting on County Councils and being mayors.

As to the militants' claim that they had no alternative, the answer is that they had scores of legal methods quite spectacular enough to keep their cause ever present to the public mind. If every suffragist had vowed to wear mourning, with no ornament but a "Votes for Women" badge, to abstain from all amusements, to purchase of suffragists alone, to strike, as in the play, "How the Vote Was Won," or to do any one of a dozen similar things, their devotion and nerve would have been equally evident, and they would have retained the respect of all the world. American suffragists, knowing that violence would never be employed here, have been too loath to criticise actions due, as they say, to "conditions we know nothing of." But the principles of ethics and of human nature which govern Christians and Anglo-Saxons are essentially the same in London as in New York. Our best help to the cause is to reprobate boldly the employment anywhere of those methods of doing evil that good may come, which in modern times have never thus far won a single vote for any man or woman.

Criticism of any of those who are zealous for one's own cause is not easy nor pleasant; but, as Arnold of Rugby well said, "The measure of my love for any institution is the measure of my desire to make it better," so we suffragists may gauge our love for our just cause by our desire to purge it of every feature that is unworthy. At a time when the world generally is working to supplant the hoary old methods of force by the methods of law and order, it is singularly untimely for a cause which has been peculiarly based on right reason and right feeling to seek to reverse the process; and it is doubly culpable for those seeking to do this to fortify their conduct by a false appeal to history.

BOOKS

A FEW YEARS OF MICHIGAN POLITICS.

The Politics of Michigan, 1865-1878. By Harriette M. Dilla. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Number 118. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York, 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

Because it is only fragmentary, this work will have little interest except for those who are trying to obtain a larger view of the politics of Michigan. The period covered extends from 1865 to 1878. This includes the formation of the Republican party "under the oaks" at Jackson, in the '50s, and the coalition of the Democratic and Greenback parties, in the '80s, when, by combining their strength, they managed to elect a Democratic governor or two. But a quietus was, later, put on this kind of coalition by a Republican legislature passing a law that no candidate's name could appear but once on an official ballot. After that the minor parties were unable to muster sufficient votes under any single designation to overcome the normal Republican majority.

JUDSON GRESELL.



VICTUALS AND DRINK.

Cutting It Out. By Samuel G. Blythe.

The Fun of Getting Thin. By Samuel G. Blythe. Both published by Forbes & Co., 443 S. Dearborn St., Chicago. Price, 35 cents each.

Told in lively humorous style, "Cutting It Out" is the story of a typical, jolly good fellow and steady drinker for 20 years, who quit because, as he explains, "After I was 40 years of age I noticed I began to go to funerals oftener; . . . all these funerals were of . . . good fellows and we mourned their loss. Also we generally took a few drinks to their memories." One of the pleasant surprises that came to him after he had quit was

the abundance of leisure he had. "When you are drinking," he found, "you are busy all the time—but get nowhere. Work is the curse of the drinking classes."

A second brief little book is all about how, after trying and giving up an indefinite number of exercises and diet cures, a fat man finds out just how to reduce. He discovers that no healthy person predisposed to fat ever "lost" any flesh. "The victim struggles with it, goes to the mat with it" and "does not debonairly drop it." He was in hot weather "the perspiring marvel and the most uncomfortable as well as the sloppiest person you ever saw. Besides, I was uric-acidy, rheumatic, and stertorous and clumsy." His cure, however, was entirely simple, wholly successful and is persuasively explained.

ROBERT E. GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Taxation of Land Values—As it Affects Land-owners and Others.** By John Orr. Published by P. S. King & Son, Orchard House, Westminster, London. 1912. Price, one shilling, net.

—**Individualism and the Land Question.** By Sir Roland K. Wilson, J. H. Levy and Others. Published by the Personal Rights Assn., 11 Abbeville Road, S. W. London. Price, one shilling net.

—**The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy.** By Yu-Yue Tsu. Number 125, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York, 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**British Radicalism, 1791-1797.** By Walter Phelps Hall. Number 122, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York, 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**Provincial and Local Taxation in Canada.** By Solomon Vineberg. Number 128, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York, 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.

—**Forty-fourth Annual Insurance Report of the Insurance Superintendent of the State of Illinois.** 1912. Part II, Life Insurance. Fred W. Potter, Superintendent. Published by the Illinois State Journal Co., Springfield, Ill.

—**The Law of Corporations: A Comparative Study with Particular Reference to the Protection of Creditors and Shareholders.** By Arthur K. Kuhn. Number 123, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, Agents, 1912. Price, \$1.50 net.



"Mother, may I go out to vote?"

Asked little Bessie Bowles.

"Yes, dear; put on your hat and coat,
But don't go near the polls."

—Chicago Tribune.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

The Senate from 1907 to 1912: The Story of the Stewardship of Those United States Senators Whose Terms Expire March 3, 1913. By Lynn Haines. Published by the Author, Bethesda, Maryland. 1912.

Taxation—Absolutely Just and Equitable Taxation on the Plan of Utility or Reasonable Annual Average Rental Value. By Napoleon Wagner. The Kendrick-Bellamy Book & Art Co., 16th and Stout streets, Denver, Colo.

Socialism: The Main Points. Briefly tells what Socialism is, shows how trusts are leading to Socialism, and answers a number of hostile objections. By Wilbur C. Benton, 154 W. Randolph St., Chicago. Single copies, 10 cents.

PERIODICALS

Ethics.

Competition, the rights of man, the ethical basis of Calvinism, and moral education are the principal subjects of philosophical discussion in the International Journal of Ethics (Philadelphia) for July; the paper of A. K. Rogers of the University of Missouri on "The Rights of Man," being a particularly interesting example of a tendency in modern thought on that subject.



Municipal Review.

The third number of the National Municipal Review (Philadelphia), that for July, appeals temptingly to students of municipal problems and progress. Taxation of franchises, municipal socialism in Germany, financial results of commission government, Wisconsin cities, preferential voting, lighter taxation on buildings, municipal markets, community doctors, and municipal newspapers are among the subjects dealt with.



Equity.

That perennial question, "What States have the Initiative and Referendum?" is answered in full detail by Equity (Philadelphia: price 50 cents a year, 15 cents a number) for July. They are South Dakota, Utah, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Oklahoma, Maine, Missouri, Michigan, Arkansas Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and California—14 in all, or nearly one-third of the States of the Union. The States in which Constitutional amendments providing for the Initiative and Referendum are now pending before the people for adoption are Washington, Nebraska, Idaho, Wyoming, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Nevada, Mississippi and Ohio. These amendments are carefully outlined in Equity for July.



The Twentieth Century.

Harris Weinstock's paper on free speech in the Twentieth Century (Boston) for July, a thoroughly judicial application of sound principles to the San

Diego lawlessness, is also a snapshot picture which it would be well for all peaceably disposed persons to look at. They might get a light upon it by reading John Jay Chapman's charming first chapter on William Lloyd Garrison with which this number of the magazine begins. Among the other articles are Prof. Zueblin's fourth in his suggestive series on the Common Life, an illustrated sketch of Horace Traubel, and B. O. Flower's fifth and final paper on the leaders he has known—Bolton Hall and Ernest Crosby being of the number, along with Hamlin Garland, Will Allen Dromgoole and W. D. McCrackan.



The American City.

Three articles in that excellent and flourishing magazine, The American City (New York) for July are especially interesting to one group or another among The Public's readers. One of them, well illustrated, explains the plans for Australia's new capital city, the prize for which was won by Walter Burley Griffin, the Singletaxer and architect of Chicago, in a contest with over 800 architects representing many different countries. Here is part of its summary of the beauties of Mr. Griffin's plans: "Thus from the peak of Ainslie down to the water's edge we have the impressive spectacle of the capitol building set on a hill flanked on either side by buildings descending on terrace after terrace to the water's edge, the whole giving the effect of one great structure with the lower facade a mile in extent. In the background are the slopes of Red Hill, the distant ranges with blue Tidbinbilla and Coree, and above all, hanging in the sky, the mystic repetition of the triangular motive—the snow-capped peak of Bimberli. All these are reflected with infinite variety in the peaceful formal central basin of the Molonglo. In the development of the city as a whole, the mountains have been taken as the termini of as many important vistas as possible; conversely making of these heights the best possible view points from which to see the city in orderly arrangement." A letter from Joseph Fels opposing municipal speculation in land values which involves "holding land from use, for idle land always has its counterpart in idle labor and idle capital," is the second of the three articles referred to above. The third is a description, by Anna E. Nicholes, of the traveling exhibits for child welfare conducted by the Woman's City Club of Chicago; it is significantly illustrated with a full page reproduction of one of the posters of that exhibit, the one which connects home housekeeping with municipal housekeeping, the family with the city hall, through the daily life of all the household, with its trains of joys and sorrows from marriage license to burial permit.



That rumbling noise from the Far East is mostly made by 40,000,000,000 Chinese ancestors turning over in their graves.—Boston Traveler.



A prominent professor of a celebrated university in New York City is blessed with a particularly energetic and progressive wife, who is a leader in

BRITISH TORIERS SEE THE FOOTPRINT.

From the London Daily News and Leader of July 2.



"There is a greater task in front of you than any democracy has ever yet undertaken in this country. You have got to free the land."—Mr. Lloyd George, at Woodford Green, on June 29.

the suffragette movement. When the recent demonstrative procession was organized in New York she insisted upon the Professor adding his influence to the movement by participating in the procession. He yielded and set out. The wife's prominence in the movement gave her a place in the reviewing stand and she was mortally chagrined to see the Professor, shame faced, straggling along, carrying his banner in such a drooping and careless way that she could not even see what was upon it.

At the first opportunity her reproaches fell fierce and fast on the Professor, who finally managed to break in with, "But, my dear, my dear, you really must not blame me, I had an awful time. What do you think that banner was? Imagine! It was a

most horrible cartoon of a whisky soaked and bed-ragged bum with the motto, 'This man can vote, why can't I?'—Chicago Tribune.



"Can any little boy tell me why the race is not

Have You Read

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always to the swift?" "I kin. 'Cause sometimes the motorcycle cop runs 'em in."—Baltimore American.



Friend: "You've got to admit there's nothing in Tripoli worth fighting for?"

Italian Diplomat: "Certainly."

Friend: "Then why do you want to keep on fighting?"

Italian Diplomat: "We've got to punish the Turks

for giving us the impression that there was."—Satire.



"There was an old dame in a huff;
'Women don't want the vote,' she cried—'stuff!'
When they said 'But we do,' she answered 'Pooh pooh!

I don't—and let that be enough!"

—The Vote, London.

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