

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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EDITORIAL

The Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison Case.

When judges administer the law, their decrees, though manifestly erroneous, should be respectfully obeyed. This is necessary to good order. But if judges usurp authority, their lawless edicts should be ignored. This is necessary to the preservation of liberty.

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For that reason Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison—executive officers of the American Federation of Labor, and editors of "The American Federationist"—are worthy of all commendation for having ignored a judge's injunction which assumed to control their public utterances. They stand in this respect, not as labor leaders merely, but as editors and American citizens jealous of their fundamental rights of editorship and citizenship. By ignoring an injunction destructive of their constitutional right to print and publish upon responsibility only for abuse of the right, and solely to a jury, they have been vindicating Constitutional guarantees of the first importance. The fact that it is a judge instead of an executive whom they have thereby disobeyed, makes no difference. Judges may be tyrants, too; and it is as true of them when they usurp power, as it is of every other kind of tyrant, that disobedience to a tyrant is obedience to the law.

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The same thought holds good of all local labor

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unions and their publications throughout the country which have followed the example of those patriotic and courageous labor leaders—Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. It may be that the boycott of organized labor upon the goods of the Buck's Range and Stove Company is unlawful; but that is a point we shall not here discuss, for it is irrelevant. It may be that publication of the fact of this boycott, with a suggestion express or implied that it be encouraged, is unlawful; but neither shall we discuss that point here, for it also is irrelevant. The relevant point is the despotic and unlawful method of prosecution. If these publications have been unlawful, there is one way and only one way, known to the fundamental laws of our country, of punishing the offenders; and that is upon the verdict of a jury, and after a regular trial in which not only the fact of the publication itself but its excuse or justification may be passed upon. Our fundamental law authorizes no other method or process for the punishment of an abuse of freedom of speech or of the press. Punishment by means of an injunction, and through proceedings for contempt—such as the proceedings against Gompers and his associates—and at a hearing in which the only question considered is the mere fact of publication, and at which there is no right of trial by jury, is not authorized by our system of law.

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Around that point no niceties of legal interpretation or construction legitimately cluster. Acute lawyers and astute judges are not needed to decide it. It is a broad political as distinguished from a technical legal question. Every one who knows his American history knows that a judge-made prohibition of freedom of speech or press can issue only in defiance of fundamental American law. Not even the legislature, not even Congress, can make such a prohibition. And may judges, raised above the control of the people, command what the legislative authority is powerless to enact?

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These labor unions and labor leaders and labor editors, if they abused their rights of free speech and free press by proclaiming the fact of a labor boycott upon the Buck stoves, or even by advising this boycott, should have been prosecuted in the regular, the orderly, the only lawful way. They should have been sued for damages or indicted for crime, and been tried by a jury. That is what the law demands, if they were to be tried at all. That is what peace and order require. That is what good citizenship stands for. And why is it that this was not done if these men had

really offended against the law? Only the disorderly and lawless or the ignorant among our citizenship would demand, and only the despotic among our judges would defend, any other course. For any other course involves usurpation, and usurpation is the worst of crimes. By ignoring and thereby defying the lawless injunction of that Washington judge, an injunction well calculated if not deliberately designed to deprive them of lawful rights and a regular trial for alleged abuse of those rights, they have defied no law of this land. It is the judge that defies the law when his injunctions are usurpations of power, and not the citizens who refuse obedience to such despotic mandates.

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The other Washington judge—he who, without a jury trial and lawful conviction but with unjudicial invective, has sentenced Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison to prison for their assertion of their Constitutional rights of free speech and free press against a lawless and revolutionary mandate—this judge evades in his reasons for his action, the vital issue in the case. Whether in ignorance of long established and generally familiar politico-legal principles, or with deliberate intent to assist in surreptitiously undermining those principles by judicial usurpation, he explains that this injunction did not prohibit freedom of speech or press, except incidentally. Except incidentally! It was only incidental, he says, to the restraint of a conspiracy to injure the good will of a business. But the right to speak and publish without obstruction or dictation, subject only to responsibility for its abuse, and then to a jury and not to a judge, cannot be even incidentally disregarded by judges, without judicial usurpation. Unless this right is secure against incidental as well as direct invasion, it is not secure at all. If injunctions forbidding freedom of speech or press may be issued as an incident to injunctions for protecting the value of the good will of a business, or other property rights, there is no limit beyond which they may not go in destroying freedom of speech and of the press. The whole field of prosecutions for libel would thereby be brought within the jurisdiction of injunction judges, and our press become like that of Russia.

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Thoughtful citizens will not be betrayed, we trust, into misapprehending the real issue in this case, by any appeal to class prejudices based upon the fact that the case originated in labor union methods which they dislike. Whatever it may have been in the beginning, the Gompers-Mitchell-

Morrison case is no longer at bottom a labor union controversy. It has raised the immeasurably higher question of whether one of the great traditions and guarantees of American liberty shall be wiped out. This case is to determine not whether a labor boycott is legal, but whether the right to speak and publish freely shall remain in full force in our country, subject only to responsibility to a jury for its abuse. For purposes of restraint upon freedom of speech and press, the process of prohibition by injunction, of trial by a judge without a jury, and of punishment by penalties for contempt, is manifestly no part of the law of this land. And that is none the less true and none the less vital because the alleged abusers of their Constitutional right happen to be workingmen. It is none the less true because they happen to be workingmen organized in unions. It is none the less true because they happen to be poor instead of rich.

* *

The Washington injunction which assumed to censor "The American Federationist" and to subject its editors to processes and penalties unknown for that purpose to the law of the land, was not a court decision to be respected by good citizens. It was a wanton and dangerous usurpation of power to be unflinchingly opposed, both in court and out of court—by ballot and public appeal, as well as through the judicial machinery. As such, it was rightly and lawfully as well as commendably ignored by the men whose Constitutional rights it assailed.

* *

"Government by Injunction."

What Governor Altgeld predicted when he denounced "government by injunction" is fast coming to pass. In the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case we have an example of the anticipated use of the injunction process as a substitute for jury trial for alleged abuses of the right of free speech and free press. The injunction against Gompers and his associates was essentially a command that they refrain from publishing certain statements. For disobeying this injunction, they are convicted by a judge without a jury, of an abuse of freedom of the press, and sentenced to terms of imprisonment for periods of time wholly within the judge's unlimited discretion. "Government by injunction" has therefore reached the stage at which freedom of speech and of the press—heretofore consistently excluded from its authority—is drawn within its reach.

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The judge who sentenced Gompers and his associates makes no question of the power of judges

to prohibit by injunction the publication of libels, and then, without jury trial, to punish the alleged libeller, really for the offense but nominally for disobedience of the injunction. Listen to him in his disgraceful diatribe from the bench on the occasion of condemning Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. "Who can be persuaded," he said, "that the penalizing of false and malicious libels upon the integrity of honorable men, or slanders upon the virtue of chaste women, is an outrage upon the constitutional rights of the villifier?" And then he added, as if to remove all room for doubt of his sinister meaning: "No right to publish either the libel or the slander can be sustained, except upon the theory of a right to do wrong." Is the man a fool, having said this in ignorance of its significance; or is he worse, having said it with deliberate appreciation of its only possible meaning?

*

What he said does not mean merely that libel ought to be penalized. This is something which no one disputes. It is something which had nothing to do with the case before him, nor with any contention of Gompers and his associates or their lawyers. Their contention was not that there is any lawful right to libel "honorable men" and "chaste women." The whole contention was that there is a right to speak and publish with freedom, subject to punishment if the right be found by a jury to have been abused. What was insisted upon was not that libel shall not be penalized, but that it cannot be lawfully penalized by injunction judges. If Judge Wright's words mean anything, they must mean that in his mind judges may issue injunctions forbidding injurious publications, and thereby secure the power, by the subterfuge of punishment for contempt, of passing judgment upon the fact of publication, the character of publication, and the excuse or justification, all without a jury, and then to pass sentence in their own irresponsible discretion. This is the limit of "government by injunction." Let that view prevail and the whole range of public authority and criminal penalties will be within the arbitrary control of injunction judges.

* *

The Despotic Character of Injunctions.

Injunctions were unknown to the common law of England. Under that system of jurisprudence, the courts, aided by juries, punished offenses in accordance with common custom and Parliamentary statute. Bounded thus by custom, by Parliament, and by jury trials, this common law system was a people's system.

But it was imperfect, and the King intervened to do special justice in particular cases in which the common law could not afford complete relief. The King acted through his Chancellor, the keeper of his conscience; and the Chancellor invented a device for arbitrarily forbidding acts before their commission, and punishing their commission informally and summarily,—acts which the common law courts could punish only if forbidden by custom or Parliament, and after their commission, if regularly found by a jury to have been committed. This Chancellor's device was the injunction. By command of the King, the defendant was forbidden to do this or that; and if he disobeyed, he was punished summarily by the King's own order (through his Chancellor) and without the necessity of considering common customs and acts of Parliament, or the bother of common law procedure and jury trial. The Chancellor's was not a people's system growing out of common custom; it was a despotic system, springing out of the King's arbitrary power.

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No doubt, however, the despotism of the Chancellor's court accomplished good in modifying injustices incident to angularities of the common law courts. But as the Chancellor's court grew, it encroached so much upon the prerogatives of the common law courts that a great conflict arose between the two. This was finally compromised, certain matters being conceded to the chancery court, and the chancery court agreeing to regard certain other matters as outside its jurisdiction. In a general way it was understood that the chancery courts should have authority to protect property interests, but no authority to abrogate jury trial in cases in which it had become an Englishman's birthright. Consequently, the Chancellor could not prohibit murder, or robbery, or libel, and then, under pretense of punishing disobedience of the injunction, deprive the alleged criminal of the safeguards of innocence which the common law courts maintained.

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So long as the chancery courts and the common law courts remained two distinct systems, with different sets of judges, the jealousy of each set of judges prevented the other set from making encroachments, and the court of chancery kept well within its peculiar jurisdiction. So scrupulous was it that a chancellor of half a century or so ago would have laughed at an application, for instance, to grant an injunction against the threatened publication of a libel. He would have said:

"Should that injunction be disregarded, I shall have to try a libel case in chancery!" and that would have seemed to him one of the absurdest things imaginable.

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But after these two kinds of courts were merged into one, and the two distinct sets of judges had become one set, all having both chancery and common law authority, the jealousy which had prevented the encroachments by the courts of chancery upon the courts of common law no longer existed, and the boundaries between the gracious and irregular despotism of chancery and the regular and rigid justice of the courts of law became indistinct. As occasion arose, therefore, judges began to usurp authority under cover of chancery methods—just as the Washington court has done in the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case. That is to say, a judge having the authority to sit in a jury trial upon charges of crime committed, and having also the authority as a chancellor to grant an injunction, would sometimes fall under temptation to make the short-cut of granting an injunction incidentally forbidding a crime before its commission, and then punishing it in his own discretion and without jury trial by treating it as a contempt of the court. When he gave in to this temptation his associates were not unlikely to sympathize with him, since it extended their own power as well as his; and there was no other set of judges to resent this invasion of their jurisdiction and hold it in check. Consequently the despotic injunction methods of chancery have made gradual but now quite perceptible inroads into the common law methods of indictment and jury trial, thereby undermining some of the most valuable guarantees of popular liberties. It has all been done, of course, upon pleas of special necessity, but these are the pleas that have always been set up to let tyranny in since history began.

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Mr. Taft, now President-elect, was, while he sat upon the bench, one of the early innovators in the direction of substituting for jury trials for crime the summary proceeding by injunction with its chancery penalties for contempt. Little by little the innovation has proceeded, until now a judge at the capital of the Republic proclaims the injunction as a legitimate substitute for jury trial in libel cases. Twenty years ago the American bar would have been horrified at such a declaration. Leading lawyers would have denounced it as "bad law," and serious hints would not have been wanting from that quarter that the judge uttering such

heresy must be incompetent or worse. But today, this judicial heresy draws out no serious criticism from the bar, stimulates no repugnance, excites no wonder. Even the newspapers, those that are not yet in danger of this mode of attack, are supine unless indeed they encourage the reaction. So far then have we gone on the backward road toward absolutism.

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Even as the injunction originated in despotically power, even as it was a device for overriding the law, so now is it passing back again from a regulative process of value within limitations—having overleaped those limitations—and asserting itself as a mandate of despotical authority. Originally a device of the king for usurping judicial functions, it is coming to be an instrument of judges for usurping kingly functions.

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Government by Commission.

As the wave of sentiment favorable to government by commission goes over the country, it is a hopeful sign that the tendency is more and more away from the Galveston and toward the Des Moines plan. The difference is wide. Essentially the principle of the Galveston plan contemplates a commission over which the people of the municipality have little or no control; whereas the Des Moines plan contemplates a commission over which the people of the municipality have absolute and continuous control. All the benefits of efficient service of which the Galveston plan may boast are secured by the Des Moines plan, with the added benefit of responsibility to the people to be served. The Galveston plan is autocratic; the Des Moines plan is democratic. The Galveston plan tends to make the commissioners responsible to a State boss or a financial class; the Des Moines plan tends to make them responsible to the inhabitants. The difference between the two is secured partly by the excellent mode of nomination and election under the Des Moines plan, partly by its reservation of the initiative and referendum, and partly by the right of recall.

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Water and Gas in Birmingham.

For their supplies of water and gas, the people of Birmingham, England, have long been dependent upon municipal administration, and it would be a hopeless undertaking to induce them to change. The system of municipal ownership and operation of these two public utilities was proposed by Joseph Chamberlain, as far back as 1874 for gas and 1875 for water.

In proposing a municipal gas system for Birmingham in January, 1874, Mr. Chamberlain predicted that there would be a substantial profit at once, and that this would rise to \$250,000 annually. This prophecy has been more than verified. There were then two gas companies in Birmingham. Following his advice, a meeting of local tax payers petitioned Parliament for authority for Birmingham to purchase and operate them. The authority was granted and soon afterward the companies were bought out by the town for \$10,000,000. Since this purchase about \$5,000,000 capital has been added, the price of gas has been reduced over 30 per cent, and extensions of plant have been largely paid for out of revenue; yet the Birmingham "blue book" for 1907-08 shows a net profit for the year ending March 31, 1908, of \$300,000, after meeting all obligations and deducting the share of the year for extinction of the debt. The total amount set aside for debt extinction down to that date was over \$4,000,000, leaving about two-thirds of the debt unpaid, with about two-thirds of its time yet to run. With all the rest, the town owns a gas plant which a private company could easily capitalize for very much more than the debt.

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The municipal water system was established in Birmingham soon after the municipal gas system. The town began in 1875 by buying up the two private water companies. From the start the policy has been against profit-making except indirectly "in the comfort of the town and the health of the inhabitants." Profits have therefore been absorbed by reductions of water charges and supplies of free water to destitute neighborhoods. The system has cost all told about \$40,000,000, and the obligations still outstanding are nearly as much—the reduction amounting to somewhat more than a million. But the amount set aside out of earnings for the year ending March 1, 1908, as shown by the Birmingham "blue book" for 1907-08, is an ample proportion to wipe out the debt when it matures. Meanwhile, the people of Birmingham are supplied with water at cost, and the town owns a plant which private corporations would capitalize at vastly more than the debt.

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Roman Catholicism and Woman Suffrage.

In gratifying contrast with the attitude of ultramontane ecclesiastics of his church in our country, is the subjoined declaration of Cardinal Moran, of Australia, where woman suffrage prevails. It appeared originally in his official organ,

"The Catholic Press," of Sydney, in the issue of April 4:

What does voting mean to a woman? Does she sacrifice any dignity by going to the poll? These are natural questions when we see so many Catholic women refusing to avail themselves of the franchise. The woman who votes only avails herself of a rightful privilege that democracy has gained for her. No longer a mere household chattel, she is recognized as man's fellow worker and helpmate, and credited with public spirit and intelligence. As a mother she has a special interest in the legislation of her country, for upon it depends the welfare of her children. She knows what is good for them just as much as the father, and the unselfishness of maternity should make her interest even keener than that of man, who is naturally more self-absorbed. It is natural for every woman to look forward to the day when she will mold the future of young children, and she should deem it one of the grandest privileges of her sex that she can now help to choose the men who will make the laws under which they must live, and exert her purer influence upon the political atmosphere of her time. How can she sacrifice any dignity by putting on her bonnet and walking down to the polling booth? Women think nothing of transacting ordinary commercial business, of working alongside men, of playing their part in the practical business of life. They do not mind going to the box office of a theater to purchase tickets for the play. There is very little difference between doing that and putting their vote in a ballot box. The men about the booths show them every courtesy, the officials are anxious to make things easy for them, and the whole business of voting will not occupy more than five minutes. The woman who thinks she is making herself unwomanly by voting is a silly creature.

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Abrogate the Russian Treaty.

It is not enough to refuse the extradition of Pouden and Rudovitz to Russia, important as that will be. In addition, the treaty itself should be abrogated. No extradition treaty should be maintained between this country and a barbarian government, such as has ruled over Russia since the people's Doumas were dispersed. Prisoners in Russia are not fairly tried, and they are barbarously punished.

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The ratification of this treaty was strenuously opposed by representatives of all classes in the United States when it was under consideration back in 1893. Such men as Jacob H. Schiff, Samuel Sloan, William R. Grace, J. Edward Simmons, A. Augustus Healey, William Dean Howells, Morris K. Jessup, Isidor Strauss, William Lloyd Garrison and John DeWitt Warner denounced it vigorously then—as appears from the New York Tribune of April 8, 1893—as a

"sacrifice of every principle of personal liberty and public justice which the United States represents." Their further declaration that "any extradition treaty whatsoever with Russia is unsafe" is now confirmed by the efforts of Russia to extradite from our shores Russian patriots on the false pretense that they are common criminals.

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Our method of enforcing extradition makes it all the more important that this Russian treaty be abrogated. When a civilized government, like that of Great Britain, asks the extradition of a fugitive from justice, it usually forwards the indictment of a grand jury and there is nothing for our extraditing magistrate to do but verify the authenticity and regularity of the documents and identify the prisoner. In such a case it makes little or no difference if the extraditing magistrate is selected and paid by the demanding government, for he has nothing substantial to decide. But when the extradition documents proceed from a despotic magistrate of a barbarous government, and the question of common crime or political offense is at issue, as is the case when Russia demands an extradition, it is not safe to trust the matter to one of our extraditing magistrates, selected as he is and paid as he is by the Russian government just as Russia's attorney in the case is selected and paid by that government. No matter how good the reputation of the magistrate may be, or how honorable his intentions, it is not to be lightly supposed that he will decide against his employer. This evil could indeed be cured by our own government. Congress might require extradition proceedings to be taken before a court and to depend upon proof in accordance with civilized rules of evidence. But so long as the present method of proceeding remains, extradition treaties with despotic governments should be abrogated for that reason alone. There are abundant additional reasons for the abrogation of the Russian treaty.

* * *

THE CHICAGO MUNICIPAL LIGHT-ING PLANT NOT A FAILURE.

Recently a telegram was sent from Chicago to various newspapers indicating the failure of the Municipal electric light plant of Chicago, and that its costs were found in a recent investigation to be at the high figure of \$81.64 per arc lamp per year.

With some difficulty I have been able to secure a copy of this report made to Mayor Busse by

Bion J. Arnold, the well known electrical engineer, and Arthur Young, a certified public accountant.

This report, appearing in the Chicago Council Proceedings of November 9th, shows that the press report totally misrepresented the situation, and like so many other such reports, gave an incorrect and unjust treatment of municipal ownership.

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The report does indeed show that the average cost to the city during five years, 1903-7, including all proper allowance for taxes, depreciation, city water, insurance, etc., was \$81.46 per arc, and during 1907 was \$81.64 for the 7,647 arc lights in use on the average during the latter year.

But the report estimates that the cost during 1909 will be only \$60.56 per lamp, and ultimately only \$42.17.

The cause of the reduction is the rapid substitution now being made of current from the Sanitary District at about $\frac{1}{2}$ c per kilowatt hour instead of the much higher price hitherto required to generate the electricity in the city's own stations.

This, however, does not imply failure of municipal ownership. It merely represents the substitution of current from one public body, the Drainage District, in place of another. This is often done by private companies. Moreover, the City of Chicago having anticipated this contract for some time, only attempted to put in one modern plant, letting the other somewhat obsolete plants do duty until they could be scrapped or turned into sub-stations, as will now be done. This also is a common practice of private companies. The newest of the four manufacturing stations, the H. N. May plant, had operating costs in 1907 of \$26.56 less than the average of the other three. If the city had seen fit to put in similar plants at its other stations, the total cost, including interest and depreciation of \$81.64, as found by the accountants, would doubtless have been reported by them as \$26.56 less, or \$55.08.

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Chicago is greatly handicapped in her street lighting by being prevented by law from doing any commercial lighting and by the necessity of putting a large portion of her wires into expensive conduits. The president of one of the largest electric light companies in America assured the writer that no private company would expect to make any profit, or would dream of undertaking the job of street lighting, without any commercial business.

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Let us now compare this cost (with all items)

of \$81.64 in 1907, and of \$60.56 expected next year, and of \$42.17 considered probable by Messrs Arnold and Young as soon as entire reliance is placed on the electricity from the Drainage District, with the charge of \$90.00 made by the Chicago Edison Company in 1907 for the few hundred arc lights rented by that company to the city.

A few years ago the charge was much higher. In my part of the report for the National Civic Federation Commission on municipal ownership, I computed that the difference between the total costs, including interest, depreciation, etc., of the city-operated lights, prior to 1906, was \$643,000.00 less than what the cost would have been during the previous nineteen years' history of the plant, if it had paid for these lights at the price charged by the private companies for similar lights rented by it yearly to the city.

It is open to private companies to say that if they had had all the lights, they would have charged less; but it is open to the city, with even more plausibility, to claim that if they had had no competition with the municipal plant, their charge would have been higher.

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In the light of all the above, it is clear that there has been no failure whatever in the Municipal electric light plant of Chicago, handicapped though it has been by its legal inability to furnish commercial light and power.

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It is interesting to observe that the report of Arnold and Young confirms the estimates of depreciation, the value of water used, and the structural value of the plants, as interpreted by myself in my chapter on the Chicago electric light plant on pages 175-181 of Part 1, Volume I of the report of the National Civic Federation on municipal ownership.

The allowance for depreciation per lamp was \$11.67 by Arnold and Young, and \$13.12 by myself, while their allowance for water was \$6.10 and mine \$4.51, making a total of the two items of \$17.77 by the latest investigators, and \$13.63, or only 1 per cent different by myself.

The appraisal of the plant in 1905 by Phelps and Stebbins, the Commission's experts, was almost precisely what it is necessary to take as the valuation at that time, in order, with the subsequent additions of plants and allowance for depreciation, to produce the value for August 1st, 1908, of \$2,353,869.10, determined by Arnold and Young.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

"MAN WANTS BUT LITTLE HERE BELOW."

The spirit of the old song no longer satisfies. Its simple story has been strangled.

The revised version cries forth the claim: Man wants the whole thing here below, and wants its title strong.

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What man?

Why, my brother's keeper.

The man of money.

The man of many machines.

The man of stocks, bonds and syndicated might.

The man of courts, judges and paid-up policies of legislation.

The man of banks, treasuries and sure schemes of 10 per cent salvation.

The man of trusts, monopolies and mergers.

The man who manipulates armies, navies and the profits of militarism.

The man of lands and houses and the overgrown, underpaid tax roll.

The man of high tariffs and low wages.

The man of mills and mines and methods patented.

The man of newspapers, colleges, pulpits and political puppets.

The monkey-like man who fashions his opinions in pathetic, preposterous imitation of the ones that crush and keep him where he is.

The man of dollars, more dollars, dubious dollars, dollars of depravity, despair and death; dollars of blood and brutality and bondage; unclean dollars of usury; cowardly dollars of corruption and coercion—and always the left-till-the-last, loud-voiced, loveless dollars of charity.

The old faith said: "The meek shall inherit the earth." The new injunction declares: The meek have been inherited by the mercenaries.

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O priceless legacy of Labor!

O inexpensive inheritance!

But the man of millions mourns for more.

Maneuvers and gets it.

Gets it by stealth or strength or seduction.

Gets it with law—or without.

Gets it for good and all.

So possession fortifies itself with all the gainful arts of greed.

It is not satisfied with pounds, bushels, yards, gallons, acres and other estimable quantities and dimensions, or the crisp coupons measuring their multiplying benefits.

Possession demands absolute fidelity, uncom-

plaining, enthusiastic subservience; and, having forbidden thought, discussion or investigation, says: Think as I think, believe with my belief, see with my sight, hear with my ears, vote with my vote—for me.

This is the civilized formula for manhood that calls for mendicants and martyrs in the making.

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Thus we come to consider and find the courage to ask of those most high a new question:

How many lives are required to satisfy the ambitions and desires of one life?

The *one* life of the \$ man.

The *one* life of the autocrat.

The *one* life aristocratic.

Many bruised and broken lives for one life bedecked with jewels and clothed with all the precious comfort and conditions of princely pride.

Many tempted and tortured lives struggling to gratify the vanity of one life of idleness and waste.

Many wise, sagacious and intelligent lives patiently pouring out their treasures of heart and mind for the gluttonish glory of some peevish, privileged pervert.

Many talented, highly trained lives toiling in the dust and grime of hungry humiliation for the monstrous magnificence of some doltish degenerate of the dollar dynasty.

Many conscientious, courageous, capable lives strangled, suffocated and subdued by the conventional creed of one life sworn to ignorance, bigotry, prejudice and intolerance.

Many noble lives thrilled with high purpose, strengthened by supreme patience, exalted by the sublime spirit of sacrifice and glorified by infinite human sympathy, compelled to cast their sacred pearls before the insatiable appetite of unsocial swine that wantonly wallow in unrighteous luxury, extravagance and dissipation.

All this in the name and for the fame of "Equality," the social enigma whose safe and sane solution rests with the scholarly, sympathetic minds of such serious students of human service as Carnegie, Morgan, Rockefeller and their efficient corps of supple attendants.

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How little or how much needs the modern man?

Is he "in" or "out"?

The "ins" say: "All."

The "outs" say—nothing the papers will print.

So it is settled that nine points constitute not

only a traditional advantage, but a present political assurance.

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The Industrial Monarch merrily sings:

A busy little mill give me,
With greed to grind
Young lives of quick ability,
Without a mind.

A legislative graft or two;
Big foreign trade;
A thirsty tariff, tried and true;
The voters' aid;

A busy little bluff to blind
The idle mob;
Fat profits, panic-proof and kind,
No laws can rob.

For this in perfect faith I pray
While workers sleep.
Their price a pittance is to pay,
'Tho children weep.

But the Industrial Monarch is only a type, a personification of the spirit of the age—the spirit dominant, militant, arrogant, absolute. The spirit that feeds upon human lives—the very lives it must some time redeem.

+

How many helpless lives are required to satisfy the abnormal cravings of one powerful life holding these others in relentless control?

How many lives?

We cannot transpose or twist the meaning of the ancient communal text, "No man lives to himself alone," to support this new cannibalistic doctrine of social sacrifice.

If it were only "a life for a life," the Mosaic idea might be temporarily tolerated, but here are demanded *many* lives—even lives unborn—to sustain the splendors and sensations of supreme selfishness.

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Here is a city—of palaces and hovels.

One palace, ten thousand hovels.

Enter the palace. Put on the jewels, trappings, spurious refinements, snobbish pretensions and blindness of palace people. Touch the bell of command. A thousand servants hasten to your bidding. Almost without money and without price these ignorant dupes of your system bring to your desire from the far ends of earth all things useful and foolish—in or out of season. Bring them quickly, perfectly, devotedly in the way of skilled suppliant service. Bring them without question, consideration or calculation. Bring them bountifully, beautifully, faithfully.

Do you think of this?

Do you?

Never—only as a critic,—captious, caustic, censorious or cruel.

Yours is the right of kings. The right to order laces or liquor, luxury or—lives. The right to consume priceless delicacies that serve your whim, or cast them petulantly under the table; to consume light wine or laborious lives—ordered to your fancy.

Not a fibre of all your fine fabrics but cost an unpaid something in human toil; not a jewel of your barbaric vanity but is stained with the sweat and sorrow of some starving slave.

Not a fragment or a feature of the comfort, convenience or sumptuous superiority of your spacious kingdom that does not betray the perfidy of power, the ingratitude of empire.

How *many* lives?

Dare you ask yourself?

Dare you listen for history's answer—the answer written in poverty, persecution, pestilence and death?

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Dare you come out of your splendid security and survey the evidence of your injustice—the wreck of your savage, soulless system?

What have *you* paid?

You have seized and worse than wasted all. What have you paid—you who preach peace and equality and good will to men? You who recommend essays on compensation, as soul food?

Where is your receipt? Is it a notice of sheriff's sale, or eviction, a vagrant's sentence, a soup-house certificate for one bowl, or a coroner's permit for a lodging in potter's field?

How many lives call to you out of the darkness and dangers and distress of this winter's night: "What have *you* paid?"

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Human bodies are cheap—cheaper than the dirt to cover them, when they seek the lasting solace of a river's embrace.

But here is the human mind—the thing on which you claim copyright.

And the human heart. Another patent for you?

What is life without them?—its activity, its repose, its purpose, ambition, happiness, contentment, sympathy and sorrow?

These things you deny.

Bodies you acknowledge, accept and exploit. In terms of commerce. Terms that being in themselves terrible, have no terror for those who toil.

When a man gives his body to your machines and says, "Buy this, that I may keep my mind for progress, and give my heart to humanity," do you think to frighten him with more hours or heavier burdens or smaller pay?

Be not deceived.

His body laughs, under its scars, but his higher nature counts up this injustice against you.

When a man casts his physical strength into the industrial combat, or a woman delivers her unveiled beauty to the public market place, do you think this is only a cheap exchange for food, clothes and shelter?

They buried old John Brown, but the records didn't cover or stop his soul.

Remember *this* part, O butchers and brokers.

Remember the use of a heart is for humanity. That a mind reaches out to the stars, thro all the bolts and bars of your oppression, and interference.

Remember that the body belongs to these.

So that when you are counting the lives you have crucified you must add *minds* and *hearts*—if you know them.

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And until the last injustice is repaid, until the last mind is given recognition and right-of-way, until the last heart is comforted with the comfort of all other hearts, there will be sounding in your ears the insistent, accusing question:

How many lives?

How many lives?

O careless stewards of social equality and opportunity, heed the alarm!

GEO. E. BOWEN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

PROPOSED HISTORY OF THE LAND VALUES REFORM MOVEMENT.

December 12.—The need of a history of the land values reform movement in the different countries has long been felt, not only by the scientific students of the movement, but also by the workers actually engaged in it. The undersigned, who just now is engaged on a two years' trip round the world, in search of material, has got sufficient support and encouragement to make an effort to satisfy this requirement. I have already been promised help from prominent single-taxers in different countries, but I feel the necessity of having, if possible, every earnest land values reformer to assist in the work by supplying material and giving advice. You are kindly invited, therefore, to give particulars in reply to the following questions, and to make them as full as possible. Please send your answers in care of the editor of The Public.

Give particulars about:—

1. Any land values reform society which exists or has been in existence in your locality. If possible, add origin, membership, work, etc.

2. Deceased single tax papers; short historical sketch wanted.

3. Any living or dead land reformer in your locality who you think has served our cause to be worthy of notice in the work herein-before planned.

4. Propaganda methods used in your locality, which have been successful and are likely to be of value to workers elsewhere.

5. The attitude of the press towards our work.

6. The attitude of organized labor (trades-unions, co-operative societies, socialistic organizations, etc.) towards the taxation of land values. Copies of resolutions, platforms, etc., are required in this connection.

7. Land values taxation on platforms of political parties generally.

8. Valuable critics of our philosophy, methods of reform, system of education, etc., by friends, political economists, socialists and others.

9. Practical steps taken by legislation towards the realization of our aim which you think are not commonly known.

Thanking you in anticipation of your kind assistance, I remain,

JOHAN HANSSON,
Sikfors, B. J., Sweden.

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 Monday, December 28, 1908.

"Government by Injunction."

The latest and most spectacular as well as farthest advanced example of "government by injunction," as Gov. Alfeld named these proceedings twelve years ago, has been afforded in the proceedings for contempt of a labor injunction which have been pending against leaders of the American Federation of Labor (pp. 758, 830) at Washington for several months past. These proceedings culminated on the 23d in the imposition of a prison sentence upon Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison.

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The proceedings were instituted before a United States judge of the District of Columbia by the Buck's Range and Stove Company of St. Louis, whose product is largely used by working people. This firm having refused to unionize its establishment, the American Federation of Labor placed

its name in a list published regularly in the "American Federationist" at Washington, the organ of the Federation, which list was entitled the "Unfair" list, meaning that the establishments therein named are unfair toward organized labor, and carrying by implication a request that the Bucks Range and Stove Company be not patronized by organized workmen and their friends. Another list of the same character similarly published was entitled "We do not patronize"—followed by the names of firms that had refused to maintain friendly relations with the labor organizations in their trade. The placing of the St. Louis concern's name in this latter list was as if it had read "We do not patronize the Buck's Range and Stove Company," or, "Organized workmen and their friends do not patronize the Bucks Range and Stove Company."

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Upon the application of the Buck's Range and Stove Company to the local Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in August, 1907, an injunction was issued forbidding the publication in the Federationist of all such statements. Regarding this injunction, which assumed to dictate the contents of their publication in advance, as an invasion of the Constitutional right of freedom of the press, the officials of the Federation who were editors of "The Federationist," refused to obey it. They contended that for any alleged abuse of the Constitutional right of untrammelled publication, they were answerable only after publication and in regular legal proceedings before a jury.

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Thereupon the Buck's Range and Stove Company began proceedings against Mr. Gompers and his associates for contempt of court, and in these proceedings a decision was rendered on the 23d, and sentences imposed, by Daniel T. Wright, one of the judges of the court, an appointee of President Roosevelt. As reported by the press dispatches Judge Wright found Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison guilty of—

(1) Bringing about the breach of plaintiff's existing contracts with others; (2) depriving plaintiff of property—the value of the good will of its business—without due process of law; (3) restraining trade among the several States; (4) restraining commerce among the several States.

On the question of invasion by the injunction, of the Constitutional right of free publication, Judge Wright said that the object of the injunction was to check a boycotting conspiracy, of which the publications in question were but incidents, and not to prevent any "legitimate right of criticism or comment that the law has ever sanctioned." In reference to the freedom of the press broadly, he appears to have—

declared that the Constitution nowhere conferred the right to speak, to print or to publish. "It guar-

antees," said he, "only that in so far as the Federal government is concerned, its Congress shall not abridge it, and leaves the subject to the regulation of the several States, where it belongs." "Who can be persuaded," asked the Court, continuing, "that the penalizing of false and malicious libels upon the integrity of honorable men, or slanders upon the virtue of chaste women, is an outrage upon 'the constitutional rights' of the villifier?" The Court inquired if "those of thoughtful and sincere reflection escape the unharmony between claims for a right of utter license in speech and press, and the punishment by law of libels and the mulcting of slanders. No 'right,'" the Court added, "to publish either the libel or the slander can be sustained, except upon the theory of a 'right' to do 'wrong.'"

In considering the personal culpability of the defendants Judge Wright quoted from Mr. Mitchell's book, from speeches by Mr. Gompers in the Presidential campaign, from speeches of his before the annual convention of the Federation of Labor, and from resolutions adopted by labor bodies.

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Having made his decision, Judge Wright asked the defendants if they had anything to say against sentence. Mr. Gompers alone responded, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison saying that Mr. Gompers had expressed their views. As reported in the dispatches Mr. Gompers's address was as follows:

I am not conscious at any time during my life of having violated any law of the country or of the State in which I live. I would not consciously violate a law now or at any time during my full life. It is not possible under the circumstances under which I am before your honor this morning, and after listening to the opinion which you have rendered, to say that which I have in mind; but, sir, I may be permitted to say this: That freedom of speech and freedom of the press has not been granted to the people to say the things which please; but the right to say the things that displease even though they do a wrong. There is much that I would like to say, but I cannot do it now. I may add that this is a struggle of the working people of our country, and it is a struggle of the working people for right. The labor movement does not undertake to presume to be a higher tribunal than either the courts or the other branches of the government of our country. It is a struggle of the ages—a struggle of the men of labor to throw off some of the burdens which have been heaped upon them; to abolish some of the wrongs and to secure some of the rights too long denied. If men must suffer because they dare speak for the masses of the men of our country; if men must suffer because they have been raised to meet the sordid greed—even to grind the children in the dust to gain dollars—they must bear the consequences. But, if I cannot discuss grave problems, great issues in which the people all over our country are interested; if a speech made by me during a political campaign, after the close of this case, if the speeches in furtherance of a great principle or a great right are to be held as against me, I shall not only have to, but am willing to bear the consequences.

I would not have you believe me a man of a defiant character in disposition or in conduct. But in the pursuit of honest conviction and in the furtherance of the common interests of my fellow man, I shall not only have to, but be willing to submit to whatever your honor may impose.

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Sentences were then imposed as follows: Mr. Gompers, twelve months', Mr. Mitchell nine months' and Mr. Morrison six months' confinement in prison. An appeal to the Appellate Court of the District was immediately taken and the defendants released meantime upon bail.

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General action of labor organizations throughout the country is indicated by the dispatches of the 27th. The Typographical Union at Chicago has sent a 5,000 word letter to every Congressman asking "that a law be enacted that will curb the power-hunger of the judges who are rushing to the establishment of an oligarchy." The Central Federated Union of New York appointed a committee of thirty to arrange for mass meetings throughout the country protesting against the rise of injunctions to silence free speech and free press. The Central Labor Union of Philadelphia adopted resolutions declaring that the sentencing of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison "has once more reminded trade unionists of this country that the Buck's Stove & Range Company is still on the unfair list of organized labor," and that Judge Wright's action "is but another step in the general movement against free speech, free press, the right of assemblage and right of trial by jury that is being waged by the ruling class of this country." By a vote of 185 to 3 the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis adopted resolutions claiming "the right to protest against what we consider an unjust decision, the same as Abraham Lincoln protested against a decision of the highest tribunal of the land in the Dred-Scott case, and more recently the example of Theodore Roosevelt in protesting against the decision of a United States appellate court in the Standard Oil case."

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The Rudovitz Extradition Case.

Numerous further public meetings of protest against the extradition to Russia of Christian Rudowitz and Jan Pouren (vol. xi, p. 921) have been held during the week. The most notable perhaps, because of the conservative character and standing of the speakers, gathered in the Colonial theatre, Chicago, on the 27th. It was addressed by William J. Calhoun, Edgar A. Bancroft, Rabbi Hirsch, William J. Hynes and the Rev. Herman Page. Walter L. Fisher presided. The meeting, a very large one, adopted resolutions offered by Jenkin Lloyd Jones, which, after reciting the wrongs involved, pledged the meeting—

in these and in other cases in which an attempt may be made by the Russian government to secure the return of those who were actively engaged in the great Russian revolution on charges that they are common criminals, to furnish them such assistance as lies in our power to sustain their defense that they are political refugees. Resolved, further, that we appeal to the Hon. Ejihu Root, secretary of state, carefully to review the findings of the United States commissioner, giving to the defendant the benefit of every reasonable doubt, in accordance with the fundamental principles of American law, and specially to require before the accused shall be extradited that the burden of proving him to be a common criminal and not a political refugee, be fully and completely sustained by the demanding government.

Another of the resolutions, offered by Prof. Tufts of the Chicago University, after reciting the efforts of the Russian government to abuse its rights under the extradition treaty, appealed—

to the Federal authorities to terminate said treaty in accordance with the privilege so to do reserved therein, unless such abuse shall cease forthwith.

The third resolution, offered by Congressman Sabath, was as follows:

Whereas, It is contrary to the spirit of American institutions to adjudge an accused even prima facie guilty without a hearing before a duly organized judicial tribunal; and whereas, a United States commissioner is only an administrative officer, who may be without any legal training or experience, and whose compensation is dependent upon fees; and whereas, in extraditions to and from the Philippine Islands it is expressly provided that the hearing shall be before a judge of the United States courts; and whereas, in England full opportunity for judicial review is given by statute; therefore, be it resolved, that we appeal to the Congress of the United States to amend the laws regarding extradition so as to provide that the hearing shall be only before a judge of the Federal courts.

A suggestion to strike out the reference to fees in the second paragraph of the preamble as being in the nature of a reflection upon the good faith of the commissioner, was adopted without dissent, although in extradition cases the commissioner is selected and paid by the demanding government—in this case by Russia.

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Commissioner Foote, the commissioner selected by the Russian government to pass judgment on the question of extradition in the Rudovitz case (Mr. Foote is not a member of the bar, by the way, and has never practiced law), gave out his reasons on the 26th for deciding that Rudovitz is a common criminal and not a political offender. Immediately afterwards an opinion by John H. Wigmore, dean of the Northwestern University Law School at Chicago and especially distinguished as the author of "Wigmore on Evidence,"

was published. Professor Wigmore has not been employed by anybody nor is he to be paid by anybody for his opinion, but submits it as a matter of public spirited citizenship in response to a request from the Immigrant Protective Society. It is directly at variance with Commissioner Foote's. Prof. Wigmore says:

All of the criminating acts were purely political. The killing of all three persons was done solely for the purpose of punishing them as informers who had furnished the names of active members of the revolutionary parties and the means of political repression. The arson was done as a part of this punishment. Both were in pursuance of a similar custom of the existing government's military authorities in punishing members of this revolutionary party. The robbery was the act of a part of the band separate from that part with which the identifying evidence purports to connect Rudovitz. In any case, robbery was merely incidental to the killing, and thus was not separable from its political character. . . . The political character of all the acts charged appears from the fact that there was a violent political upheaval involving the form, methods and personnel of the national and local government. In the Baltic provinces generally this upheaval reached the magnitude of hundreds of thousands in the persons affected. In the province of Courland, where the village of Benen is, a new form and personnel of government was substituted by committees representing the organized revolutionary party. The popular revolutionary party was openly, widely and systematically using arms to produce the desired changes. In many instances the government soldiers gave to the revolutionists their own guns. In other cases the revolutionists took arms by force from the houses of the barons, the hitherto dominant class. The revolutionary party had an organized militia within the party substantially similar to the "Minute Men" of the American revolution. The government military forces actively repressed the revolutionists. One means of so doing was to send armed expeditions into various districts and destroy the revolutionists' armed forces in small detachments and individually before they could unite, precisely as in the operations around Boston in 1775, before the American colonists' military organization was perfected at Philadelphia. One estimate of the total killed in the campaign is 12,000 on the national government's side and 50,000 on the revolutionists' side. In November, 1905, the district in which Benen lies was raided by a so-called governmental punitive expedition, and as many of the bodies and individuals as were found with arms or pointed out as having taken part were shot and their houses burned. During the month of January, 1906, in which occurred the acts charged, this state of revolutionary armed force continued. The district including Benen was then and for some time afterward remained under martial law. This gave the military forces of the national government certain rights of summary execution, and correspondingly gave such rights to revolutionists, so as to fix upon their acts of summary force, if duly authorized by their officers, a political character as revolutionary acts of force.

In January, 1906, it was both possible and probable that the revolution would be successful in completely overturning the national government. The fact that the revolution was completely suppressed in 1907 is immaterial in judging of the status of the parties in January, 1906.

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The Venezuelan Situation.

President Castro of Venezuela (vol. xi, p. 900) was at Dr. Israel's Sanitarium in Berlin on the 24th, expecting to remain there two weeks longer. Interviewed on that day he expressed doubts of the accuracy of newspaper reports from Venezuela which indicated a repudiation of his presidency and the establishment of a new and hostile government under Juan Vicente Gomez, the vice-president whom he had left at the head of the government during his absence. "In any event," he is quoted, however, as having said, "I shall place no difficulties in the way of the present administration of Venezuela in settling the pending controversies with foreign governments, even if this should involve my own withdrawal from activity in the affairs of the nation."

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The dubious newspaper reports to which President Castro referred were to the effect that Acting President Gomez had displaced the Castro government with a new and hostile ministry, was pursuing a new and hostile policy, and had suppressed a revolt by Castro's friends. The reports are probably incorrect in their conclusions, though some of the leading facts are doubtless true. A new ministry has been appointed; but, inasmuch as Castro's foreign minister, Dr. José de Jesus Paul, has been sent to Europe by Acting President Gomez to negotiate adjustments of foreign complications, it is quite improbable that the change of ministry is revolutionary. Misleading reports of conditions in Venezuela are multiplied by the fact that a strict censorship is maintained. This makes it necessary to receive all reports from that country with a great deal of allowance for journalistic imagination. The most probable inference is that Acting President Gomez is pursuing a policy which had been agreed upon before President Castro's departure for Europe.

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Whether or not it was part of that policy to pacify Holland by revoking the Castro decree (vol. xi, p. 899) prohibiting trans-shipment at Willemstad, Dutch West Indies, of goods destined for Venezuela, this has at any rate been done. Holland has in consequence instructed the commanders of the Dutch warships in Venezuelan waters to cease hostilities.

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In behalf of the United States, American war

vessels have been sent to Venezuelan waters, one of them carrying a United States special commissioner. Two of these vessels, the gunboat "Dolphin" and the cruiser "Des Moines," entered the Dutch harbor of Willemstad on the 24th. The "North Carolina," having on board the special commissioner, W. I. Buchanan, was then on her way, but had not yet been reported. The "Maine," especially sent in response to requests of Americans in Venezuela (as hinted from Washington), left Norfolk on the 21st under sealed orders. Wireless messages were reported from Willemstad on the 27th announcing that the cruiser "North Carolina" was 100 miles from Curacao at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th, bound for La Guaira, with W. I. Buchanan, special commissioner of the United States to Venezuela, on board. Another wireless message stated that the battleship "Maine" was following the "North Carolina" at a distance of about 200 miles.

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Political exiles were reported on the 27th from Willemstad as returning to Venezuela at the summons of Acting President Gomez, who, in order to unite all parties and factions in Venezuela, had ordered the prisons to be cleared and invited those long since banished from the country to come back. The steamship "Zulia" arrived at Willemstad from Maracaibo on that day with eighteen former political prisoners aboard. General Gregorio Riera, who for a number of years had been working at Willemstad in conjunction with revolutionists against President Castro, was reported to have joined the exiles on the "Zulia" and to be then on his way to Caracas.

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Greatest Earthquake Disaster of a Century.

Southwestern Italy was shaken by a violent earthquake on the 28th. Four towns of the province of Calabria and nine towns in the eastern half of the island of Sicily are reported as entirely or in large part destroyed. The dead and wounded are numbered by thousands. The correspondent of the London Daily Mail puts the dead at 20,000. The tremor disturbed the sea as well as the land, causing first a subsidence and then a tidal wave which swamped some five hundred vessels lying in the harbors, and swept mud and debris over the devastated shores. The handsome city of Messina, the capital of Sicily, is in ruins, and its streets are filled with mud. Fires followed the earthquake, and in Messina the broken gas mains gave fuel to the flames. The volcano of Mt. Etna, in Sicily, seems to have been the center, if not the cause, of the disturbance. Comparatively slight disturbances have occurred elsewhere during the past few days, notably in the Rocky Mountain region. The Italian disturbances are vastly more

destructive than those at San Francisco nearly three years ago.

NEWS NOTES

—The annual convention of the Religious Educational Association will meet at Chicago on the 9th of February for a three days' session.

—Henry W. Poor, one of New York's gigantic financiers, failed on the 26th. His failure is one of the biggest in the financial district for a decade.

—The death of Claus Spreckels at San Francisco on the 26th at the age of 80 years closes the career of the great sugar magnate of the Pacific coast.

—The bribery of over 80 city councilmen of Pittsburgh by business men is charged. Seven of the councilmen and two bankers were arrested on the 23rd. Additional warrants to the number of 23 were issued on the 24th.

—The tax amendment to the constitution of Missouri (vol. xi, p. 829), similar to that which Minnesota has adopted (vol. ix, p. 1091), was defeated at the November election by a majority of 39,140—172,508 nays to 133,368 yeas.

—The initiative and referendum amendment to the Missouri constitution (vol. xi, p. 829) was carried at the November election by a majority of 35,367—176,157 yeas to 140,790 nays. As the amendment is self executing, the initiative and referendum are now in full force in Missouri.

—The Portuguese (vol. xi, p. 831) cabinet resigned on the 17th because of the declaration of the Regenerator party that it would no longer support the government. A new cabinet, under the leadership of Dr. W. de S. Pereira de Lima, former minister of foreign affairs, was formed on the 23rd.

—When asked on the 23rd in Philadelphia concerning his attitude toward another nomination for the Presidency, William J. Bryan is reported as making this reply: "All I can say about 1912 is that I hope it will never be necessary for me to run for office again. I prefer to do my work as a private citizen. When asked whether I would refuse in advance ever being a candidate again, I have said that I would not promise anybody not to be a candidate for any office."

—Deputy United States Marshal Moosingall was killed and five members of his posse and six miners were seriously wounded in a riot on the 25th between the marshals and the miners at the R. L. Stearns Company mining camp, a short distance from Somerset, Ky. The big hotel at Stearns, in which the Federal officers had taken refuge, was burned. The trouble started when the marshals tried to serve an injunction on striking miners which had been issued by a Federal judge.

—With the close of the year the San Francisco Relief Society, which has handled over \$9,500,000 in contributions since the fire and earthquake (vol. ix, p. 1167), goes out of existence. Of the great sums handled there is still left nearly \$400,000, which will be transferred to various charities. The Relief Society not only fed and lodged thousands for several

months after the disaster, but provided 8,000 permanent homes for 30,000 people, and has established a permanent home for the aged and infirm at a cost of \$375,000.

—The Pan-American (vol. ix, p. 444) Scientific Congress opened in Santiago, Chile, on the 25th. The delegates from the United States are to offer a special report on the Association of American Universities, with a view to establishing closer relations between the educational institutions of the two Americas.

—A voluntary referendum vote of the school teachers of Chicago on the question of secret marking (vol. x, p. 322) resulted as follows, as reported on the 21st: "Shall the present marking system be abolished? For, 3,267; against, 163. Shall principals and teachers reported 'inefficient' be furnished with a written explanation of the reason for such report by those reporting and at the time such report is made, reports to be required on 'inefficient' only. For, 3,427; against, 28."

—The Chinese government, in its war against the use, sale and manufacture of opium (vol. ix, pp. 537, 610; vol. x, p. 1020), has met with trouble, at least in one locality, in the matter of restricting the production of the raw material. Holding it as an inalienable right to raise poppies for the production of opium, farmers in the neighborhood of Tungan, twenty miles north of Amoy, are in open rebellion against the authorities endeavoring to prohibit production. On the 26th fierce rioting occurred; the military officer in command was killed, and ten of the poppy farmers. More trouble is expected as the farmers are organizing.

—By order of the public service commission of New York city a system of accounting for public utilities companies goes into effect on the 1st, which makes the following among other requirements: Nothing but actual cash invested shall be charged to capital account; franchises shall not be treated as capital except for the actual cost of acquiring them and shall be kept in a separate "franchise account;" a complete system of annual charging off for depreciation shall be maintained; discount, underwriting expenses, and similar items shall be distributed through a series of periods instead of charged up for the one in which the expense occurs.

—Cyrus R. Teed, who under the Hebrew form of his baptismal name—Koresb—was the founder of the cult of Koreshanity, died at his colony at Estero, Fla., on the 22nd. Mr. Teed had believed in an earthly immortality for himself and for the faithful, and is said to have prophesied his earthly resurrection on Christmas day, when the signs of his approaching dissolution could be no longer ignored. With faith in his prophecy his friends refused to allow his interment until the 27th. When at last burial became imperative under local law, the remains were deposited in an especially prepared vault, though the faith of his followers in a resurrection was apparently waning.

—The recent discovery by Dr. George Hempl of the chair of Germanic philology of Leland Stanford University of how to read the hitherto undecipherable Etruscan inscriptions, has thrown unexpected

light on the relationships of the early settlers of Italy. Professor Hempl in reporting his discovery, with its first deductions, to the Stanford Philological Association, declared that it shows "that the languages of the Romans and Etruscans were alike in all save the writing. Even the characters used often were similar and both have many marked characteristics of the language used by the Trojans." On these proofs Dr. Hempl bases his claim that the tribes were one race, the offspring of the men who were driven from home by the Greeks at the close of the Trojan war.

—The Supreme Court of Missouri made a decision on the 23rd ousting the Standard Oil Company of Indiana and the Republic Oil Company of Missouri, forbidding them ever again to do business in Missouri, and dissolving the Waters-Pierce Oil Company of St. Louis. In addition each of the companies is fined \$50,000. The court finds that the companies conspired: (1) To regulate and fix prices to retail dealers. (2) To control and limit the trade in the refined products of petroleum. (3) To control and limit and prevent competition in the buying and selling of these products. (4) To deceive and mislead the public into the belief that they were separate and distinct corporations pursuing independently their business as legitimate competitors. This decision was made in the suit brought in 1905 (vol. viii, p. 728) by Attorney General Hadley.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison Case.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (ind. Dem.), December 25.—A labor boycott is of trivial concern in comparison with a judicial boycott. There is a million times more danger in one judge-made law than in all the boycotts that labor ever conceived; and when the right of trial by jury is denied, as it has been denied in the case of Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison, the liberty of every citizen is threatened. This drastic attack on organized labor has been discreetly reserved until after the election. Had it come two months ago, it would have had a tremendous influence on the November result. And there is every reason for believing that the case was juggled along until that crisis was well past, out of consideration for the party which has become the apologist for and defender of government by injunction.

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Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.) Dec. 24.—It was a court decision in England that united the workers and made them a powerful factor in politics, and the spectacle of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison condemned to prison stripes may prove quite as effective in arousing the "class consciousness" of the American workers. In fact, there is every reason to believe that the men that have been prosecuting the leaders of the American Federation of Labor have not been unmindful of its political effect. For the efforts of the defense to obtain a decision before election were repeatedly thwarted, the court itself apparently not caring to have its decision im-

pressed upon the workingmen of the country while the Presidential election was pending

* *

The "Combine" Against Tom L. Johnson.

(Minneapolis) Farm, Stock and Home (agricultural), Dec. 15.—To allow Johnson to succeed meant the inevitable adoption of a 3-cent rate the country over, reducing the revenues of private monopoly by millions of dollars annually. Hence it was decided that Tom Johnson must not succeed; and he did not, could not. And if not he, equipped as he was, who can? The strength, motives, and omnipotence of this thing which we call "the money power" never was shown with more clearly defined and heart breaking malignity than in this instance! Private monopoly shrieked with joy when Tom Johnson fell! This is why the subject, so inadequately treated here, is now one of national importance, "the concern of all," no matter how far from the seat of war, or how little concerned with city railway or other city affairs they may be.

* *

Education for the Tuberculosis Fight.

Puck (New York), Dec. 9.—Educating the people to combat the spread of tuberculosis is a movement which it would be superfluous to praise. Miniature model tenements and graphic reproductions of the opposite sort will do very little positive good, however, unless the people who see them think to some purpose. While in our cities we have a system of taxation which penalizes with a heavy tax the builder of model tenements and rewards with a low tax the owner of the filthy rookery, model tenements will continue to be few and filthy rookeries will continue to be many. Education is a great force in the fight against consumption, and some day people will learn that there are more deadly wholesale ways of spreading and perpetuating tuberculosis than by expectorating in a car or ferry boat.

* *

Success of the "Des Moines Plan".

The (Dubuque) Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Dec. 19.—Results attending the operation of the commission plan of government in Des Moines and Cedar Rapids have made men firm in their opposition to the change, strong supporters of the new order. Conspicuous among these is Mayor Mathis of Des Moines, concerning whom the Cedar Rapids Gazette said recently: "The Mayor of Des Moines, Mr. Mathis, has been called upon to make speeches elsewhere in advocacy of the commission plan of city government, and very properly he is responding to the requests. His arguments ought to carry some weight, for he is now a supporter of the plan, whereas prior to its adoption he was opposed. Mayor Mathis of Des Moines is not the only individual who was formerly opposed to the plan who is now in favor of it. The citizens who have changed their views are legion. Cedar Rapids has its share of them."

* *

Social Disorder.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), Dec. 20.—In the Court of

General Sessions at New York, the other day, Judge Foster dismissed a man under arrest for non-support, on the ground that the defendant, earning only six dollars a week, could no more than maintain himself. . . . The next day another member of the same court, Judge Swann, had before him a very similar case, on which he made a quite opposite ruling. Whatever might be the income of a husband, he was obligated to share his means with his wife. The defendant was ordered to pay three dollars a week to the woman. . . . In the absence of detailed information the specific cases cited cannot be subjected to close analysis. . . . If men with capacity and willingness to work hard in some useful occupation cannot earn more than that pittance, the times are indeed stringent, and something is radically wrong in the social organization, although this is the twentieth century.

* *

Industrial Education of Negro Youth.

Detroit Informer (Negro), Dec. 26.—Our industrial school continue the good work of turning out increasing numbers of more or less skilled mechanics, but Negro universities continue doing next to nothing in the way of supplying the race with a complement of designers for these mechanics. In the realm of construction and manufactures can we afford to equip men for one kind of activity, to the utter exclusion of equipping men for another and equally indispensable kind? . . . So far as some branches, at least, of the engineering profession are concerned, it can not now be said that there is no field for the Negro engineering graduate. Not only is it true that every colored civil engineer in the country is now practicing his profession, but it is also a fact that the race's commercial and civic advancement is creating an increasing demand for colored men learned in this profession. The colored towns of Mound Bayou, Miss.; Boley, Okla.; Allensworth, Cal., and Brooklyn, Ill., will soon need, if they do not already, civil engineers as city engineers. It surely is high time that at least one colored university could be found which would include in the work of its professional schools that of imparting instruction in such branches as practical city surveying and sanitation, street grading and paving, electric and steam railroad location and construction, automatic block signal designing, and the computation and drawing of steel bridge and roof trusses and of concrete steel structures. If several of our higher institutions were to add experienced engineering graduates as professors on their faculties and then begin giving instruction leading properly to the C. E. degree and let the public know of the fact, there is no doubt that many young colored men would soon be pursuing these courses. And by the time the first classes were graduated the institutions would fully realize that in taking this advance step they had at last begun supplying a need which has been too long neglected.

* *

Autocratic School Administration.

The Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), Dec. 22.—Every father and mother in Chicago is immediately and directly interested in the attempt now being

made to destroy democracy in the management of the school system. This attempt did not originate yesterday. It has been planned for years. It is a combination of the great capitalist interests and their tools in the educational system. If this attempt is successful, if the schools can be placed in the control of a dictator responsible only to a "business board," then the school book trust and the tax dodgers will reap rich returns. The children of Chicago will be turned over to the tender mercies of these institutions to pluck as closely as the exploiters desire. If this dictatorship is carried to completion, then the teachers will become mere wage slaves, like the employes of a great railroad system. Indeed one of the members of the school board used this very comparison as indicating a desirable object to be attained. Yet all modern educators agree that teachers so hired and so enslaved cannot be good teachers. All this aside from the rights of the teachers as such. One of the objects of this despotism is to crush the Teachers' Federation, and thus deal a blow to organized labor. If this is done it will hit unionism in Chicago a much harder blow than appears at first sight. It will not simply destroy a large and valuable division of the union movement. It will turn the schools of Chicago into scab factories. It will do this also in more than one way. It will do it first by making the teacher herself a nonunionist, who will stand directly in antagonism to all union principles, and will teach the children the gospel of President Elliot (one of those who have helped to carry through this whole scheme) that the scab is a hero. It will work to the same end in an even more effective, if more subtle, way. It will lead to the introduction of the trade school in its worst form. This is a part of the definite program announced by those behind the demand for an educational despotism. With these trade schools under the dictatorial management of a "business board" and directed by the Employers' Association, the road will be clear to the attack upon organized labor and the general reduction of wages throughout the city. Just look this program over, Mr. Workingman, and see if you are not interested in fighting it.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

LOVE'S UNITY.

For The Public.

When Love's sweet court holds blessed sway
 Mid life's tumultuous scene,
 And selfishness and greed and lust
 Awaken from their dream;
 The music of the spheres shall reach
 Our senses, now so dull,
 And heavenly strains and visions bright
 Inspire the waiting soul.
 Then hand in hand and heart to heart
 Shall mankind brothers be,
 Discerning, each in each, the bond
 Of God's vast unity.

EMILIE PAMELA BRIGGS.

JUSTICE.

From Coler's Bulletin of Brooklyn.

An Angel, weary of his song, turned his shining face so that his eyes might find the splendid Shade of Solomon.

Then spake the Angel: "Thou art called the Wise. Tell me out of thy wisdom which of the virtues thou esteemest greatest of all? Is it Obedience to the Law?"

"Nay, not Obedience," Solomon replied.

"Purity, then?"

"Not Purity."

"Mercy? or Love, which is another name for Mercy?"

"Not Mercy."

"Courage?"

"Thou hast not named it."

"Truth?"

"Truth, it might be called," agreed the Sage.

"Justice is the greatest because it encompasseth all the others."

"Justice is Obedience to the law.

"Justice is Purity.

"Justice is Mercy.

"Justice is Courage.

"Justice is Truth.

"Justice is all the virtues.

"Man is unhappy because man is not Just.

"God is perfect because God is Just."

* * *

FELS ON THRIFT AND REALTY.

From the Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat of December 21.

Joseph Fels of London, now on a visit to America to confer with Tom L. Johnson and other radical leaders and to look after his private interests as a member of the famous soap-making firm of Fels Bros. at Philadelphia, has written the subjoined letter to the Press of that city. It is self-explanatory:

"In your editorial, 'Thrift and Realty,' you mention the investment of \$40,000 in a Harlem farm, which in a single life is reported to have increased to \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000 in value. You then go on to show that this is an inducement to thrift on the part of the average citizen. Now, the average citizen (including Mr. Rockefeller and the other thrifty gentlemen) of the United States, which is the highest wage-paying country in the world, earns an average of \$600 per year. If you will stop to figure the time it would take a man at his average rate of income to create \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000, you will have the answer to your proposition of thrift, for where one man gets something for nothing, some other man or men must get nothing for something. If a man saved all of this average earning, it would take him 13,333 years to make by this absolute thrift the

sum which is here shown to have been accumulated by one individual in a lifetime.

"This kind of thrift is the thrift of the pirate who invests his hard-earned savings in a pirate ship and who also takes his life and property in his hands with the hope of gain. You yourself discount your proposition as to the risk in this sort of investment when you state later down in the editorial that if assessments grow, values grow still faster. You say, 'The idea that the lot owner does nothing, as his land rises in value, is never wholly true, and it is altogether untrue in land on the outskirts of a city.' You refer to the heavy taxes on unproductive property and to their prudence and thrift and self-denial. But how about the prudence and thrift and self-denial of the people who come along a little later in time and have to pay this \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000 increase on the \$40,000? To be sure, speculators make bad guesses as to which piece of property will rise in value, but I deny totally that as land owners they give to the community any return. It is only as workers and creators of wealth that they incidentally give value to their land. It is the community and its activities that create these values.

"The protest of the single taxer is not against the increase of value, but against its going into the pocket of the mere holder of land, in the main a holder of lands out of use, or in only partial use. What the single taxer demands is that the community which creates this value shall take that value in taxation and apply it to the common good, in lieu of all other taxes, which, without exception, whether direct or indirect, are penalties on thrift and productivity, which fine men when they build buildings and discourage the very thrift and industry to which you are appealing.

"The presence and activity of population is the only thing that turns a wilderness into a garden or a blank plain into a city, and the exodus of that population from the city will turn it again into the blank wilderness. Therefore, population should own all values created by itself."

* * *

A pawnbroker was awakened in the middle of the night by a furious knocking at his door. Opening the window, he looked out and asked:

"What's the matter?"

"Come down," demanded the knocker.

"But——"

"Come down!"

The pawnbroker hastened downstairs and peeped around the door. "Now, sir?" he demanded.

"I wan'sh know the time," said the reveler.

"Do you mean to say you knocked me up for that? How dare you?"

The midnight visitor looked injured. "Well, you've got my watch," he said.—Ladies' Home Journal.

THE SINGLE TAX ISSUE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Portions of an Article in the London Daily Chronicle (Liberal), of November 30, 1908, in Reply to the London Spectator (Tory), on the Former's Proposal to Tax Capitalized Land Values a Penny in the Pound Sterling to Make Up the Treasury Deficit.

"The true principle," says the "Spectator," "is to make men pay according to their ability, and not to penalize a man because he happens to be the owner of a particular kind of property." According to this view nearly all existing taxes are unsound, because each is levied in respect of "a particular kind of property." To say that "not only capital land values, but all capital values, must be taxed," simply means that no alteration in taxation must be made until all the proper alterations can be made simultaneously. A more impracticable suggestion it would be difficult to conceive.

A hypothetical Mr. Smith, we are told, "made £480,000, and invested half of it, or £240,000, in land, and the other half in government securities and in shares in various companies." Dying, he left one-half each to his two (apparently widowed) daughters, Mrs. Jones getting the land and Mrs. Robinson the stocks and shares. Why, asks the "Spectator," should the state take £1,000 a year (1d. on £240,000) more from Mrs. Jones than from Mrs. Robinson? We will not do the writer of its article the injustice to suppose that he meant to convey that Mrs. Jones' land was all vacant, unused, and unimproved. Then, as our proposal was to tax only land value, a deduction must be made for the value of buildings and other improvements. This we put at an average of two-thirds; and on this basis Mrs. Jones would only pay £333 (1d. on £80,000) instead of £1,000. Presumably also some of Mrs. Jones' land is of that kind which is improved by agencies and circumstances over which she has no control and towards which she makes no contribution.

On the other hand Mrs. Robinson would by no means escape scot free, as the "Spectator" too hastily assumes. Shares in companies represent property in land as well as other things, and so far as her shares represented land value Mrs. Robinson would have to pay the tax. This is the extent of the "monstrous injustice."

The "Spectator's" argument is not only wrong in its facts but in its principle. It assumes that every kind of property should be taxed alike, and appears to contemplate a fiscal system under which the citizen would be brought within the net of the tax-gatherer in every relation of his business life. No civilized community would submit to such a system of taxation for a month. It is essential that certain great classes of wealth should be selected as

the standard by which the citizen's "ability to pay" should be measured; and the only important question is whether the value of land is a good selection for this purpose.

The choice of a proper measure of taxation is of vital importance to the nation. A tax can either hinder or promote the progress of industry and commerce; and its burden is most grievous, not so much when its amount is large as when it hampers the production and exchange of wealth. The strongest reason for taxing land values lies in the fact that this system of taxation will free and stimulate, instead of hampering, production and exchange. It will operate against the holding of land out of use by making such a practice unprofitable. Those who use their land to produce wealth will have no difficulty in paying the tax; but those who let it lie idle must either pay the tax out of other resources or else put the land to profitable use. When the land now unused is brought into the market the effect upon the manufacturing and trading community—and especially upon labor—will be highly beneficial. Opportunities for employment—i. e., for using land—will be everywhere multiplied. There will no longer be any difficulty in inducing landowners to allow small holdings. Builders will be able to get as much land as they wish for houses, for shops, for warehouses and buildings of all kinds. Every branch of industry will benefit, for all industry requires the use of land.

And this brings us to another argument in support of the tax. So far from being a "special" tax, it will reach all members of the community. All must make use of land for their existence and for the production and exchange of wealth. And, in doing so, all assist in creating and maintaining the value of land, the increment of which is as truly "earned" by the nation as a whole as it is "unearned" by individual landowners. Now, by taxing a value which all assist in producing, we secure some contribution from everybody; and this contribution will, "ex hypothesi," be proportionate to the value of land used or enjoyed by each. Could there be a fairer basis of taxation?

All other taxes—even the income tax—have a tendency, more or less marked, to keep or send wealth out of the country. Even more certainly do they increase the prices of commodities and the cost of living. The tendency of taxes on income to drive capital out of England is only held in check by the burdens laid upon it in other countries. Taxes on food, houses, and other necessities seriously curtail the spending power of the community, and thus reduce both the demand for goods and the demand for labor. But the taxation of land has a directly contrary effect. Land cannot be driven away by taxation, however heavy it may be; indeed, the heavier the tax, the lower will be the price or rent, and the easier will it become to obtain land for useful purposes.

Here, as we believe, is one of the fundamental methods for dealing with unemployment—a social disease caused chiefly by the divorce of labor from land. The widest possible freedom of trade is only concerned with the exchange of wealth, with the buying and selling of goods. But if the production of wealth is hampered, restricted, and rendered more costly, freedom in the exchange of wealth cannot be expected to redress that injustice. What is needed is the application to production of the same liberal principle as we have already applied to exchange—the principle, namely, of freedom. We must free the land, the source of all material wealth, and prevent monopoly and ownership standing between land and labor. To achieve this aim, and at the same time to help the national exchequer, the shortest, simplest, and surest way is to tax land values.

Perhaps the "Spectator" does not admit that land values are unearned by the possessor or that the community creates them, or that land can be taxed separately from the buildings upon it. Take the typical case of a ground landlord in London. A square in Bloomsbury brings the Duke of Bedford £2,000 a year in ground rent. He did not build the houses, and, as it happens, he did not lay out the square. When the leases in the square expire the leaseholders, if they take new leases, have (1) to pay a fine of £600 or so for permission to remain, (2) they have to reconstruct the houses or rebuild them to the satisfaction of the ground landlord, and (3) they have to pay an increased ground rent. The ground landlord takes everything out but puts nothing back. He pays income tax on the income which he did not earn, but the community at present does not seek to recover part of that wealth which it created. Until we have the land valued separately from what is on the land—whether forest, factory, dwelling, or crops—we cannot apply a land tax based on value. If the value increases the owner would not feel a tax which would only deduct a small percentage of that increase; if the value declines he would not suffer, as the tax would diminish accordingly.

We would invite the "Spectator" and other critics to assist in solving the Budget crisis in a constructive way. The "Spectator" says that £25,000,000 will be required by the Chancellor of the Exchequer next year. How would the "Spectator" raise funds for old-age pensions, for the other growing charges—for a strong navy, which it always supports, to say nothing of universal military training, which it also advocates? Obviously we must have a new source of taxation capable of expansion. The protectionists call for a tariff tax—a source which the "Spectator" as a leading and most valiant champion of free trade knows would inflict the maximum amount of injury on the nation and its industries, introduce a most mischievous and burdensome form of taxation, and compel us to spend more and more on arma-

ments. Against the protectionist nostrum, which in presence of a negative policy might mislead the ignorant and self-interested section of the people, we put a practical suggestion for a small tax on land values—a tax at once fair, just, equitable, carrying with it a minimum of sacrifice to the individual and a maximum of benefit to the nation.

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THE SINGLE TAX IN NEW ZEALAND.

From a Speech Made at Grey Lynn by the Hon. George Fowlds, New Zealand Minister of Education, During His Recent Campaign for Re-election to the New Zealand Parliament.*

All present recognize that when I joined the Ministry I had to subordinate some of my ideas to those of the Government. The single tax is not the policy of the Government, and therefore can not be the issue of the election, but I do not propose to let misrepresentations of the single tax pass unnoticed.

My opponent has said that a number of poor people owning allotments valued at £120 would have to pay £5 a year if the single tax were brought into operation. I am prepared to accept his figures as correct.

But does not single tax mean one tax, and all other taxes abolished? Did he tell you that? (Cries of "No.")

It is estimated that under the present system the taxation per head of the population is £6 per annum. If you were to add the profits which the importer and the retailer has to add on for the amount paid in customs duties, and the increased price which is put on many goods manufactured in New Zealand on account of those duties, then the £6 is very much under the mark. It is probably double or at least half more. The owners of most of these allotments are married, and, estimating the average family at five, the taxation must be £30 a year under the present system. Do you believe there would be a single elector who would not be willing to pay one single tax of £5, and have the balance remitted? (Laughter.)

Twenty-five pounds would be left as a surplus, and in five years that surplus would pay the cost of their allotments, and thereafter leave them in possession of a pension of £25 a year for the rest of their lives.

My opponent, moreover, has declared that he is not in favor of doing away with the system of rating on unimproved values. That is wise, especially in Grey Lynn, where the people live under the system and approve it. (Applause.)

*Mr. Fowlds was re-elected by an increased majority of 800 (p. 851).

BOOKS

A FAIRY-TALE.

Abdallah, or The Four-Leaved Shamrock. By Edouard René Lefebvre-Laboulaye. Translated by Mary L. Booth. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

The story is a translation from the well-known French of Laboulaye. Little need to tell it. Foster brothers in their desert boyhood, the base Egyptian Omar and the noble Bedouin Abdallah, go their separate ways in adult life, to meet only in fateful misfortune for both. Abdallah, the pride of his pious mother, has grown in wisdom and grace to leadership among his brave tribesmen. Omar, the rich city merchant's only heir, has lived solely for self and power and gold. As his father before him bribed judges and rulers for monopoly of trade, so Omar, cornering the market and raising the price of wheat to the starving, gluts himself with the power of possession. Abdallah's ambition has been to find the four scattered leaves of the shamrock which Eve plucked hastily when leaving the Garden of Eden and lost forthwith. The dramatic discovery of each leaf—copper, silver, gold, diamond—marks the stages of Abdallah's character-growth toward perfection.

These two men love the same woman. Abdallah fairly wins her; Omar sulks and plots revenge. In that vengeance both die—Omar in shame and hatred, Abdallah in the supreme joy of self-sacrificing love.

To re-read a favorite fairy-story and to find within it a perfect picture of modern commercial graft, of one-man monopoly, of destroying greed, is an annoyance perhaps. But that annoyance is turned into keen pleasure over another picture therein—the effect of freedom and space, of boundless land and the open sky, upon a people's character.

The fascination of the story, the sweep of its action and the beauty of its expression, carry the reader away to the fairy-land of Justice. Through the Oriental atmosphere of pious Mohammedanism and passionate romance, of brave deed and treacherous plot, is seen a familiar and lovely vision—the spiritual triumph of the good and pure over the evil and base, of the beautiful and true over the ugly and false.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

+ + +

That which is not good for the swarm, neither is it good for the bee.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

+ + +

A new railway was being made, and, the design

including a small farm, the officers of the line paid a visit to the owner, an old lady.

"Madam," said the surveyor, "we understand that you own this farm, and it is my duty to inform you

that our new railway will run through your barn."

"Oh, will it?" said the old lady. "Well, let me tell you that the last train will have to be not later than 9 o'clock, because you'll not catch me sitting up after

Let Us Be Your Servant

The principal function of THE PUBLIC is accurately as well as compactly suggested by Bolton Hall in the following explanation of why it has his support:

New York, Dec. 20th, 1908.

I AM glad to support The Public because it does for me what I want to do and could not do myself. ¶ For instance, I am filled with indignation at the proposal to make me accessory before the fact to the death of Pouren and Rudovitz by our deliverance of them to the Russian despot. But I have not time to call the attention of several hundred editors to it, or of several thousand persons who really think, and who do something in consequence of their thinking. The Public does that for me. ¶ I would like to send a contribution to the renewed effort for liberty as represented by those two Russians, but there are many objects collateral to the right to the use of the earth that demand my support and I can not afford to help them all. My contribution to The Public gives me a share in the support of these things. ¶ A news item, like that utterance of Dr. Woods Hutchinson of New York that we should leave the poor what THEY have rather than give them what WE have, should be revived and recirculated—I can not do that, but The Public does it for me. ¶ I would like to show my Christian Science friends my appreciation of their rational journalism for intelligent people. I can neither write them nor give it the weight of representative utterance. The Public has done both, and I have only to mark copies and mail them, thereby commending our doctrine to friendly eyes while commending theirs. ¶ In this issue (of the 18th) I have been served in other such ways by the protest against executive treaty-making begun in the excellent "understanding" with Japan. By the memorial article on Theodore Wheaton with his telling rejoinder to "What do Workingmen want that they have not got?"—"What have You got that you do not want?" By the recital of Garrison's explanation of the need in reform of destruction in order to prepare for construction. By the account of Chamberlain's success in making Birmingham so largely its own landlord. By its review of Prime Minister Asquith's plea and plan for land value taxation in Great Britain. By its intelligent summary of the Venezuela-Dutch imbroglio which I could not dig for myself out of the column on column of mixed newspaper reports. And by some other items: ¶ I do not agree with everything in The Public, but it saves me much more in time and money than I spend on it.

BOLTON HALL.

Is it not likely that a weekly paper which serves its readers as THE PUBLIC has served Bolton Hall, may likewise serve every other person, man or woman, who has a soul above the dollar mark and a mind worth developing? We are glad that he says he does not agree with everything in THE PUBLIC. We hope that no reader does agree with everything in it. It is not published to do anybody's thinking for him, but to stimulate his own thought. If he does not agree, and makes himself tell himself why not, the paper has been a servant to him. And whether he agrees altogether or no, the paper is a servant to him, if it gathers facts from all over the world which his intelligence needs but which the newspapers neglect; and all the more is it a servant to him if by condensing and explaining daily news reports it interprets the facts which the newspapers gather in confusing fashion. THE PUBLIC has been a servant to Bolton Hall in these respects, and to thousands of others in the past ten years. Let it be such a servant to you and to your friends in the coming year.

that to open the doors for it or anything else. So mind."—Tit-Bits.

* * *

It is certainly the soft sex. Woman can pour herself into any mold that Fashion designs. This year it's a couple of lengths of pipe.—Puck.

* * *

He was a man of peace, and he came upon two youths in a back street fighting. Accordingly he

pushed through the crowd and persuaded the combatants to desist.

"Let me beg of you, my good fellows," earnestly besought the peacemaker, "to settle your dispute by arbitration. Each of you choose half a dozen friends to arbitrate."

"Hurrah!" yelled the crowd. "Do as the gentleman says, boys."

Having seen the twelve arbitrators selected to the satisfaction of both sides, the man of peace went on his way rejoicing in the thought of having once

Ernest Crosby's Last Book **The Man at the Margin**

Labor and Neighbor, Ernest Crosby's posthumous economic message, which appeared serially in *The Public* last winter, is to be had in book form, simple but readable, bound in stiff drab paper with portrait of the author. ¶ The book has been put out plainly, and it is sold as close to the margin of cost as the publishers dare to carry it—that every one who finds Crosby's message in these pages may be able to make it his own message to every other man of whom he believes that he has ears to hear. ¶ We send, without charge for postage, one book for twenty-five cents; and for a dollar, six books; and for three dollars, twenty books. ¶ The subjects of the chapters run as follows:

- I. The Labor Question.
- II. The Plea of a Laborer.
- III. Injustice and Evolution.
- IV. A Diagnosis of Present Conditions.
- V. The Fruits of Monopoly.
- VI. Plutocracy.
- VII. The Church and the Labor Question.
- VIII. Remedies; Regulation and Trade Unionism.
- IX. " Restriction of Immigration.
- X. " Communism and Socialism.
- XI. " Justice, Freedom and Co-operation.

Who is the Man at the Margin? He is not one man but many, and he stands at the parting of the ways. ¶ In an unnatural industrial environment, these parted ways lead on to conflicts between Labor and Capital. There is no conflict between Labor and Capital, naturally; but in practice there is a terrible conflict. What is the reason? ¶ Ask the Man at the Margin. ¶ Here are some of the things he will explain: the established order, the economic problem, land tenure, public franchises, wages, socialization of values, sporadic socialism, omnisocialism, bisocialism, equality of opportunity, individual initiative, and social solidarity. ¶ When you have interrogated the Man at the Margin you will say with Oliver R. Trowbridge, the author of "Bisocialism" (in which the Man at the Margin is the dominant character): "Behold the Man at the Margin! Let him reign!"

"Bisocialism: The Reign of the Man at the Margin," expounds economics in harmony with the methods and habits of thought of the Universities, but in the democratic spirit. It is scientific. It is rigidly logical. It is not academic merely, nor practical merely, but both academic and practical. The reasoning is convincing, the writing attractive to the end. Dealing with elementary principles with the simplicity of a primer, the book considers contemporary social and political problems on the plane of contemporary statesmanship. A book for professor, student, reformer, journalist and political leader alike, it will be read with interest and may be studied to advantage by such men of every economic and political school — Democrat, socialist, anarchist, single taxer, Republican.

The price of "Bisocialism" is one dollar, but we will supply copies for sixty cents, and without charge for postage.

THE PUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

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again prevailed upon brute force to yield to peaceful argument.

Half an hour later he returned that way and was horrified to find the whole street fighting, while in the distance police whistles could be heard blowing and police rushing to the spot from all quarters.

"Good gracious! What is the matter, now?" asked the peacemaker of an onlooker.

"Shure, sor," was the reply, "the arbitrators are at work."—Philadelphia Ledger.

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, and, though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of fundamental democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both.

Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department entitled Related Things, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest in relation to the progress of democracy.

We aim to make The Public a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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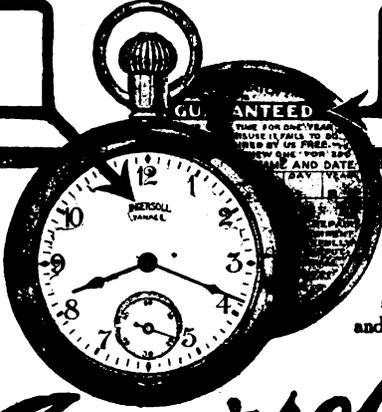
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