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

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EDITORIAL

The Lincoln Centenary.

Abraham Lincoln's memory was celebrated last week in all kinds of ways, by all kinds of people and from all kinds of motives. Pagans deified him for the ephemeral things he had done; others honored him for the eternal spirit that led him on. Reactionaries celebrated his dead and gone achievements; progressives drew inspiration from his ideals. Literalists confined his words for liberty to the narrow and temporary occasion of the anti-slavery struggle; rational minds gave to them the breadth and scope of the irrepressible conflict between special privilege and common right, of which the anti-slavery struggle was but a passing phase. For ourselves, we regard Lincoln as greater than his epoch. Backward over the course of history he saw in other forms the very conflict in which in one of its forms he was a participant; forward into the mysterious future he glimpsed still other forms of that same conflict. In homely phrase he described the spirit of the defenders of privilege in all ages, past or to come, and inclusive of his own, as the spirit of those who say to their fellows, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." Who can read those of Lincoln's words without realizing that his perception of the principles of liberty was limited by no single battle in the war for liberty. Who can doubt that he saw, beyond the slave of the cotton field driven to work, the advancing shadow of the slave of the factory begging for

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work? It is not what Abraham Lincoln did in a national crisis, but the undying principle he involved, that exalts his name and preserves his memory.

* *

James B. Weaver.

Iowa honors herself more than her justly distinguished son, in honoring General Weaver. When one after another of the men of Iowa who have loomed large during their brief day shall have passed off the stage and out of memory, James B. Weaver's name will shine brighter than ever. He might have been a leader in the Republican party—a Fairbanks, or a Cannon, or something like that; but he chose to be a man. He could have basked in the favor of the corporations; but he chose to endure the hardships of fighting them for their iniquities. General Weaver is a man whose abilities have commanded respect, and whose genuineness and devotion entitle him to confidence and affection.

* *

The Tariff on Wool.

“High duties on wool have not stimulated domestic production as it was predicted they would. . . . The Rocky Mountain sheep owners have simply been enabled to make an unreasonable profit.” This is what the Chicago Tribune thinks—or did think in its issue of the 15th. If Republican papers like the Tribune had been as frank fifteen years ago—for they lacked not knowledge but only candor—the Rocky Mountain sheep owners would not have been able to make that unreasonable profit during all this time. But better late than never, and we may welcome the Tribune's tardy suggestion in the same editorial,—its suggestion that as “the wool growers of the West have had their innings during the past twelve years,” “it is time to give the wage-earners, who would like to wear genuine woolen goods, instead of a cotton makeshift, an opportunity to do so.” While we are at it, why not consider that the whole protected crew, from steel pirate to sugar baron, have had *their* innings long enough? Isn't it time to ask if we don't need protection more against monopolists at home than against exporters abroad? Wool isn't the only thing that a tariff increases in price.

* *

Traction Annoyances in Cleveland.

If the Electric Traction Weekly, a monopolistic organ of Cleveland, speaks the truth, it “gives away” the traction receivers in its issue of the

6th. “Altogether it is a safe guess,” it says, “that the inconvenience in routings and the heterogeneous system of transfers and tickets, will so annoy the people of Cleveland that they will force their councilmen to override Mayor Johnson and grant a franchise that the receivers and the Cleveland Railway Company will accept.” As it is the receivers who, on the one hand, are annoying the people of Cleveland with “inconvenience in routings” and a “heterogeneous system of transfers and tickets,” and as it is the monopoly company who, on the other hand, are to be the beneficiaries of this annoyance in the form of the franchise they want, one might say that those receivers and that company must be a cozy little bunch. But isn't their organ indiscreet in its utterances?

* *

Municipal Ownership.

One of the smaller towns that furnish their own lighting, is New Athens, Ill., which has just made its report for the year ending November 1, 1908, through George C. Probst, chairman of the lighting committee. For 30 street lights the total operating cost was \$87.36. Adding to this the interest charged and proper allowance for depreciation, the total cost was \$1,237.36—or, \$41.25 per light. For the same service by private company New Athens would have been obliged to pay from \$50 to \$75 per light. This would have made a total of from \$1,500 to \$2,250—or from \$262 to over \$1,000 more than the town did pay. And then it would have had nothing to show for it all but batches of receipted bills.

* *

Valuable Enemies.

George C. Sikes, candidate for the Democratic nomination for alderman in the Thirty-fifth ward of Chicago (p. 76), has incurred the joint hostility of Roger Sullivan (Democratic “boss”) and William G. Beale (Republican “gum-shoe”), because Mr. Sikes makes the lighting-rate question an issue in the aldermanic campaign. Messrs. Sullivan and Beale have private and professional as well as political reasons for wanting to keep this question out of aldermanic politics, and exclusively within the domain of “business.” Their hostility alone ought to nominate and elect Mr. Sikes.

* *

The True Basis of Tax Apportionment.

Toward the end of the year just closed, a commission in the State of Maine made a report on the subject of State taxation which is in at least one particular as important to the people of

every State in the Union as it is to Maine herself. We refer to the method proposed for apportioning taxes to the various localities in that State.

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Apportionment has long been and still is one of the most difficult of fiscal problems. If the State leaves it to counties to make their own assessments, a rivalry for low assessments sets in between the localities, which results in gross unfairness, not only between the inhabitants of different localities as communities, but between individuals within the respective communities. Moreover, it influences boards of apportionment in ways that cannot be talked about in detail. To overcome this weakness, systems of indirect taxes have been proposed for State purposes. But indirect taxation is also unfair and open to much secret corruption and oppression. The only radical solution offered until now is the Purdy plan of equalization. Proposed by Lawson Purdy, president of the New York tax department, this plan contemplates an automatic system of equalization. The State board would ascertain the local expenditures of each county and apportion State expenses upon that basis by simple "rule of three." As the aggregate of local expenditures for a given year is to the amount required for State expenditures for the next year, so would the local expenditures of a given county for the former year be to its proportion for State expenses for the other year. This solution has attracted widespread and favorable attention. But the Maine commission objects to it as tending to tax enterprising and progressive communities in undue proportion. There are answers to this objection, but the superior plan proposed by this commission makes further discussion unnecessary.

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The plan proposed by the Maine commission seems to be more in accord than any ever yet proposed, with the principles underlying the single tax method of raising public revenues. Yet it is not the single tax, and the commissioners distinctly disclaim its relation to that system. They are not single taxers, and they do not propose to levy taxes in proportion to land values. Their proposition is in no sense a revenue-raising one. It would not make land values the basis of taxation as between individuals, but only the basis of apportionment for State taxation as between localities. In its own language, this Maine report holds that—
the State should apportion the State tax upon cit-

ies, towns, plantations, and unincorporated townships, in the proportion that their respective land values bear to the total land value of the State.

It has been objected that under this plan local assessors would rival one another in lowering land values of their respective localities. But the Maine report contemplates clothing the State board of assessors with ample power to secure returns of full value from every locality.

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Not only is this plan of apportionment fair upon its face, but it is fundamentally sound. The land values of a community relatively to those of all other communities in a State, are the standard, and the only true and fair standard, of the fiscal obligations of that community to all the others. Let State taxes be apportioned according to land values fairly assessed, and each locality would contribute to the State its just proportion—the great cities the most, farming regions the least. This is just, because farming regions require and receive least, and cities most, from the State whose protection and service both may claim.

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GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

I.

Some one has said that figures never lie; and some one else has retorted that liars often figure. These are familiar examples of two kinds of wit—the solemn and the jocose. Both embody truth, which is characteristic of wit; and both conceal truth, which is too often one of the weaknesses of wit. The truth embodied is this, that isolated figures, like isolated words, do not lie; but that collocations of figures, like collocations of words, may be false. The truth concealed is this, that compilers of false collocations of figures, like compilers of false collocations of words, are not liars necessarily; it is a legitimate inference that they are possibly incompetent or careless.

We may continue to laugh sympathetically, even at this remote time, with the old joker who classified falsehoods as positive, comparative and superlative—lies, black lies, and statistics,—and yet we may acquit statisticians of mendacity. For false statistics may emanate as well from incompetent or careless as from mendacious experts. And may we not also enjoy the rough and ready humor of the stump speaker who said that statistics are like sausages because their value depends upon who makes them? But while we

appreciate the joke, we need not infer that the maker of statistics—or sausages, as the case may be—is a rascal; he may only be incapable of distinguishing true from false ingredients, or he may be careless.

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So much by way of excuse for the kind of discussion which opponents of government ownership of railroads usually resort to. They fence with figures; they play with statistics of freight rates, passenger rates, capitalizations, gross earnings, net earnings, wages and dividends, as stage jugglers play with sharp knives; they often compare non-comparable details instead of comparable wholes; and sometimes they deliberately deceive with those half truths that “are ever the worst of lies.”

We must not be understood, however, as intending to be at all contemptuous of facts. One may respect facts, even if his gorge does rise at cooked statistics. Facts must be considered of course. They constitute the foundation and superstructure of the whole controversy.

But the facts must be large facts. They must be facts that the average man of intelligence can scrutinize, verify and value. They must be well-established or commonly observable facts. They must be comparable facts when cited for comparison. And they must be all the facts that are necessary for a judgment.

Quivering little globules of fact, and the esoteric facts of expert statisticians, won't do.

All the statistics of all the publicity bureaus of all the private railroad companies in Christendom, are not worth one well established instance, like that of Germany, of steady displacement of private ownership by government ownership. This is a type of the facts to which we must turn as a basis for sound judgment.

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And back of those large facts, are facts more important still. We allude to the accumulated facts of human experience that have come down to us in generalized form as evidence of some vital principle—the facts that indicate a natural law which will not be disobeyed.

The primary consideration, therefore, is not so much a consideration of the individual facts which we usually call facts, as it is a consideration of one or more of the groups of generalized facts which we usually call principle.

If government ownership is not sound in principle, we need go no further. In that case it cannot in any true sense become successful in prac-

tice. The same observation applies, of course, to private ownership.

II.

What is the principle then, that should determine the relation of railroads to government? Is it not the same principle that determines the relation of government to highways? This seems to be so, for the extremely obvious reason that railroads *are* highways.

How can the highway character of railroads possibly be denied? It was recognized by the legislatures when they authorized condemnations under the right of eminent domain; and it was recognized by the courts when, upon the basis of the right of eminent domain, they sustained condemnation proceedings for railways. Now the right of eminent domain is not a railroad right. Some railroad men think it is, but it isn't. It is a right of sovereignty—a right of the people as a whole. But if that is so, on what ground could it have been invoked in favor of railways except the ground that railways are highways?

+

The highway character of railroads would be quite obvious, were it not for one railroad peculiarity. With railroads, the highway and the operation are a unified mechanism—road, fixtures, and rolling stock, all one mechanically.

But that peculiarity doesn't abrogate the highway principle. If we must unify the ownership because the mechanism is unitary, it is easy to determine the direction on principle in which ownership of the whole should go. All we have to do is to ask ourselves which is the “real thing” and which is its incident. The incident always goes with the “real thing” and not the “real thing” with the incident—the tail with the dog and not the dog with the tail.

And which is the “real thing” in railroading? Is it the rolling stock and fixtures, or is it the highway right? Can there be any serious question? Upon principle it must be conceded that fixtures and rolling stock are appurtenant to highway, and not highway to fixtures and rolling stock,—when all happen to be mechanically one.

If, then, unification of ownership is unavoidable, principle demands that ownership of the highway mechanism shall go with the highway right.

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This conclusion brings forward the determining question again. In whom should ownership of highway rights be reposed? Should this owner-

ship be private or public—individual or governmental?

Governmental, of course. We all see it, we all acknowledge it, when habit helps us. We are in doubt only when the principle in a familiar application is appealed to in support of a similar but unfamiliar application.

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But there is no room for doubt if we consider that *private* business is not the only kind of business. There is also such a thing as *government* business. Boot-blackening is an example of private business; levying taxes, or preserving the peace, are examples of government business.

To generalize, we should say that a private business is one which anybody may go into unless government conditions it arbitrarily. Any person may go into storekeeping, manufacturing, transportation on open highways, fishing in open waters, and so on. He needs no government franchise unless government has interposed barriers under its police power. That is to say,—and this is the point,—he needs no government franchise on account of the nature or essential character of the business. In the nature of the occupation itself his own will determines his action, and his customers determine the rest.

But government business is fundamentally different. Its essential character is such that nobody can engage in it as a private occupation without a government franchise. For example, nobody can engage in levying taxes unless he has a government franchise to do so. This is obviously true also of preserving the peace and administering justice. Isn't it equally true of opening and maintaining highways? Nowhere can any person engage in the highway business without a franchise from government. And it makes no difference in this respect whether the highway is paved with dirt, concrete, brick, stone, or parallel rails.

Now, our contention is that any business the essential character of which is such as to make a government franchise an absolute prerequisite to engaging in it, is primarily a government business. Consequently when private interests have a franchise to engage in such a business, the business is "farmed out," precisely as tax collection used to be.

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The question of government ownership of rail highways is really not a question of taking over a private business; it is a question of resuming a "farmed out" government business. To maintain the present system of railroad ownership, is

to maintain a system of "farming out" of government functions to private exploitation. It is making public highways private property.

False in principle, that policy cannot operate in practice to the common good. It tends to foster bad business and bad government as surely as plague germs tend to produce deadly epidemics.

III.

Turning from principle to a consideration of the special facts of experience, we find a wide field for observation.

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In the United States experience is altogether with private systems. The results are before us. And what a grim story of graft the well-established facts about them loudly tell. Mountains of highway value have been seized upon by private interests. The corrupting influences generated have attacked the foundations of our governments—national, State and municipal. What the spoils system in politics once did in a small way, the system of private ownership of railroads, and of kindred functions of government, is doing on an enormously larger and infinitely more dangerous scale. Added to the rest, is a network of "gentlemen's agreements," under which the highways that are farmed out to railway corporations by government are sublet to favored business interests for the formation of trusts. We need no statistics nor experts to prove any of this; it is all matter of common knowledge.

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In contrast with the private railroad systems that curse our country with all the evils of highway monopoly, we have the government system of Australia. In many important respects it is true that the two countries are not comparable. But they are comparable in the fact that one is a country of private ownership exclusively and the other of government ownership exclusively. And in so far as they are non-comparable in any important respect the difference does not make Australia a witness in favor of private ownership. Australia has no permanently navigable rivers, as we have; consequently she has been under the burden of opening her empire of opportunity, with temporarily unprofitable railroads to a greater degree than we have been in opening ours. Moreover the population per mile of railway open for traffic is much less in Australia than here, owing to sparse population there. These are highly important points in comparing the success of Australian with American railroads.

Yet the Australian roads are successful. The

figures would show it, but there is better evidence than figures. The Australian railroads are so satisfactory that public opinion in Australia would not tolerate an attempt to "farm" them out. This irresistible fact in favor of government ownership does not depend upon expert testimony, which usually has to be taken on faith. It is matter of common knowledge.

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In Germany we get a comparison of government with private railroads; for both kinds are in operation side by side. Government ownership in competition with private was begun in Germany about 70 years ago. Statistical globules reach us once in a while, through the publicity bureaus and press agents of our private systems, which are calculated to prejudice American opinion against the German system of government ownership. But the great big significant fact is this, that over so long a period as 70 years, the German people have taken more and more kindly to government ownership until now at least 90 per cent of the mileage is governmental. This is matter of common knowledge in Germany in all substantial respects. It requires no expert testimony, nor any of the simple credulity upon which expert testimony usually depends for acceptance.

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In Belgium, which began government ownership some 70 years ago, the tendency has been steadily in that direction in spite of private competition. Today 60 per cent of the mileage is under government ownership, and the tendency persists—that is the point, the tendency persists.

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In Switzerland the entire system is governmental. It was made so by referendum, after experience with private ownership. Once in a while our railway press bureaus give out unverified figures about these Swiss roads, indicating bankruptcy. But on such figures it is best to suspend judgment—at least until we learn the extent to which they may depend upon the excessive price the government was forced to pay private interests for resuming these public highways. As to management, the Swiss railroads have the reputation of being superior to any private railroads in Europe.

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In Italy the railroad system, once given over to private ownership, has been restored to government ownership within about three years. As the

new regime has been embarrassed by the wretched condition of the private system when taken over, the present situation affords a fine opportunity for railroad statisticians. They compare government railways in Italy with private railways in the United States, without comparing present government railways in Italy with recent private railways in Italy.

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Sweden has had government ownership side by side with private ownership for 50 years, and the tendency has been constantly toward complete government ownership. There is only one inference.

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Probably the best European comparison of two countries—one with private and the other with government ownership of railroads—is afforded by France and Germany. As these countries are contiguous and similar in size and resources, they are reasonably comparable. And all reports agree that the government railways of Germany are better than the private railways of France. Yet the efficiency of the private railways in France has been stimulated by Parliamentary measures for taking them over. Before that, they were worse.

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Some of the government railroads of Europe are unquestionably good, and some are doubtless not so good. But all seem to be better than the private railroads in the same or similar political environment and geographical and commercial conditions. And on a fair comparison they are better than our private railroads—better in service, better in respect of employes, better in rates, better in net profits, better in safety to life.

Not only are the German government roads better than the German private roads, not only are they better than the French private roads, but they are at least equal to the English roads although the English roads are said to be the best privately owned roads in Europe. The worst railroads of Europe are those of Spain, and Spain is the only European country except England in which all railroads are privately owned.

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By the test of experience, as well as the test of principle, government ownership of railroads stands approved and their private ownership condemned.

IV.

With reference to method—should our own country decide to adopt government ownership of

railroads, there comes first the question of conflicting sovereignties, due to the overlapping jurisdictions of States and nation.

But that question should present no practical difficulty. Australian railroads are owned by the States, not by the Commonwealth. German railroads are owned by the States, not by the Empire. Yet inter-State traffic is conveniently adjusted in both countries; and doubtless it would be as well adjusted if instead of the States the Commonwealth in the one case or the Empire in the other had the ownership.

In the United States we suppose that under government ownership we should have State ownership for State lines and national ownership for national lines, and that the adjustment of intra-State and inter-State traffic would be quite as easily accomplished, and far more justly, than under the present system of private exploitation.

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Another question of method relates to the unification of the highway with its operating processes.

On country roads this matter adjusts itself automatically; the government owns the highway, and the private operator owns the vehicle, operating it under appropriate government rules of the road. On canals there has to be special adjustment, but the principle is the same. The government owns the highway and its fixed mechanism; the private operator owns the vehicle, and operates it under appropriate government rules of the road. As to railroads, the government might own the highway and its fixed mechanism, as with canals, and leave the vehicles to private operation under appropriate government rules of the road.

Such an adjustment would be in harmony with principle and entirely practicable. But 75 years of national habit in railroad operation might offer a political obstacle—the obstacle of public opinion. We are accustomed to unitary ownership of the whole railway business, and custom must be taken into account in dealing with public opinion. For that reason it seems probable that we shall have to retain the unitary ownership of highway and operation. If so we must either continue to endure private ownership of rail highways or else assume government ownership of the railroad business. We must either let the dog go with the tail, or take over the tail with the dog.

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It is more difficult and more meritorious to wean a man from his prejudices than to civilize barbarians.—Voltaire.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, February 16, 1909.

Venezuela and the United States.

A settlement of the American controversies with Venezuela (vol. xi, pp. 899, 900) was reported from Caracas on the 13th. It was made by Mr. Buchanan, American commissioner, with Acting-President Gomez, whose succession to the Presidency seems now to be generally recognized. Under this settlement three claims go to The Hague tribunal for arbitration. These are what are known as the Critchfield concession, the Orinoco Steamship Company, and the Orinoco Corporation claims. The other two of the five claims that have disturbed the relations of the United States with Venezuela, are that of A. F. Jaurett, an American newspaper man expelled from Venezuela, and that of the New York and Bermuda Asphalt Co. Jaurett gets \$3,000 in full settlement. The Asphalt Company regains its concessions in Venezuela, agreeing to pay Venezuela a minimum of \$20,000 a year. It is also to pay \$60,000 as indemnity for its alleged participation in the Matos revolution.

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Japanese Exclusion.

President Roosevelt's protests against anti-Japanese legislation (p. 154) appear to have been effective in California. After what is reported to have been one of the stormiest all-day debates ever known in the California capitol, the lower House, decided, on the 10th, to reconsider the Johnson bill, providing for segregating Japanese pupils in the public schools, and then killed the bill. This result is stated to have been accomplished largely through the influence of Gov. Gillett and Speaker Stanton, who called Assemblyman Grove Johnson, the author of the bill, into conference and tried to convince him that he should withdraw his bill. Johnson proved obdurate and not only declared he would not withdraw his measure but he would put up the best fight possible to secure its final passage, should the majority vote to reconsider it. They then called all the influential members into conference and labored to convince them that the passage of any anti-Japanese bills at this time would result in prejudicing the whole country against California,

and might even lead to revocation of the exclusion law against the Chinese. The vote to reconsider Johnson's bill was 43 to 34 and the final vote on passage of the bill was 41 yeas and 37 nays. President Roosevelt sent to Gov. Gillett the following telegram of congratulation:

Accept my heartiest congratulations. All good Americans appreciate what you have done. Pray extend my congratulations individually to all who have aided you. I feel that the way in which California has done what was right for the nation makes it more than ever obligatory on the nation in every way to safeguard the interests of California. All that I personally can do toward this end, whether in public or private life, shall most certainly be done.

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Similar action had disposed of the Oregon resolution (p. 155), it having been defeated in the Senate on the 9th.

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The Nevada Senate, also on the 9th, received from its judiciary committee an adverse report on the House bill prohibiting Asiatics from owning lands in the State (p. 155), and laid the bill upon the table by a unanimous vote.

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The Railroad Question in Oregon.

The railroad question has come into the Oregon legislature in a new form. A bill is now before that body which proposes to embark the State in railroad construction simply as an inevitable business necessity, to protect its interests from discrimination by private railroad companies. The Oregon Journal, of Portland, which favors the bill, makes this explanation:

We see the tremendous growth of our sister State of Washington. Why? Because of its railroads. Back of Tacoma and Seattle lies eastern Washington, with its large cities and abundant population rapidly growing; while eastern Oregon, a larger territory and fully equal to eastern Washington in natural opportunities, lies today an open desert—the region most neglected of railroads of any part of the United States. This brings us with all the force of the instinct of self-preservation to the question: Must a great empire wait the pleasure—the whim, if you please—of a single individual, a small group of non-resident capitalists? There is no plan, none in the world, which is not of better economic and commercial logic than to continue to occupy this helpless and humiliating position. There is still another suggestion. Mr. Harriman has millions of Oregon-made money to fight his rivals and to develop still further the State of Washington. Can there be any plan which economically and commercially is worse than for this State to sit helpless as a wooden idol while from its toll and soil and products tribute money is paid to prevent other roads from coming into the State for its relief. Such an antagonism of interest between this State and the private corporations con-

trolled by Mr. Harriman suggests a radical economic conflict.

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The bill provides, as it is described by the Journal, for "State construction for the State's own benefit; leasing, if wise, to private corporations for a rental never to be less than interest and all fixed charges, and a sinking fund to retire any indebtedness; and the State to control the reasonable rates and service. If aid is granted to a private corporation, the State is to be in full control until that aid is repaid, principal and interest, and if the State itself takes over the road, which it may do at its option, the aid granted shall be deducted from the purchase price. No State constructed road shall ever be sold." To this plan the Oregonian, also of Portland, objects that Mr. Harriman will welcome it, because after the road is built he will take it over at less than cost, and meanwhile he will freeze it out. But to those objections the Journal replies: "The answer to the first of these objections is that the State cannot sell. Mr. Harriman cannot take the road over at any price, save as a leased property under strict conditions of lease, one of which conditions is a rental at least sufficient to pay all interest and to create a sinking fund to liquidate all debt. The answer to the other objection is that the Interstate Commerce Act regulates all interchange of traffic, and if the State of Oregon cannot in its own interest regulate the traffic within its own borders it ought to suffer." Adding that "if Mr. Harriman does truly look with favor on this plan, the Journal is glad, for then there will not only be no opposition open or secret from railroad influence, but that powerful influence will for the first time be working hand in hand with the long neglected Oregon people," the Journal editorially states that it "is reliably informed that the best business men of the State are willing, if wanted, to act in this matter for the State without pay," and that "all the State is back of the movement, both the business men and the farmers."

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The Traction Situation in Cleveland.

Traction controversies in Cleveland (p. 156) are still unsettled. At the meeting of Judge Tayler's peace committee on the 6th the principal obstacle in the way of a settlement was the question of inserting in the proposed franchise an acceptable clause reserving to the city council the right to name another company to purchase at any time at 110; and Mayor Johnson and Mr. White were appointed a sub-committee to report upon this question.

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Another public meeting of the Council was held on the 8th, but no action was taken nor anything

done beyond receiving a report from Mayor Johnson in pamphlet form to be circulated over the city, which is described by the local press as having practically opened a new fight for 3-cent fares. As summarized by The Plain Dealer, the pamphlet shows that the total traction receipts for October, November and December were \$9,977.16 above actual expenditures; and that the excess above ordinary normal expenditures was \$42,887.69. It is then argued in the pamphlet that if a 1-cent charge for transfers had been made, the surplus would have amounted to \$133,313.69—a surplus of over \$100,000 above even the extraordinary expenses. Yet the receivers reported an operating deficit of \$120,470.59. They have since reported a further deficit, in January, of \$65,827.

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Public Utilities in Los Angeles.

By an extraordinarily large majority on referendum the City of Los Angeles, Cal., has just adopted municipal ownership and operation, and protected the public interest against improvident sales, leases and franchises. The charter amendment by which this has been done, provides for supplying the city and its inhabitants with water, gas and electricity, or with other means of heat, illumination or power; and for acquiring, constructing, leasing or operating conduits or railroads, or other means of transit or transportation, and plants and equipments for the production or transmission of gas, electricity, heat, refrigeration or power, in any of their forms, by pipes, wires or other means; and for incurring a bonded indebtedness for any of such purposes, provided the question of the issue of bonds therefor shall first be submitted to the qualified electors of the city at a special or general election, and that two-thirds of the votes cast on the question shall have been cast in favor. The amendment also provides for the supply of surplus water and surplus electric power, or either, belonging to the city, to other municipal corporations, and to consumers and users outside of the city limits; and for acquiring or building and operating railroads and interurban railroads from any point within the city limits, to any place or places within Los Angeles county and located on the ocean, or any inlet thereof, for the purpose of transporting passengers or freight between the city and the ocean, and to fix and collect charges therefor; and for acquiring or constructing and operating public wharves, docks, piers or moles upon the seashore, in connection with the transportation of passengers and freight between the ocean and the city, and to fix and collect charges therefor. It also provides in detail against the sale or lease in whole or in part of the public utilities property of the city without a two-thirds referendum vote.

Promoting the Single Tax Movement.

Under the authority of the American Single Tax League, which has headquarters at 27 Union Square, New York City, the following circular announcement has just been made:

Mr. Joseph Fels of Philadelphia and London has offered to contribute \$25,000 per year for five years for the promotion of land value taxation, provided an equal sum shall be raised in the United States for the same purpose. Among the persons invited to lend their aid and advice in carrying the work to a successful issue are those whose names appear on the appended list. The active direction of the work will be in the hands of Daniel Klefer of Cincinnati, Senator Frederic C. Howe of Cleveland, George A. Briggs of Elkhart, Ind., Jackson H. Ralston of Washington, D. C., and Lincoln Steffens of Boston, Mass.

BOLTON HALL.

Chairman for Temporary Committee.

Henry George Jr.

Charlotte E. Hampton.

Daniel Klefer.

F. C. Leubuscher.

John J. Murphy.

The names in the list of persons who have been invited to co-operate, as stated in the above circular are those of—

Charles Francis Adams, Boston; Theodore J. Amberg, Chicago; Robert Baker, Brooklyn; A. J. Boulton, Brooklyn; James H. Barry, San Francisco; Judge E. O. Brown, Chicago; James W. Bucklin, Colorado Springs; Champ Clark, Washington, D. C.; Dr. S. Solis Cohen, Philadelphia; Grace I. Colbron, New York; John S. Crosby, New York; Clarence S. Darrow, Chicago; Prof. J. H. Dillard, New Orleans; F. I. Dupont, Wilmington; Edward F. Dunne, Chicago; Mrs. C. E. Dodworth, Pasadena; Louis R. Ehrich, New York; W. G. Eggleston, San Francisco; Hamlin Garland, Chicago; L. F. C. Garvin, Lonsdale, R. I.; E. B. Gaston, Fairhope, Ala.; Henry George, Jr., New York; Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston; Margaret A. Haley, Chicago; Wm. Preston Hill, St. Louis; John B. Howarth, Detroit; Bolton Hall, New York; Charlotte E. Hampton, New York; Elizabeth J. Hauser; Dr. Mary D. Hussey, Orange, N. J.; C. H. Ingersoll, New York; Fred'k F. Ingram, Detroit; Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Cleveland; Robert A. La Follette, Wisconsin; August Lewis, New York; Joseph Leggett, Police Commissioner, San Francisco; F. C. Leubuscher, New York; H. C. Lippincott, Philadelphia; F. J. Loesch, Chicago; James G. Maguire, San Francisco; Benjamin Marsh, New York; Dr. T. S. K. Morton, Philadelphia; Jos. Dana Miller, New York; John Martin, Stapleton, N. Y.; Jennie L. Munroe, Washington, D. C.; John J. Murphy, New York; A. J. Moxham, Wilmington; Judge A. S. Niles, Baltimore; Rt. Rev. Wm. P. McVickar, Providence, R. I.; E. Q. Norton, Daphne, Ala.; N. O. Nelson, St. Louis; T. F. Osborne, Auburn, N. Y.; U. S. Senator Robert Owen, Oklahoma; J. J. Pastoriza, Houston, Tex.; Edward Polak, New York; Louis F. Post, Chicago; Louis Prang, Boston; George Foster Peabody, New York; Lawson Purdy, New York; Herbert Quick, Madison, Wis.; George L. Record, Jersey City; H. F. Ring, Houston, Tex.; Raymond Robins, Chicago; Mrs.

Raymond Robins, Chicago; Dr. Elizabeth Robbins, New York City; U. S. Senator B. F. Shively, South Bend, Ind.; S. A. Stockwell, Minneapolis; R. T. Snediker, Kansas City, Kan.; Samuel Seabury, New York; Mayor Edward R. Taylor, San Francisco; Eliza Stowe Twitchell, Wollaston, Mass.; W. S. U'Ren, Oregon City, Ore.; John R. Waters, New York; W. H. T. Wakefield, Mound City, Kan.; Francis Warren, Detroit; George Fred Williams, Dedham, Mass.; Peter Witt, Cleveland; Alfred J. Wolf, Fairhope, Ala.; C. E. S. Wood, Oregon; Rt. Rev. Chas. D. Williams, Detroit; Prof. Charles Zueblin, Boston.

In explanation of the uses of the fund, the circular states tentatively that of existing plans to be promoted the following are regarded as foremost:

The work for the practical adoption of land value taxation in Rhode Island, Oregon, Missouri and Oklahoma. Press bureaus, such as that kept going until recently by Charles D. Ryan, should be maintained on a larger and more comprehensive scale. A depot for the distribution of literature along the lines now being operated by Mr. Swinney. The Single Tax Review and the institution of a press agency which will be continuously employed in circulating press matter on land value taxation and cognate questions among the papers of the country. To maintain at headquarters as correct a list as possible of Single Taxers throughout the country, to be extended and developed by correspondence. Special work, such as procuring expert reports by economists upon various phases of the land question. The stimulation of an international convention at some time in the near future, chiefly for its advertising value, and the endeavor to maintain closer relations than have hitherto existed between the land value taxatlonists of the United States and the rest of the world, realizing the value that comes from such experiments as are now being made along our lines in foreign countries.

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A similar movement is already under way in Great Britain in consequence of a like agreement on the part of Mr. Fels. A few months ago he offered to the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values (20 Tothill street, Westminster, London) an annual contribution of £5,000 for five years, on condition that it be doubled from other sources. In consequence, the agitation of the policy of land value taxation has been spread throughout the country. It is at this moment the pressing question in Parliament.

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Honor to General Weaver.

A memorial portrait of Gen. James B. Weaver was unveiled at the Iowa State Historical Society building in Des Moines, on the 15th. Governor Carroll presided, the presentation address was by Father Nugent, and the oration by William J. Bryan.

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General Weaver won his military title in the Federal service during the Civil War. He was a

Republican until the question of currency contraction agitated the West, and was then elected to the Forty-sixth Congress by the Greenback party. He was elected to the Forty-ninth Congress by a fusion of Greenbackers and Democrats, and to the Fiftieth by a similar fusion. In 1880 he was the Greenback candidate for President of the United States, receiving about 350,000 popular votes. Twelve years later, as the candidate of the People's party for the same office, he received 1,041,028 popular votes and 22 electoral votes—the latter having been cast by Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nevada, North Dakota and Oregon. General Weaver has been mayor of his little home town of Colfax, near Des Moines, for several years.

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Lincoln's Centenary and the Negro.

A unique feature of the Abraham Lincoln Centenary of the 12th, and one that may prove to be among its most important results, is the call issued from New York, for a national "Lincoln Conference on the Negro Question." The object of the conference is to secure a full discussion of the question of how far the nation has lived up to the obligations imposed upon it by Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. The call emanates from New York and is signed by many prominent New Yorkers. Among the signers are Jane Addams, Chicago; Samuel Bowles, Springfield, Mass.; Ida Wells Barnett, Chicago; William Lloyd Garrison, Boston; W. E. B. Dubois, Atlanta; Francis J. Grimke, Washington, D. C.; Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago; Louis F. Post, Chicago; William M. Salter, Chicago; Mrs. Rodman Wharton, Philadelphia; Susan Wharton, Philadelphia; Charles Zueblin, Boston, and William English Walling, New York.

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Liberia at a Crisis.

Last Spring, the presence in this country of a delegation from Liberia, bearing an appeal to the United States to give advice, and if possible, still more substantial aid, was noted (vol. xi, p. 203). The situation, as then stated, was as follows:

Liberia, the little state created on the southwest corner of equatorial Africa by Negroes who had been released from slavery in America, is suffering from inability to cope with the growing spheres of influence exerted in its neighborhood and over its borders by England and France. A series of boundary disputes with both of them has been settled by yielding in every case to the strong nations. Worse yet, the difficulty of maintaining order among the native tribes of the country is coupled with responsibility for the disorder as it reaches out of bounds, and now England has delivered an ultimatum to the effect that Liberia must either maintain better government or submit to intervention.

Since that time, the Department of State has been in correspondence with foreign governments and

with the Liberian officials, and, as the Chicago Record-Herald reports,—

has reached the conclusion that "it is quite clear that Liberia is very much in need of assistance, that the United States can help her substantially, and that it is our duty to help her." The President has asked Congress for an appropriation of \$20,000 to pay the expenses of a commission to investigate the condition of the government, confer with representatives of other governments and advise as to action "most apt to render effective relief to the Republic of Liberia under the present critical circumstances."

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Cable advices received at Washington on the 12th, indicated that a climax in the situation had been reached. Conditions were grave and alarm was felt. A British gunboat had arrived to afford protection to foreign interests, and a company of soldiers had been sent from Sierra Leone to the capital at Monrovia for the same purpose. Apparently, great despondency is felt in the little Republic, as to the ability of the government to maintain itself, and as to the future of Liberia as a nation.

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A Political Crisis in Turkey.

The new constitutional régime in Turkey (p. 82) has been passing through a brief crisis which resulted in the removal of the Grand Vizier, Kiamil Pasha (vol. xi, p. 922), and the appointment of Hilmi Pasha as Grand Vizier. This is a victory for the "Committee of Union and Progress," which represents the Young Turk party, as against the "Committee of Liberal Union," also a reform party. The struggle is a natural shaking-down of issues between two progressive parties, both young in constitutional experience, and old in suspicion of governments. The danger lies in the fact that their dissensions furnish golden opportunities to the biding reactionary forces.

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Local Self-Government in Spain.

The "Local Administrations Bill," long debated (vol. xi, p. 420), has at last passed the lower house of the Spanish Cortes. This local self-government measure has been the principal feature of the government program, and it is believed that it will pass the upper house, and will be put into operation before the end of the year. It increases the existing powers of the municipal and provincial councils, giving these councils new prerogatives, and providing a certain degree of local autonomy, especially with regard to education, public works and charitable institutions. It is regarded as a very far-reaching reform measure which may be almost revolutionary in its results.

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The earth belongs to the people.—Mark Twain, in "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court."

NEWS NOTES

—The Religious Education Association met at Chicago on the 9th (p. 14).

—The National Civic Federation proposes a plan for unifying State laws on all subjects.

—A conference of labor leaders (p. 133) was held at the Department of Commerce and Labor on the 10th upon invitation of Secretary Straus.

—In the destruction by fire of the Flores theater in the City of Acapulco, Mexico, on the 15th, many were injured and approximately three hundred persons lost their lives, among them some Americans.

—A house-to-house census taken under the auspices of the trades unions of Berlin, Germany, shows a total of unemployed persons in that city on the 13th, of 67,367, in addition to 33,933 unemployed in the suburbs.

—The first public comfort station in Chicago was thrown open on the 13th. It is situated in a tiny park studded with benches, at Eighteenth street and Canalport avenue, in a neighborhood of cottages and manufacturing plants.

—A warrant for the arrest of Maxim Gorky, the Russian novelist (vol. ix, p. 34), has been issued by the Russian police, presumably on a charge of inciting sedition through his writings. Gorky is now in Italy, and Russia will attempt his extradition.

—A petition for the initiative and referendum in Massachusetts, accompanied with an appropriate resolution for amending the State constitution, has been submitted to the Senate by the Massachusetts Direct Legislative League, of which Robert Treat Paine, Jr., is president.

—At their church in Thirty-fifth street, the Swedenborgian Society of New York City celebrated on the 6th the fiftieth anniversary of its occupation of that building. John Bigelow (p. 146), the venerable statesman and diplomat, who was once American minister to France, presided.

—E. S. J. McAllister, of Portland, Oregon, president of the Oregon Single Tax Association (vol. xi, p. 420), who is arranging to make an Eastern trip in May and June, offers incidentally to deliver lectures and engage in debates on the way, provided dates are arranged for immediately.

—The Harvard Socialist Club is to listen to an address on "Outlines of the Single Tax," by Prof. L. J. Johnson of Harvard University, in Emerson D (a room in a college lecture hall at Harvard) on the 26th, at 8 p. m. The meeting is to be open to the public as well as to students and faculty members.

—France and Germany signed on the 9th an agreement guaranteeing the integrity of Morocco (p. 133) and insuring perfect allegiance to the Algeciras Act (vol. ix, p. 34). France recognizes Germany's economic interests in Morocco, while Germany recognizes the particular political interest of France there.

—The measure for universal suffrage in Sweden (vol. x, p. 1020), with proportional representation, was passed on the 13th by both chambers of the Swed-

ish parliament. The vote in the upper chamber was 120 to 98, and in the lower 134 to 94. The measure secures voting rights to all the inhabitants over 21 years of age.

—For the third time since the white man has seen and noted the conditions at Niagara Falls, the American Fall has been blocked by an ice wall, through and over which only tiny streams could trickle. The two other occasions were March 29, 1848, and March 22, 1903. The date of this blockade is February 14.

—An address on "How to Make Religion a Success" was delivered by W. A. Douglass of Toronto, Ontario, before the Pennsylvania Single Tax League at Philadelphia, on the 12th. The point he made was that individual righteousness will not produce social righteousness, but that the righteousness of individuals must be supplemented by their righteous adjustment in social relations.

—A local-option bill passed by the Idaho Senate last week was accepted by the House on the 15th by a vote of 33 to 13. Under the terms of the bill, of which the governor has expressed his approval, county commissioners of any county are required, on presentation of a petition signed by 40 per cent of the voters, to order a special election to determine the question of the sale of intoxicating liquors.

—Heavy shocks are being still reported from the Sicilian and Calabrian earthquake districts (pp. 106, 127). Of the assistance rendered by the United States to stricken Italy the Baron des Planches, Italian Ambassador to Washington, says that the scientific information and valuable suggestions given by the United States Geological Survey will be of more lasting benefit to Italy than even the large sums of money sent to the sufferers.

—Edwin G. Cooley, for nearly ten years Superintendent of Schools in Chicago (p. 131), resigned on the 12th. On the 15th the Board of Education at a special meeting requested him to withdraw his resignation—8 members voting in the affirmative, 2 declining to vote, 10 being absent, and 1 vacancy existing. He withheld a reply for 24 hours, and on the 16th confirmed his resignation. Mr. Cooley resigned in order to become president of the Heath school-book publishing company at Boston.

—Governor Haskell of Oklahoma was given an ovation at Muskogee when he arrived there on the 5th to give bail upon a Federal indictment charging him and other prominent citizens of Oklahoma with conspiracy to defraud the government and the Creek Indians by scheduling "dummies" in a town lot distribution. In responding Governor Haskell attributed his indictment to the enmity of President Roosevelt and corporate interests because he had prevented the insertion of an anti-labor clause in the Oklahoma constitution.

—A protest meeting against the court decision in the Gompers case (pp. 133, 149) was held in the Garrick Theater, Chicago, on the 14th (p. 39), at which George W. Perkins, president of the Cigarmakers' International Union, presided, and Mr. Perkins, Louis F. Post and Clarence S. Darrow were the speakers. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and was called to order by John Fitzpatrick, the president. Although a bliz-

zard raged through the day, the theater was full and as many more people were turned away at the doors.

—In a news article on the controversy between the Chicago Art Institute and the Chicago Board of Education (pp. 131-132), in *The Public* of the 5th, it was stated, on the basis of local newspaper reports that the school book trust "controls the Prang books now in use in the public schools." Referring to this statement, Mr. Louis Prang, the founder of the Prang business, writes that The Prang Educational Company, of which he is the responsible head, is not controlled by any outside party but is absolutely independent, and it deplors the separation of the teachers of Chicago from the influence of the Art Institute.

PRESS OPINIONS

Abraham Lincoln.

The Commoner (Dem.), Feb. 12.—The extraordinary interest just now displayed in all sections of America for everything pertaining to the career of Abraham Lincoln cannot be explained by the fact that this is the one hundredth anniversary of that great man's birth. One must go deeper than that to learn why, at this moment, in every section of the United States, men, women and children are eagerly seeking for facts connected with Lincoln's life. In The Commoner's view this tendency amounts to a great awakening. It is a reaching out on the part of the people for things that give inspiration to good citizens, for truths that help in the rearing of good men. It does not represent, alone, reverence for the memory of a man who, while serving as President during the greatest of civil wars, was enabled to discharge his duty to his country, to the particular section which stood by him, and to the particular section which opposed him, in such a manner as to win from parties to the contest and from their descendants enduring respect. It represents a growing interest in matters that make for the perpetuity of popular government. It indicates that the people, grown weary of a period of foolish hero worship, are looking for something genuine upon which to expend their honest and patriotic admiration.

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Lincoln's Poverty.

The (Chicago) Daily Socialist (Soc'l), Feb. 12.—Every biographer of Abraham Lincoln dwells long upon the fact that his early days were days of struggles. . . . There has been a purpose in the persistency with which these things have been reiterated. They have been repeated that the lesson might be impressed upon the hearers that poverty is not only no bar to "success," but that it is a valuable incentive. This is the lesson which, it is safe to say, has been drawn millions of times within the last few days. The preaching of sermons upon this text is one of the means by which an exploited working class is to be kept contented in its misery. . . . None of these apologists for poverty ever mention the fact that the poverty of Lincoln and the poverty of today are as different as noon and midnight. Lincoln's was the poverty of the frontier, not the

factory/ of the open sky and the boundless forest, not of the crowded slum and narrow streets. The poverty of Lincoln was the poverty of struggle and conquest. The poverty of the modern worker is the poverty of defeat and slavery. Lincoln was hemmed in only by the niggardliness of nature. The modern worker is crushed by the power of monopolized capital. . . . Lincoln strove side by side with his fellows in the age-long battle of man against environment. All stood on an equality. . . . The product of toil was small in Lincoln's day, but on the frontier that product went to the man who produced it. The product today is almost boundless, but the reward of the producer has little relation to the amount he produces.

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Direct Election of Senators.

Marion (Ia.) Sentinel (Dem.), Feb. 4.—The purpose, if it exist, to deny to Mr. Chamberlain a seat in the Senate, finds its basis in the fact that the Oregon people have discovered a way of choosing Senators practically by a direct vote, a thing the august Senate does not want. If the Oregon plan stands it will act as a precedent and this the retained attorneys of the Interests now in the Senate do not want. Incidentally, too, it is now given out that as Nebraska is about to adopt the Oregon plan, the Interests, speaking through their attorneys in the Senate, are afraid Mr. Bryan may get a seat in the upper house. To the Interests Mr. Bryan in the Senate is unthinkable.

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"Modernism"

William Marion Reedy in The (St. Louis) Mirror (ind.), Jan. 28.—It seems to be, as far as I can make out, an endeavor to establish a graft of Comtism upon Roman Catholicism, to reconcile Roman dogma with a vague sort of symbolic religion of humanity. The Modernists propose to accept Catholic doctrine with a difference, with certain superior mental reservations. Now this simply cannot be done. Catholic dogma has nothing symbolic about it. It is triumphantly concrete. Its declarations mean what they say and nothing else. Once let them be shaded off, however refinedly and subtly, to accord with individual, idiosyncratic interpretations and modifications, and they lose their value as declarations of divine truth. The church's reason for its existence is in the force of its claim to be the sole, inerrant, infallible depository of this truth. It is authority and it cannot tolerate any other authority in conflict with its own. . . . Modernism may be good or bad, right or wrong, but it cannot be Catholic, and in claiming to be, it is absurd.

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The Hospitable Mind.

The Batavia (N. Y.) Times (Dem.), Feb. 8.—There is no greater virtue than the possession of the hospitable mind. The man whose mind is not so, and who refuses to receive and entertain any new thought, simply because it is new, is to be pitied. Yet, strange as it may seem, the really hospitable mind is very rarely found. There is a general suspicion concerning the new and strange, a feeling that age of itself gives verity and authority. In religion

we need the hospitable mind, the mind that will give good welcome to all new thoughts as the possible containers of God's later truth.

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The New Drama.

The Liverpool (England) Daily Post and Mercury, Feb. 2.—There can be little doubt that we are face to face with the Religious Play in England. The word "religious" is used in its widest sense. It does not necessarily involve that the plays teach religion, or that in any way they are didactic. It does involve that they concern themselves with religious motives, with the deeper springs of thought and of conduct, with that profound psychology of which in the philosophical realm Professor James is the exponent. . . . Audiences have developed. The censor who prohibited "Hannele" some years ago had some right on his side. He could urge that it was before its time, that audiences had not yet learned of the spirit which seeks to find the inner meaning of things, that they had not yet got beyond the primary values of postures, and expressions, and actions. Whatever has happened to change the spirit of much of the theatre-going public, the fact is that it follows subtleties and niceties far more closely than formerly, and that it is willing to take into serious consideration elements to which formerly it gave little heed. . . . The most striking feature of the whole matter is the eagerness with which true life problems are now followed on the stage. We had drifted into a sort of idea that there was one problem only, and that a not very savory problem. Now we are seeing that all life is an immense nut to crack, and that the religious elements in the problem are by no means the least difficult. It would seem to be this comprehensive widening of the spirit of inquiry which has affected the theatre. The Englishman is not articulate. He will not tell of his doubts and anxieties, but he has grown to appreciate the study of men and women, like himself, to whom these puzzling things are very real difficulties. And this would seem to be the explanation of the growing popularity of that type of stage play which at one point, or another touches the religious life of us all. After all, whether we recognize it or not, the common element in mankind and womankind is something which has religion at the root of it.

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An ancient anecdote I be! Three thousand years ago
Egyptian jokesmiths fashioned me to fit their Pharaoh.
The old Chaldeans, sportive men, amusement would evince
To see me harnessed now and then to potentate or prince.
An ancient anecdote I be! I have been coupled with
The foremost men of history and half their kin and kith.
I've toiled since Humor had its dawn to feed the scribbling craft;
And now I s'pose they'll tack me on to William Howard Taft!
—Success.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE HOPE THAT LEADS THEM ON.

This Poem by Louis J. Block, Principal of the John Marshall High School in Chicago, Won the Prize Recently Offered by Mrs. L. B. Bishop of Chicago, for the Best "Single" Woman Suffrage Poem.

Lo! the nations have been tolling up a steep and rugged road,
Resting oft by stream and mountain, bent beneath the heavy load,
Gazing toward the coming freedom from the anguish and the goad,
For the hope has led them on.
Glory, glory, halleluia! Glory, glory, halleluia!
Glory, glory, halleluia! For the hope has led them on.

In the western strong republic, under skies pierced through and through,
With a light of nobler foresight, life becomes more rich and true,
And a mightier strength is given to the hands that strive and do,
While the hope still leads them on.

Mother, prophetess, and holy, through the ages of the clan,
Uttering words of potent wisdom in the ear of struggling man,
Woman rose and strode beside him mid the dangers of the van,
Kindling hope that led him on.

Now again that voice is ringing through the ever-brightening air,
And her wakened heart is calling unto labors, fine and fair,
That shall weave the robes of beauty which mankind in peace shall wear,
Since the hope is leading on.

Forth they step and march together, forth the man and woman go,
To the plains of vast achievement where unfettered rivers flow,
And their work shall stand exalted, and their eyes shall shine and glow
With the hope that led them on.

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A QUAKER WOMAN ON MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

From Collier's Weekly.

So much is being said and written about marriage in these days that I feel it borne in upon my mind to describe to thee life together as it is conceived among Friends.

Thomas and I went to the same schools, as did

all Quaker boys and girls, and when we reached young manhood and womanhood we were not suddenly and arbitrarily sent to different places, told that for some mysterious reason boys and girls should be kept apart in all natural associations, but allowed to meet in a superficial way, under stimulating circumstances, with fancy clothes, brilliant lights, and dangerous music. We were sent together to a college where boys and girls had separate dormitories, but ate at the same tables, were together in the same classes, and had the same recreations. Thus we came to know each other thoroughly. In this college we lived in a small world of our own, and we learned to know the characteristics of our schoolmates almost as well as we did those of our own families. We girls talked about the boys to be sure, but it was not about whom we could capture—it was about our common interests. If we talked about marriage, we discussed how impossible it would be to sit opposite this one three times a day for life, how unbearable that one's mannerisms would become, or how a third might fail us in an emergency. Many of us, during the four years, found some one whom we thought we could endure for life, and then the authorities, with malice aforethought, put us at the same table for three months. Sometimes that ended it; if it did not, it was not ended in a divorce court. As we discussed and rediscussed the characteristics of our comrades, our preferences were always for those in whom we saw the highest ideals and the greatest possibility for development. Public opinion in such a college soon discovered the weaknesses of rich boys and girls, of only children of self-indulgent parents, and the real meaning of the term good family.

This Friends' college has been in existence about fifty years, has had about nine hundred graduates, and never a divorce where two of its graduates married each other; there have been two divorces where one party was a graduate, and one divorce where two undergraduates of low rank married each other. In this, which Thomas and I attended, we learned, as naturally as we learned our Latin and science, the fundamentals of living together. We knew that man and woman are very different creatures, and can only really meet on the plane of the intelligence; that marriage is a growth, a process, a discipline. We had no idea of an absolute division of labor between the two sexes, or that we should meet in marriage in as superficial a way as married people of the wealthy classes in the cities seem to meet. Marriage was to us a partnership, for better or for worse, that must be entered into with the greatest possible care, because it could not be broken without heart-break and disgrace. In the early days of this college it was sometimes called, in derision, "the match factory," but now it is recognized that the happy marriages it made are one of the most val-

uable parts of its work. Certainly it could not have gone on if its students had not been a self-perpetuating body. In the communities into which they went they became the chief forces for the uplifting of all the neighborhood.

When Thomas and I were married we did not have an elaborate wedding and I did not promise to obey. We used the ancient symbol, but each put a ring on the finger of the other and repeated the old formula: "In the presence of the Lord and before this company, I, Thomas, take thee, Mary, to be my wife, promising to be unto thee a true and faithful husband until death shall separate us," and then I repeated exactly the same formula with a change of names, and we walked out of the meeting-house in full consciousness that that we had undertaken a great work and that all would not always be as merry as a marriage bell. Certainly no Quaker woman could endure the stupidity of the lives of most of the fashionable women that I read about in novels. Most of them seem to be so badly educated that they can discover nothing in this wonderful world but their own nerves, and some seek false stimulants of all kinds. We have been taught to look within for a sense of the true values of things, to get our greatest pleasures from working in harmony with the great forces that were and are and evermore shall be.

In my world it was always considered disgraceful to bring into the world a larger family than you could properly care for and train into useful citizens; but to have one child or none at all was considered your misfortune, not your fault. If you had a very small family you were supposed to make up in quality what you lacked in quantity; if you had none at all, you were an object of sympathy, not of reproach. You must find comfort in the belief that the Lord intended you for service in some other part of His vineyard, and to find that service to the very best of your ability. I feel that most of the matrimonial tangles of our time are due to worldly motives in marriage and these to the wrong education of fashionable schools. I believe, more and more, that a woman is not fit to be married until she has demonstrated her ability to live alone, that she has no right to impose herself as a helpless burden on a man. No doubt such a doctrine sounds strange in fashionable New York!

My people do not take a pessimistic view of the present stage in reproduction, they do not lay the blame for it on the independence of woman. We have always held the views of equality in marriage that are considered by some so dangerous. We believe that love is life and life is love, in one perpetually recurring round, and that the present seeming failure of the physical sources of life is a necessary step in placing marriage upon a higher plane.

HENRY GEORGEISM IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

From an Address Delivered by Max Hirsch in Celebration of Henry George's Sixty-ninth Birthday, Before the Single Tax League of the State of Victoria, Australia, September 9, 1908, as Printed in the Melbourne "Progress," of December, 1908.

Of Continental nations, Germany has done most to embody Georgian principles in its legislation. Prussia first of all gave to its municipalities the right to tax land values, and most other states have followed suit.

Three systems prevail, mostly concurrently. One is a tax on the capital value, which as yet includes improvements; the other is a tax on sale; and the third is a tax, rising as high as 33 1/3 per cent, on the unearned increment during possession.

Nearly all municipalities have adopted the first two of these systems; a great many have adopted the third as well, and their number is increasing by hundreds every year. At the same time, efforts are being made to exempt improvements from the capital tax.

The single tax complete reigns in Kiautchou, Germany's possession in China. The Government, on taking possession, passed a law empowering it to acquire all the land at the then value, and forbidding anyone else from purchasing it. When land is wanted the Government acquires it and puts it up to auction, the purchaser undertaking to pay for the land; just to pay annually 6 per cent on the price. Every five years the land is re-valued, and at the end of every 25 years, or on sale, the Government receives 33 1/3 per cent of any additional value which has accrued. The only taxes levied are on opium and dogs, as a discouragement, and not primarily for revenue.

This system has been so successful that Mr. Dunheinz, the Minister of the Colonies, has recently declared that it will be gradually extended to all the colonies. A beginning in this direction was made in the South African colony of Germany early in the present year.

Germany's example is now being followed in Austria and Italy, where the capital cities, Vienna and Rome, have taken steps to tax land values. In Switzerland the cantons of Appenzill and Aargau tax the value of land for State and municipal purposes, the latter having now no other tax whatever.

In Denmark, an agricultural country, the great farmers' party has declared for the single tax on Georgian principles. In Norway, the United (non-socialistic) Labor Party has done the same.

In Sweden, not as advanced as her sister states, a large and growing single tax party is agitating for the same great truths.

A PLAIN MAN OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE.

Portion of an Address Delivered by Edward Osgood Brown of Chicago, at the Lincoln Banquet of the Rock Island Club, Rock Island, Ill., February 12.

Forty-eight years ago last night Abraham Lincoln, a plain man of the plain people, bade good-bye to his friends and neighbors in our sister city of Springfield, telling them that to them he owed everything, and that he left them to take up a great task with a sadness unappreciable to one not in his situation. To his partner he said that the old sign ought not to be disturbed, as after his term as President of the United States he should return to practice again in the same old way.

Thus modestly and quietly, this plain country lawyer left his home on the prairies of Illinois to confront at Washington a situation than which, considering the man and his equipment as it was then supposed to be, nothing more appalling and disheartening could be imagined. To all who had not an inspired faith in the final triumph of democracy, and the rule of the people, it seemed a desperate one.

Said Charles Francis Adams, the son of one and the grandson of another President of the United States, and himself a foremost figure in our political life, "I must then affirm without hesitation that in the history of our government down to this hour, no experiment so rash has ever been made as that of elevating to the head of affairs a man with so little previous preparation for his task as Mr. Lincoln."

Wendell Phillips, the petted mouthpiece of the literary Brahmins of New England, cried out: "Who is this huckster in politics? Who is this country court advocate?"

Who indeed was he? In Illinois he was known as a lawyer and advocate of ability and tact, and a man shrewd and forceful, as well as honest, in political affairs and management. In the country at large he had a reputation for ability, very moderate in kind and degree, based on his local prominence and on his having met on equal terms, in what he made almost a drawn battle, the political idol of a million of his countrymen, the great Senator from Illinois, Judge Douglas.

But he had never held an executive office; his experience as a legislator even was very limited. He was poor in pocket, obliged to borrow money to feed his family in Washington until his salary should be payable. He was ungainly and almost shambling in appearance; sometimes melancholy and moody in disposition; careless in dress; simple and unconventional, almost rustic, in his habits: absolutely without the capacity of posing, either physically or intellectually, as a great man. There were no stained glass attitudes at his dis-

posal or in his thoughts. A simply acting, simply speaking man, without pretense or pretension; neither imposing himself on others as great nor intimidated by the arrogance of others who might so consider themselves, he moved among ordinary men and those who believed themselves extraordinary, with the same unaffected and unassuming mien.

What was it he took that journey forty-eight years ago to confront?

He had, nearly a year before, to the bitterest disappointment of many of its leaders and despite his inexperience, been made the nominee of a new and powerful but sectional party, for the Presidency. After a contest of great bitterness that party had won the fight, but its victory, which owed all its significance to its position of determined hostility to the extension of slavery to the Territories, seemed to have turned into demoralization and disaster after the election. The larger part of the South was in open rebellion, the rest preparing to follow; half of the country all ablaze with the enthusiasm of new born, hopeful revolution; the Federal Government in doubt and irresolution, with many of its principal officers in open sympathy with the insurgents; the army, navy and treasury depleted.

The fruits of the great victory of liberty lovers in the election of an anti-slavery President would have seemed hard enough to obtain, were it the South alone that thus in defiant arms stood ready to resist; but at the North also the situation was depressing. The joy of the fight over—something like dismay and remorse seized the very men who had won it. A sudden fear changed their cry from that of opposition to the spread of slavery at any price to that of peace and union at any price. Concession and compromise on the vital matters on which the political contest had been waged were demanded on every side.

The new President was criticised and distrusted by men who had voted for him and apparently believed in him up to the time that their faith should have been proved by their works, while the opposition, comprising half the people, were naturally vehement in denunciation and direful prophecy. He was to assume the reins of government with a cabinet made up largely of disappointed rivals, who felt themselves his superiors, and its chief, the Secretary of State, must take up our foreign relations with the knowledge that the great powers of Europe were looking with ill-concealed joy, and still more ill-concealed certainty of expectation for the disruption of the Republic.

These were the conditions under which Lincoln entered the White House in 1861.

A little more than four years later the return to Springfield came. It was not, however, to take up again his residence and work among the friends of his youth that Lincoln came back. Borne by

weeping mourners, his body was brought back to rest on the prairies he loved so well. In the very moment of supreme victory he had been stricken down by the hand of an assassin.

But consider what this plain man of the plain people had achieved in the four years that had intervened between that departure and that return! Mighty armies had sprung into being at his bidding—like magic, great navies had risen from the sea. Battles that in their fierceness and persistency staggered the military students of the world had been fought and won under the leaders selected by his supreme command, fought and won oftentimes under his specific advice and instructions. The Union had been preserved; our country, saved, was triumphant over internal discord and foreign jealousy; the Stars and Stripes honored and respected abroad as never before, had proven their right to float among the proudest standards of the world; and, greatest of all the achievements of that wonderful four years, the United States of America had had a new birth of freedom; the foul stain of slavery had been removed from it, and with that removal the knell of chattel bondage in all the civilized world had sounded. The plain man of the plain people had become the Emancipator of a race!

This work had been done, this responsibility borne, these ends attained by him in the face of almost incredible difficulties and amid multiplied discouragements, carping criticisms, open and concealed hostilities, rivalries and jealousies!

But with the bullet of the assassin came a change! Criticism ceased. Hostility died. Jealousy hid itself away. On the glad sounds of victory in the land there came first a hush and then succeeded a wail of grief. All civilized mankind seemed stricken with the same sorrow and every tongue joined in eulogy of the great dead.

From the days that he was struck down, his fame, his praise in the gates, has never ebbed. It rises higher with each succeeding year. Grand and lovable—the best of men we deem him. His memory is enshrined in our hearts, and we are handing it down to our children with pride that we of Illinois can claim in him a peculiar kinship and comradeship.

"All the world can see his worth," declares a recent writer, "but only we who know the taste of the climate, the smell of the prairie, the tone of fresh and democratic life, can quite appreciate his flavor."

But there is something more wonderful and more significant than the triumph of the man and statesman, Abraham Lincoln, over all the manifold difficulties of the situation in which he was placed. His success was not the mere success of a citizen called to a position of stress and danger in troublous times; it was the success of democracy put to its final and completest test. It was the trial of democracy in the fire of disaster.

No greater task had ever fallen to the lot of statesman or warrior than fell into the hands of this heir of poverty and insignificance, this child of the forest and the prairie, this simple, rustic, modest gentleman, this plain man of our plain people! We had had great leaders before—a Washington, the scion of an English country family; a Jefferson, a colonial aristocrat, proud of his lineage; a Franklin, of typical English yeoman stock; but never, until Lincoln, a true son of the people.

A democracy breeds, as does every form of government and of social organization, many an unlovely character, and, as in every other form of society, they sometimes come to the front and into the limelight. It is unpleasant, but no cause for despair, to find them there.

But when from the very undistinguished herd of men in a democracy we see, in time of supreme peril, a man step forth, unlearned save as he has taught himself, earnest, not brilliant, true, not dashing, without assumption of superiority or symptom of disdain for the humblest of his brothers—a plain, simple, honest, manly citizen—looking at all men alike with the level eyes of intelligence and modest self reliance—and see that man become the leader of the people to great heights of sacrifice, endeavor and accomplishment, and through it all remain the unpretending, plain, unassuming citizen still, allied to the masses intimately and warmly, rich in saving common sense, rugged honesty and patient perseverance—drawing gradually the hearts of all the plain people to him with sympathetic feeling, because he is of them, because he understands them, because he appreciates and esteems them, and always remains within sight and touch of them, then we know that democracy has triumphed; that a government of the people, for the people, and by the people need never perish from the earth!

Such a man was Lincoln; such the crisis he met; such the way he met it. He triumphed and with him, in the greatest test of modern civilization, triumphed the democratic spirit and experiment.

Fitting, therefore, is it that tonight, alike in the great cities and in the lonely hamlets of America, from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate, from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the Everglades of Florida; alike in those sections of the country that supported Abraham Lincoln in his great task, and in those which "with malice toward none, with charity for all, but with firmness in the right as God" gave him "to see the right," he was obliged to confront in arms,—the plain people of our great democracy are celebrating in varied ways, but all in the same spirit, the centennial anniversary of his birth. For it is in no mere spirit of hero worship that it is done, in no idolatry of an idealized hero—a heaven born genius sent to be "A Savior of Society." It is in no such

frame of mind that arches and statues have been reared, that schools and colleges and churches have gathered their members to listen to the story of his life, that armies and navies are parading in his honor.

This universal memorial has a higher source. It is the tribute of affection and reverence to the memory and fame of one who, in his person, proved the inherent strength and enduring power of a free democracy, and furnished inspiration and faith for its triumphant future march.

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A NEW "ALICE ADVENTURE."

Ben Gardner in the London Labor Leader of January 1st.

"I wonder what latitude or longitude I've got to."
—"Alice's Adventures in Wonderland."

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"What are you doing here?" shouted the landcrab hoarsely. "I'll have you locked up. I've cautioned you several times, but it doesn't seem to be any use. Didn't you see the notice, 'Trespassers will be prosecuted'?"

"No, I didn't," said Alice, sharply. She was quite used to talking to animals now, and she didn't like to be shouted at.

"Oh! you didn't!" said the landcrab, taking a pencil from the notebook he had produced from one of his many breeches pockets. "We'll see about you. Give me your name and address." He said this in a most bullying tone, and Alice, who did not like his ways at all, said, "I think you might say please."

"I don't say please," he answered; "I send a bailiff."

"Tell him to call next week," cried the poet, who came bounding over the grass, with his long hair flying in the breeze.

"He wants my name," said Alice.

"Don't you give it him, my dear. He grabs everything he can. Fancy calling a crab Alice! Besides, what will you do for a name?"

"Why don't you get your hair cut, and grab things, too, like a reasonable being?" growled the landcrab. "Look at my friend, Profit Squeezer. He started with nothing; since then he has missed nothing. The business he has built up is a monument to industry and energy."

"Add happiness," said the poet; "a monument over the tomb of a great part of the industry, energy, and happiness of his workers. I've written a poem about him."

Taking a piece of paper from his pocket, he read from it as follows:

"Work! work! work! his flavor never lags,
And what does he taste of?
Grim casual, toil,
And shoddy, and British flags;
Adulteration and dust,

Sweating and oiled machine,
Overcrowded rooms and full early tombs
And 'excellent' margarine."

"That sounds like 'The Song of the Shirt,'" said Alice; "but haven't you got it all wrong?"

"No," said the poet; "not all wrong. There's poverty, hunger, and dirt in it."

"It's slanderous," cried the landcrab, "and it's libellous, too, because you've got it written down. You must come with me. You, little girl, are the principal witness. We're going to tell Mr. Profit Squeezer what this scoundrel has said about him. In the name of the law!"

Alice and the poet followed him quietly and obediently.

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They stopped before a great black house beside a dirty river. There was painted up on the front, in big letters, "Profit Squeezer and Co., Unlimited."

"Come into the office, both of you," commanded the landcrab.

They went up a flight of stairs, and he knocked at a door marked "Private." There was no reply to his knocking. He then went to another door and ascertained, so he said, that Mr. Profit Squeezer was out, and that the firm's annual tea to their workers was taking place.

"Everybody is invited," he said, addressing Alice. "We'll go. I want you to see my friend and learn he is not what this young man most wickedly represents him to be."

The tea-meeting was well attended; but they were too late for tea. Alice was disappointed, for she felt hungry. Speeches were being made when they got in. Mr. Profit Squeezer, who was in the chair, was at once pointed out by the landcrab. He was stout and pompous. He wore a suit of clothes with pictures of steam engines and electric motors woven into the pattern. He also wore most benevolent-looking side whiskers, and he smiled continually. He was speaking when they entered, and all they heard of his speech was this:

"I will give our employes my idea of what a successful worker should be. He must work hard, he must be ready to adapt himself to any position, to meet any call made upon him—and this, be it understood, includes her. I have never forgotten a story which my late respected father, the founder of our great firm, used to tell.

"He had a man in his employment in the early days whose adaptability was remarkable. You are all acquainted with our automatic machinery for turning up hoopsticks from worn-out wooden legs. That machinery has lightened the toil of thousands. (Cheers on the platform.)

"These hoopsticks, ladies and gentlemen, at one time had to be made laboriously and slowly by hand. Then they had to be made quicker by hand—competition demanded it. Then they had to be made more quickly. Then they had to be

made faster. Then we had to make them at express speed. Then they had to be made as fast as it was possible to make them, in order that we might hold our own in the market.

"And all the time this man I want to tell you about was in the front rank of our workmen. Friends, I have heard my father say that by listening patiently when that man was at work he could be heard to hum.

"Competition still went on, and my father, in the interest of the firm's trade, brought out his first machine. He had worked almost day and night to perfect it. I can remember him sitting in the library in the evenings with a box of cigars and coffee, discussing it with my uncle. He used to talk to my mother about it after supper. He used to plan cranks and clutches with the knives and spoons at breakfast. He worked no end over it, and as you know, a woman could work it. The field of women's work was widened as soon as we could get the machines together, and we discharged the men with most excellent characters. Would you believe it? The man I referred to previously turned up the next morning in bonnet and petticoats. My father knew him at once, although he had got a clean shave; and, anxious to encourage adaptability, my father set him to work.

"Eventually improvements enabled us to employ young girls, and the women went home, as, after all, is best for them, to their domestic duties.

"In twenty-four hours that man turned up again and re-entered our service as a girl. (Loud cheers, still on the platform.) This is the kind of man my father admired, this is the kind of man our shareholders admire, this is the kind of man I admire; this is a sample of what one can do, what one ought to do, when the needs of that industry we all live by demand it. (Great applause, all from the platform.) One word more. When the automatic machinery was introduced into our hoopstick department, my father thought so highly of this man that he headed a subscription to buy him a piano organ. (Applause by two foremen in the audience.) I will not detain you longer, friends. My friend, the landcrab, is on the platform, and I will ask him to address you."

The landcrab rose in his place, coughed, cleared his throat, referred to his notes, and sang:

"As chairman of the company I beg you through my tears
To heed what has been told you; these are hustling,
scrambling years.
We must pay debenture holders and a dividend on shares,
And we'd like to pay a bonus to those waiting on the stairs."

Chorus, by the Audience.

"Waiting on the stairs
For a dividend on shares."

"Work cheaper and more cheaply, hands; low prices
will increase

Our trade with foreign nations from the Baltic Sea
to Greece,

'Twould grow in two Americas, Cathay and Timbuc-
too;

The profits for the shareholders, and all the work
for you."

Chorus, and Some Uproar.

"If directors did not please
To introduce Chinese."

"You can make our prices lower, oh, I pray don't
learn too late

The lesson to be gathered from the fish shop oys-
ter's fate.

Now, weeping through the vinegar with pepper in
their eyes,

They know the oyster triumphs which runs, jumps,
and swims, and flies."

Chorus, and Greater Uproar.

"And when it does the lot
The oyster will get shot."

The landcrab sat down, panting.

"I believe," said the chairman, "there is an
agitator here—a paid agitator. I rule the last
two choruses entirely out of order, and I declare
the meeting closed."

"This," said Alice, "is worse than the mad hat-
ter."

* * *

THE LORDS OF LABOR.

They come, they come, in a glorious march;

You can hear their steam-steeds neigh,

As they dash through Skill's triumphal arch

Or plunge mid the dancing spray.

Their hall-fires blaze in the mighty forge,

Their life-pulse throbs in the mill,

Their lightnings shiver the gaping gorge,

And their thunders shake the hill.

Ho, these are the Titans of toil and trade,

The heroes who wield no sabre;

But mightier conquests reapeth the blade

That is borne by the Lords of Labor.

Brave hearts like jewels light the sod,

Through the mists of commerce shine,

And souls flash out like the stars of God

From the midnight of the mine.

No palace is theirs, no castle great,

No princely pillared hall,

But they well may laugh at the roofs of state,

'Neath the heaven which is over all.

Ho, these are the Titans of toil and trade,

The heroes who wield no sabre;

But mightier conquests reapeth the blade

That is borne by the Lords of Labor.

Each bares his arm for the ringing strife

That marshals the sons of the soil,

And the sweat-drops shed in the battle-of life

Are gems in the crown of toll.

And better their well-worn wreaths, I trow,

Than laurels with lifeblood wet,

And nobler the arch of a bare, bold brow

Than the clasp of a coronet.

Then hurrah for each hero, although his deed

Be unblown by the trump or tabor,

For hollier, happier far is the meed
That crowneth the Lords of Labor.
—James McFarlan.

BOOKS

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CRIME.

On the Witness Stand. Essays on Psychology and Crime. By Hugo Munsterberg, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University. Published by The McClure Company. Price, \$1.50 net.

This book is as wholesome as it is interesting; and it is interesting in extraordinarily high degree. Its keynote is that "criminals are not born, but made—not even self-made, but fellow-made." To reform them, the best method is not an appeal to motives of fear, but a regular and strong awakening of counter ideas. "Society must work negatively to remove those influences which work in the opposite direction; the atmosphere of criminality, the vulgarity and brutality, the meanness and frivolity of the surroundings must be removed from the mind in its development." As "a well-behaved mind grows only in a well-treated body, true far-seeing hygiene can prevent more crime than any law." But it must deal with more than sanitary conditions of the conventional kind. Body and mind must be built up with powers of resistance to criminal impulses; and this makes it necessary "that all social factors co-operate in harmony and that no science which may contribute to this tremendous problem hold back."

Those are Prof. Munsterberg's conclusions on the subject of preventing crime, which he holds to be "more important than treatment of crime." The conclusions are not lightly come to. Neither are they deduced from preconceived principles, although they harmonize with the best *a priori* thought. They are inductions from systematic observation, as minute and laborious as the narrowest devotee of "the scientific method" could demand. In addition to his own extensive experiments the author draws from the data of some fifty psychological laboratories in the United States alone, to say nothing of those in Europe, where nearly every university shelters one. His plea is for practical recognition of this youngest of the sciences by the courts; and while his book makes the witness in court its center of observation, and the criminal at the bar its objective, the jurymen's susceptibility to hypnotic influence does not wholly escape attention.

Many of Prof. Munsterberg's statements of fact are startling, but a little reflection brings them within the range of common acknowledgment. One of these is his assertion that no two persons have the same kind of memory any more than they have exactly the same face.

It is on the subject of confessions, however, that

the book appeals with special force. The author condemns unsparingly the police "sweat-box" method of extorting confessions from persons in custody upon accusation of crime. Not only does he regard this method as barbaric, but as "ineffective in bringing out the real truth." Saying that "innocent men have been accused by the tortured ones," he adds that "crimes which were never committed have been confessed" and "infamous lies have been invented to satisfy the demands of the torturers;" and he proceeds to explain that a prisoner under pain and fear "may make any admission which will relieve his suffering, and, still more misleading, his mind may lose the power to discriminate between illusion and real memory." In illustration of this point, the author cites the case of young Ivins, on which *The Public* has heretofore commented (vol. ix, pp. 292, 914), who was hypnotized by the Chicago police into making repeated confessions of a murder he probably did not commit, each time enriching the confession with further details that "seemed absurd and contradictory and exactly like the involuntary elaboration of a suggestion put into the man's mind."

Although Prof. Munsterberg condemns the brutal method of the police in extorting confessions, he does not condemn confessions nor efforts to evoke them. He puts the confession in the highest category of evidence in criminal procedure, "provided that it is reliable and well proved," and he indicates psychological methods of probing a prisoner's mind and memory, in the interest of justice, as well for the innocent as the guilty, without extortion or other encroachments upon any of his rights of self-defense. It consists in the application of psychological tests to which the innocent and the guilty alike—though from different motives—will readily assent.

Not the least interesting and instructive part of this book is the chapter on "Hypnotism and Crime," in which the limitations of hypnotism are discussed. A perusal of that chapter goes far to remove the chaotic notions of hypnotism, as a factor in crime and a possible adjunct to legal procedure, which journalistic imaginations have fostered. Prof. Munsterberg does not believe that an innocent man can be induced under hypnotic influences to commit crime. Although he has seen many experiments in which hypnotized persons have gone through criminal motions, such as striking with a paper dagger or shooting with an empty revolver, he has "never become convinced that there did not remain a background idea of artificiality in the mind of the hypnotized, and that this idea overcame the resistance which would be prohibitive in actual life." But he does believe that "hypnotization may prevent crime," and he gives instances in proof. As to the use of hypnotism for eliciting confessions from prisoners or influencing the testimony of witnesses under examination, he regards it as "self-evident, from moral

and legal reasons, that no civilized court ought to listen to such extorted evidence." The decisive point with him is that inasmuch as in the hypnotic state "all is suppressed which counteracts the suggestions of the hypnotizer," the person on the witness stand would cease to be really himself and "would therefore not remain legally the witness who took the oath before hypnotization."

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WITH THE PRINTER.

The Preparation of Manuscripts for the Printer. By Frank H. Vizetelly, associate editor of the Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York & London. Price 75 cents, net.

A neat little book, giving directions as to the proper manner of preparing "copy" and correcting proofs, with suggestions on submitting manuscripts for publication. Perhaps the most valuable of the seventeen brief chapters are those on punctuation, indexing and proof-reading. The value of correct punctuation as an aid to style as well as for the avoidance of obscurity, is properly insisted upon.

ALICE THACHER POST.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Between Two Rebellions. By Asenath Carver Coolidge. Published by Asenath Carver Coolidge, Watertown, N. Y. 1909.

—In the Valley of the Shadows. By Thomas Lee Woolwine. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1909. Price, \$1.00.

—The Passing of the Tariff. By Raymond L. Bridgman. Published by Sherman, French & Co., Boston. 1909. Price, \$1.20 net.

—The Portland Cement Industry from a Financial Standpoint. By Edwin C. Eckel. Published by Moody's Magazine, New York, 1908. Price \$2.00, net.

—"A Little Sister of the Poor." By Josephine Conger Kaneko. Published by the Progressive Woman Publishing Co., Girard, Kansas. 1909. Price, 25 cents.

PAMPHLETS

Omar and the Rabbi.

Professor Frederick LeRoy Sargent has cleverly arranged in dramatic form, a combination of Fitzgerald's translation of the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, and Robert Browning's Rabbi Ben Ezra. The world-old contest between flesh and spirit is here in master-hands. (Harvard Co-operative Society, Cambridge, Mass. Price, 25 cts.)

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"Guilty or not guilty?" "Not guilty." "Den what do you want here? Go about your pusiness."—Philadelphia Inquirer.

PERIODICALS

Charities and Commons for January 30 is a Child Labor issue. A well-written report of the fifth annual conference of the National Child Labor Committee, held in Chicago Jan. 21-23, remarks that the million child drudges on farms and the children's "street trades" received special attention. Moreover, a larger part of the discussion than ever before was devoted to the importance of not only saving children from premature toil but also of giving them better city conditions, wider play opportunity, and more efficient schools. The movement toward the creation of a Children's Bureau in the Federal Department of the Interior is mentioned as gaining headway. While the extreme need of immediate and effectual opposition to Child Labor is shown by twenty-seven photographs taken by Mr. Lewis H. Hine in numerous factories of those two States which notoriously neglect their young citizens, North and South Carolina.

A. L.

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"The Career of Bernard Shaw," by Professor Henderson, in the January Arena (Trenton and Boston), agreeably introduces Mr. Shaw outside of his writings, yet not without their flavor. It is gratifying to know that Mr. Shaw dates his interest in socialistic tendencies from a speech delivered by Henry George at Memorial Hall, Farringdon street, London, in 1883. In the same issue, B. O. Flower

JUST PUBLISHED

**DIRECT
LEGISLATION**

THE
Initiative and Referendum
BY

John Z. White

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✦ ✦ ✦

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