

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

A Delectable Presidential Controversy.

Imagine two full grown men trying to climb a greased pole at a county fair to snatch some tempting prize at the top. If your imagination can stand the strain, you will have a picture of the Presidential contest between Taft and Roosevelt. Your fantastic picture will gain in verisimilitude if you imagine the poll-climbers as old chums whose self-absorption in pursuit of the prize has got them to scratching and clawing, kicking, pushing, punching and pulling, and exchanging uncomplimentary remarks while incidentally distributing valuable information confidentially acquired. In itself this Presidential exhibition is disgusting; yet it may be worth enduring for its disclosures.



Mr. Roosevelt shows his accurate knowledge of Mr. Taft when he describes him as a man who "means well," but who "means well feebly," and who in his administration "has been under the influence of men who are neither well meaning nor feeble." Mr. Roosevelt is also to be credited with penetration when he says "it is this quality of feebleness in a normally amiable man which pre-eminently fits such a man for use in high office by the powers of evil." But did not Mr. Roosevelt, after years of intimate association with this amiable man who "means well feebly," and in no ignorance whatever of the fact that "powers of evil" eager to use such a man swarm about the Presi-

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dential chair—did he not thrust this feeble-meaning and amiable man, with his pre-eminent fitness for the use of such powers, into that very chair? Nevertheless, not until Mr. Taft got in Mr. Roosevelt's way on the greased pole with its coveted prize at the top, did Mr. Roosevelt disclose his knowledge of Mr. Taft's pre-eminent and dangerous weakness.



Mr. Taft's portrait of Mr. Roosevelt is as true as Roosevelt's of him. With reference to the trusts, for instance, who can reasonably dispute Mr. Taft's description of Mr. Roosevelt's anti-trust policy? He observes that Mr. Roosevelt "is going to smash the bad trusts and he is going to protect the good trusts," but "gives no other guide than that of Executive discretion." And who can deny the truth of Mr. Taft's characterization of such a policy as amounting "in the end to nothing but the establishment of a benevolent despotism"? A despotism Mr. Roosevelt's policy exactly appears to be, when the froth and fume are wiped off his utterances; and as for its benevolence—well, we have Mr. Roosevelt's word for that.



In this interesting even if repugnant contest, Mr. Taft shows to better advantage in point of form, Mr. Roosevelt in point of agility. Whether hypocritical or not, the former makes an effort at any rate at dignity. He appears throughout in the role of an amiable aristocrat, well meaning but obtuse; the latter is as frisky as a light weight champion sparring for a chance to punch a heavy weight under the chin. Mr. Roosevelt displays no more dignity than a circus monkey at feeding time. This might be pardoned, of course, if he offered anything in place of it; for dignity is not the most indispensable quality for a President. It should be held in higher esteem, however, than unconcealed egotism and unrestrained invective. It ought not to be of lower esteem than Mr. Roosevelt's plentiful output of what Mr. Taft fairly summarizes as "an iteration and reiteration of high purpose without offering any practical solution to the difficulties he proposes to overcome."



It is difficult to believe that the Republican party will be very keen now to nominate either Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Taft. It could hardly expect to elect Mr. Taft in the face of the grave accusations against him of his own political sponsor, administrative confidant, personal chum and immediate predecessor in the Presidential chair.

What better campaign material against Mr. Taft could the Democrats desire than quotations from Mr. Roosevelt's Massachusetts speeches? And how much stronger would Mr. Roosevelt's nomination be in face of the exposures of him Mr. Taft has made? His friendly discrimination in favor of the Steel trust and the Harvester trust were known before, in a way; but they are known now in a telling way. Disgraceful, therefore, and disgusting as this conspicuous personal quarrel between Roosevelt and Taft has got to be, it may serve the highly desirable purpose of thrusting them both out of the running. No harm could come of that. To find a candidate in any party more feeble in well-meaning than Mr. Roosevelt describes Mr. Taft to be, or one with a concept of Executive responsibility leading more directly to despotism than both Taft and Roosevelt show Mr. Roosevelt to be, is almost impossible and quite improbable.



Benjamin Franklin and Freetrade.

When in the palmy Big Business days of McKinleyism, the doctrine of Protection traveled in seven-league boots proclaiming its patriotism with a loud voice; one of its stump speakers—the late Congressman Horr of Michigan—named Benjamin Franklin as a Protectionist. The announcement shocked some of Mr. Horr's auditors. They were sure that Franklin had never been a Protectionist, yet hesitated at drawing inferences derogatory to Mr. Horr, and one of them looked the matter up. Turning the index pages of a set of Franklin's works, what was his amazement to find a line that seemed fully to sustain Mr. Horr's ascription to Franklin of Protection doctrines. The line ran somewhat in this wise: "Protection encourages commerce." But upon referring to the text thus indicated in the index, it appeared that what Franklin had written was: "Protection *from pirates* encourages commerce." Of course that is true, but it is not Protection doctrine; it is Free-trade doctrine. There is no worse form of piracy against which commerce needs protection than Protection; for Protection is piracy under the sanction of law.



That Benjamin Franklin really was a Freetrader is further evident from an anonymous tract entitled "Principles of Trade," which may be found in the Congressional Library. "A Well Wisher to His Country" is the only authentic signature; but there appears to be internal evidence of Franklin's own authorship. Following is the text of the tract:

Perhaps, in general, it would be better if Govern-

ment Medled no farther with Trade, than to protect it, and let it take its Cours. Most of the Statutes, or Acts, Edicts, Arets and Placaarts of Parliaments, Princes, and States, for regulating, directing, or restraining of Trade, have, we think, been either political Blunders, or Jobbs obtain'd by artful Men, for private Advantage, under Pretence of public Good. When Colbert assembled some wise old Merchants of France; and desir'd their Advice and Opinion, how he cou'd best serve and promote Commerce; their Answer, after Consultation, was In three Words only, Laissez Nous faire. Let us alone. It is said, by a very solid Writer of the same Nation, that he is wel advanc'd in the Science of Politicks, Who knows the ful Force of that Maxim Pas trop gouverner. Not to govern too strictly. Which, perhaps, wou'd be of More Use when aply'd to Trade, than in any other public Concern. It were therefore to be wish'd that Commerce were as fre between al the Nations of the World, as it is between the several Countys of England: so wou'd al, by mutual Communication, obtain more Enjoyments. Those Countys do not ruin one another by Trade; Neither wou'd the Nations. No Nation was ever ruined by Trade; even, seemingly, the most disadvantageous. Wherever desirable Superfluitys are Imported, Industry is excited; and thereby plenty is produc'd. Where only Necessarys permitted to be purchas'd, Men wou'd work no more than Necessary for that Purpose.



An Ohio Judge on the Recall.

Judge Wanamaker of Akron, Ohio, spoke with great frankness to the gentlemen of his profession at Chicago last week on the subject of recalling judges. To the protests that judges should not be governed by the people, he retorted that "we have in this country" something worse—"a government of the people by the judges." To the plea that judges should be sacrosanct, his retort was that "our judges are chosen from the big lawyers, and the standard of the big lawyer is nearly always the big fee." And when he dealt with the pitiful point that under the Recall, judges would "keep an ear to the ground," he made a reply which unhappily goes to the heart of the question: "I would rather they kept both ears to the ground than that they kept one ear to the railroad track!" Men who honestly shrink from subjecting judges to the popular Recall, have only their own indifference in the past to thank for the now irresistible tendency in that direction. Had they been as solicitous for the judicial ermine when railroad lawyers were coming into wearing it to soil it, as they are now that popular distrust of the judiciary has been thereby aroused, the Recall might never have been demanded. As it is, the ordinary citizen finds it difficult to reconcile the unanimity, in opposition to the judicial Recall, of Big Business and the lawyers and judges thereof, with any other motive

than a desire to save to privileged classes this last resort of Privilege.



Municipal-Ownership "Failures."

We have our attention called frequently to announcements in subsidized periodicals or from subsidized news sources, that municipal ownership has, in this place or that, disastrously failed; but upon running down the facts have found them invariably so different from the reports that we are growing weary of the work.* Hunting down lies is not very good sport; the quarry is so little worth while after it has been caught. From our experience we think it fair to assume that every report of a failure of municipal ownership of municipal utilities is either an out and out falsehood or a gross and deliberate misrepresentation. There is at any rate no unfairness in so assuming until proof to the contrary appears from better sources and through better channels than the trade papers that cater to Privilege. Our latest experience in hunting down these agile lies has to do with the public telephone system of Manitoba adopted in 1908.† The results of this experience we now offer.



Inspired news articles and editorials—inspired by the Bell monopoly and its angelic horde—have fluttered over the country, full of misinformation to the effect that in Manitoba "government ownership has proved a flat failure," that "the angry protests of the people who use the 'phone throughout the Province" are heard, that "the government promised substantial reduction in rates but the reduction has never gone into effect," that "the rates are even higher than they were under the Bell regime," that "even the municipal ownership people who use 'phones are kicking," that "every telephone in the Province will cost more from April 1," and that "there is talk of organizing a new company to buck the government." This is one of those half truths that are ever the worst of lies. Prices *had* gone up, and so had angry protests; but the inference that government ownership of the telephone system in Manitoba has proved a failure, flat or otherwise, is absolutely false. Any one may learn this for himself by inquiries in Manitoba outside of Bell monopoly circles.

*As an instance, see the reports on the British telephone system in *The Public* of September 18, 1908, vol. xi, page 580; also *The Public* of December 29, 1911, vol. xiv, page 1307.

†See *The Public*, volume ix, pages 749, 991; volume x, page 1037.

Here are the facts. The Tory party was in power in Manitoba. With a certain torystic instinct, it "stood in" with the Interests. A popular reaction against torysm had begun in Canada as in the United States, which expressed itself concretely in opposition to monopoly of public utilities. To meet this threatening wave of public sentiment the Tory ministry of Manitoba came out for public ownership of telephones, promising a system with better service at half the cost of the Bell system. It actually began construction, but just at this point the trick was played. Whether or not the Tory ministry were a party to that trick consciously, or were only buncoed, is not now important. The Bell company worked off the trick all the same. It began with negotiations for the sale of its own plant to the Province. After due delay, enlivened with propositions and counter-propositions largely featured in the newspapers in evidence of the progressiveness of the Tory reactionaries, the Bell system was unloaded upon the government. This was done at a *secret session* of the Tory cabinet and without legislative ratification. The price was \$3,200,000—just about *one million dollars more* than the system could have been duplicated for anew, and probably a full *million and a half more than the system as it stood was worth*. This excessive capitalization has made rich pickings for the Bell stockholders and been a heavy burden upon the operation of the system by the government. Nevertheless, the Tory ministry concealed the burden for a time. They made a reduction in rates, more apparent than real, and yet reported each year a "splendid surplus." By transferring this from telephone purposes to general purposes, they further crippled the telephone system. Only a year ago the transferred "surplus" was \$110,000. At that time the Tory ministry predicted a "surplus" for the present year of \$300,000, but before they could transfer it their house of cards collapsed. The chairman of the Telephone Commission announced that the deficit for operation in Winnipeg last year was \$75,000, and that it would be the same this year unless rates were increased by April 1st. There were then no "splendid surpluses" in the telephone fund to draw upon, the general fund having got such as there had been; and the excessive price paid the Bell concern was inexorable in its demands for interest on a million or a million and a half of watered capital. With an interest account running from 30 per cent to 50 per cent higher than it would have been but for the secret deal between the Tories and the Bells, and with all surpluses promptly transferred from telephone account to general account, it is not remarkable that there should be a deficit.

But does this show "flat failure" of public ownership?



In the same city of Winnipeg where the municipal telephone system is so "flat" a "failure"—though managed by the identical man who managed the same system for the Bell company before they unloaded it upon the public for double its value—there is another public utility, electric power*; and this proved so great a success that local sentiment is unwavering for public ownership and operation of public utilities. Under private ownership and operation the rate for electric light was, at the lowest, 10 cents per kilowatt hour; under municipal ownership and operation it is 3 cents, and as low as 1 cent under contracts for heating and cooking. The plant for this public utility, costing about the same to construct that the telephone plant cost on purchase from the Bell company, is of the first class and there is no water in the price. It was constructed within the estimate, can supply power in almost unlimited quantities, and is selling it at the prices set forth in the original prospectus upon which the people voted at a referendum four years ago. The lighting bills in Winnipeg have consequently been cut enormously. But there was in that case no secret bargain with any public utility company. Whenever a public utility publicly owned and operated is exploited as a failure, it is reasonably certain that the "failure," if not a lie out of whole cloth, has been caused by the crooked hand of some public utility company. In the Manitoba telephone case all the facts at all indicating "failure" are traceable directly to the secret bargain between a Tory cabinet and a Bell telephone company.



Death of Edward Homer Bailey.

The Johnstown Democrat, first among the daily representatives of democratic Democracy in American journalism, lost one of its editors in the death last Friday of Edward Homer Bailey; and Warren Worth Bailey, the editor-in-chief, loses in this death of his brother a most efficient and sympathetic associate. For nearly twenty years these two men, both indoctrinated in the political philosophy and inspired with the moral enthusiasms of Henry George, have made the Johnstown Democrat a civic power in Pennsylvania and a welcome newspaper in a vastly broader field. While Warren Worth Bailey lives, the Democrat cannot fall in prestige or react in principle; but the death of

*See The Public of January 26, 1912, page 78.

Edward Homer Bailey is a distinct loss, no less to the paper than to the community in which he has made a high mark of citizenship. One little pamphlet of his has carried his name over the world. It was only a tract, "How to Get Rich Without Working," but it is familiar to many whom its apparently sordid title has turned from greedy and grasping ambitions to thoughts of love for their fellow men. In English it circulates in the United States, Great Britain, Canada and Australasia; in Spanish, it has readers in South America and Spain; it is now in process of Chinese translation for circulation in that oldest of empires and youngest of republics. "A simple and convincing story of the workings of a bad system," as the Johnstown Democrat truly calls it, this little book alone is a worthy monument to the memory of a man who proved well his right to live.



THE SOUTH'S PROBLEM.

The race question at the South is one of extraordinary difficulty. With twenty-five millions of people living together under legal equality, but separated socially into two classes who never intermarry, is presented a problem unique and baffling. How shall the sixteen millions of white people deal with the eight millions of Negroes possessed of civil, political and industrial rights and duties?

Representative Negroes have spoken for their race. We have heard from the Southern Democrat and the Northern Republican, and they do not seem to be very far apart in their conclusions. They appear to agree that the relations of the races must be determined finally, by and for the whites of the South.

I venture at this time to present the view of a Northern Democrat. Perhaps I have more than the average reason to speak, because, although of Northern parentage, I was born and bred to the south of West Virginia.



Certainly the relations between the races are not on the way to a happy solution. I presume that Senator Tillman never tried to put himself in the place of his black fellow citizen—never asked himself what he ought to have done, or what he would have done, had he been born a Negro.

To my mind both the Republican and the Democratic writers upon this topic have abandoned the Jeffersonian doctrine of equality of

rights. The Republican has done so, because that has been the trend of his party for a generation; the Democrat, because he has made the Negro an exception to the rule which guides his political life.

The Democrats of the South excuse their inconsistency by pointing to the bad results of Negro government during the "reconstruction" period, and assert that the Negro vote is still unintelligent and dangerous.

As to the abuses of the "carpet-bag" regime, how could it have been otherwise? With the mass of the voters and their legislators ignorant, inexperienced, and corrupted by a bad leadership, what else than folly and extravagance were to be expected?

Moreover, they found ready made for their use, fashioned by generations of white voters and legislators, a set of election machinery which no constituency in the United States, however cultivated, has been able to manipulate to its own satisfaction.



When the Democrats were last in power at Washington, Tom L. Johnson, then a Democratic Representative from Ohio, introduced a bill which would have enabled voters, whether educated or ignorant, black or white, to choose a House of Representatives well qualified in all respects for the duties of legislation. The form of proportional representation proposed by Mr. Johnson is known as the "free list" system, applied originally in Geneva, Switzerland. The first section of the Act was as follows:

The members of the House of Representatives shall be voted for at large in their respective States.

The remaining sections of the measure provided that each party in a State should be represented in Congress in proportion to the total number of votes cast for its candidates, and those receiving the highest number of votes were the ones elected. For illustration: Any party winning half the votes in a State would have half the delegation in Congress, made up of the candidates of that party getting the largest number of votes.

In nearly every Southern State this law would have given some representation to a party or parties other than the Democratic, and probably would have resulted in the election to Congress of a few Negroes. This expectation may account for the fact that neither Mr. Johnson's bill, nor another bill for proportional representation proposed in the 52nd Congress, was reported from committee.

If educators of the South, representatives of both races, can meet and confer together for the good of the schools, why may not statesmen do as much for the country in the Capitol at Washington?



It is true that in the main the race question at the South must be settled by the white people of that section; but it is to their interest, as well as to that of the blacks, that the adjustment should be satisfactory to both races and be completed as soon as possible.

The refusal to accord to the Negro equal civil and political rights means the indefinite postponement of a settlement, with meanwhile all the present evils intensified. The leaders of public opinion in the South must choose between prolonged race antagonisms and the doing of equal and exact justice. With proper election machinery only good can come from universal suffrage.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SOCIAL CYCLONE.

Vancouver, B. C.

During all the time of my wanderings in California, Oregon and Washington, going over 7,000 miles in an auto and taking nearly a year and a half to do it in, I had a wish to give my impressions of things as I saw them, but felt that partial, brief, superficial investigation is of little value. Now, however, that I have acquainted myself with the whole situation from Vancouver to Tiajuana, I have reached conclusions that to me seem to be warranted by the facts.



The real estate boosting element is absolutely in control everywhere south of the Canadian line. The Singletaxers are the only men who see what this means. All the other reform elements (Socialists included) are blind to the situation. With the great majority a "boosting" campaign is the sheet anchor. Reform is something to talk about. "Boosting" is something to work at.

In California the Singletaxers are in a hopeless minority. In Washington they are beginning to put up a good fight, but their hold on the mass of the people is a slender one. In Oregon they have made considerable headway, are well led and are putting up a splendid fight; but so far as I can judge the odds are heavy against them. The speculative element they can never win, the workers (farmers and laborers) are yet far from being won, and the most discouraging factor in the problem of winning them is the present condition of mind of the producing classes.



From Canada to Mexico I found the same con-

dition everywhere. There is a bitter feeling of resentment among the workers which appalls me. No man can know its intensity unless he live among them as I have done. To them there are but two classes—"grafters" and "workers." In their code every man who has acquired property or means is a "grafter" and every man who has not is a "victim." They have no confidence in the future, nor in the institutions under which they live; they look on courts and judges as instruments to record and enforce injustice.

Again and again I met with unpleasant evidence that because I went about in an auto and did not work for my living, I was looked on by the workers as an enemy and was the object of personal hatred. I frequented one industrial establishment for months and became acquainted with all the men. After a long talk with one of these on one occasion he said: "Well, you are about the whitest grafter I ever met." I pointed out to him that as he knew nothing of my history it was scarcely fair to class me as a grafter. He answered: "Why, course I know you're a grafter; no man ken git enough in this country by workin' to buy an auto and run 'round in it right along as you do; they is only one way to do it—grafting."

To these men there is only one way to remedy things, and that is by a resort to force.

They hesitate to take the initiative. But that will not be left to them to do. The real estate boosting element will begin the trouble. Everywhere they seem ready for a crusade against the workers who care to assert their rights. The I. W. W. ("I won't work," as the boosters stigmatize them) are just now the special object of their aversion. But they hate every worker who is not willing to pay an ever-increasing price for a fraction of a subdivision indefinitely subdivided. They call him a "knocker" and boldly say he should be driven out of town. And they are ready on occasion with shotgun and revolver to tackle the job. See the news items from San Diego.

I am convinced that a serious situation confronts the Pacific States, and this is the view of some of the ablest Singletaxers I have met, even in Oregon, where progress toward a peaceable solution is most marked.



The people are not informing themselves on the tariff or the land question; they do not look to either of the old political parties for a way out. They realize that they have been duped and fooled by both parties; that there must come a change. But how? I have heard old men say—one I recall; a veteran of the Civil war and a man of much more than average intelligence: "We will try the Democrats, and if they don't straighten things out we will do as they are doing in Mexico."

I am convinced that we are entering on momentous times and it is by no means clear how things will go. No half way measures will allay the prevailing spirit of unrest. Drastic measures of tariff reform are no longer a question of policy or expediency, but an absolute necessity of the situation as the first step. Singletax the next. If neither is done the situation is one of very great danger.

JOHN MACMILLAN.

SENATOR BOURNE'S DEFEAT.

Portland, Ore

Believing that Senator Bourne's retirement from the Senate will be a distinct loss to the Progressive cause, I wish to state the facts as I see them.



None of Senator Bourne's political friends, so far as I know, approved of his plan of campaign, announced some eight months ago. It was, as has been said, "unique;" but it wasn't good politics. It was a voluntary and unnecessary handicap upon Senator Bourne and his friends. For himself, personally, he had a right to handicap himself. As a candidate for renomination he had no right to handicap his friends; he had no right to give odds to desperate, implacable and unscrupulous opponents, especially when he knew that most of the newspaper press of Oregon is in the hands of his opponents.

This isn't saying that the people can't be trusted. The people can be trusted when they know and understand the facts.



Senator Bourne announced his plan of campaign, which was to make no campaign, against the protests of many of his friends and long before he knew what the other side intended to do; and he is a man who, having determined upon a certain line of action, can't be switched off that line. That gave his political enemies in the Republican party plenty of time to develop and carry out their plan of campaign—and it certainly was artistic.

Last fall a man came in from one of the back country districts and reported that the Machine was pretty busy against Bourne; that it was paying special attention to the country districts, to the farmers, and particularly to the first voters and new settlers; that outside the cities it was combing the country thoroughly and systematically. But Bourne's close friends said they didn't believe it would amount to anything because the country voters wouldn't be deceived by any man with a Machine taint.

Bourne's friends were expecting all along that the Machine would put up a well-known and branded Machine man, like former Senator Fulton, in the hope that the standpat vote would land him, with the Progressive vote divided between three or four candidates. But that is just what the Machine didn't do. The puzzle picture is clear now, though it was all mixed up until about six weeks ago.



It is quite evident now that the Machine was working all along for Selling, who won the nomination.

It poisoned the country against Bourne, and used some of Bourne's own poison—his vote with the Aldrich-Payne crowd on the tariff, particularly on the cotton and woolen goods schedule. That poison was carefully injected into voters all over the State. One doesn't have to work his imagination very hard to see what effect such poison is sure to have on voters who must pay more for the family clothing and other necessities of life.

Selling's first open move was to flood the State

with letters asking voters to advise him whether or not he should announce himself as a candidate. That was a violation of the spirit of the Corrupt Practices Act, for he has not included the cost of that ante-announcement campaign in his campaign expenses; and it was probably a violation of the letter of the law. Still, it did not occur to Bourne's friends that Selling was the Machine candidate until The Oregonian began to urge him to be a candidate.

Even then the picture was not clear.

It was believed that The Oregonian was urging Selling into the race so as to get as many Progressives into it as possible, and that Fulton would then announce himself as a candidate. Selling has been for several years president of the People's Power League, and thus is known as a Progressive. The idea that The Oregonian was seriously for Selling, while advertising him as a Progressive and proving it by repeatedly mentioning the fact that he is president of the People's Power League, didn't seem plausible.

It seemed all the less plausible because, while The Oregonian was boosting Selling as a Progressive, and calling attention to his position as president of the People's Power League, it was and has been for a long time damning the various measures proposed and initiated by that League, and throwing bricks at a Constitutional amendment that the League has had under consideration for three years and may initiate this year.

Altogether, the Machine campaign was one of the most skillful jobs of political chloroforming that I have seen since I began to attend the moving picture show of politics more than thirty years ago. Even when the nominations were closed, and no branded Machine man was in the race, Bourne's friends in Oregon thought he was absolutely safe—unsinkable and with no need of boats or life belts. The Machine's iceberg was painted to look like real water.



There were two other factors that contributed to Bourne's defeat. One was his neglect to have some friend edit his statements that the people of Oregon are more indebted to him than he is to them, and that in the campaign just closed they were on trial, not he. That's bad politics; so bad that a candidate's friends can't repair the damage. Senator Bourne had no right to hobble his friends with such a statement, which was sure to be used and was used with telling effect by the anti-Bourne papers and politicians.

Then, Senator Bourne had some labor union leaders fighting him after the campaign became warm. They were for Selling because he did everything the labor unions asked him to do when he erected the Selling Building last year; the contracts provided for union labor. They were against Bourne because the Bourne mills at Fall River, Mass., don't pay higher wages than the other mills, and because he voted against exempting labor unions from the operation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

Last fall, when I was in California, one of the big Progressives in the Senate expressed to me his fear that Bourne was taking too many chances on defeat in the kind of campaign he had decided on; and this Senator, while above trickery, knows the political

game and knows that for the present it must be played according to certain rules. "It's all right to trust the people," said this Senator, "but it's all wrong to trust your enemies and imagine they won't persuade some of the people to distrust you." And that's political common sense.

The fact that Senator Bourne has remained in Washington, attending to public business, was used against him. He was pictured as a non-resident who pays no taxes in Oregon, remaining away from the State and spending his time playing golf in Washington. Loud shouts were made over the State that he pays no taxes in Oregon except \$2.44 on some office furniture in Portland; no mention was made of other taxes paid by him outside of Portland. Equally loud shouts were made that Selling is a "large taxpayer," and he wisely refrained from explaining that as a merchant and building owner he passes those taxes on to his customers and tenants.

Doubtless it will be said, especially in the East, that Oregon voters have "repudiated the Progressive hysteria." There is no reason for that claim. Oregon voters repudiated Taft in the primaries, and Selling's campaign was based on the statement that he is one of the original Progressives; that a large part of the credit for establishing the "Oregon system" belongs to him. There was never a hint that he has been or is opposed to any plank, prop or nail in the Progressive platform. Whether or not he will shed his Progressive feathers when he gets into the Senate is a conundrum for the future to answer.

There is one thin thread of silver on the edge of the cloud. No other Progressive is going to try the Bourne plan of campaignless campaign at a very early date; not until the public service corporations are out of politics, which they won't be until they are out of private hands and in the hands of the people. Private ownership of public utilities means selfish control of the press to defend and uphold taxation for private profit.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

AUSTRALIA.*

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, March 21, 1912.

The fifth Commonwealth Political Labor Conference was held at Hobart, Tasmania, in January, when the following platform was adopted:

(1) Maintenance of a white Australia. (2) Maintenance of the land tax. (3) Effective federation for the inclusion of the referendum proposals in the constitution. (4) New protection. (5) Nationalization of monopolies. (6) Arbitration act amendment. (7) Navigation. (8) Commonwealth freight and passenger steamers. (9) Restriction of public borrowing. (10) General insurance. (11) Establishment of sugar refineries.

A proposal was made that no exemptions be allowed in the existing Federal land-value tax, but it was defeated.

Clause 3 refers to the referendum taken in April, 1911, on the question of extending the powers of the Commonwealth.

*See Publics of February 16, page 150; and March 29, page 301.

By "new protection" is meant legislation to provide for higher wages in protected industries, so that the manufacturers shall be compelled to give their employes a share of the benefit derived from the tariff.

General State elections were held in South Australia in February, the Verran (Labor) ministry having resigned owing to a disagreement with the Legislative Council (upper house), over the budget.

The ministry proposed to reduce railway freights for the carriage of wheat and firewood; to raise the exemption under the Income Tax Act from £200 to £300; to abolish the stamp duty on receipts; and to make up the deficiency in the revenue by increasing the land-values tax by a half-penny in the pound. It also proposed to establish state brick works, and timber and firewood yards. As far as can be judged from the reports, the Council would have passed the Appropriation Bill but for the last items, which it held were improperly included in the bill.

The Ministry then appealed to the country, but was defeated. The new House is composed of 24 Liberals and 16 Laborites.

The electoral machinery in South Australia is very bad; the voting was nearly even, yet the Liberals secured a majority of eight members.

The Verran government appears to have lost the opportunity to pass some useful reforms, owing to disputes over some socialistic experiments of doubtful value.

ERNEST BRAY.

PROGRESSIVE EFFORTS IN MARYLAND

Baltimore, Md.

Advocates of direct legislation and tax reform have had a busy time here this year. The legislature favorably reported an initiative and Referendum bill out of committee and a canvass showed a majority of supporters in the House; but the sentiment was not strong enough to withstand opposition of floor leaders, and the measure lost by 6 votes on its second reading. A Constitutional amendment permitting classification of property for taxation was put through the House but was unfortunately held up in committee in the Senate. Joseph Fels recently stimulated Singletax interest here by addressing the City Council, the Real Estate Exchange and several other public bodies; and Charles Frederick Adams of the Henry George Lecture Association has spent several days here in effective work. Mr. Adams addressed the political economy class at the Johns Hopkins University, where Dr. J. H. Hollander came out most surprisingly for the Singletax. Mr. Adams also spoke before the Advertising Club and the Real Estate Exchange on "Commission Form of Government;" and before the Builders' Exchange, the Baltimore Chapter of the American Banking Institute, and the Federation of Labor, on "Rational Tax Reform." Everywhere he met with responsive audiences, and excited an eager demand for literature.

CHAS. J. OGLE.

LEST WE FORGET!

New York, April 23.

Every once in a while the slow processes by which man's pride and arrogance, man's greed or misunderstanding, make of the car of progress a juggernaut which grinds under its wheels those whom it should carry to peace, plenty and happiness—every once in a while these slow processes become crystallized into one grim concrete example, bringing the lesson home to all.

It has happened now, in a more appalling degree than ever before. And New York is stricken, numb and sick with horror. This great city by the Sea, loving all things of the Sea, but iron-clad in its selfish strenuous pursuit of profit and pleasure, shivered to its rocky heart at the blow which wiped out of existence the newest and mightiest Queen of the Seas.

Public and private festivities were called off, public and private business neglected. There was but one topic of thought and conversation. Many thousands to whom the disaster had brought no blow of personal grief, sorrowed in sincere sympathy with the bereaved hundreds. It was one of those great moments when unessentials are swept away and human nature stands out in the raw. And both on the doomed ship and in the sorrowing city, human nature in the raw stood the test well.

Which goes far to refute the belief that those of us who would bring about better conditions of living in the world today will be obliged to change human nature to do so. Human nature in the main may be depended on, once we can get at the heart of it.

And now in this moment when the heart of it is touched by a great catastrophe, the lessons of the catastrophe are being brought to the understanding of all. Could these lessons be brought home with a force, the effect of which would not lessen as the sensation of horror grows dim, then those who went down with the Titanic will not have died in vain. It is beginning to be understood on all sides that, whatever the details, the actual fundamental cause of the disaster was the "speed mania" which is a disease of the times. In the idea expressed by the word is gathered all the senseless greedy rush and hurry, the vulgar exaggeration in haste and luxury which marks our life today, and in which this nation unfortunately leads.

The ship that went down was the very last word in the expression of this dominant quality of modern life—of modern American life. Nothing could have happened to bring the lesson home more acutely. And in spite of our sorrowing sympathy there is for the thinking mind all the more point to the lesson—and some slight compensation—in the fact that this time the juggernaut of progress crushed many of those who usually profit most by it.

The public mind and its utterances in the public press, minor exaggerations excepted, are this time unusually sane and sensible. While trying with a natural human instinct to fix the blame on some definite person or group of persons, under it all can be clearly understood where the real blame lies. The captain who went down with his ship, and

even the company who let him so clearly see that his position depended upon the records he could make, are after all not, at the last, responsible. A commander who risks his own life and reputation, and a business corporation which risks its financial life, its capital, are not taking these risks unless they know that the public demand it of them and are willing to pay them for it. So that at the last we come back, as we always do in any question of today, to the public attitude of mind. We come back to public thoughtlessness, to public selfishness, to bad qualities which creep in and choke up with weeds, in the daily run of human activities, the real greatness and the real beauty that is at the bottom of every human heart.

It is being realized now, and now is the chance for those of us who would awaken and keep awake this true humanity of feeling—aroused now—to point the lesson of this great catastrophe in its application to what is going on every day around us.

Every day human lives are being crushed out by that very Progress which should bring benefit to them—every year the roll call of actual victims is far greater than those who went down in the ice-fields last week. And those who live are often worse off than those who die. All this is just as preventable as the Titanic disaster was preventable.

It is foolish now to worry over what might have been done on the ship in the providing of a greater number of life boats, in a greater discipline which would have filled the life boats properly, in all and every one of those minor details which after all would not have been necessary had there not been the "speed mania" back of it all. Life boats, discipline, all these things are well in their way, but they are like the palliatives on which society has been for years now wasting so much time and energy; palliatives which after all can bring only a passing help to a few. Back of it all is the haste and hurry, the greed and arrogance, the lack of thought and consideration, which are driving the ship of society into danger just as surely as they drove this great ship onto the iceberg.

Lest we forget! We have had a concrete lesson now. Let an aroused and horrified world stop and think, and carry the analogy further.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE "TITANIC" DISASTER.

New York, April 27, 1912.

I cannot express with sufficient force my sense of the obligation we are all under to you for so truly phrasing the "lesson of the Titanic disaster." I wired you my hope that you would put it in leaflet shape for wide distribution as an envelope enclosure* and let your readers know that they can obtain

*The editorial referred to has, in accordance with Mr. Peabody's suggestion, been put in leaflet form for envelope enclosure, and may be had of The Public at 25 cents for 50 copies. It originally appeared at page 385 of The Public of April 26th.—Editors of The Public.

copies. I trust also that a way may be found to secure insert sheet and plate matter reprint for widest circulation.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.



Chardon, Ohio, April 29.

After reading your editorial on the "Lesson of the Titanic Disaster," the feeling strongest in my mind is a wish that every member of the so-called privileged class could be induced to read it and reflect on the sentiment it embodies.

The triumph of democracy! What is it but the recognition of the essential unity of the human race? And that it is coming nearer and nearer to fulfillment I confidently believe.

The rule of might which man (the social unit) has inherited from his brute ancestors, bolstered up by the evolutionary doctrine of the survival of the fittest, is giving place to the rule of man over himself,—the only individual over whom he has undoubted control.

We are coming to realize that men are the unchangeable primary elements whose combination builds up every form of society, just as the life units—the living cells—are the unchangeable primary elements whose different groupings build up every form of organic life. We are coming to realize there is a force and desire inherent in the individual social units amply sufficient to bring about perfect equilibrium, perfect justice, in the social body if given free play; that any interference with the individual in finding his proper place in the social organism in obedience to his inherent desires results in social disorder injuriously affecting every member of society.

The idle rich, even more than the working poor, are beginning to realize that legislative restrictions upon the liberty of individuals is the cause of the discontent and unrest from which they suffer. They have tasted the fruits of wealth and power and found them bitterly disappointing. They feel that the servility and adulation of the poor for the rich is nothing but the homage of the slave, and they must inevitably turn from enslaving their fellows, for it is only by having the approbation and good will of free men they can enjoy the felicity that comes from being in harmony with God's law of human association.

W. T. BETHUNE.



FOR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

East Jaffrey, N. H.

Within the past few months Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University* have delivered scholarly addresses respectively on "The Constitution and Its Makers" and "Why Should We Change Our Form of Government?" They have had wide circulation; and since they represent the principal opposition, they merit the attention of advocates of the Initiative and Referendum.



Both these learned gentlemen show the growth of

*See current volume, page 340.

the representative system. They argue impressively that it is the only system of government which can be applied to so large a community as a State or our nation. They demonstrate also that a pure democracy could not attend to all the minor details of legislation. From this they infer that the Initiative and Referendum—intended, as they assume, to replace representative government by pure democracy—would destroy the Republic; and they point to the fate of various democracies of the past to prove the truth of their assertions.

Only the acid test of time could determine whether Twentieth century enlightenment could prevent a repetition of the misfortunes which befell the so-called democracies of Greece and Rome, were the crude systems followed by them to be tried today. Fortunately, however, we need not be disturbed by such a doleful outlook. For all that advocates of the Initiative and Referendum ask is that representative government be *truly representative* of the people, and not of privilege. The Initiative and Referendum are aids of representative government and not substitutes for it.

While it would be possible for a man to do without carpenters when building a house, to pull his own tooth when it aches, to plead his own case in court, the average person prefers to leave the management of such matters to experts. But he reserves the right to decide how many stories his house shall have, to indicate which tooth is to be extracted, and to say whether his lawsuit shall be prosecuted or dropped. Likewise, it would be possible for the people by the Initiative to abolish legislatures; but is it not probable that they would prefer to leave most of the law-making to such a body, even if they did reserve the right to advise or direct on occasion.



The Initiative and Referendum will not destroy representative government. They will perfect it. They will bring about in very fact that condition which was expressed in theory in the Bill of Rights of the New Hampshire Constitution one hundred and twenty years ago—"All power . . . being derived from the people, all . . . the officers of government are their servants and agents, and at all times accountable to them."

GEORGE H. DUNCAN.

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, April 30, 1912.

Climax of the Taft-Roosevelt Alienation.

The personal alienation of President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt came to a climax of mutual resentment last week in the Massachusetts campaign for the primary election which took place on the 30th. Since his speech at the Ohio Constitutional convention, reported in *The Public* of

March 1 at pages 193 and 200, Mr. Roosevelt had in his speeches become progressively more pointed and personal in his allusions to President Taft. No attention in any authoritative way was paid to this by Mr. Taft until the 24th, when he, in response to a resolution of the Senate calling for Executive documents regarding the Harvester trust, transmitted a long letter of August 22, 1907, from President Roosevelt to his Attorney General (Mr. Bonaparte) in which, after explaining that George W. Perkins (Pierpont Morgan's partner) had conferred with him about the Harvester trust, Mr. Roosevelt instructed the Attorney General to look into the matter as presented by Mr. Perkins, and closed with these words: "Please do not file the suit until I hear from you." At the time these papers were called for by the Senate, no suit had yet been started against the Harvester trust, either by President Roosevelt's administration or President Taft's. On the day following his transmittal of those papers to the Senate, President Taft entered the primary campaign in Massachusetts with a speech, circumstantial and comprehensive, in direct and bitter response to ex-President Roosevelt's attacks upon him and his administration. This speech was delivered at Boston on the 25th. In it Mr. Taft expressed his gratitude to Mr. Roosevelt for having made him President in 1908 and his reluctance at entering into a personal controversy, but stated that he regarded it as his duty to do so as the titular leader of a cause. He then charged Mr. Roosevelt with misrepresenting him, and at great length and in minute detail specified the instances and the particulars. His speech fills a newspaper page. Ex-President Roosevelt replied at Worcester on the 26th, in a speech denouncing President Taft as hypocritical, as saying "what he must know to be untrue," and as having for his supporters political bosses who are responsible for "the alliance between crooked politics and crooked business." His speech also was long and circumstantial. In a speech at Boston on the 27th, Mr. Roosevelt appears from the dispatches to have placed his principal emphasis upon the bad political character of Mr. Taft's supporters. Asked by an auditor in the course of this speech, "Where's Perkins?" Mr. Roosevelt replied: "He's for me! You can't put a question to me that will embarrass me for a moment. You can search my record and you will find that I never have done and I never will do for Mr. Perkins or any other human being one thing that I won't tell to you in detail." Both President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt toured the State on the 29th, continuing their personal campaign and repeating, emphasizing and expanding their personal denunciations of each other.



Primary Elections in Massachusetts.

The latest reports upon our going to press indicate that at the primary elections in Massa-

chusetts on the 30th, which are made especially notable by the bitterly recriminatory speeches of President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt as candidates for the Republican nomination for President, Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt have nearly a tie for first place for the Republican nomination, and Mr. La Follette runs third. For the Democratic nomination, Mr. Champ Clark appears to be first, Mr. Wilson second, and Governor Foss third.



The Judicial Recall in Arizona.

By a unanimous vote in the lower house of the Arizona legislature, and with only two dissenting votes in the upper house, an amendment to the State Constitution, providing the Recall for judges, was carried on the 26th and signed by Governor Hunt on the same day. This is the provision which the people of the Territory embodied in their Statehood Constitution and which they were forced by President Taft to strike out as a condition of his permitting the Territory to become a State. [See *The Public*, vol. xiv, p. 866.]



Syndicalism in the American Railway Service.

At Kansas City on the 22nd a Federation of Federations in the railway service was formed, which includes all organized labor of whatever special craft which is employed in the railway service of the United States west and south of Chicago. This Federation is officered for the first year as follows: President, W. O. Wharton (Machinists), St. Louis; Vice President, George W. Pring (Boilermakers), Des Moines, Iowa; Secretary and Treasurer, John Scott (Brotherhood of Railway Carmen), San Francisco. The Executive Council is composed of all the International presidents of the affiliated Federations. [See current volume, pages 255, 338.]



Immediately upon perfecting its organization a committee of International Presidents acting in behalf of the Federation of Federations addressed an official letter to President Taft in which they said:

Convention of federated railway employes, representing all roads west and south of Chicago, now in session at Kansas City, having under consideration the Harriman lines and Illinois Central strike, have decided to extend, or to make preparation to extend the strike over all Western railways unless a settlement of an honorable character can be secured. Permit us to refer you to recent correspondence on this strike, in which it was pointed out to you the great loss to business interests, the tremendous loss of life and the delay of the United State mail. The men are determined, and when it is taken into consideration that these other roads affiliated with the General Managers' associa-

tion are assisting the Harriman lines and the Illinois Central, they cannot be blamed for the action contemplated. The seriousness of this matter can be measured by the effect of the one now in progress. Boiler explosions are becoming more frequent and the non-enforcement of the safety appliance law is endangering public safety. Permit us to assure you of our esteem and regard.



Negro Citizenship.

At the fourth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, which opened at Sinai Temple, Chicago, on the 28th, Miss Jane Addams presided and Oswald Garrison Villard of New York—grandson of William Lloyd Garrison the Liberator—was the principal speaker. Mr. Villard explained the object of the Association to be "the combating of the spirit of persecution which confronts the colored people of this land," and "to assure them every right, privilege and opportunity which every citizen is entitled to." Proceeding, he said:

Ours is a battle for democracy, pure and undefiled. It isn't for us to compromise, however much others may. It is not for us to withhold our scorn and indignation when we see colored men and women outraged, robbed, maimed or burned in Pennsylvania, or in Illinois, in Mississippi, or in Georgia. Looking back on the thirteen months that have elapsed since the last annual conference, it cannot be said that the cause of the colored people has done else than advance rapidly, both from the political and material point of view. Politically we have reason to be grateful for the Root-Borah debate in the Senate on disfranchisement, for the fight for Negro suffrage in Oklahoma, the winning of civil rights suits in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and elsewhere, and for another and overwhelming defeat of disfranchisement in Maryland. The blow at peonage in Alabama, struck by the Supreme Court in 1911, is a cause for widespread rejoicing. The efforts to draw the color line in Cornell University have failed; the appointment of a colored Assistant United States Attorney General in Washington and the election of the first colored legislator in Pennsylvania are auspicious omens of the future, and but two of many instances which might be mentioned. But most significant and striking of all of the advances has been the defeat for appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States of Judge William C. Hook of Kansas as a result of his intolerable "Jim Crow car" decision.



At the meeting in Handel Hall on the 29th the principal speakers were Prof. W. E. B. DuBois (editor of the Negro magazine "The Crisis") and Judge Edward Osgood Brown of Chicago. [See current volume, page 348.]



The Titanic Disaster.

The committee of the United States Senate which, under the chairmanship of Senator William

Alden Smith, began investigating the causes of the loss of the steamship Titanic immediately upon the arrival of the survivors at New York, as reported last week, is still in session in Washington. J. Bruce Ismay, managing director of the White Star line and president of the International Mercantile Marine Co., who was a passenger on the Titanic, surviving officers and members of the crew, the captain and officers of the Carpathia which rescued the survivors, officers and passengers of steamships which were at some moment in the vicinity of the sinking ship, and William Marconi, inventor of wireless telegraphy and head of the Marconi Co., have testified before the committee during the past week. [See current volume, pages 385, 393.]



The White Star liner Olympic, which was to have sailed from Southampton on the 24th, was obliged to cancel her sailing and refund passenger money, owing to a strike of her firemen and seamen originating in protests against her inadequate and unseaworthy lifeboat equipment.



The cable-ship Mackay-Bennett, which has been scouring the seas in the neighborhood of the point where the Titanic went down, arrived at Halifax on the 30th, bearing the bodies of 190 of the dead. Among those reported from London as being among the lost is the name of Mrs. E. C. Carter, a daughter of Thomas Hughes, author of "Tom Brown's Schooldays," and a sister of George Hughes, well known among the democratic Democrats of Kansas, and to readers of The Public.



A Woman Candidate for the Bohemian Parliament.

The Munich "Neueste Nachrichten," which is the most widely circulated paper in south Germany, states in its issue of April 14 that "in place of the deceased representative in parliament of the Bohemian party of the Young Czechs, Dr. Skarda, the National Socialists and Young Czechs now present a woman, the writer, Mrs. Byk-Kuneticka, as candidate for parliament. Mrs. Kuneticka will certainly be elected and so be the first woman in the Bohemian parliament, the Constitution of which does not expressly exclude the election of a woman. It is, however, doubtful whether the government will accept this interpretation of the Constitution."



New Zealand Politics and Policies.

The Liberal government in New Zealand, which has been in power for more than twenty years but which lost its working majority at the recent elections, succeeded on the 28th of February in defeating a no-confidence motion, by the bare casting

vote of the Speaker. The victory, such as it is, seems to have been won by the Governor's speech at the opening of Parliament. Realizing that to retain power they must win the support of the wavering Labor and Independent voters, the Government, in the Governor's customary speech, brought forward numerous popular proposals. They promised to introduce legislation to make the Legislative Council (the upper house) elective; to break up more large estates by compulsory purchase by the government for re-selling "to small settlers under a deferred payment system"; to increase the graduated land tax on properties of \$30,000 (unimproved values) and upward; to distinguish, for taxation purposes, between earned and unearned incomes, and between incomes of parents who are educating and maintaining a family and those who have no such responsibility. The creation of a standing commission of industrial investigation, consisting of two representatives of labor unions and one each of the industrial, commercial and landed interests, is also promised, this commission to report to Parliament. A scheme of industrial profit-sharing is suggested for "suitable industries"; also a reduction in the duties on tobacco and "on many articles in daily use," the deficiency in revenue caused thereby to be made good from the altered graduated land tax. Railway fares for children are to be lowered—children to travel free up to five years of age, and at quarter rates from 5 to 14. The age at which women can claim the old-age pension is to be reduced to 60, in the case of widows to 55, and without any restriction as to children. This program seems, however, to have done little to allay the present political unrest in New Zealand. Put forward as political strategy rather than political principle, it is received somewhat coldly by the people. Yet as it runs along the lines of public sentiment, it has taken the wind out of the sails of the conservatives, who fought their election campaign under the name of the Reform Party. Later news is to the effect that Sir Joseph Ward has resigned the Premiership and that Mr. Thos. Mackenzie has been elected to lead the Liberal Party. At the caucus at which this election was made, a resolution passed unanimously re-affirming the policy indicated in the Governor's speech. [See current volume, page 199.]

NEWS NOTES

—Justin McCarthy, M. P., the novelist and historian, died at Folkestone, England, on the 24th at the age of 82.

—The Senate bill in Congress for amending the Federal Constitution so as to provide for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, was reported on favorably by the House committee on elections, and will come before the House

for final action next week. [See *The Public*, vol. xiv, p. 560; current volume, p. 300.]

—Frederic C. Howe has been appointed Managing Director of the People's Institute of New York City in place of the late Charles Sprague Smith. [See vol. xiii, pp. 315, 322.]

—The convention of the Irish Nationalist Party at Dublin, Ireland, on the 23rd, voted unanimously to accept and indorse the Asquith home rule bill. [See current volume, page 395.]

—Tornadoes creating great devastation were reported from Oklahoma on the 25th and 27th. Three persons were killed on the 25th, and 41 on the 27th, when half a dozen towns were entirely destroyed.

—The ancient city of Damascus, now one of the holy cities of the Mohammedans and capital of Syria, suffered severe loss in its business districts by fire on the 26th and 27th. The damage is estimated at \$10,000,000.

—Woman suffrage was defeated in the Arizona Senate on the 23rd by 7 to 11, following an adverse report by the committee on Constitutional amendments to which the measure as passed by the House had been referred.

—Power "to modify the qualification of electors by extending the elective franchise to women," was inserted by amendment in the bill for the government of Alaska by a vote of 81 to 35 in the lower house of Congress on the 24th.

—The National Chamber of Commerce was organized at Washington on the 24th, Henry A. Wheeler, of the Union Trust Company of Chicago and ex-president of the Chicago Association of Commerce, being elected the first president.

—The birthday of Shakespeare on the 23rd was celebrated by the school children of Chicago with a pageant and fête in Lincoln Park. Nearly two thousand children in costume impersonated Shakespeare's characters, or noted persons of his time.

—A banquet reception to Henry George, Jr., Congressman from New York, is to be given by the American Free Trade League at the Twentieth Century Club, Boston, on the 4th, at which Harvey N. Shepard will preside and Roger Sherman Hoar will be the other speaker.

—Proceedings against County Judge Owens, Sheriff Zimmer and others for contempt of a Superior Court injunction in connection with the Democratic convention of Cook County, Illinois, began on the 29th before Judge McKinley, whose injunction had been violated. [See current volume, pages 368, 396.]

—At the Democratic convention for Colorado held at Denver on the 29th, the contest between Speaker Clark and Governor Wilson as Democratic candidates for President resulted in Speaker Clark's favor by 676 to 372 of the 1,234 delegates. A motion to instruct for Governor Wilson as second choice at the national convention was defeated. [See current volume, page 323.]

—The deputies elected recently in the island of Crete, to be sent to the parliament of Greece, in the hope of replacing the Turkish control of the island by a Greek relationship, have been prevented by the great Powers from proceeding to Athens. The

steamer on which they left Crete has been ordered into harbor, and is being guarded by international warships. [See current volume, page 300.]

—The Chicago Daily Socialist suspended publication on the 30th. A previous suspension occurred last June, but publication was resumed after a day's interval. And resumption is promised now. The paper began publication over four years ago. Part of its equipment was that of the Worcester (Mass.) Spy, the files of which, from Revolutionary days, also came into its possession. [See vol. ix, page 705; vol. xiii, pages 587, 734.]

—A Provincial conference for Saskatchewan (Canada) on Direct Legislation is to be held at Regina on Thursday, May 9th, for the purpose of organizing to map out and execute plans to organize the Province. It is called by Thomas B. Underhill, L. E. Gleser, Charles O. Brothers and W. H. Wardell, and all persons interested in attending it are invited to address either of the signers of the call at Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan.

—The suffering of Americans in Mexico from brigandage and violence has been of late becoming increasingly serious, and Americans are very generally fleeing back to the United States. The city of Culliacan on the west coast has been taken by the rebels, and the Americans of the coast have called on the United States government to send a warship for their protection. The army transport Buford has been ordered from San Francisco to ports on the west coast of Mexico to pick up refugees. The torpedo boat destroyers Preble and Perry have also been ordered from San Diego and have presumably proceeded to the same coast. [See current volume, page 397.]

—The new Chinese Advisory Council, which is practically the provisional Senate of the new Republic, was opened at Peking on the 29th. President Yuan Shi Kai delivered his first Presidential message in the form of an opening speech, in which he said that the most important issue at present was finance. Foreign capital was essential to China, and the government was drafting the principles of a financial reform. It was negotiating with the Powers for an increase of the customs duties and the abolition of the likin or transit taxes and the reduction of the export taxes. Pending the big loan the government would issue short time treasury bonds. [See current volume, page 370.]

—The Singletax clause supplementary to the new charter of Everett, Washington, was defeated by 53 votes at the referendum last month on the new charter. The defeat is attributed to the Socialist vote of two precincts, the clause having had a majority of 60 without those precincts and the Socialists of Everett, like those of Seattle, having opposed the Singletax clause. The total vote was 1,621 for the Singletax and 1,674 against it. On the charter, the vote was 1,986 for and 1,928 against, an affirmative majority of 58. The Singletax had been adopted on referendum as an amendment to the old charter, but so recently as not to have gone into operation. [See current volume, p. 15.]

—In editorially announcing a campaign in Oklahoma for the Singletax, the Daily Oklahoman of April 21st says: "The quicker we in Oklahoma

awaken to the fact that the Singletax is the only fair system, the quicker will we experience the prosperity and comfort to which we are entitled and which has existed here in only a medium amount. We have done quite well, but we can bring our affairs almost to a state of perfection. There will be a meeting in Oklahoma City in a few days to inaugurate a campaign to establish the Singletax in this State. The campaign will be successful. The Singletax will become effective in Oklahoma and there will be a general stampede from other States to Oklahoma to participate in the progress and wealth which will ensue."

—The Federal government began on the 30th a suit against the International Harvester Company in the Federal District court at Minneapolis, declaring the Company a trust in violation of the Sherman law and asking its dissolution. The Government seeks injunctions to bar from inter-State commerce the products of the company and appointment of receivers to wind up its business. The following corporations and individuals besides the International Harvester Company, are named as defendants: International Harvester Company of America, International Flax Twine Company, Wisconsin Steel Company, Wisconsin Lumber Company, Illinois Northern Railway, Chicago-West Pullman & Southern Railroad Company, Cyrus H. McCormick, Charles Deering, James Deering, John J. Glessner, William H. Jones, Harold F. McCormick, Edgar A. Bancroft, George F. Baker, William J. Louderback, Norman B. Ream, Charles Steele, John A. Chapman, Elbert H. Gary, Thomas D. Jones, John P. Wilson, William L. Saunders, Richard F. Howe and George W. Perkins.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Titanic Disaster.

The Survey (sociological), April 27.—The officers and crew and passengers of the Titanic have acted in the moment of peril as men of our religious traditions and our social instincts should act. They have stood the supreme test. They have conserved the strength of humanity by protecting its weakness. The moral hardly needs pointing; the lesson hardly needs reiteration. As we believe that they have acted when the ship was wounded to death, so it is for us to act for the saving of lives, for the protection of the weak, for the rescue of the lost. Only—our ship is not sinking. Our last word is not of sacrifice. By our surplus resources, by our strength, it is given to us to snatch from the sea his prey, to make our port with human kind on board. Our last word is of rehabilitation, reintegration, redemption.



The "Titanic" and Woman Suffrage.

The (St. Louis) Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), April 25.—The women upon the Titanic deported themselves no less bravely than the men, as a whole. There's no argument against the extension of the suffrage to women in the story of the disaster. In so far as they were given precedence in

escape, they were given it as embodying the future of the race, as being more important than men. What reason is there in sex that Mrs. Isidor Straus should not have a vote, while her husband had? And the women who left the boat for the families, while the men died, went forth to duties more onerous than dying.

Senator Bourne's Defeat.

The Chicago Record-Herald, April 29.—Certain newspapers are having much "fun" with Senator Bourne of Oregon, who has been defeated for renomination by a Portland merchant named Selling. Bourne has been an ardent champion of the Oregon style of pure or untrifled democracy, and has eloquently held his State up as a model and exemplar. He has been a hard and faithful worker, and the position he took with reference to another term was most creditable to him. He told his people that the office must seek him and that they must deal with his claims on the record he has made and the valuable experience he has acquired. He stuck to his place in the Senate chamber and made no personal campaign. Perhaps Senator Bourne feels that pure democracies are as ungrateful at times as the mixed varieties. It does not appear, however, that his defeat at the advisory and morally binding primary was also a defeat for radicalism and the Oregon ideas. The voters stand pat, but they prefer another exponent and representative. Possibly they sought to boost the idea that active men of affairs are wanted in Congress. Again, perhaps Mr. Bourne's notions of passive candidacies are too utopian even for advanced sociological laboratories. More light is needed—in the interest of other radical candidates as well as of candid history.

Is It a Lost Opportunity?

The Boston Common (Ind.), April 13.—Colonel Bryan, we think, is right in his belief that if Theodore Roosevelt, when some of his friends were plotting to use Robert M. La Follette's honest candidacy as a decoy movement, and were seizing upon La Follette's temporary illness from overstrain as a pretext for throwing him over, had courageously come to La Follette's assistance and used in his behalf the energy which Roosevelt is now expending upon his own candidacy, it would have been better for Roosevelt and better for the Progressive movement.

Headway in Equitable Taxation.

The Houston (Texas) Chronicle, Feb. 22.—The reassessment of Houston's taxable property under the Somers system has so far advanced that it is known the total assessable values reported for taxation will advance from \$77,000,000 for 1911 to at least \$100,000,000, and possibly as high as \$120,000,000, for 1912. It is known that in 1912, for the first time, land values in Houston will be assessed on an equitable basis. It is known that for the first time the main weight of taxes will rest not upon small owners of home properties, but upon large owners of lands whose sale value is constantly and rapidly increasing by reason of the increasing demand for such lands for commercial use. It is

known, in a word, that for the first time in Houston the tax-taker will collect for community uses a considerable portion of that new value which community growth has added and is adding, without effort on the part of owners, to the value of such lands. It is known that the erection of commercial buildings on valuable lands hitherto held unimproved will be necessary, in order that the owners may not lose money by reason of the largely increased tax valuations placed on such lands. It is known that citizens who erect such buildings, whether stores, factories or homes, will not hereafter be assessed upon them for more than one-third of their construction cost. Takers of unearned increment will be taxed increasingly, and two-thirds of the building tax burden will be taken off enterprising citizens who make unearned increment for the unenterprising. The Chronicle believes this system should be adopted by Harris county. We believe that if our vast area of idle farm land, most of it help speculatively for an unearned rise in value, were to be assessed as much per acre as cultivated farm lands, the owners of such unimproved lands would be forced either to put them into cultivation, or to sell them at fair prices and on easy terms to land-hungry poor men who would bring them into cultivation. Would not this be desirable? Would it not be good for Houston, and for a very great majority of all the people of Harris county? Would it not, by rapidly increasing Harris county's acreage in cultivation, increase the commerce of this city, afford employment to many additional hands, and pour into all the channels of business a new flood of wealth? We believe it would, and we recommend to County Judge Amerman and his associates, or to their successors if the present commissioners do not wish to undertake it on the eve of quitting office, that they study what the City Commission has done with the Somers system, and adopt it for the county.

Back from the Farm.

The (Portland, Ore.) Labor Press, March 16.—"Back to the farm," and "get out of the cities," is easy to write and easy to read. How much of a farm can a workingman buy if he gets steady work for a year at an average of \$3 a day and saves half of it? How many with a family can save a tenth of it? How many obtain steady employment at any such wage? If they do, then why give up a steady job for a chance at a new occupation they know little about and have but limited capital to put into it? Any five-acre plot that will come anywhere near supporting a family after two or three years of cultivation and preparation will cost from \$1,000 up to \$3,000. The further away from civilization the more land it requires, and the lower the price per acre. In the long run the distant and "cheap" land is the dearest in price, opportunities and location considered. The land monopolist in the country is just as exacting and inhospitable as he is in the city. How long will it be at an average saving of \$30 a month, and many farm hands in the eastern States do not get \$20, to secure the \$1,000, or more, necessary to start in? Why should some one who has not worked for it get this capital, when secured, for merely getting out of the way?

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

STRONG AND TRUE.

The inspiration of a host, the pageant of an hour,
The haughty stride of a lordly pride, the plenitude
of power,
Nor this we see nor that can be the tale of a nation's
worth,
But ever the strong that standeth true in the sight
of all the earth.

The dream of a sage in a distant age, while yet the
world was young,
The song of a day that has passed away, by olden
prophets sung,
That the ends of the world should come at length
upon the mighty West,—
The matchless grace of a conquering race in the
empire of the West;

A conquering race, and hastening time the coronet
shall bring
To crown the mightiest of the land as though he
were a king,
Fling in the teeth of privilege a universal ban,
And make but this the proudest boast,—I am
American.

Or north or south or east or west, exulting in their
pride,
Wherever the silvery rivers run, wherever the hills
abide,
Though every gift and every grace their destiny
adorn
To fling upon a waking world the mantle of the
morn.

Or yet invincible they be wherever the winds may
roam,
Exulting in the lordliest wealth beneath the starry
dome,
Nor this we see nor that can be the boast of a
nation's worth,
But ever the strong that standeth true in the sight
of heaven and earth.

BENJAMIN C. MOOMAW.



FROM A STANDPATTER'S NOTE- BOOK.

For The Public.

Up to my ear I pressed the long distance receiver. "Well?" I called.

"Are you the Senator?" answered a clean-cut voice.

"Yes."

"Well, I'm E. Maxwell Sheelum—one of your constituents—live in Fenceler County—and have called you up, Senator, to see if you won't put through for me a tariff that will afford a real protection for my infant polar bear industry."

Thus began my acquaintance with one of the most estimable men it has ever been my good fortune to meet. A few days later I was a guest at his plantation, where he, in the face of the most adverse climatic conditions, and in spite of a criminally inadequate protective tariff, is manfully carrying on an extensive business of raising polar bears, to supply the American consumer. The expenses of this huge undertaking, as may be imagined, are tremendous. His books show that hundreds of dollars are sunk every day in his efforts to keep the enterprise alive.

"Much of the money expended," he told me, "goes for wages. I have too much respect for American manhood to ask my employes to work for the pauper wage of the Esquimaux and like competitors; so I pay them wages that I really cannot afford to pay—wages that I should be financially justified in paying only by a generous tariff. You will see," he went on, showing me his pay roll, "that none of my little army of helpers receives less than a dollar a day, while more than one of them get almost a dollar and a half."

I saw that the figures of the pay roll fully substantiated his statement, and I attempted to say a few words in praise of his patriotic altruism. But he would not permit me to proceed.

"Pardon me, Senator, for my seeming rudeness," he pleaded, "but I don't want praise. What I do want, and what I must have, if I am to be saved from utter ruin, is a protection that will enable me to sell my products at a reasonable profit."

He then conducted me through his plant; showed me the immense bins of coal; the batteries of boilers; the huge engines; the big ammonia machines for making ice; and an apparatus which he had paid a noted inventor \$25,000 for designing—an apparatus that automatically converts ice into bergs and floes, the artificiality of which cannot be detected even by an expert. Icebergs and floes, Mr. Sheelum informed me, are essential to the well-being of bears from the arctic regions. Without these reminders of home to gaze upon, the animals would become afflicted with nostalgia, a disease that has a signally baneful effect upon them. He next took me into an enclosure surrounding a large aquarium, which was filled with walruses of all sizes.

"Another big expense item," my host sighed, "but it's a necessary one. Walruses, and only walruses are capable of furnishing polar bears with their natural exercise and food. Unless my bears have walruses to chase and to feast on they would become absolutely valueless as marketable commodities."

After we had made the rounds, I thanked my friend for bringing to my attention the onerous conditions under which a promoter of an infant polar bear industry must operate in this country at the present time, and promised him that I should do everything within my power to make

the situation more endurable and sane. Because of this promise, I am now at work on what will be the most impressive tariff speech ever delivered on the floor of the Senate chamber. It will be a speech so brimful of logic, force and eloquence that it will not fail to bring blushes of shame to the Progressives and the Democrats, and convince these miscreants that American infant industries must and shall be encouraged, helped and supported by the Federal Government.

G. T. E.



A MEAN AND CRUEL PREJUDICE.

Portions of Address of Hon. Edward Osgood Brown,
Judge of the Appellate Court of Illinois, at the
Fourth Annual Conference for the Advancement of Colored People,
Chicago, April 29.

Negro citizens of the United States are not asking charitable assistance from us. They are asking our aid as a matter of right, of our own self-respect—the aid which every high-minded man, who is unwarping in his thought by some conventional prejudice, of whatever race or creed or complexion he may be, instinctively wishes to give to anyone whom he sees hurt or oppressed by a stronger force unjustly used. * * *

The Negroes have certainly come fairly up in all the things dependent on their own exertions, in all things where they have been allowed to control their own actions and have been given a chance to avail themselves of equal opportunities, to what could in reason have been expected of a race of which the great majority had been in bondage, prohibited by law from education and from any of the individual enterprises by which men in a competing state of society rise to success and distinction. They have become in one generation planters, business men, professional men, teachers, bankers, artists, musicians and authors. They have reared theaters and established schools and colleges of their own; they have built churches, hospitals and orphan asylums of their own. * * *

But every advance that the Negro has made has rendered the more brutal and cruel, the meaner and more dishonorable acts of discrimination and insult against him. He feels them all the more; he resents them all the more, and he is justified in doing so. And we see around us a reaction, a moral lowering of the standards of honor in our treatment of the Negro. For the last quarter of the century at least, that lowering has been going on from bad to worse, quite as much in the North, in our own communities, as in the South. Segregation in schools, segregation in churches, segregation in theaters, segregation in business and professional associations, in traveling conveyances—a segregation which means an utterly unjustifiable and illegal ostracism, bad as it is, is but the

least of the outrages under which the Negro race has been suffering in this country.

By what seems to me the most deplorably growing popular prejudice, and one without cause save the inherent vulgarity of those who foster it, we are practically attempting to shut out the Negroes from all but a few occupations, denying them thus even the opportunity to show whether or not they are our inferiors. George Bernard Shaw, in one of his inimitable passages of humorous sarcasm, speaks of the sweet reasonableness of the Yankees who first preventing Negroes from following any occupation but that of the bootblack or the waiter, then proclaim as evidence of the intellectual inferiority of the Negroes, that they are only boot-blacks or waiters. * * *

Despite this attempt, at restriction, cruel, injurious and ineffably mean as it is, the native ability and genius of many a colored man has shown forth conspicuously, as I have said, in every high department of business and intellectual activity. But this constant, continuous and studied erection of worst and meanest of caste systems, one based on nothing but a man's racial complexion (for there are neither religious nor political differences of opinion to reckon with), keeps even these exceptional men in a lifelong feeling of injury and injustice.

Do we not owe it to ourselves, as well as to them, to agitate, to educate, and, if we must, to legislate, and to enforce the legislation, until we shall shake off the benumbing influence of this reaction against the ideals of human liberty and human brotherhood of fifty years ago? * * *

The duty of us all is plain—as plain now as it was to the Abolitionists of the anti-war time. It is to speak out, freely and boldly. We need to remember the words of John Stuart Mill: "It appears to me that when prejudices persist obstinately it is the fault of nobody so much as of those who make a point of proclaiming them insuperable as an excuse for never joining in an attempt to remove them."

BOOKS

PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY.

Your Mind and How to Use It. By William Walker Atkinson. The Elizabeth Towne Company, Hologate. Price, \$1.00.

The author of "The Mastery of Being," published last year, gives us another of his analytic studies of the human mind in the present volume which contains so many practical suggestions that it is cordially commended to thoughtful students along these lines. Mr. Atkinson is never a gushing enthusiast, making startling claims that common folk find rather difficult to verify. He rea-

sons always with the calmness and exactness of the scientist and philosopher, with the aim to arouse the thinking faculties which can be strengthened and energized only by self-exercise. A wide study of eminent psychologists has given a theoretical basis from which Mr. Atkinson deduces a sound practical system of usage that is beneficial to all untrained but aspiring minds. His chapters on Imagination, Memory, Will-Training, the Emotions, Judgments, Reasoning, etc., etc., are extremely useful and may be made applicable in any mental emergency of the student who feels that he is being led by a teacher who has gone personally over the same ground before him. The 224 pages of instruction end with the "Will-Tonic" of inspiring words from souls that have tested the value of life.

A. L. M.

* * *

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

Documents on the State-wide Initiative, Referendum and Recall. By Charles A. Beard, Associate Professor of Politics in Columbia University; and Birl E. Shultz, Indiana scholar in Political Science in Columbia University. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

The Referendum in America, Together With Some Chapters on the Initiative and Recall. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Ph. D. New edition with supplement covering the years from 1900 to 1911. New York: Charles Scribners' Sons. 1912.

While true enough that the work of Professor Beard and Mr. Shultz may soon be partly out of date if the movement for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall forges ahead as it promises now to do, it cannot become wholly obsolete, and by a little industry the possessor of a copy may keep his copy continually up to date. Disregarding local initiatives, referendums and recalls as belonging in another field, the authors have completely covered the field of their application by States as such. The volume includes all the Constitutional amendments down to 1911 that provide for State-wide systems, the most important statutes in execution of those amendments, all the amendments pending at that time, and several judicial decisions. This bare statement of the scope of the book indicates its great value. Since the book is a collection of original public documents, no more need be said than that the work of selection and compilation appears to have been made with scholarly skill so as to afford in the narrowest compass a full documentary history of the modern American movement for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

The Referendum phase of the same subject was ably dealt with in a neutral spirit several years ago by Dr. Oberholtzer,* whose book is now re-issued with four supplementary chapters wherein the neutral spirit of the earlier work is submerged

*See *The Public* of May 5, 1906, page 117.

in the depths of an angry mind. Dr. Oberholtzer's statements of historical facts in his supplementary chapters are doubtless as trustworthy as those of his earlier book, but his selection of facts in aid of his reactionary arguments will hardly bear scrutiny. One instance, a quotation from Governor Wilson's writings prior to the Governor's conversion to direct legislation, appears without indication that this no longer states Governor Wilson's views. Copious quotations from the lawyer for the electric-power interests of Portland, Oregon, who is professionally hostile to direct legislation, is another feature of Dr. Oberholtzer's supplementary chapters which may well put readers upon their guard.

Altogether, however, Dr. Oberholtzer's new edition and the documentary history by Beard and Shultz, make a collection of material which may be regarded as indispensable to any fair consideration of the subject.

* * *

THE FIRST LINCOLN CAMPAIGN

The Presidential Campaign of 1860. By Emerson David Fite, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of History in Yale University, Author of "Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War." New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Price, \$2.00 net.

Beginning with the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry and closing with the election returns that made Abraham Lincoln President, Professor Fite tells the story of that epochal campaign of 1860 with historical fidelity and democratic enthusiasm.

* * *

A LIBRARY REFERENCE BOOK.

Annual Magazine Subject-Index. 1911. Edited by Frederick Winthrop Faxon. Published by the Boston Book Company, Boston. 1912. Price, \$5.50 net.

Mr. Faxon's valuable Magazine Index for 1911 is just out. As library workers well know, this youngest of the indexes to periodical literature—having published its first annual in 1907—refers to some six score magazines not indexed in Poole's or The Readers' Guide, and is indispensable to the student of current affairs. The editor in giving especial prominence to such subjects as Finance, Forestry, Travel, Art, Education and Economics, has this year added sixteen new magazines to his list, among them, as the only weekly, *The Public*. From the character of his periodicals, which include many State, scientific and sociological publications, it follows that the investigator of such a topic as, for example, "The Initiative and Referendum," or recent Labor laws, would lose much, did he not have access to this index.

Part II of the volume, as in past years, is the

"Dramatic Index," referring by plays, players and playwrights to seventy-five well-known American magazines—a work, one should imagine from all the drama study spreading over the country, of fast increasing popularity.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Rational Education. By Bruce Calvert. Published by The Open Road Press, Griffith, Lake Co., Indiana, R. F. D. No. 1. Price, 50 cents.

—Henry Demarest Lloyd. 1847-1903. A Biography by Caro Lloyd. In Two Volumes. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1912. Price, \$5.00 net.

—Annual Report of the Director of the Mint for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1911. Also a Report on the Production of the Precious Metals in the Year 1910. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1912.

PERIODICALS

Quarterly Journal of Economics.

Students of government ownership of public utilities will find in this Harvard publication for February a valuable article by A. N. Holcombe on "the first decade of the Swiss Federal railways." The same issue offers, by Benjamin H. Hibbard of the Census Bureau, a glimpse at census returns with reference to farm tenancy in the United States.



A Newspaper Owned by the People.

On December 5, 1911, the voters of Los Angeles passed an Initiative Ordinance to establish a city newspaper to be owned by the whole people, and edited in their interest. Hence "The Los Angeles Municipal News" (122 E. Market St., Los Angeles, Calif. Price 1 cent.) which, edited by Robert E. Rinehart, under the auspices of the Municipal Newspaper Commission, printed its first issue April 17, 1912, and is to be issued weekly. Such a paper must of course be non-partisan. But one page is headed "Party Politics," and here, according to the ordinance the County Central Committee of each political party is entitled to one column of space for its own use through its appointed press agent. The Democrats, Good Government organization, Socialists and Socialist-Laborites have used their columns; but the Republicans have declined.

A. G. L.



National Municipal Review.

In embarking upon the publication of a quarterly survey of its field of operations, the National Municipal League has thus far in its National Municipal Review (Philadelphia) fully justified its purpose. An inviting periodical typographically, the April number presents an interesting selection of articles on municipal subjects. "The Thralldom of Massa-

chusetts Cities" by Harvey N. Shepard, a criticism of "Commission Government" by Martin A. Gemunder, and a consideration of the "Conservative Aspects of the Recall"—especially the latter, which is an unexpected endorsement of the Recall on conservative grounds,— will commend themselves to students of municipal affairs. The miscellaneous matter, abundant, varied, geographically comprehensive and edited with care, is "newsy" in the best sense. The editorial staff includes Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Prof. Charles A. Beard of Columbia, Professor John A. Fairlie of the Illinois University, and John A. Lapp.



We read of one man who was mistaken for a woodchuck and shot. There is one thing in favor of mushroom hunting—an innocent bystander is in no danger of being mistaken for a toadstool.—Toledo Blade.



You cannot protect labor by putting import duties on goods. Protection makes it harder for the masses to live. It may increase the profits of favored cap-

THOMAS A. EDISON

tells why he is never sick, in an illustrated booklet entitled, "How Can a Man Keep Well and Grow Old?" Price four cents, postpaid. Address WILLIAM F. BUTLER, Publisher, 51 Loan and Trust Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.

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CONCISE ARGUMENTS On the Most Vital Questions of the Day:

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Italists; it may build up trusts and create great fortunes but it cannot raise wages. You know for your-

selves that what your employers pay you in wages does not depend on what any tariff may enable them

Are Your Meetings

successful? Do you want to get in touch with other progressive democrats and singletaxers? If you do, advertise your meetings in *The Public*. Notices of meetings can be received up to noon on Monday preceding day of issue (Friday.)

ELLSWORTH BLDG.

CHICAGO

Summer School on Social Problems, June 24 to July 26.
Directors: Graham Taylor, Julia C. Lathrop, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Edith A. Abbott. Lectures and observation trips. Course on "Community Cooperation for Social Service" by specialists from leading universities, settlements, city departments and civic organizations. Write the registrar for blanks, information, etc. CHICAGO SCHOOL OF CIVICS AND PHILANTHROPY, 31 West Lake Street.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The Seattle Single Tax Club meets every Saturday at noon at the club's headquarters, 927-928 Northern Bank Bldg. Everyone is welcome. Literature for sale. THORWALD SIEGFRIED, Sec.

Manhattan Single Tax Club

47 West 42nd Street, New York. Telephone, Bryant 5645. Open day and evenings. All are welcome. "Old Guard" Dinner, May 11, 6:30 p. m., at Kalil's Restaurant, 14 Park Place, New York. Louis F. Post, Guest of Honor. Dress informal. Tickets \$1.00.

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

SINGLE TAX CLUB

Meeting First Monday 8 p. m., Third Sunday 3 p. m., every month, at 430 Fourth Avenue. Interesting open Discussion. Registration of all Single Taxers and Sympathisers in Western Pennsylvania desired with the Secretary, Wayne Paulin, 6004 Jenkins Arcade.

THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB

Friday, May 3rd, 8:00 p. m.
Schiller Hall, (12th floor) Schiller Building
CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS
of New York, Lectures on

"How Shall Capital and Labor be Reconciled?"
ADMISSION FREE

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

On Friday, May 10th, at 6:30 p. m.

an Informal Dinner will be Given to

MISS MARGARET A. HALEY,

at Kimball's Cafe, 116 W. Monroe Street
(between Clark and La Salle)

Mr. Geo. V. Wells will preside, and there will be addresses by Miss Haley, Mr. Chas. Fred. Adams, and others.

For reservations send postal to the Secretary, 508 Schiller Bldg.

Reservations must be made not later than noon of the 9th.
Single Taxers, Teachers and others interested are invited.

JAMES B. ELLERY, Secy.

THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL SINGLE TAX LEAGUE

will hold 11th annual Convention in Washington, D. C., May 27 to 29. Among the speakers will be Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri; Senator Henry F. Ahurst, of Arizona; Congressman Henry George, Jr., David John Lewis; Mr. Jackson H. Ralston, of Washington, D. C.; Mr. H. Martin Williams, Reader of the House of Representatives; Mr. Charles R. Adair, of Chicago, Ill.; Charlotte O. Schetter, of Orange, N. J.; Amy Mail Hicks and Grace Isabel Colbron, of New York. Obtain information of **Mrs. Gertrude Mackenzie,** 31 T Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

THE FOLLOWING LECTURE APPOINTMENTS IN CHICAGO ARE ANNOUNCED FOR CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS.

THURSDAY, MAY 2nd—Electrical Club (Kuntz-Remmler Restaurant), 12:15 p. m. "Patent Rights and Public Policy."

THURSDAY, MAY 2nd—West Side Y. M. C. A. (1621 Division St.), 8 p. m. "Commission Form of Government for Cities."

FRIDAY, MAY 3rd—Single Tax Club (508 Schiller Bldg.), 8 p. m. "How Shall Capital and Labor be Reconciled?"

SATURDAY, MAY 4th—Chicago Lawyers' Ass'n., Planters' Hotel (19 No. Clark St.), 1 p. m.

SATURDAY, MAY 4th—Gilson Literary Society, (Woman's Bldg., Hamlin Park) 8 p. m.

SUNDAY, MAY 5th—Wilmette, Ill., 1st Cong. Church (Commonwealth Class), 12:15 p. m. "The People and the Courts."

SUNDAY, MAY 5th—Anthropological Society, 3 p. m. "True Leadership in a True Democracy."

SUNDAY, MAY 5th—Illini Club (Hull House), 8 p. m. "The People and the Courts."

MONDAY, MAY 6th—Morgan Park.

MONDAY, MAY 6th—School of Philanthropy.

TUESDAY, MAY 7th—Austin Christian Church.

SATURDAY, MAY 8th—Glen Ellyn, Ill., New Audi-

torium (under auspices Glen Ellyn Orchestra), 8 p. m. "True Leadership in a True Democracy."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 8th—School of Civics and Philanthropy (31 W. Lake St.), 3 p. m. "Henry George and His Teachings."

THURSDAY, MAY 9th—West Side Y. M. C. A. (1621 W. Division St.), 8 p. m. "The Single Tax."

SUNDAY, MAY 12th—Elgin, Ill.

MONDAY, MAY 13th, also 27th—Cullman Wheel Factory (1344 Greenwood Terrace), 8 p. m.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 15th—Men's League Sunday Evening Club, City Club (315 Plymouth Court), 8 p. m. "The Single Tax."

THURSDAY, MAY 16th—Men's League, Fellowship, (Athenaeum, opposite Whitney Opera House), 8 p. m.

FRIDAY, MAY 19th—Men's Club, Congregational Church, Chicago Lawn.

SUNDAY, MAY 19th—First Congregational Church, Evanston, Ill., 12:00 m.

SUNDAY, MAY 19th—Federation of Labor (Musicians' Hall), 3 p. m.

THURSDAY, MAY 23rd—West Side Y. M. C. A. (1621 W. Division St.).

SUNDAY, MAY 26th—Rogers Park M. E. Church, 12:00 m.

SPECIAL:—Several invitations have been accepted for Mr. Adams to address Schools and Colleges in and near Chicago after May 10th, the exact date of which will be announced later. More appointments of this character are especially desired. We will be pleased to receive invitations from all sorts of organizations for Mr. Adams' open time as indicated above.

Owing to a special arrangement which has been made, there will be no fee charged for Mr. Adams' lectures in Chicago during the month of May.

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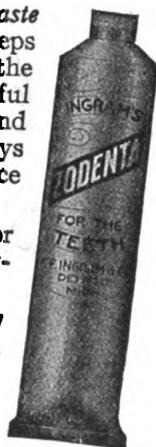
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