

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
Thinking and Living.....	25
Bench Worship	25
The Principle of the Labor Boycott.....	26
Disemployment and the Land.....	27
Advance of the Asquith Ministry.....	27
Disaster and Benevolence.....	27
The Source of Civic Crime.....	28
The Best City Charter.....	28
Progress of Direct Legislation.....	29
Congressional Information	29
Direct Legislation (John Z. White).....	29
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
The Greatest Natural Disaster in Occidental History.....	34
The New York East Side Gives to the Earthquake Sufferers	36
Reaction in China.....	37
Military Executions in Russia.....	37
Tolstoy's Reply to the Single Tax Leagues of Aus- tralia	37
Venezuela	38
The "Golden Rule" for Policemen.....	38
The Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison Case.....	39
The Illinois Constitution.....	39
News Notes	39
Press Opinions	41
RELATED THINGS:	
The Right Way (Townsend Allen).....	43
Uncle Sam's Letters to John Bull.....	43
BOOKS:	
Organized Democracy	44
Periodicals	45

Thinking and Living.

An hysterical first-of-the-year meeting was held in Cleveland last Sunday, at which 11,000 young people are reported to have pledged themselves to try to live as Jesus would. Might it not be better to think as he did? No one knows how Jesus would live under new forms of civilization; but every one can know how he thought. Life varies with circumstances, but thought is always essentially the same. Another thing. The man who merely lives right, needs watching; but the man who thinks right, will live right without being watched.

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Bench Worship.

One of the most dangerous tendencies of modern times in democratic countries, is a certain blind worship of the judicial bench. Even as it was once said that the king can do no wrong, meaning that whatever he does must be loyally approved, so now it is widely felt that the judiciary can do no wrong which it cannot and will not itself repair. This tendency is dangerous because it fosters submission to usurpation of authority by the bench.

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We have bills of rights, guaranteeing liberties which have been bought with blood, and the courts as well as legislatures and Governors, Congresses and Presidents, are bound to respect them. Yet bench-worshippers would have us believe that

the people must silently obey, if the courts assail those liberties. They would assent to denouncing the President if he offended in this fundamental way. They would assent if the offender were a legislature or a Congress. But if five judges out of nine on the bench of our highest court offend, then their vote settles the law, so we are gravely told, and the people must submit. Could anything be more postposterous?

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What good order demands in such cases is that the machinery of the law shall be allowed to execute in peace the particular mandate which those nine judges by a majority of one or more decide to issue. And that is all it does demand. Passive resistance on the part of those directly affected is quite within their rights, and popular agitation for a renovation of the bench or for a legislative reversal of the bad precedent it has sought to establish or for both, are within the rights of everybody—and within their duty, too. The final court of appeal in democratic countries is the people themselves. It is absurd, then, to pretend that the precedents of any of our courts, even the highest, are superior to the people from whom the courts derive the only power they have.

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He who insists that judge-made law should always be obediently deferred to without popular protest, merely because judges make it, sets up a standard of bench worship which if generally adopted would put our fundamental guarantees of liberty at the mercy of five men out of nine on the Supreme Court bench. It won't do. Usurpation of power is a high crime, and it must be denounced as promptly and suppressed as speedily when judges are the offenders as when the offenders are executives or legislators.

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The Principle of the Labor Boycott.

The labor boycott was more accurately defined by V. A. Olander of the Seamen's Union at the Federation of Labor in Chicago on the 3d, than we remember ever to have seen or heard it defined before in so few words. Mr. Olander denied that the labor boycott injures any property rights; and referring for illustration to the national labor-boycott of the Buck stove, and the sentencing for contempt of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, he said: "Neither the defendants in this case or other union men destroyed a Buck's stove or the factory where they are manufactured. They probably injured the sale of the stoves, but we deny

that this is a property right. And that is where our protest against the ruling of the court comes in. If we assume that a boycott to injure the sale of a product injures a property right, then we assume that the manufacturer has a property right in the customer; and no man has a property right in a customer or in the laborer who works for him. The sooner we make this clear the sooner shall we get the relief we are asking for."

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Mr. Olander's distinction is absolutely true. To destroy physical property, or to dissipate intangible property secured as such by the law, is a radically different thing from turning customers away from a seller of goods. The seller neither has nor can have a legal property right in his customers. To erect such a right upon the foundation of property rights in the good will of a business, is either to beg the question or to abuse the good-will principle. No one can have a property right in the good will of his customers which the customers are bound to respect. They may quit patronizing him at any time and from any motive. If they do so from fear of personal injury, it is they and not the seller whose rights are assailed. If they quit not from fear of the boycotter but from information which he supplies, then the boycotter's offense depends upon whether his information was true and legitimate; and on these issues a jury and not an injunction judge must decide.

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As to the legitimacy of the information upon which the customer acts, anything that would affect a free man's decision in buying goods is legitimate information about those goods—provided only that it is true. If the merits of the Buck stove, for instance, were fraudulently extolled by the maker, the publication of that fact ought to be and would be lawful. The Buck stove customers have a right to know the truth about this important element in determining their action as buyers. But customers are influenced by other considerations than the inherent merits of the commodity they buy. Good men and women would not like to buy a commodity streaked with the blood of factory-foundered children. It is therefore no wrong to let them know the fact, if it be a fact, and to appeal to them in the name of humanity not to buy. They might not like to buy commodities produced by underpaid and overworked labor. It is therefore no wrong to let them know this fact, in cases in which it is the fact, and to appeal to them not to buy. And so of those who prefer

“union-made” goods to “scab-made goods”; the manufacturer has no property right in secrecy as to that fact. Unless persons who abhor the death dealing child-labor of our factories; those who shudder at the oppressive conditions which employers’ unions, taking advantage of unfair social institutions, are forcing upon working people; those who believe in encouraging labor organizations—unless these may unite to divert their custom from the establishments that turn human blood into dividends, both their personal freedom and their property rights are destroyed. For it is everybody’s personal right and his property right to trade with whom he pleases.

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Disemployment and the Land.

We are accustomed to speaking of the workless as “the unemployed,” but the San Francisco Star long ago brought into use a truer word—“disemployed.” For the merely unemployed, we need have no especial sympathy if they are poor, nor any extraordinary respect if they are rich; for “unemployment” means no more than idleness. But “disemployment” connotes all the agony of the worker in a period of hard times, when he can find no work to do. And as this condition comes from social maladjustment, the resulting lack of employment is best expressed as *disemployment*. It is enforced unemployment.

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But those who speak of unemployment in such circumstances really mean disemployment; and that is what the meeting set for the 15th at Glasgow, Scotland, implies. It is for the discussion of “The Land Question and Unemployment,” and the principal address is to be delivered by Alexander Ure, solicitor general for Scotland in the Asquith ministry. In Scotland and England as well as here, there is a great and growing army of disemployed. Its membership is drafted, not recruited, through monopoly of the planet. The planet, both here and there, is made a “closed shop,” and industry consequently languishes—suffers continually and collapses in periodical spasms. One of these spasms is now on, and Mr. Ure’s address will be looked forward to with the utmost interest. He knows the sinister relationship of disemployment to land monopoly. It is to be hoped he will make its meaning clear.

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Advance of the Asquith Ministry.

From the London dailies it is evident that the Asquith ministry are expected to move upon the

fortifications of privilege, by means of land value taxation. Mr. Asquith’s recent speech has at least given the reactionists a scare. Hardly an edition of the Tory papers appears without an outcry against the proposed land value tax of a penny in the pound as “unjust” and “impracticable.” Appeals are made to the small merchants, who are begged to remember that their prosperity depends upon the patronage of the landlord class, and that a land value tax would diminish the purchasing power of that class. In almost the same breath, and with delicious inconsistency, the same defenders of privilege turn to the tenant class with assurances that the landlords would shift the tax over upon them in higher rents! What these pleaders advise, to avoid land value taxation, is an increase of the income tax and the re-establishment of protective tariffs. Anything to save the institution of land monopoly, which is the key to the fortress of privilege. But the Tories are growing hopeless. Their newspapers practically admit that a land value tax will go into the budget and that the House of Lords will be powerless to avert this entrance of the people into their citadel. This would mean inevitable defeat for the Tories at the next elections. It begins to look as if the Asquith ministry, lately regarded as doomed, were turning the tables upon their adversaries.

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Disaster and Benevolence.

When a great catastrophe occurs, like the earthquake upheaval in Italy, there is something elemental in the world-wide benevolence it inspires. This is not charity in any conventional sense. It is the spontaneous fraternal response on a great scale which may be observed on a small scale in little neighborhoods when a building burns or a neighbor is disabled by sickness or accident. With one accord, therefore, we may all put our hands into our pockets, for a dime or a dollar, or a hundred or more, according to our means, and feel that we are one of a spontaneously organized party of rescue.

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But conventional charity is another matter. Not that it is unnecessary. It is necessary, as things go. But this kind of charity is for those who would rather relieve suffering at the expense of an easy gift than prevent it at the expense of an unearned income. The point is well illustrated by a bit of correspondence now lying before us. A charity solicitor of a town where many charitable people live in comfort off the sweat of disinherited brethren, had called the attention of a friend to

an elderly woman, once a domestic servant, who had lent all her hard-earned savings to an employer with whom she had lived a long time. He lost her money and died; and having herself suffered a disabling accident she became an object of charity. It was a touching instance of one of the uses of conventional charity, and so the man addressed regarded it. But he replied, and rightly: "The circumstances you relate in your letter, are indeed touching, but they do not appeal to me as does the general situation. Such cases are being manufactured by the million, by the unjust social mechanism we are supporting or at least tolerating. I therefore leave it to you to attend to these individual cases, and I will devote my money and energy to destroying the system that produces them. Workers are necessary in all fields, and I give you credit for doing your share according to your convictions. On the other hand I expect no credit for what I can do in my field."

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To appreciate the difference between the wisdom of drawing the line drawn in that letter with reference to conventional charity, and of drawing no such line in connection with great disasters like that in Italy, we have only to observe that the "poverty that is always with us" is produced and fostered by unjust laws, whereas the poverty we would relieve now in Italy results from an unavoidable convulsion of nature. If these convulsions were due to human laws, we should have a parallel. In that case it would be right for those who would prevent suffering from earthquakes to devote their money and energy to prevention; leaving it to such as would not prevent the earthquakes, to spend their money and energy in relieving the victims of their own perversity.

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The Source of Civic Crime.

Francis J. Heney's experience as a prosecutor in San Francisco has borne better fruit than mere convictions of criminals. It has taught him, and he is teaching the public, that civic corruption harks back to Big Business. "In San Francisco," said Mr. Heney in a speech at Philadelphia last week, "we found two elements at work. Coming from one source was the public service corporation, and from another were the saloons and dives, while behind our backs these forces joined hands. In this unholy alliance the boss was the connecting link, but he was simply the agent of the real boss—the big business man who wanted to exploit the public service corporation. The political boss really was the small duck in the pond.

Behind him was the public service corporation and the Southern Pacific railroad. According to my deduction, the head of the legal department of the Southern Pacific railroad, W. F. Herrin, was the boss behind all, the tool of the actual boss—Harriman. We must reason from cause to effect. The corruption of the city life in San Francisco was not found in the deals made by Ruef, but was due to the fact that Harriman wanted to use certain men. Our real boss sits in New York City and reaches across the country in working out his schemes."

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Mr. Heney's chain of causation is perfect as far as it goes. But how shall Harriman be accounted for? By just one thing. Not innate rascality. He is probably no worse than other men of similar opportunity. He is accounted for by the treachery of the people themselves to their own obligations. They have no right to farm out public service functions. By doing so they are false to their trust, and they thereby invite precisely those depredations which, originating with the Harrimans, are developed through the Ruefs.

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The Best City Charter.

While Chicago politicians are piffing away at antique charter making, public spirited citizens elsewhere are intelligently at work framing charters in harmony with changed and changing municipal conditions—not patch-quilt fashion but by sane constructive methods. The latest contribution is made by Berkeley, across the bay from San Francisco. Among the public spirited men who have had a hand in producing this charter, the adoption of which by the people of Berkeley seems to be assured, is Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California. Other distinguished citizens participated, the chairman of the commission being William Carey Jones, head of the department of jurisprudence in the same university. The result is a clear improvement upon the Des Moines plan (vol. xi, p. 895; vol. xii, p. 5.), not in principle, regarding which it is the same, but in detail. One of the improvements over the Des Moines plan is the substitution of the "second election" method for primaries. At the first elections, a majority vote is required to elect, and in so far as candidates fail to get a majority, the first election is treated as a primary, and the two highest candidates contest at a second election. Excellent provisions for adopting municipal ownership, and conserving all municipal property rights, are made; and every advantage of official responsibility subject to initia-

tive, referendum, and recall—as established in the Des Moines plan, is incorporated. This is in all respects the best example of charter making yet put out.

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Progress of Direct Legislation.

Opponents of direct legislation are finding it progressively more and more difficult to stem the tide. Not only has direct legislation got a firm foothold in several western States, not only is it irrevocably established in Oregon, not only has it been voted into their Constitutions by the people of Maine and Missouri, not only is it getting into all the up-to-date city charters, but conservative citizens without axes to grind are declaring in its favor and working for its adoption. In California, for instance, the Direct Legislation League is officered by such men as Rudolph Spreckels, James D. Phelan, James H. Barry, William Kent, Milton T. U'Ren, W. G. Eggleston, and Francis J. Heney. Its declared object is to end "corrupt political rule in city, county and State by placing in the hands of the people those instruments of direct legislation that make representative government representative." The instruments alluded to, are, of course, the "initiative," the "referendum," and the "recall." No one intelligently opposes them unless he has an interest in making representative government misrepresentative.

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Congressional Information.

Collier's Weekly has undertaken a most important civic work in establishing a bureau devoted to digesting and simplifying the records of Congress and making them easily accessible in intelligible form. The service is to begin with the first session of the next Congress.

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DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The referendum seems generally to be misunderstood. People apparently believe it to be something strange—a new device, whose merits and demerits are vague and uncertain. In truth it is a plan universally followed in all parliamentary bodies. Without it parliamentary law is impossible. Its absence from legislative assemblies is possible only through the substitution of that meanest and most irritating of all tyrannies, the rule of the gavel.

The referendum and initiative are the means by which self-government is secured by any group of men under any conditions whatsoever. Interfer-

ence with these is just so much subtracted from the fact of self-government.

In deliberative bodies a chairman is selected to preside. His duty is upon demand to enforce the rules that may be adopted. If any decision rendered by him is thought to be in violation of these rules any member may appeal from such decision to the whole body. This is the referendum. In the absence of this right of appeal the presiding officer practically can do what he pleases.

If a member wishes action on any matter he makes a motion to that effect, and this, on receiving the support of a second member, is placed before the body for consideration and adoption or rejection. This is the initiative. In the absence of this right to "move," members are without power to act.

If the people of a city, State or the nation, are in truth to be self-governing it seems inevitably to follow that they must have at hand the means of making the government do their bidding. The people of the city of Chicago, for instance, voted in favor of public ownership of their street car system, but their board of aldermen were able to thwart the popular desire. The people of Philadelphia, and many other places, have repeatedly found themselves unable to achieve their wish. To many, self-government has for such reason come to be looked upon as an iridescent dream.

This pessimistic view arises from the fact that we are possessed of but part of the necessary machinery of self-government. We are like an engineer who has all essentials save the governor. His engine will "go," but its action is beyond orderly control.

The initiative and referendum, taken together, are called direct legislation. That is, just as in any deliberative body, if the usual machinery does not produce desired results, the body can act directly. So, if our city or other government does not act rightly, the body of the people, when possessed of the machinery of direct legislation, can act, or legislate, directly. Without this power they are not really self-governing.

The Initiative.

It is proposed, therefore, to give to a certain percentage of the qualified voters in any political body the power to prepare and present petitions for proposed laws to the whole body of voters. This is the exact equivalent of a motion in any club or society, save that a considerable number of "seconds" is required. That is, each signer of the petition really "seconds" the motion to adopt the matter proposed in the petition. Such action is the initiative.

It is sometime said that the people need only to elect officials favorable to desired laws, and that thereby all need for the device known as the initiative will vanish. The fallacy in this position comes from the fact that our officials have many duties. An officer may be highly esteemed and very satisfactory in nearly all relations, but at the same time be quite at variance with the people on some question held by them to be important. Why shall we maintain a system that either deprives us of the efficient officer, or of a measure that we believe to be expedient?

An officer was elected by a majority of two to one, although he declared himself opposed to a policy that the same constituency favored by a vote of three to one. The opposing candidate, meanwhile, had declared in favor of this policy. The explanation is simple. Other issues were, in the opinion of the voters, sufficiently important to force this matter into the background. If possessed of the power to initiate legislation, the voters could have enjoyed the services of the officer they desired, and also secured the adoption of the policy they preferred. They were, in fact, but partly self-governing.

The Referendum.

It is also proposed that the people shall have power, expressed by petition, as explained in the above reference to the initiative, to promptly propose the defeat of acts of legislation deemed by them to be unwise. If a measure has been enacted by the legislature, a petition may be prepared within a stated time (perhaps 90 days) and signed by the given percentage of qualified voters, whereupon it shall be submitted to the people for adoption or rejection. This is exactly equivalent to "an appeal from the chair." The matter may be placed before the people at a special election or at the next general election.

It is sometimes urged that under such a plan the people would be voting all the time and on all manner of questions. In fact, the referendum, where adopted, is seldom resorted to. Legislators are careful when they know the people can reverse their doings; and, very much more important, lobbyists are not inclined to use their peculiar powers of persuasion on members of legislative bodies when they know there are watchful citizens intent upon the defeat of their nefarious schemes, and with full power to defeat them if the people so will.

Legislators are usually elected for two years, and the people, who are the principals, have no control of their agents save by criminal or impeachment proceedings—and constitutional guar-

anties, which are subject to court interpretation. Would any rational business man give to an agent or agents compete control—equal to an irrevocable power of attorney—of his establishment for two years? If he continued this practice, with no power save to change his attorney every two years, how long would his establishment continue to be his property?

The referendum will not only cure legislative rascality, but in even greater degree will operate as a preventive. Would a railroad corporation bribe a legislative body to enact injurious monopoly laws if it knew the people would in all probability rescind such act within a few weeks or months? It would not pay. The corporation would merely lose the money spent to secure legislative privileges.

Legislative Obstruction.

With the initiative and referendum the will of the people cannot be thwarted by indirect methods. In the legislature, "pigeonholing" and obscure amendments frequently divert or even reverse the effect of a law as first introduced. A bill, on being presented to the legislature, is referred to a committee. Unless those interested in its adoption are sufficiently powerful to overcome any opposition that may appear, the bill is never heard of again—it is "pigeonholed."

If forced from the committee, and its enemies cannot outvote its friends, it may be placed so far down on the list of bills that the day of adjournment arrives before it is acted upon. Failing to stop the bill by these methods, amendments are proposed, and it often happens that a few members are (or profess to be) convinced the amendments are desirable, when in fact they render the whole bill useless.

If the bill finally gets through one house, it must travel the same course in the other. Failure of the two houses to agree often leads to a conference committee from both—with, of course, another opening for clever minds.

After all this the bill may still be vetoed. Later still it must run the gauntlet of the courts.

All of these indirect methods of obstruction are avoided by the initiative and referendum. A bill properly signed and filed goes to the people without obstruction. The people either adopt or reject. All opportunity to deceive or poison is eliminated.

Direct legislation is merely the application to our public affairs of those methods that experience has shown best suited to attain the end desired. That end is self-government. Do we want self-government? It sometimes seems problematical.

Capable men who oppose direct legislation can explain their attitude only on the ground that the people, in their judgment, are not capable of managing their own affairs. Such men are Tories. They have no proper place in the American scheme of government.

If it be held that we have in fact conducted this government for above a century without direct legislation and that we may safely continue "in the path our fathers trod," we would call attention to the fact that in nothing else are we satisfied with the ways of our fathers. They used the ox cart—we don't. Just as we have improved on our father's mechanical appliances, without violence to the principles of mechanics, so it may be possible to improve on governmental machinery without in any way altering the correct principles of government which we inherit.

The principle of the first locomotive is identical with that of the last. The changes have all been in the elimination of defective methods in detail, to the end that the essential principle involved might be more fully realized. Why is it not the part of wisdom to eliminate like defective details in the machinery of our government?

Again, when we remember that for the first time in history self-government on a large scale is attempted in America is it at all surprising that the machinery first installed is defective in detail? Would it not be profoundly astonishing if that machinery were not defective?

Two Theories of Representation.

There are two theories of representative government. One is that we elect superior men to legislative office, whose function is to enact laws, for the regulation of our industrial and police affairs. The other theory is that we elect representatives to legislate in obedience to our wishes, to the end that the people shall rule themselves. Each theory has found support in the thought and practice of the people of the United States. In the beginning State constitutions were short, being usually merely a statement of the bill of rights and accepted constitutional principles. Legislative authority thus but slightly checked became aggressive. Endeavoring to hold the activities of their representatives within proper bounds, the people amended the State constitutions, and quite generally called conventions to draft new constitutions. This practice was repeated until these State charters have grown from 1,000 or 1,500 words to the latest—that of Oklahoma—which is about 60,000 words in length. This whole procedure is evidence of the persistency with which the people struggle for genuine

self-government. For more than one hundred years they have struggled to bring their legislatures into subjection. The means adopted has been a large increase of constitutional limitations. But in addition an increasing number of matters have been made to depend directly on the political action of the people themselves. In most States constitutional provisions are referred to popular vote. In many the people vote directly on loaning public credit, expenditure of money, city charters, granting franchises, methods and rates of taxation subdivision of counties, organization of townships, highway control, public aid to private enterprise, Sunday closing, local option, civil service, direct primaries, and many other matters.

Direct legislation is the principle underlying this latter movement. It is in fact, safe guarding liberty by means of live men, rather than by dead forms.

Representative Government Not a Failure.

We are supposed to possess popular self-government. But in fact the hindrances to its realization are so many as to cause a considerable percentage of our voters to despair. Capable men, who are earnest in their studies and in their efforts to improve existing conditions, are heard to declare that representative government has proved a failure. That these men are hasty is no doubt true; but, on the other hand, the evidence of seemingly almost fatal defects in our governmental machinery is overwhelming.

Why was it necessary to battle so many years in order to secure the interstate commerce commission? Was it not because the people had no means by which they could directly express themselves on that one question? The people must express themselves through representatives, and these have many duties, to engage their attention.

The resulting situation is that the representatives are not under positive command to do any one particular thing—are not even certain as to the desires of their constituencies. These conditions inevitably give to political machines a controlling power, that, among a truly self-governing people, should reside with the voters alone. We have no reason whatever to despair of popular self-government until it shall first have had full and adequate trial under the most favorable circumstances, or in conditions giving the people every opportunity, when in their judgment the need arises, to completely control governmental action.

The intent of our governmental structure is right. Its defects are wholly in the details of administration. These are not of uncertain or

indefinite character, but easily perceived, and as easily understood. So long as city or state legislative bodies may grant a privilege in highways—commonly known as a right-of-way—and the courts continue to declare such grant to be a contract, thus placing it beyond the reach of sovereign States, the people are helpless, unless we secure possession of the machinery for direct legislation.

Why should any man who believes in popular self-government hesitate to claim the right to review legislative action. Does he not know what he desires the legislature or the city council to do? If he does not, why does he vote?

Let us then recognize the very evident fact that the machinery originally installed for the realization of popular self-government is in some respects insufficient for the intended purpose. Let us observe that this insufficiency has been fully overcome by the commonly known and plainly correct methods of customary parliamentary law.

Having arrived at a clear knowledge of the simple remedy for the difficulty, let us demand that it be applied—and at once. We demand the initiative, that we may carry our will into effect when legislative bodies fail or refuse to act. We demand the referendum, that we may resist legislative action when contrary to the popular will.

In other words, we demand the continuance of representative government with optional direct legislation. We want representative government as a mere matter of convenience—but demand direct legislation as our natural and inalienable right.

The Missouri Law.

At the recent election the people of Missouri adopted the initiative and referendum by inserting the following clause in their constitution:

The Legislative authority of the State shall be vested in a Legislative Assembly, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the Legislative Assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the Legislative Assembly.

The first power reserved by the people is the Initiative, and not more than eight per cent of the legal voters in each of at least two-thirds of the Congressional districts in the State shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon.

The second power is the Referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health,

or safety, and laws making appropriations for the current expenses of the State government, for the maintenance of the State institutions and for the support of the public schools) either by the petition signed by five per cent of the legal voters in each of at least two-thirds of the Congressional districts in the State, or by the Legislative Assembly, as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the Legislative Assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded.

The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people.

All elections on measures referred to the people of the State shall be had at the biennial regular general elections, except when the Legislative Assembly shall order a special election.

Any measure referred to the people shall take effect and become the law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon, and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be: "Be it enacted by the people of the State of Missouri."

This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the Legislative Assembly of the right to introduce any measure.

The whole number of votes cast for Justice of the Supreme Court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the Initiative, or for the Referendum, shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the Initiative and for the Referendum shall be filed with the Secretary of State, and in submitting the same to the people he, and all other officers, shall be guided by the general laws and the act submitting this amendment, until legislation shall be especially provided therefor.

Credit for the adoption of this measure is due to the Missouri Federation of Labor, to the Referendum League of Missouri, and especially to the president of the League, Dr. Wm. P. Hill, without whose large financial assistance, capable leadership, and untiring devotion to the cause of real democracy, the energetic campaign carried forward in Missouri in behalf of the foregoing Constitutional amendment would have been wholly impossible.

The People Act With Moderation.

The acts of the people with the machinery of direct legislation will compare very favorably with the activities of legislatures, as is shown by the following list of measures adopted during the last three elections by the people of Oregon: On June 3, 1902, the initiative and referendum were added to the constitution of the State of Oregon, by a favorable vote of 62,024 for and 5,668 in opposition. The total vote for officers at the same election was 92,920. Thus a trifle over 72 per cent of the total vote was cast on the amendment.

Two years later, 1904, two laws were submitted

under the provisions of the new amendment. One was for the direct nominations of officers by the people, and it was adopted by a vote of 56,205 to 16,354. The other law was for local option in opposition to the liquor interest. The temperance people were successful by a vote of 43,316 to 40,198. The total vote was 99,315, giving slightly over 84 per cent as the vote on the temperance measure.

In 1906 eleven laws were submitted to the people. The vote on equal suffrage was over 84 per cent of the total, and the measure was lost by 36,902 to 47,075. This proposal carried in 10 counties, and lost in 23.

The liquor interest attempted to reverse the temperance vote of 1904, but suffered a more emphatic defeat in a vote of 35,297 to 45,144.

A third proposal was to sell an old road to the State (under the popular cry of public ownership), but an adverse vote of 44,527 to 31,525 defeated the scheme.

An appropriation by the legislature was held up by referendum petition, but the people sustained the legislature by a vote of 43,918 to 26,758.

✓ An amendment of the constitution to enlarge the scope of the initiative and referendum was adopted by 47,661 to 18,751. This carried in every county, as did the six following measures:

✓ A constitutional amendment giving cities and towns power to enact and amend their charters, subject to the State constitution, adopted by a vote of 52,567 to 19,852.

✓ A constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum on local, special and municipal laws, by a vote of 47,678 to 16,735.

✓ A constitutional amendment allowing the State printing and binding to be regulated by law by 63,749 to 9,571.

A law prohibiting free passes and discrimination by railroad companies and other public service corporations, by 57,281 to 16,779.

An act requiring sleeping car, refrigerator car, and oil companies to pay an annual license upon gross earnings, by 69,635 to 6,441.

An act requiring express, telegraph and telephone companies to pay an annual license upon gross earnings, by 70,872 to 6,300.

On June 1, 1908, nineteen proposals were submitted, in Oregon. Four of these were referred to the people by the legislature; four were ordered by referendum petition, and eleven by initiative petition. Of the whole, seven were defeated and twelve adopted.

The total vote cast at this election was 116,614.

The largest vote cast on any of the nineteen proposals was 95,528; the smallest 70,726.

The four matters referred by the legislature to the people were:

An amendment allowing state institutions to be erected elsewhere than at the seat of government, adopted by 41,975 to 40,868.

An amendment changing time of holding election from first Monday in June to first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, adopted by 65,728 to 18,590.

An amendment allowing increased compensation to members of the legislature, defeated by 68,892 to 19,691.

The four matters ordered by referendum petitions were:

An amendment to increase numbers of members of supreme court, defeated by 50,591 to 30,243.

An act giving sheriff the right to feed prisoners at a per diem rate, adopted by 60,443 to 30,033.

An act requiring railroads and other common carriers to furnish free transportation to certain state and county officials, defeated by 59,406 to 28,856.

An act appropriating \$25,000 annually for four years for State armories, defeated by 54,848 to 33,507.

The eleven measures proposed by initiative petitions were:

An act protecting salmon and sturgeon during certain seasons and from traps, adopted by 46,582 to 40,720.

An act protecting salmon and sturgeon from gill nets in parts of the Columbia river and tributaries, adopted by 56,130 to 30,280.

An amendment permitting the "Recall" after six months in office, adopted by 58,381 to 31,002.

A law directing legislators to follow the popular choice for United States senator, adopted by 69,668 to 21,162.

An amendment permitting proportional representation, adopted by 48,868 to 34,128.

A law against corrupt practices and limiting election expenditures, adopted by 54,042 to 31,301.

A law preventing criminal trial save upon grand jury indictment, adopted by 52,214 to 28,487.

A law creating the new county of Hood River, adopted by 43,948 to 26,778.

An amendment to give equal suffrage defeated by 58,670 to 36,858.

An amendment to allow towns to regulate liquor trade, defeated by 52,346 to 39,442.

An amendment exempting certain forms of property from taxation, defeated by 60,871 to 32,066. This measure was urged by the single taxers.

A Conservative Approval.

Justice David Brewer said in his New York address:

"The two supreme dangers that menace a democratic State are despotism on the one hand and mob rule on the other. . . . The more constant and universal the voice of the people makes itself manifest, the nearer do we approach to an ideal government. The initiative and referendum make public opinion the controlling factor in the government. The more promptly and the more fully public officers carry into effect such public opinion, the more truly is government of the people realized."

Tories everywhere oppose the rule of the plain people. The claim is set up that they are incompetent. So said Charles I, so said Louis XVI. So say all tories today. And yet the world's history bluntly tells the story of meanness, misery and fraud wherever power has been placed with the few, while peace, good will and joy have ever attended those peoples whose governments were equally participated in by all.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, January 5, 1909.

The Greatest Natural Disaster in Occidental History.

That the Italian earthquake of Monday the 28th was the most disastrous of a century was evident from the first meager reports (p. 14). The magnitude of the catastrophe and the hideousness of the destruction it wrought have become more apparent day by day, until it is now realized that the history of the western world contains no record of so great a cataclysm. The number of the dead, and the amount of property loss, can only in a general way be computed. It is not enough to count fatalities, even in the hundreds of thousands—and they are supposed to reach from 200,000 to 300,000. Nor is it enough to say that two cities and many small towns and villages have been utterly destroyed. An unexampled horror remains in the fact that thousands

and thousands of persons, pinned under ruins, wounded and crushed, scorched by fires, without food, and without water except such as trickled to them from the torrents of rain that fell for ninety-six hours, have been slowly dying throughout a period of eight days. Rescues have been effected, succor has been brought with unsurpassed devotion; but human hands could accomplish but little where the need was so vast and the catastrophe so prodigious.

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The cause of the earthquake seems to be attributed to a slipping at a well-known geologic "fault" between the "primary" and "secondary" rock formations which are the bases respectively of Sicily and Italy. To slipping at this fault is laid the disruption of Sicily from the mainland before history began, as well as the many earthquakes in this region, of historic record.

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At about twenty minutes past five on the morning of the 28th of December, for about thirty-two seconds, the eastern shores of Sicily and the southwest corner of Italy oscillated, first vertically, then with an undulatory motion. The buildings of the large and handsome city of Messina in Sicily, and of Reggio on the Italian shore, crumbled, burying the inhabitants in their ruins. Reggio seems to have been in part swallowed up in yawning abysses. The sea in the straits surged and subsided, swamping vessels and sweeping far up the shores. Neighboring towns and villages on both sides of the straits met with a similar fate to that of the unhappy cities. The disturbed area included a region forty miles around Mt. Etna. The Lipari islands, to the north of Sicily, though not swallowed up as at first reported, suffered from shock and tidal waves; and their volcano, Stromboli, like Etna, is reported to be in new activity. Repeated milder shocks since the first, with repeated tidal waves, have added to the terrors and dangers of the situation; while "torrential" rains have augmented the indescribable misery of the survivors. The following descriptions by eye-witnesses at the time of the first shock give a better idea of what happened than can be obtained from a condensation of many accounts. The captain of the *Afonwen*, a Welsh steamer which lay that morning under steam in the harbor of Messina, thus describes what he saw:

It may have been about 5 o'clock in the morning when I heard a low, growling sound like distant thunder. Daylight had not yet dawned, but I was on deck and the crew were stirring. The peculiar sound made me glance anxiously at the sky and then at the sleeping town of Messina, neither of which afforded any explanation.

Suddenly the *Afonwen* gave a terrific leap. That is the only word I can use. The ship seemed to

rise up from the surface of the water as though lifted bodily by some mighty power underneath. The anchor chains snapped and we started to drift shoreward very fast. From the land came sounds of tremendous crashing and falling of buildings. The low, muttering thunder which I first had heard now became a roar of destruction. All the lights along shore went out in an instant. The darkness was intense. . . . Now the sea became tremendously agitated, with waves and walls of water rising on every side. The ship listed to her beam ends. The deck heeled over to an angle of 25 degrees, so that we scarcely could keep our feet. For thirty-five minutes it was touch and go. Once a great wall of water struck us with such violence that I thought all was over, but by a miracle we came through it. It was a cyclone from all points of the compass. The wind howled and the waves battered and swept the decks. Amazing and terrifying things were happening all around us. Great holes opened in the sea itself and seemed to reach down twenty to thirty feet and some to lesser depths. The water at first appeared to grow livid and then became white with foam. As soon as the worst of the tidal wave had passed I tried to see what had befallen the town of Messina, as the first faint streaks of daylight appeared, but nothing was visible of mole or buildings. I could see at first only the outline of the hills and a vast eddying cloud of dust, which speedily enveloped everything and settled down over the ship like a fog. With increasing daylight we could see how Messina had been destroyed. Before our eyes, houses and palaces still were toppling and falling to earth with noise like so many exploding powder magazines. Close beside us a Danish steamer had gone down and the surface of the water was littered with all manner of wreckage from it and other wrecked craft. When we looked at the land again it seemed to have taken on some fantastic coloring, something between a yellow tint and an ashen gray. The city itself was black with smoke split by ominous red streaks of bursting flame. Gradually the sea calmed down and the roar of the wind and waves decreased. Then shrieks and groans reached our ears, and we could see hundreds of terror-stricken persons flocking down to the water's edge, waving their arms and screaming frantically for help. Many of them plunged into the sea and swam out toward our ship. We took on board as many as could be accommodated.

Among those saved on board the *Afonwen* was Edward Ellis, an English visitor to Messina. He says:

I was on the second floor of the Hotel Trinacria. When the earthquake began I was in bed asleep. It shot me out on the floor and then turned the bed over on top of me. I managed to crawl out from under with practically nothing on me and made a frantic rush for the door, but found it impossible to open it. I gave myself up for lost. Both floor and ceiling went crashing down and I was left hanging to the door. The room seemed whirling round and round and great gaps opened in the walls. A moment later everything collapsed and the whole structure fell. I landed on a heap of

mattresses, clothing and furniture and though much bruised was not disabled. Right in front of me in the black darkness I heard moaning. I put out my hand and touched something horrible. When I drew it back my hand was colored crimson. Some one was dying there, but I was unable to afford any help. Gradually I worked my way out from the debris of the fallen hotel and finally was able to rise to my feet. I began to walk over ruins, but the earth was still heaving, and several times I fell. The thick dust was almost suffocating. All around rose cries for help. Two men rushed past me so frantically that I was again thrown down, but I got up and struggled on. I felt that constantly I was treading on bodies, and perhaps on living persons. Once the body of a woman fell down on me from somewhere overhead. I suppose I had walked two hours when suddenly I went waist deep into water. A man helped me out and pointed in the direction of Marina. But my troubles were not over. The wild figure of a man plastered with mud rose up before me and barred my passage. He was clearly mad, and only after a desperate struggle did I get away from him. Next I found myself in a street where every house was on fire, and I saw no way out until a building fell down and smothered the fire sufficiently in one place to afford me a path over the rubbish. Even then an enormous heap of wreckage lay in my way, which for some time I vainly tried to surmount. In my endeavors I fell into a deep hole, but in it I found some pieces of furniture and half-broken steps, which helped me at last to climb to the top of the heap. Weakened and exhausted, I slipped and began rolling helplessly down the hillside and was unable to stop until I went splashing into the sea. This was the end of my troubles, for I was picked up and taken aboard the steamer.

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Relief was hurried to the stricken region from Naples and Rome, and the King and Queen of Italy in person took charge of the relief work, laboring themselves in the midst of the suffering and in spite of danger. Food, doctors and quicklime were called for; soldiers were given charge of administration and rescue; refugees have been taken farther and farther up the coast as the first cities were filled to overflowing, until the King's palaces and the hospital of the Vatican have been filled with the wounded and the sick. But in the meantime the burden had been recognized as too great for Italy to bear alone, and contributions have been pouring into Italy from the sympathizing nations, even from far away Japan. The United States Congress on the 4th appropriated \$800,000 for the relief of the earthquake sufferers; and the first division of the Atlantic-Pacific fleet (vol. xi, p. 901), which had reached Suez, has been ordered to proceed at once to Naples, to offer any assistance in their power. The surplus \$400,000 left from the San Francisco relief fund, which was to have been turned over to private charities on the 31st (p. 14), has been given to Italy.

The following description of the situation days after the catastrophe is taken from a cabled letter to the Chicago Examiner, written under date of the 3rd, by the novelist, F. Marion Crawford, who lives at Saint Agnello de Sorrento, Italy:

My son-in-law has just returned here after spending two days and a half in Messina, whence he barely escaped with his life, in spite of the greatest courage and coolness. I give his narrative in his own words: . . . "A dense black smoke rose in columns from the vast ruins of the city and was gently blown toward us by the morning breeze. As we drew nearer we saw that the fine buildings on the magnificent curved esplanade that was such a feature of the water front were all either completely destroyed or else rent down half their height. Along the shore a compact crowd of people swayed and writhed, while a strange howl of voices scarcely human reached our ears. It was the howl of the people who were already mad with terror and crying out for help, even for water. No words can describe adequately the horrors that met us everywhere. At every step the ground was strewn with dead bodies and fragments of corpses torn to pieces. The air was filled with one long moaning which sometimes sighed out from beneath the ruins, where thousands still lie buried alive, but which was continually swollen by the cries of the wounded and dying in countless narrow streets. The stench was indescribable, and everywhere fires burned steadily among the ruins, consuming the dead and living together and filling the air with horrible fumes of burning flesh. With the utmost difficulty I reached the remains of Hotel Trinacria, of which only the front was standing. This was at 1:30 Thursday. A gang of Russian seamen were working with splendid courage to bring out those buried alive in the hotel. Suddenly the ground rocked under our feet, the front wall of the hotel trembled and then fell in one mass upon the devoted sailors, destroying them to a man. By some miracle not one stone touched me, and the panic-stricken crowd swept me on the Via Mazzini, which was choked with dead, wounded and dying. Here many Italian surgeons were working like madmen to save such lives as they could, where every convenience was lacking. I remember the exasperated cry of one surgeon shouting for water in which to dissolve corrosive sublimate, but not a soul helped him while he bent over the body of a poor wretch who had lost both legs. Then, suddenly, a man I knew was upon me imploring me to help him excavate his family from the ruins of his house. For two hours we sought the place in the heart of the burning, crumbling city. We found the smoldering ruin, out of which come low and trembling cries for help. In a voice that nothing can describe, my friend called to his father and mother, and from beneath the crumbling walls came back the call: 'Giacomino, my son, save us!' My poor friend threw himself like a madman upon the wrecked masonry, trying to tear it away with his hands. I cried out for help, but as we were completely alone, none answered. I then seized a half-charred bit of timber and thrust it into the hole whence the sound came and tried to move the stones, but to my horror screams of pain came back as if I

had unwittingly wounded some unhappy person. But I had no time to think, for suddenly a herd of half-mad fugitives filled the lonely street and carried me on to the railway station."

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An Associated Press telegram from Messina under date of the 4th, says:

Eight days after the earthquake there are still living people under the ruins of Messina. A few were taken out today, but cannot survive. The crews of the Russian squadron are arousing increased admiration. They have labored without rest, and not a few of the sailors have been killed or injured in the performance of heroic services.

The Italian Parliament will be convened this week in special session, to consider relief questions. Three members of Parliament perished at Messina and Reggio.

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The King desires that Reggio and Messina should be left as graveyards, never again to be built upon. The danger of pestilence from their indescribable horrors would necessarily for long compel their abandonment; and memories and fears might well lead to their proscription as city sites for all time to come.

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The New York East Side Gives to the Earthquake Sufferers.

A remarkable demonstration is reported from New York on the occasion of the taking up of a collection for the earthquake sufferers in Italy by *Il Progresso*, a local Italian newspaper. It was thus described in the Chicago Inter Ocean of the 4th:

As a dozen victorias and one automobile, containing prominent members of the Italian colony, passed through the streets, men and women wept, tore their clothing from their bodies and threw it, with what money they could spare, to those waiting to receive it. The victorias were headed by an open wagon, in which a band played patriotic airs. Behind trailed ten express carts on which clothing, bottles of wine, bundles of all descriptions and even medicines were loaded. Nothing was refused. A man, who, with trembling hands brought a pair of trousers thrice patched, received the same blessing given a more prosperous neighbor who appeared with a box of new shoes. Down from the top windows, middle windows and all other windows fluttered shawls, skirts, trousers, vests, coats, underwear, socks and handkerchiefs. Some were new, others old; but each represented a sacrifice. In the shower came money, lots of it, considering that the folk who gave it had not much to give. Pennies, nickels, quarters and half dollars, hurriedly wrapped in bits of paper, struck the pavement, and now and then a bill dropped to the street. Down below an enormous throng picked up the articles and handed them over to the collectors. In not a single instance did a penny go astray. The whole

affair had the mark of gravity; there was no laughter, no outcries and no disputes. As one of the collectors passed a Chinese laundry on Roosevelt street, the occupant came to the door with two ten-cent pieces in his hand. "Me helpee, too," he said.

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Reaction in China.

The Chinese Regency (vol. xi, pp. 801, 831, 879) by edict on the 2d suddenly deprived Yuan Shi-Kai, China's able and progressive prime minister, of his offices, and ordered him to leave Peking within five days. Na Tung, comptroller of customs, was appointed in his place. The move is regarded as indicating a dangerous and foolhardy Manchu dominance in the government, with perhaps Japanese instigation back of it. It is certain that if China can be wrecked by reaction, Japan is the only power that can profit by it. The friends of progress in China feared for the immediate safety of the deposed minister, but he made good his escape from Peking, and on the 4th was reported to be at Tientsin, seventy miles to the southeast, and to be under the protection of Great Britain. Yuan Shi-Kai, it is said in the dispatches which record his removal, has been for years one of the most influential and powerful statesmen in the Chinese Empire. We quote from the Chicago Record-Herald:

He is a thoroughly practical man and brought business methods to the administration of the Empire. His watchword was that China was capable of accomplishing just as much as had Japan. He inspired a national patriotism which is to-day doing much to sweep away middle-age superstition and rebuild the Empire. When he became a member of the grand council he relinquished the post of viceroy of Chi-Li, but it was in this office that he gained the greatest renown. Yuan Shi-Kai organized an army in China that was the wonder and amazement of foreign military critics. He succeeded in obliterating all the popular and caste objections to military service, so that the sons of the nobility to-day are proud to appear in uniform. He substituted modern text books for ancient classics. He compelled the abolition of torture and transformed Peking from the filthiest city in the world into a metropolis, well paved and cleanly kept, that compares favorably with many cities of Europe and America. It is an undoubted fact that Yuan Shi-Kai encouraged and represented the most progressive ideas in the central government.

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Military Executions in Russia.

The military court at Yekaterinoslav pronounced forty-one death sentences (vol. xi, p. 733) on the 1st. Thirty-two of the condemned men were strikers in the railroad troubles of October, 1905. In addition to the death sentences twelve strikers were condemned to penal servitude for life, forty-eight to lesser terms of exile, and thirty-nine were acquitted. The dispatches state

that these sentences grew "out of the events of 1905, when strikers numbering hundreds and thousands throughout Russia attempted to tie up the whole railway system, telegraph lines and gas and electric light plants. The demonstrations at Yekaterinoslav were particularly desperate, many persons being killed and injured." It is important to note that criminal prosecutions of these strikers have only recently been instituted, a majority of them having until lately been in the enjoyment of full liberty, and some of them being even in the employ of the municipality. The death sentences have created a painful impression, and they brought out a stormy debate in the Douma (vol. xi, p. 804) on the 2d. Mr. Milyoukoff, leader of the Constitutional Democrats (vol. x, p. 1091), proposed an order of the day expressing the horror of the Douma at this growing harvest of death, which, he said, was blunting the moral sense of the community and destroying the honor and prestige of Russia as a civilized state. The Socialists and the members of the Labor party supported the resolution. When it was rejected the Opposition left the hall in a body. Mr. Guchkoff, speaking for the Octobrists, while justifying condemnation of the strikers, deplored the severity of the sentences imposed, and announced that steps were being taken to secure their mitigation. During the debate the hall was in an uproar, and cries of "Murderers!" "Cut-throats!" and "Hangmen!" were exchanged.

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Tolstoy's Reply to the Single Tax Leagues of Australia.

It will be remembered that at the time of the commemoration of Tolstoy's eightieth birthday last September a birthday address was sent to him by the Single Tax Leagues of Australia (vol. xi, p. 539); and that it was reported by C. T. Haggberg Wright, bearer of an address to Tolstoy from his English friends, that "the most touching of all the addresses" received by Count Tolstoy "were from the single taxers of Australia, the followers of Henry George, and one from the waiters of a music hall in Moscow (vol. xi, p. 637). The Standard, of Sydney, N. S. W., for November 16, contains Tolstoy's reply to the Leagues' address, as follows:

To the Federation of Single Tax Leagues of Australia:

Dear Friends:

Your address has deeply touched me.

To my regret I have done too little for the cause so dear to you and me which unites us. Of late I have been thinking more and more about it, and should I yet be afforded power for work, I will endeavor to express the teaching of Henry George—who has as yet been far from appreciated according to his merits—as clearly, as briefly, and as accessibly to the great mass of land workers as possible.

The injustice and evil of property in land has long ago been recognized. More than a hundred years

ago the great French thinker, Jean Jacques Rousseau, had written, "The one who first fenced in a plot of land and took upon himself to say, 'This land is mine,' and found people so simple-minded as to believe him, that man was the first founder of the social organization which now exists. From how many crimes, wars, murders, calamities, cruelties, would mankind have been delivered, had some man then uprooted the fences, and filled up the ditches, saying, 'Beware, do not believe this deceiver, you will perish if you forget that the land cannot belong to anyone and that its fruits belong to all.'"

The injustice of the seizure of the land as property has long ago been recognized by thinking people, but only since the teaching of Henry George has it become clear by what means this injustice can be abolished.

In our time the realization of this teaching has become specially necessary not only in Russia—where the land problem is unfortunately being solved in a way most contrary to justice, to the people's consciousness, and to reason—but also in all so-called civilized states. This problem, i. e., the abolition of property in land, at the present time, everywhere demands its solution as insistingly, as half a century ago the problem of slavery demanded its solution in Russia and America.

This problem insistingly demands its solution because the supposed right of landed property now lies at the foundation not only of economic misery, but also of political disorder, and above all the moral deprivation of the people.

The wealthy ruling classes, foreseeing the loss of the advantages of their position inevitable with the solution of the problem, are endeavoring by various false interpretations, justifications and palliatives with all their power to postpone as long as possible its solution.

But the time comes for everything, and as fifty years ago the time came for the abolition of man's supposed right of property over man, so the time has now come for the abolition of the supposed right of property in land which affords the possibility of appropriating other people's labor. The time for this has come and is now so near at hand that nothing can arrest the abolition of this dreadful means of oppressing the people.

Yet some effort, and this great emancipation of the nations shall be accomplished.

I therefore particularly sympathize with your cause, with the efforts you are exerting, and will be very glad if I shall be able to add my small efforts to yours.

LEO TOLSTOY.

2-15 Sept., '08.

Yasnaya Polyana, Toula, Russia.

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The following note was received by the League with the above message:

Gentlemen: For the purpose of affording the enclosed letter to you from Leo Tolstoy the greatest possible publicity in the interest of the cause you are serving, I have with his consent, forwarded a copy of it to the press by this same post. You will therefore possibly become acquainted with the letter before it reaches you enclosed herewith. It

is in order that you might know the cause thereof that I have added this explanation.

With warmest wishes for the further success of your noble work,

Yours sincerely,

V. TCHERTKOFF.

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Venezuela.

Fighting between adherents of President Castro and acting President Gomez (p. 13) of Venezuela was reported from Port of Spain, Trinidad, on the 29th. Twenty men are said to have been killed, but the report is to be taken with due allowance. On the 1st from Caracas, by way of Willemstad, conferences were reported between Commissioner Buchanan for the United States, and the Venezuelan foreign minister.

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The "Golden Rule" for Policemen.

In his Daily Bulletin to the police force of Cleveland, the issue of January 1 and 2, Chief of Police Kohler (vol. xi, pp. 244, 254, 293) tells of the results of the "golden rule" experiment which he adopted a year ago. "For the twelve months just past," he says, "the one thing most noticeable is the intelligence with which the force has carried out my instructions, and the able manner and good judgment used in disposing of minor or petty offenses that have been brought to your notice. You have certainly rendered a great service to those unfortunates who, from circumstances surrounding them, are most likely to do wrong. You have prevented loss of time and money to them, and suffering to their families, and imposed no hardship on anyone, and still improved conditions in the entire community. There has been less crime committed in Cleveland, the growth of the city and industrial conditions considered, and less property stolen than in the previous year." Following is Chief Kohler's tabulation of arrests:

Total for 1907, before "golden rule".....	30,418
Total for 1908, after "golden rule".....	10,085
Disposition of 1908 arrests:	
Intoxicated persons released on waivers by officers in charge of precincts without appearing in court, and approved by the Police Judge.....	2,512
Turned over to other authorities by the Police	470
Bound over to Common Pleas Court.....	653
Sent to Workhouse.....	1,124
Fined money (paid)	911
Cases continued into 1909.....	260

(Of the total number of arrests made during the year 1908, 260 have been continued from time to time, and in some instances as many as 5, 6 or 7 times, until now some will have to be carried into 1909.)

The remaining 4,155 arrests were allowed to go free by the police judge.

In further justification of the success of his humane innovation, Chief Kohler says: "To further review the good results obtained, compare the 938 arrests for felonies included in the total of 30,418 arrests for 1907, with 1,000 arrests for felonies in the total of 10,085 arrests for 1908. This must prove to anyone, that elimination of arrests of first and minor offenders, gives the police more time for the prevention of crime and the apprehension of the more serious offenders, and show conclusively that we have not been allowing this common sense plan to be applied to criminals." Mr. Kohler also makes a just criticism of improvidently issued warrants. "About 39 per cent," he says, "of the arrests made in 1908 were made on warrants secured by persons not members of this department, on information furnished the police prosecutors. Of this number 1,956 or 68.4 per cent (not taking into consideration the warrant cases "continued") were allowed to go free by the Police Judge. This proves conclusively that with the exception of a few instances of extreme emergencies, too many arrests are made on the strength of the evidence as related by the persons making the complaint *only*, the person against whom complaint has been made having had no opportunity to be heard. No fair minded person will say that it is fair to take from any persons their liberty and place them in prison, on the statements of irresponsible persons who imagine they have been injured, when there is no necessity for immediate imprisonment without hearing the story of both sides." For a last word of advice Mr. Kohler cautions his subordinates "to be always on the alert to render every proper assistance," to "be kind and courteous to all," and not to "lock anyone in prison for a misdemeanor, unless" sure of "sufficient evidence to convince a competent police judge that an actual and intentional offense has been committed."

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The Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison Case.

Steps were taken at the Chicago Federation of Labor on the 3d to celebrate Lincoln's birthday with a great meeting of protest against the judicial usurpations involved in the sentencing to prison of Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison (pp. 1, 3, 10) for making speeches and publishing statements and comments in violation of an injunction. The following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia has sentenced to imprisonment Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison, and John Mitchell for their just and lawful exercise of the Constitutional right of free speech and free press in the matter of the Buck stove and range controversy; and, whereas, this sentence is upon a summary judgment of contempt, and not, after trial at law or upon a

verdict of a jury, as required by the Constitution and the law of this country; and, whereas, this method of procedure is an attempt to evade and abrogate the fundamental principles of free press and free speech without due process of law; and, whereas, resistance to such judicial usurpation is obedience to the law and the duty of all men who love liberty and believe in justice; and, whereas, Justice Wright's opinion is unworthy of the high court he represents and an open usurpation against and defiance of the law of this country; now, therefore, be it resolved that the Chicago Federation of Labor does hereby express its approval of the heroic stand taken by said Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison in defense of our Constitutional rights, and tenders to them its moral and financial support to aid in maintaining these rights which are the common inheritance of the whole people.

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The Illinois Constitution.

A serious movement has begun for the calling of a Constitutional convention to produce a substitute for the present time-worn and tattered constitution of the State of Illinois. The movement springs from the Illinois Legislature Voters' League, of which George E. Cole is the leading spirit. It began with the following resolutions of this League, adopted by its executive committee at Chicago on the 25th:

Whereas, since the present Constitution of Illinois was adopted in 1870, Chicago has changed from an overgrown village to a metropolitan city, while the State at large remains the greatest agricultural State in the Union, which situation has developed conflicting needs and interests that require divergent forms of government; and, whereas, the present Constitution is not adapted to meet the requirements of the situation; therefore, be it resolved, that it is the sense of the Legislative Voters' League that the proper way to cure the ills now before us and to deal out even-handed justice for all the State is through a Constitutional convention; and, be it further resolved, that the officers of the League be instructed to memorialize the coming Legislature, asking it to submit to the voters of Illinois the question of convening said Constitutional convention.

NEWS NOTES

—"Lincoln Centennial Week" is to be celebrated in Chicago February 7-14.

—The 2-cent rate of postage between the United States and Germany (vol. xi, p. 879) went into effect on the 1st.

—Abe Ruef of San Francisco (vol. xi, p. 901) was sentenced on the 29th to fourteen years' imprisonment in the State's prison upon conviction of bribery.

—In the elections held in France on the 3rd, the Radicals and the Radical-Socialists made net gains of fifteen seats. The Socialist-Independents gained two and the Conservatives one seat, while the Progressists lost eighteen. The election is a

victory for the Government, and particularly for the radicals.

—By an error in the election report of two weeks ago (vol. xi, p. 920), Maryland was recorded as having cast her electoral vote for Taft. The vote was 2 for Taft and 6 for Bryan.

—Fred MacDonald, one of the oldest Free Masons of Montana, and a fundamental Democrat of clear vision and pronounced conviction, died at Butte early in the autumn at the age of 81.

—Congressman Theodore Burton of Cleveland was on the 2nd given the Republican joint caucus nomination of the Ohio legislature to succeed Joseph B. Foraker in March next as United States senator.

—The death of Father John of Cronstadt, a Russian priest of great influence with the masses in Russia, and believed by them to possess the power of working miracles, was announced on the 2nd.

—The work of securing 300,000 signatures in Illinois to a petition for woman suffrage to be sent to Washington on the 15th of February, the birthday of Susan B. Anthony, was begun at Chicago on the 2d.

—A law went into effect in Germany on the 4th under which any one may open a checking account with the postoffice by depositing \$25 or more, the fee for honoring checks being at the rate of 1¼ cents for \$125.

—In Whan Chang, the Korean student who shot Durham White Stevens in San Francisco last March (vol. xi, p. 11), was sentenced in San Francisco on the 2nd to twenty-five years in the State penitentiary at San Quentin.

—President Roosevelt sent a message to the House of Representatives on the 4th replying at length to the request (vol. xi, p. 901) for the evidence on which in his annual message to Congress he based his statements with reference to the employment of secret service agents.

—At the Pan-American Scientific Congress now in session in Chile (p. 15), papers were read on the 2d by Professor W. H. Holmes of the Smithsonian Institution, on the settlement of America, and Professor Leo S. Rowe of the University of Pennsylvania, on public opinion in the American republics.

—Since the promulgation of the Turkish constitution (vol. xi, p. 419) eight hundred new newspapers have been started in Turkey (vol. xi, p. 901). They are cheap—about one cent a copy—and are widely read. The press is now free from government censure, and no longer receives government subvention.

—Orlando Jay Smith, founder and president of the largest newspaper syndicate in the United States, the American Press Association, and formerly editor of the Chicago Express, died at his home in Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., on the 21st of December, and was buried in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery at Tarrytown on the 23rd.

—Statewide prohibition laws went into effect on the 1st in three Southern States—North Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama. Georgia is the only other State wherein statutory prohibition exists, the law having been in operation one year. A new law which seeks to regulate the liquor traffic in Louisiana became effective on the 1st, and, although it is

apparently not so sweeping in its terms, prohibitionists contend that if it is strictly enforced it will drive out the saloons.

—The proceedings of the Federal government in the Supreme Court of the United States for a reversal of the action of the Circuit Court of Appeals (vol. xi, p. 804) granting a new trial in the Standard Oil case in which Judge Landis imposed a fine of \$29,240,000, came to an end on the 4th, adversely to the government.

—The death on the 27th of Louis Floyd, a Negro citizen of Youngstown, Ohio, who had for many years been a devoted follower of Henry George and constant supporter of the single tax movement, will be learned with regret by the representatives of that movement who were accustomed to meeting him when they spoke in his city.

—The sentence of William Buwalda, the United States soldier sentenced to imprisonment by court martial for shaking hands with Emma Goldman and speaking approvingly of a lecture in favor of peace (vol. xi, p. 220), which she had just delivered, was commuted on the 5th by President Roosevelt to dishonorable discharge from the army.

—The Chicago-Toledo-Cincinnati Deep Water Way Association was organized at Defiance, Ohio, on the 29th. The object of the association is to boom the canal project and eventually ask Congress to appropriate \$100,000 for the purpose of having a survey made of the route. The route proposed is from Toledo to Defiance by way of the Maumee River, and thence to Cincinnati by way of the old Miami and Erie Canal and the Miami River.

—Dr. William N. Hill of Baltimore, a disciple of Henry George from the early days of "Progress and Poverty" to his death last week, left his brain by will for scientific uses. He died of progressive paralysis, due as he supposed from self-diagnosis to a tumor of the brain. In accordance with his dying wishes an autopsy has been performed, but no report has yet appeared. Dr. Hill had gained local celebrity recently by his war upon mosquitoes.

—The Peking-Hankow railroad was relinquished by Belgium to China on the 31st, the redemption price, about \$30,000,000, having been paid at Paris and London two days previously. China will dispense with the foreign employes of the road, except the consulting engineer, her success in constructing and operating the Pekin-Kalgan railroad having created general confidence in her ability to take over and operate other foreign built railroads as they become redeemable (vol. x, pp. 736, 857, 902; vol. xi, p. 259).

—Another peace treaty with the Yaqui Indians (vol. xi, p. 300) is announced from Mexico as having been consummated by the Governor of Sonora on the 23rd. The Indians do not seem from the reports to have preserved a status of security. The dispatches thus condense the situation: The Indians made these demands: First, a guarantee of their lives, liberty and a pardon for past offenses. Second, a request for a return of their people deported to Yucatan, to which the Governor replied that this would depend upon the conduct of those now surrendering. They requested the retention of

arms, to which the Governor replied that the captains and a certain number of men acting as guards, all to be in the service and pay of the State, would be allowed to retain arms. Several other requests relating to their religious feasts, etc., were readily granted.

—In a unanimous opinion on the 4th, the United States Supreme Court reversed a decision of the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York (vol. ix, p. 490) granting an injunction against the enforcement of the 80-cent gas law. The decision of the Supreme Court did not deal with the constitutionality of the law, but held that this question depends on whether the law is confiscatory, which had not been sufficiently determined. Justice Peckham, who wrote the opinion, said that a bona fide test should be made under the operation of the law before appealing to the courts for its nullification.

PRESS OPINIONS

Labor Haters.

Batavia (N. Y.) Times (ind.).—The prospect that Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison are soon to go to jail to serve long sentences, and that probably Gompers will never come out alive, will cause great rejoicing among labor haters the world over. Do not misunderstand the term "labor haters." Even Van Cleave and Post do not hate all wage-workers. To subservient wage-workers they feel very friendly. By "labor haters" we mean the men who hate those wage-workers who are trying to do what they can, through organized effort, to better the condition of working people generally. The labor haters will rejoice as the slave holders rejoiced fifty years ago over the Dred Scott decision which declared "Negroes have no rights the white man is bound to respect." They will rejoice as the South rejoiced over the hanging of John Brown. But neither the Dred Scott decision nor the hanging of John Brown put a stop to the anti-slavery agitation. On the contrary they augmented it. Neither will the recent decision of Judge Wright, nor the imprisonment of American labor leaders, put a stop to the American labor movement. They will augment it.

† †

The Fallibility of Judges.

The Peoria (Ill.) Daily Star (ind.), Dec. 27.—Every great reform has been won over the decisions of courts and in spite of the labored efforts of judges. . . . The trouble with our courts lies in the fact that the education of our judges is all along one line. They are full of precedents, of decisions and they get an exaggerated idea of their privileges, so that they think that the whole fabric of society is in danger if men do not render them slavish submission. History, however, shows that if this submission had been rendered implicitly in the past, we should now be in as abject a state of despotism as are the Chinese today. . . . History shows us that a judge, of all men in the world, is least capable of taking a high stand upon any great question of state. When Charles I. of England attempted to

extort ship money from the inland counties, he was sustained by every judge in that nation. Their verdict was regarded as a great triumph over Hampden, Cromwell and the other radicals who were endeavoring to limit the king's prerogative and thus stir up strife against the Lord's anointed. . . . When the colonists protested against the Stamp Act, the question was submitted to Lord Mansfield, and he gave it as his opinion that the Parliament had an undoubted right to tax the colonies in all matters whatever; that their power in this respect was supreme. . . . A judge sits with his face to the past. He attempts to mold the present by what has been. He never looks into the future, and he is principally useful as a great conservative force, a brake on the wheel of progress to keep it from running too fast. When we take this view of the question, the absurdity of attempting to place the decision of a judge above criticism is manifest. He is only a man, swayed by prejudice, influenced by his profession, awed by property, and not infrequently the tool of the corporation. . . . The boycott, of course, is illogical and wrong, but it comes from the failure of the courts to legislate for men. The individual is lost sight of in the protection of wealth.

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Blacklist and Boycott.

The Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), Dec. 29.—The highest courts of this country have decided that boycotting by a labor organization is a criminal offense. The highest officials of the unions have been sentenced to jail for publishing a boycott notice. The organs of capitalism unite in declaring the boycott to be wicked. . . . Nearly all of these publications add some sort of a platonic observation that the blacklist should also be abolished. They can afford to do this because they know that there is no power that can abolish the blacklist. These two weapons are characteristic of the class interests of those who use them. The blacklist is maintained in every great city and on a national scale. In Chicago the members of the Employers' Association, which embraces nearly all the larger capitalists, will not hire a man or woman except through their own "employment agency." The Daily Socialist has received plenty of evidence that this "employment agency" is nothing more than a great blacklisting scheme. Every person registered with this "agency" must give a list of his employers for years back. He must reveal the most personal facts concerning his life. These facts are then placed at the disposal of any prospective employer, and if his card anywhere carries the information that he is a "trouble maker," which means that he has in any way objected to exploitation, he is refused employment. Such action is in many cases a sentence of death. The power to give and take jobs is the power to give and take life. The number of persons who combine to enforce a blacklist is much fewer than those who must unite to enforce a boycott. In the case of the blacklist the person who is sentenced to industrial ostracism and possible death has no trial, no opportunity to explain, no knowledge even of the fact that he has been accused. He is stabbed in the back with a secrecy and fiendishness worse than the work of the Council of Ten.

No boycott can be declared until the person against whom it is directed has had every opportunity to know the objections that are aimed against him. He can remove the boycott at any moment he wishes. The blacklisted worker has no escape from his sentence.

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Government by Injunction

The Daily Oklahoman (Dem.), Dec. 25.—A decision as far-reaching in its consequences, and perhaps destined to become well nigh as famous as the Dred Scott decision, was handed down by Justice Wright, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. . . . The decision is a particularly unfortunate one. While it means, if finally affirmed, the death blow to boycotts, it will serve to widen the breach between capital and labor and engender, in all probability, a hostility which betokens no reassuring outlook. The crux of the point involved is government by injunction. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison are accused of contempt of court and hustled off to jail without trial by jury. Can it be wondered at that organized labor, in whose interests these men were serving, will receive the decision with unfeigned amazement, not to say righteous indignation and a spirit of sullen resentment? They see the rich and powerful trust magnate violate the law and either escape punishment in toto or receive no more than a fine, while the representatives of labor, battling for what they conceive to be their rights, run amuck and go to jail.

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The (Dallas, Tex.) Laborer (Labor), Dec. 26.—

If this sentence is affirmed on appeal, freedom of speech in the United States will be made a farce and labor unions will be as useless as sewing circles. This decision is an outrage on the principles of liberty, for which this government has been supposed to stand. It is unjust and it should not be obeyed. If Gompers goes to jail for such an offense, then the jail awaits every labor agitator in the country, for there is not one who does not endorse his action, who has not been guilty of what he has done, and who will not continue to be. With no desire to be guilty of bravado, The Laborer denounces such decisions as unworthy of the obedience of free men, refuses to be bound by such decisions, states, as it has stated again and again, that the Buck stoves are unfair and no union man should buy them, and is ready to take the consequences. This quiet resistance to judicial tyranny every union man should now unflinchingly offer.

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The Detroit News (ind.), Dec. 29.—The phrase "liberty of the press" easily lends itself to platitude, because until recently it has dealt with a principle presumably so well settled as to be of historical interest only. But it seems no fundamental American principle is so well settled as to be above attack, nor so continuously vital as to be beyond the necessity of restatement from time to time. And such attacks as that of Judge Wright in the Gompers case are good in their results if they remove the principles underlying our liberties from the academic atmosphere that surrounds them and en-

dow them with present life. . . . The words of Justice Wright touch every printing press in the country. The principle he enunciates has been brought to bear in Detroit, and on The News. The publication of an ordinance passed by the Common Council of this city was stopped by an injunction issued by Judge Swan of the United States court. This question has slowly been coming to the front for several years along channels we have been slow to recognize. So long as it was only the mouth of the so-called anarchist that was being stopped, so long as it was only his publications that the liberty of the press was being denied, the people were supine. But the same rule that was used to throttle the free speech and the free press is now being used as precedent for the wider ruling in reference to the press in general. If this has been the scheme of men who most fear the searchlight of a free press, then it could not have been more adroitly maneuvered.

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A Rising Tide in Great Britain.

South Wales Daily News (Lib.), Dec. 9.—Before we can have any real and lasting reform in our social conditions we must not only free the land, but compel those who profit by the enterprise and industry of others to contribute their fair share to the common good. Mr. Alexander Ure, the Solicitor-General for Scotland, in his powerful speech at Cardiff last night on the taxation of land values, was able to give local examples to emphasize his argument for equity in taxation; and those who are unaware of what anomalies exist in South Wales have a surprise in store! It is not necessary today to discuss Mr. Ure's speech at any length. It has become a truism that those who now benefit by public improvements should contribute their fair share to the cost of making them; and it is generally accepted that the community as a whole should reap the benefit of the values which arise in land owing to its own presence, its own expenditure, and its own growth; that the present system of assessment and local rating is unjust and injurious; that it discourages production, checks building, acts in restraint of trade and manufactures, hinders the orderly expansion of the towns, and promotes congestion and overcrowding. And yet the system, admittedly scandalous, is allowed to thrive. As a nation we can hardly be said to be logical in our legislation. The people have the power to shake off this incubus; how long ere they exercise it? The Premier, in a recent speech, said that there was a large reservoir of reserve taxation which had never been touched, and he faced the future of the finances of this country with the assured conviction that without deviating one hair's breadth from our system of Free Trade, which lay at the root and foundation of our national prosperity, we should be able to meet, and more than meet, the liabilities, not only of old age pensions, but of a much more extended program of social reform. We shall; but we shall have to insist on the taxation of land values.

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It is thy duty to leave another man's wrongful act there where it is.—Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE RIGHT WAY.

For The Public.

If I could live my whole life over
I'd take the sun to be my guide,
And dally shine on saint and sinner,
And blessings give on every side.

I'd seek no more for selfish pleasures,
But work to help my fellow men;
Each hour some little uplift giving,
To raise the whole by deed or pen.

Far greater 'tis to give than garner,
For selfish ends, a goodly store;
Far better help the needy neighbor,
Than see thine own grow more and more.

Far better when the night comes darkling,
If I can say, "Throughout this day,
I have made others brighter, happier,
Because my footsteps passed their way."

TOWNSEND ALLEN.

* * *

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: You remember the great fight you had with old King John, and how you made him sign Magna Charter and swear he would not allow his judges to be also juries any more? Well, it was a little the biggest fight in the world, I suppose—greater than the big French Revolution which occurred because the French King Johns would not come to time and swear to a French Magna Charta, but insisted on sending people to jail, etc., on the whim, or judgment (the savor of the rose in the same), of one man. That Magna Charta gave to you, John, and me after you, jury trials. "No free man" should be tried except by a jury of his peers, is the way the boys tell me it is done in the Latin court lingo of that time.

John didn't like to sign it a bit. He preferred to send blacklisters and fellows he didn't like, to jail himself; but he loved his life more dearly than his pleasure, and he signed.

The French fellows stood out till finally the people rose and cut the heads off the entire class, so far as they could find 'em, and got a good many innocent people. Now these are the two methods, and I always have stood for the old English plan. It is fairest in peace and the safest in war; for a jury requires some formality, but a bench—you can set it up anywhere, and put a Judge Lynch on it, and all he will require will be a blacklist, to be a fully equipped modern court of chancery. In other words, the courts are not the only ones who

can be anarchists, and should be the last to set an example liable to be followed. That is the way it looks to me!

It's partly human weakness. An ordinary bencher would rather be called a circuit court than the ambulatory donkey he really is. The lawyers address him as the Court as shamelessly as they sign a petition. "May it please the Court," says the lawyer. The judge thinks of himself; but bless you, the lawyer's court he so obsequiously addresses, comprises the judge, the jury, the bailiff, the clerk and the big spittoon, half full of old tobacco. He addresses a tribunal. The spittoon is immune; but the Judge, more vulnerable, is sometimes puffed up, and begins to think he is *it* with a large "I."

The judges' function is to give the law. The court has a jury to pass on the facts. That is the original theory, and you'll find it, they tell me, in all the law books—yours and mine. But it is so convenient for the judge to also pass on the facts that he does it, and we really don't need any courts any more. All we really use, under the simplified system, is a man in a back room, and a Bastille. Don't you fear, John, that in the white light of history we are on dangerous ground? We have had our warning, and I am a little uneasy. As to the judges, it seems to me sometimes that when they abandoned the common law, they also left behind their own common sense. I am talkin' now most particular of the Supreme Courts. In half my country at present where the courts won't conform to the old theory and redress, the appeal is to the derringer. In many places it is the first resort. Well, will they let it increase? I think from what they call the "trend of their decisions," they will.

It's a comin' up mighty interestin' in the Gompers' case. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, labor leaders, were, as I get it, sentenced by the United States Court at Washington, no jury intervenin', to jail fer 12, 9 and 6 months, respectively, fer blacklistin'.

Now I am no friend of blacklistin'. It is no more right for labor than for capital. It is "unfair" in the old use of the word. It may be that if properly tried the three men would be convicted. Then a judge could sentence them. What I object to is the one man jury. 'Twon't do, John. It is a departure from the Great Charter, an abandonment of the Constitution; and farther yet, it is anarchy, for no statute provides for it. Perhaps the judges may discover and stop this before their Bastilles are pulled down about their ears and a lot of innocent people suffer, and that is what I am hoping for.

The Washington judge, it seems to me, was off his trolley all along the line, not only tryin' a criminal case, and finding facts as a jury, but "scathingly denouncin'" the defendants. Where does that come in, in the old common law? I

don't mind ever hearin' it as part of the court proceedin's. What has a judge to do with denouncin' anybody? His duty is to sentence after verdict. What the Washington judge did, was to find the facts himself, get mad over 'em, put the defendants on a blacklist and punish 'em himself. The same thing he accuses Gompers & Co. of doin'—fell into the same pit. It's kind of funny if it wasn't so serious. But it is serious. You see my Supreme Court denies the right of Congress to interfere with them in chancery matters. I'm interested in seeing just what they will do when it comes before them, as it probably will. Yours for the law of the land,

UNCLE SAM.

BOOKS

ORGANIZED DEMOCRACY.

Organized Democracy. By Albert Stickney. Published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York. Price \$1 net.

Mr. Stickney's opinions are enhanced in importance, whether in value or not, by the fact that he is a railroad magnate. They are evidently very much influenced, too, by his business environment. But Mr. Stickney is, nevertheless, a man of individuality, whose opinions are as free from collateral influences as any man's can be, and he minces no words in expressing them. In the present book he declares for democracy, and seeks a method for organizing it.

His quest entirely ignores the fundamental economic enemies of democracy, and hits only upon the derivative evils of machine politics. Finding that our popular elections do not secure an expression of the popular will, mainly because we use individual ballots and a system of short terms of office, he proposes the abolition of the ballot, and the direction of government by the ablest and best equipped men, subject to responsibility to the people. This sounds rather goo-gooish, but Mr. Stickney has a plan.

His plan demands three conditions—single-headed administration, a popular assembly, and an electoral college system of ultimate popular control. In administration of public affairs each head of a department must be in complete control, subject to responsibility to the chief executive, and the chief must be "directly or indirectly under the control of the people." The people must control through a popular assembly—"a body of exceptional men selected by reason of their ability in affairs." This assembly should be chosen by an electoral college composed of men elected *viva voce* at public meetings in small voting precincts.

No one can read Mr. Stickney's book without fully believing that its author is a man of pro-

found democratic sentiment; and yet it is doubtful if the most astute aristocrat or plutocrat could devise a more effective scheme than his for obstructing democratic progress. It is curious that a man of affairs and a political scholar withal, who has a real aspiration for democracy, and to that end is irreconcilably hostile to party government, should base any expectations upon the electoral method of choosing officials. If it worked, it would be as sure as sunrise to establish an oligarchy; if it didn't work, party government would be inevitable. Our electoral college for choosing Presidents is an example. A failure for its purpose, it has probably been more influential than any thing else in breeding and fostering party spirit and power through all the ramifications of our civic system.

This is not to say, however, that Mr. Stickney's proposals are without political merit. Of his remarks upon public administration we might quote paragraph after paragraph, page after page, with substantial approval. We can cordially say with him, for instance, that "the wise and efficient handling" of "large public interests requires our ablest men," and that "those men must have the training that comes from large experience." And we can add, with him, that "every administrative office or department must have a single head, that it must be under the full control of some single man who shall individually be held responsible for the efficiency of that office or department." But to make the chief responsible to the people through a representative assembly upon whom his tenure of office depends, as Mr. Stickney suggests, would be to create an oligarchy of the most dangerous character. The consequent temptations would ruin the political virtue of an assembly of archangels. Although the abolition of fixed terms for purely administrative officers might not be bad, the power of removing the chief officer and choosing his successor should be lodged with the people by means of some device like that of the popular recall.

But if Mr. Stickney's proposals for securing efficient and honest administrative officers be approved, there is a field of democratic organization which it would be fatal to subject to such control. He does not distinguish between administration and policy. Efficiency and honesty may well be regarded as the only requirements for democratic organization in the administrative field, but something more is needed in the field of general policy. We call in a physician when we are sick; but it is to use his special skill in carrying out our desires, and not to dictate desires for us. If a capital operation ought in his judgment to be performed, we consider his judgment; but the decision is ours, not his. If we want a building erected we may leave the details absolutely to an architect because of his efficiency in that kind of

service; but we decide for ourselves whether the building shall be a dwelling, a barn, a factory, or a theater. And so it is with government. For administration, for execution, for accomplishing the objects of democratic organization, we must have experts and give them a free hand so long as they are honest and efficient. But the general purpose must be satisfactory to the people themselves; and the way of ascertaining whether the people are satisfied is not by depending solely upon a popular assembly however chosen, but by reference to the command of the people through some form of initiative, and to their veto through some form of referendum.

Apart from his affirmative proposals, Mr. Stickney's book will be found very instructive and interesting in its indictment and proof of the sinister power of machine politics. But in proposing remedies he seems to forget that he is dealing with live men. Indeed his whole work indicates, as the title of his book implies, a sense of democracy as something to be artificially organized instead of a natural organism to be studied and cultivated.

PERIODICALS

The most remarkable, the most significant, and in every other respect the best piece of magazine work Lincoln Steffens has ever done is his fact story, "The Least of These," in the January "Everybody's."

Ten Lilies and ten Virgins,
And, marvel to mine eyes,
Five of the Virgins were foolish,
But all of the Lilies were wise.
—Sidney Lanier.

✦ ✦ ✦

After a painstaking, not to say painful, investigation of the approved method of bringing up children in our larger American cities, where civilization has reached its acme, we are able to state authoritatively, for the benefit of the backward provinces, the way it is done.

First find a tenement, the more squalid and unsanitary, the better. In order that the children may have the companionship and elevating association of their fellow beings, crowd as many of them into one tenement as possible. Dress them with care, using as little clothing as possible. This prevents them from being proud and haughty. Feed them sparingly. This gives them incentive and appetite. The trouble with those who eat too much is that they have no appetite.

The child should not be cared for in an organized manner lest it lose its individuality. Whether the child is to be neglected or cared for, it should be done by the parents, and if the parents should happen to be criminals or drunkards, so much the better, for they can then serve as horrible examples for the children to avoid.

When the child is old enough send it to school, the hungrier, the better. The matter of education should be left with the Government. Education, like salvation, may be free without pauperizing the recipient. The education should not be haphazard. It should be turned over to politicians, who should receive abundantly for their work, not only directly

Significant Tributes.

An extraordinarily interesting letter from Bolton Hall of New York, was quoted last week by THE PUBLIC. Mr. Hall told how uniquely THE PUBLIC has served him. ¶ Here is a letter of an entirely different type, yet quite as interesting and suggestive. It is from James H. Dillard of New Orleans, the distinguished educator:

I JUST want to tell you what an interesting number of The Public I found the last, of December 25, to be. Going to Atlanta on Tuesday, I was talking on the train with Dr. Jones, who teaches at Hampton. Incidentally to some discussion he remarked, "Of course you read The Public?" ¶ Next day, in the lobby of the Piedmont, Mr. Caldwell, former President of the Louisiana Normal School, told in a group how he enjoyed the editorial page of "Life." "They are the most honest editorials in America," he said, "except The Public's." It takes a long time for a paper, especially one poor in money, to get a reputation and fame. What a tremendous pity it would be for The Public not to be able to go on building.

Isn't it worth while to invest a dollar to get acquainted with a paper which commands such spontaneous tributes from such men?

THE PUBLIC, Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago.

as salary, but indirectly as graft and other emoluments.

When you have done all this, you have done all that could reasonably be expected, and your conscience should be clear. If the child refuses to learn, and insists upon breaking the laws, put him in the penitentiary as soon as he is old enough to do something desperate.

Children are a nuisance, anyway.—Ellis O. Jones, in *Life*.

+ + +

Tommy: "Ma, I met the minister on my way to

Sunday school and he asked me if I ever went fishing on Sunday."

Mater: "And what did you say, darling?"

Tommy: "I said 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' and ran right away from him."—New York Sun.

+ + +

English Clergyman: "And when you arrive in London, my dear lady, don't fail to see St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey."

Fair American: "You bet, I'll rattle those off, sure; but what I've been hankering to see ever since

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I was knee high to a grasshopper in the Church of England."—Punch.

+ + +

The rector of an American church on the Continent was recently accosted by a charming young woman who asked if he would be kind enough to say the prayer for those at sea for her on the following

Sunday—"unless," she added modestly, "it is already engaged."—Life.

+ + +

"Of course," said the optimist, "if a man gets into the habit of hunting trouble he's sure to find it."
"Yes," replied the pessimist, "and if he's so lazy that he always tries to avoid it, it will find him. So

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what's the difference?"—The Catholic Standard and Times.

+ + +

The African chieftain shook his head haughtily. "The deuce," he said, "with your red calico, glass beads and brass wire. You shall not cross my

country, Theodore, unless you pay me my own price."

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