

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

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Balfour's "Referendum."

The essential idea of the Referendum is that the people shall control it. The essential idea of Mr. Balfour's referendum was that the House of Lords should control it. Mr. Balfour has tried to deceive the British people. But he hasn't succeeded.

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The Chicago Mayoralty.

Carter Harrison has announced his candidacy before the Democratic primaries for Mayor of Chicago. He did the same thing four years ago. But as soon as he was defeated at the primaries by Mayor Dunne, he issued a proclamation against Dunne's side of the traction issue, and in favor of Busse's side of it, and left the city (vol. ix, p. 1184), remaining away until after the election. Is this the kind of candidate for any Democrat to vote for again?

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Plunderpower and People's Power.

A vigorous interview given by George E. Cole to the Chicago Tribune of the 3d shows his lack of sympathy with that element in or behind the Legislative Voters' League which is trying to sidetrack the movement for Initiative and Referendum in Illinois (pp. 1082, 1132), by substituting a boss-ridden Constitutional convention, such as Michigan got (vol. xi, p. 820) and as the people of Oregon (vol. xiii, p. 1094) have refused to give. The Jackpotters and their allies in Big Business,

together with a few well meaning but antediluvian academics, are leaving no stone unturned to head off the Initiative and Referendum. The academics are influenced by a species of aristocratic distrust of people's power; the Jackpotters and Big Business by a supreme conviction that people's power will end their own power.

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Which Was Right?

An applicant for naturalization in Alameda County, California, is reported to have provoked an adverse decision by stating to the court in answer to questions intended to test his civic intelligence, that the Governors of California are elected by the Southern Pacific Railroad. As this was prior to the recent election, the applicant appears to have been more profoundly intelligent than the judge.

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Plutocratic Fidgets.

The Portland Oregonian has fidgets over the adoption by the Oregon people of county option in taxation. For more than twenty years the New York legislature has fought off this eminently democratic and sound fiscal reform; but the people of Oregon adopt it almost as soon as powers of legislation are reserved to them through the Initiative. For this reason the Oregonian thinks it is demonstrated that "limitations" and "safeguards" should be put around the Initiative. All because the county option amendment (p. 1135) makes it possible for any county in Oregon to adopt the single tax for local revenues. Yet it has so much confidence in the people as to believe "they will repeal the single tax, also through the Initiative." But if that is so, why any "limitations" and "safeguards"? If the people can save themselves from the single tax, they need no safeguards; and if they don't want to save themselves from it, why put them under guard?

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Popular Love of Malignancy.

Prior to the recent election in Oregon (p. 1163) the Minneapolis Tribune commiserated the people of Oregon—borrowing its mood from the Oregonian, an organ of plutocracy—upon their unhappy dilemma. They had to vote for themselves on 32 questions of government, instead of having those questions determined for them by Jackpotters in the legislature. "That unhappy State," said the Tribune, "has the Initiative and Referendum in malignant form." Malignant! Aye, indeed, malignant to Jackpotters. And Oregon has deliberately and overwhelmingly decided to keep

those people's power methods. The clients of the Oregonian proposed to them a Constitutional convention; and lest that might abolish the malignant Initiative and Referendum, the people of Oregon voted it down by 60,000 to 25,000.

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Subway Service in New York.

New York city faces again the old question of "rapid transit" (p. 1071). Shall the present long-time lessees of the present subway be strengthened and further enriched in their holdings at the expense and discomfort of generations yet to come, or shall the city own and control all the new subways? That is the question, and it is a warm one. The Chamber of Commerce considered it on the 1st upon a resolution proposed by Calvin Tomkins, Mayor Gaynor's appointee as Dock Commissioner. Following is Mr. Tomkins' resolution:

Whereas, it is essential for its development that the city of New York should continuously control its passenger transportation policy, Resolved, that the Special Committee on Rapid Transit be directed to report promptly whether extensions to the present subway, or provision for a new subway system, susceptible of independent operation, will best promote such control.

In behalf of this resolution Mr. Tomkins argued that—

extensions to the present subway will provide some transit quicker and cheaper than can be obtained in any other way; that extensions to the present subway will permit of interchangeability of traffic, transfers and unity of plan and service, more effectively than in any other way; but will such extensions serve to maintain and extend control by the city, which is the vital thing? That there will and should be monopoly, but shall it be public or private? for dividends and profits, or for public convenience and to serve the city's growing needs? That ever since New York has been a great city its transit has been privately controlled, and as a consequence, only for brief intervals has it been free from congestion. That however insufficient the present available capital of the city may be to meet its transit needs, it now at least enjoys the inestimable advantage of freedom of choice and power over policy. Will this freedom and power be increased or diminished by extending the present system or by installing a new system at least susceptible of independent operation? That such a system need not necessarily be under separate operation; but that the importance of public control far transcends all questions of routes or finance. How can such control be secured and made effective?

Whatever the Chamber of Commerce may do—and too much for the public good in contradistinction to private profits cannot be expected of it—this outline will serve further to show the meaning of the next step for New York subways when the press dispatches announce it.

Death of Edward D. Burleigh.

One of the earliest Philadelphia disciples of Henry George, Dr. Edward D. Burleigh, died on the 2d. He and his wife, Florence A. Burleigh, who survives him, were active and prominent a score of years ago or more in that group in Philadelphia, which in those old days of the Anti-Poverty crusade, included both Arthur H. Stephenson (vol. v, p. 437) and Frank Stephens. The devoted and sincere personality of both the Burleighs will be recalled far and wide by their fellow pioneers of that old movement which is now passing into its second and vastly more influential stage. They were among those of its pioneers whose faith never gave out.

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Making Socialist Voters.

Impressed with the election of the Socialist candidate for Congress from one of the Milwaukee districts, Victor Berger, the newspapers have ignored the fact that Mr. Berger's election only happened to be a few hundred votes on the winning side among many more Socialist candidacies that fell only a few hundred short. Mr. Gaylord, for instance, the Socialist candidate for Congress in the Milwaukee district adjoining Berger's, was defeated by less than 500. In Minneapolis the Socialist candidate for mayor came within a thousand or so of election. And in Columbus, Ohio, where the corporations crushed a street car strike (p. 925) under exasperating circumstances, the Socialist candidate for Congress polled 11,000 votes, although the most that had been conceded him was 5,000. Whether the "gangs" in Big Business and politics are making Socialists or not, they are making Socialist votes with dexterity and in wholesale quantities.

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Occidental Barbarism in the Orient.

A committee of which Hutchins Hapgood is chairman and Leonard Abbott, Emma Goldman, Dr. Reitman and Rose Strunsky are among the members, makes an appeal for American influence against a wholesale execution of progressives in Japan. This appeal says that "Dr. Denjiro Kotoku, his wife, and twenty-four other socialists and anarchists" have been arbitrarily convicted and sentenced to death for "plotting against the Imperial family." The Japanese government refuses to disclose particulars, and the crime is believed to consist only "in spreading radical ideas and in translating the works of Karl Marx, Leo Tolstoy, Peter Kropotkin and Michael Bakunin.

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It is a significant fact that the same bloody and

futile efforts at suppressing novelty in opinion, which have characterized the development of democracy in the past, are still pursued. They are futile because nothing can stop the truth, and error fizzles out of itself when unopposed. Then why kill persons who think for themselves, merely because their thinking disagrees with prevailing thought? It only adds to the horrors of a civilization which nothing can perpetuate in so far as it is false. That Japan should borrow Occidental brutality to cope with new Oriental thinking, instead of meeting thought with thought, is a blot upon her. If the Japanese Ambassador could impress his government with the view that in the United States, despite all its barbaric characteristics, there really is at bottom a human feeling that Japan and all the rest of the world ought to be hospitable to discussion, he would not be wrong as to the fact, and he would help on the development, both in his country and ours, of the best there is in Western civilization.

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WHITE SLAVES AND SLAVERS.

With the sanity and courage that characterize all her work, Mrs. Raymond Robins reminded an audience before which she recently spoke with reference to the petty arguments in behalf of labor "sweaters" in the Chicago strike (p. 1137) that there is one great fact that cannot be pushed aside. This fact, "which," she said, "stands out starkly in all this cloud of technicalities, is that the girls and women employed in the garment working business are being literally worked to death at wages grossly insufficient to keep body and soul together." Proceeding with the thought, she argued:

Society must not expect girls to remain pure who month in and month out are systematically overworked and underpaid. The toxin of fatigue will ultimately undermine the strongest constitution, and the girl physically worn out at the end of her work day lacks the physical strength to resist temptation and seeks in morals the line of least resistance. This is the law of nature and none but the strongest characters can resist it.

It were well if society would recognize that menacing fact.

There are in very truth no greater enemies of society than those employers who stand out for the right to drive hard bargains with working girls—except, of course, the persons who encourage them to do it. Here are the real pirates of the "white slave" traffic; and the more respectable they appear to be, the worse they are. Bishop Williams of Michigan analyzed them when he described them as men with "a dual conscience," being

"careful in their religious duties, generous in giving of their means and even of themselves in the work of charity, leaders in ecclesiastical activities, often irreproachable in personal morals, faithful as fathers, neighbors and friends, and yet in the larger relations of life in the commercial, political and industrial realms they seem utterly devoid of conscience—unmoral, perhaps, rather than immoral."

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Would you understand the method whereby those "white slavers" fleece their victims? It is by playing the hopeless poverty of one person off against the hopeless poverty of another in their bargain driving. Here is an example. A garment worker of the name of Yacullo—a "scab" in the slang of the labor war, which is equivalent to "deserter" or "traitor" in other kinds of war—shot a striker and killed him. Yacullo explained: "I cannot afford to strike; I have a wife and seven hungry children to support."

There is the secret of the power of the oppressive employer. He prates about the right of the worker to work without molestation, whether he gets enough out of it to live on or not. Judges echo these employers. They have perverted the law of injunction to help them out. And preachers garb their greediness in religious masks. What such employers really demand—masks off—is the right to play timid victims of a plundering industrial system against braver ones. Men who cannot afford to strike because they have hungry wives and children to support, and girls who cannot afford to lose work because they have feminine virtue to conserve—these are among the hapless creatures upon whom your gordid strike resisters rely to defeat strikers and to fleece both strikers and "scabs."

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And those employers wish it so. If you don't believe it, make the experiment of proposing such improvements in social adjustments as would loosen up monopolies. They would resist that too.

Of course they would be virtuous about it. With sickening hypocrisy they would tell you it would be confiscation. Oh, how they do object to confiscating property after it is in the hands of labor exploiters! But they have no objection to confiscating property as it passes through the hands of its producers.

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Political liberty, when the equal right to land is denied, becomes, as population increases and invention goes on, merely the liberty to compete for employment at starvation wages.—Henry George, "Progress and Poverty."

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE BRITISH SITUATION.

London, Nov. 19, 1910.

On the whole, politically, we have had very quiet times, and yet times of steady and continuous progress. Land reform on the lines of the taxation of land values, is taking a firm hold of the minds and is dominating the thought of the progressives throughout the country. Even reactionaries have had to take refuge in pseudo-schemes of land reform, by which they vainly hope to remove social ills without removing social wrongs.

The land valuation has done and is doing a great work. It was the valuation which prompted the House of Land-Lords to the unprecedented and unconstitutional step of rejecting the Budget last year; and it is the valuation, and all that it foreshadows, which is giving the Liberal party a hold on the country such as it has not enjoyed, nor indeed deserved, since the passing of the last great Reform Bill.

Lloyd George is still guiding the thoughts and voicing the aspirations of the progressives of Great Britain. He does not indulge in what you aptly describe as "weasel words," but speaks straight from the heart and hits straight from the shoulder. His recent broad and philosophic speech on the social problem, at a public meeting held at the City Temple in support of the work of the Liberal-Christian League, attracted general attention, and gained him the praise of some of his most pronounced political opponents. Yet it probed more deeply into the root question than any of his previous speeches. His final counsel to the people—"to enlarge the purpose of their politics, and, having done so, let them adhere to that purpose with unswerving resolve through all difficulties and discouragements until their redemption is accomplished"—is being followed and will bear its fruits in the near future.

Yes, Lloyd George has already done much for his country, more especially for the disinherited landless masses of the people, and may lead them to still greater victories. For the inevitable policy of the Liberal party of the future is now steadily revealing itself.

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Behind Lloyd George, however, stands the great, powerful, inscrutable personality of Mr. Asquith, a man honored both by friends and opponents, and of all modern British statesmen the most difficult to read. Less democratic, less warm-hearted, and less broad-minded than the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, he may be; but as a politician and as a political leader he is stronger and more forcible; and I am still convinced that without his tacit but loyal support Lloyd George's fire and zeal for the cause of the people would have been far less fruitful. Lloyd George fires the bullets; but, even if not forged, they have been tempered and approved by the man who today rules the Cabinet and the country, and is trusted by the Cabinet and the country as few Liberal leaders ever before.

The following extract from Asquith's fighting speech, delivered at a luncheon at the National Lib-

eral Club yesterday afternoon, seems to me to reveal something of his innermost ideals and aspirations. He said: "To us, as a party, Constitutional changes are but the means to further and greater ends. We have before us great ideals in the social and economic sphere—ideals toward the realization of which we have made some progress during the last five years, mainly because of the financial omnipotence of the lower House. But we find ourselves hampered at every stage on the road by the overriding powers of a chamber overwhelmingly Tory in composition, and the natural champion of threatened interests and privileges. These great causes, of which we are trustees, cannot afford to go on waiting. It is for their sake that we are bringing the matter to an issue."

Great Constitutional changes are indeed pending and will very shortly be accomplished; and it is encouraging and satisfactory to know that they are everywhere being recognized and avowed as merely a means "to further and greater ends."



Another general election now confronts us. It will not be surprising if American readers attentive to British politics may fail to understand why the Liberal ministry, with a sufficient and unimpaired majority in the House of Commons, should have deemed it necessary. Yet here it seems clear enough. We British are a slow-moving, severely practical people, with little taste for abstract arguments, somewhat conservative in our tendencies, well satisfied, therefore, to adhere to "the ancient government of Kings, Lords and Commons," so long as it fairly fulfills its purpose. The evolution of our unwritten Constitution, however, has left it undecided, at all events in the abstract, to which of these three factors, in case of differences, the supreme authority of the nation really accrues.

This was one of the main causes making inevitable our great Civil War of 1642 to 1649, which practically decided that it accrued to the Parliament, including both the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Hence it is that to a very large extent political questions have during the past three centuries been decided by compromise, satisfactory to the logical of neither party. The House of Lords have consistently retarded progressive legislation necessary to the well-being and development of the country, and even when yielding to popular pressure have generally succeeded in getting necessary measures mangled and shaped to suit their own special interests. Up to comparatively recently, however, the landed interests dominated both Houses of Parliament, which minimized the causes of friction between them. This is no longer the case, and the causes of friction have increased proportionately, until what is known here as the House of Lords Question has become ripe, "rotten ripe," for settlement.

During the past twenty-five years the House of Lords have been self revealed, even to the most ignorant "man in the street," as the willing and subservient servant of the Tory party. When the Tory party is in power but little is heard of the House of Lords, as their functions are then limited to promptly passing such measures as their

friends in the other House send up to them. But when the Liberals are in power a different state of things prevails. The House of Lords are then galvanized into activity, and act as becomes a permanent wing of the Tory party, hindering Liberal legislation as far as they dare, and mangling often beyond recognition—rendering harmless as well as useless—such measures as they graciously consent to pass.

For many, many years the House of Lords, to use a popular and expressive phrase, "have made the Liberal leaders eat mud." But their rejection of the Budget of 1909 filled their cup to overflowing, until even the most reactionary Tory has come to realize that some radical, or apparently radical, change in the constitution and legislative powers of the House of Lords is inevitable. Hence the House of Lords have recently manifested a really refreshing zeal for what they call a "reform of the House of Lords," which, as far as it has been revealed, would leave that body as defiantly reactionary as before, and would increase rather than diminish its powers.

On the accession of the present King, a conference was called, consisting of the leading members of both the great political parties, in the hope of finding a solution of the difficulty to which they both could agree. This has come to an end, and the Liberal government has now taken the question up in earnest, has formulated its demands in the shape of a Bill, embodying the well-known Veto resolutions, which has been sent up to the Lords, to be accepted without amendment or rejected. In the latter case, which is more than probable, the Liberals will appeal to the country,* and of the issue there is little doubt. Wisely, they do not propose to tinker with the constitution of the House of Lords, and have contented themselves with formulating such proposals as will assure that the will of the people, as expressed by their representatives in the House of Commons, shall prevail.

As I have said, of the issue there is little doubt; the election campaign will be a hot one and a fighting one; the past record of the House of Lords, which is an astonishingly shameful one, will be used as evidence against them, and will be the main, if not the sole, topic at every Liberal election meeting. Though I make no claim to be a practical politician, I am delighted at the turn things are taking, because it is increasingly being realized, to use Asquith's telling words, that "Constitutional changes are but the means to further and greater ends."

Though we shall probably not be quite so active as we were last time, when the land question was the question before the electors, we shall take care that it is emphasized as much as possible. Since then this question has made remarkable progress, and is becoming daily better understood and consequently better appreciated. The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, aided by all its constituent Leagues, have distributed tons of leaflets, and are already receiving demands for further supplies for election purposes. The Leagues are better organized than they ever were, and their

*See The Public of last week, page 1159, and of this week, page 1159.

active men are inspired with their cause and the exceptional opportunity of still further advancing it.

LEWIS H. BERENS.

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THE CANADIAN FARMERS' MOVEMENT.

Winnipeg, Can., Nov. 28, 1910.

Arrangements have been completed at Ottawa for the adjournment of the Dominion parliament on December 16 to enable Premier Laurier and his colleagues to receive the monster Grain Growers' deputations which will assemble there on that date to present their demands to the government. It has been stated authoritatively that the Western representatives will number four hundred. These will leave Winnipeg by special train on the night of December 12 and will be joined at Ottawa by two hundred representatives from Ontario and eastern Provinces.

The writer has interviewed R. McKenzie, secretary of the Western Grain Growers' Association, who is preparing the memorials to present to Parliament. Mr. McKenzie, speaking with authority for all agricultural organizations, informed your correspondent that the farmers would ask that the terminal grain elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur be taken over and operated by the government. These elevators must properly be classified as public utilities. In private hands they are a natural monopoly and have been utilized to the benefit and enrichment of the present owners and to the detriment of the public by mixing inferior grades of wheat with the better samples. The demand will also be made that the proposed Hudson Bay Railway be constructed, owned and operated by the government for the benefit of all the people. A determined effort is being made by certain parties to secure a charter, franchise and subsidy for this purpose. The farmers will make it plain that "no railway" is to be preferred to one in the hands of the monopolists that now control Canada's three transcontinental systems.

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Speaking in relation to the tariff Mr. McKenzie stated that a demand would be made for an immediate increase of the preference on British goods imported into Canada to fifty per cent, with a stated annual increase (amount not yet determined) until Free Trade with Britain is obtained. Mr. McKenzie made it plain that no reciprocal preference was desired in return; all the Canadian farmer wants is a continuance of the open door for Canadian farm products. He demands an increase of the preference for his own good and as a logical step toward Free Trade as it is in Britain.

The writer was further informed that a request will be made for reciprocity in natural products and timber, and for Free Trade in agricultural implements, with the United States. A general reduction in customs duties will also be asked, especially on woollens, cottons, sugar, cement, iron and leather manufactures.

Mr. McKenzie stated that the farmers would suggest as a means of supplementing a possible decrease in revenue which might ensue as a result of

the freer trade policy, the gradual introduction of the taxation of the values of coal, timber, agricultural and urban lands, with a view to absorbing for public purposes a portion of the enormous unearned increments now enriching speculators.

* *

The associated farmers' organizations in Canada, west of the Great Lakes, now embrace a membership of some thirty thousand. It is a significant fact that so many should undertake an arduous journey of one to two thousand miles at a cost to them of fifty thousand dollars, to place the government in possession of their views.

ROBERT L. SCOTT.

* * *

POLITICAL FLAVORS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 3.

Honors are easy, surely, as to personal and official dignity, between Governor-elect Foss and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts. Whether 'tis ignobler for the triumphant Foss, who has been mercilessly snubbed by Lodge for years, even when running as a regular Republican, to seize Lodge by the scruff of the neck and confront him with the plain showing of the overwhelming popular vote of his own rock-ribbed Republican State against his ascendancy; or ignobler still for the repudiated Boss to try to sit tight, in spite of Foss's strangle-hold dragging him into the spot-light of supplementary campaigning to ratify this verdict in the face and eyes of the legislature, is a question which "the gentleman in politics" himself seems to be struggling with in a bewildered, pathetic way. Mr. Foss may be vindictive, may have brought his personal wounds into a public matter; he may have strained the rights of his vantage-ground as victor at the polls and as Governor-elect in demanding the withdrawal of Lodge. But how about Lodge's sense of propriety and public duty in the situation?

In the face of the unmistakable and unquestioned desire of the people of the State to be rid of him and to reverse his policy, is he going to stand upon legal and technical quibbles—to try to pick up, through the still-hunt and gum-shoe methods of his senatorial colleague, enough purchasable Democratic members of the legislature to piece out the ragged edge of the Republican contingent? Whatever may be lacking of courtesy, of conventionality, of Constitutionality, in Foss's grappling with Lodge and holding his crushing humiliation up to a pitiless publicity; as much may be said, must be said, in condemnation and reproof of Lodge's evident determination still to work back, by hook or by crook; to steal a base in the game, to flout and cheat the plain purpose of the great majority of the voters of Massachusetts to retire him. He has made this much of concession to the simple and manifest requirements of decency—he has ostentatiously retired—to New York! It is only five hours away, to be sure, and there are means of communication, at a pinch, that take less time. But it can at least be said that he is not personally running his campaign to re-elect himself according to the forms of law and legislative procedure, no matter how obnoxious

the voters consider him and how much they wish to induct the right-about-face to the course of public policy he has engineered.

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Beyond the personalities in the case, however, loom the great general issues of the failure and the reform of our "representative institutions." The democracy of the Twentieth century is clearing out the "representative institutions" set up by the aristocratic American "Fathers" of the Eighteenth century. The Electoral College, constituted to elect the President of the United States, long since went the way of knee-breeches and silver shoe-buckles. The election of Senators by the legislatures, must go, and is going,—all but gone. It was the presumption that only "gentlemen," with the "gentleman's" instinctive honor and sensitiveness to his constituents' sentiments in his representative character, would be the outcome of this mode of selection,—that above all no gentleman thought of in such a relation would be capable of engineering his own election. The cases of Lodge and of hundreds of other Senators of the United States have amply proven the futility of this early calculation. Foss, willy-nilly, has been, from his first entrance into politics, an opponent of the entrenched machine and an advocate of direct nominations and all similar appeals to the voters over the heads of the professional middlemen. Lodge has with equal necessity and consistency fought off all approaches to direct nominations and all other infringements upon the grip of the machine through perverted "representative institutions." The public interest is even greater, then, than the personal in this resounding battle that has been joined between Foss and Lodge in Massachusetts.

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Nor is the battle confined to these two champions. That interesting young and rising Republican leader, Speaker Walker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, has within the past year shocked the regulars by declaring for the direct nomination system, so far as State officials are concerned. At the same time he has shown a purpose to break into the system of entailing the succession to the Republican gubernatorial candidacy, by which Lodge has kept his ascendancy in a self-perpetuating State machine. Worse and more of it, he has declared for tariff revision that will really revise. To be sure, he has reaffirmed his undying devotion to the principle of Protection. The bridge by which he crosses over toward liberalism on this subject, without sacrificing his party standing, is the device of that luckless politician, the President, for a tariff commission, with revision schedule by schedule. The Speaker still clings, as in party duty bound, to the old hypocrisy, that the tariff exists to equalize the cost of production as against the pauper wages of Europe; and that the tariff commission can tell exactly what is necessary to effect this amount of protection to wages of American tollers, and will guarantee the consuming public against any exaction in excess of what is necessary to accomplish this beneficent object! It will be seen that the Hon. Joseph Walker (who may be the next Governor of Massachusetts) has a sufficient amount of the wisdom of the serpent along with his dove-like good-

will toward safe and sane advance. He is the son of the late Congressman Walker of Worcester who used to allow that he was the only member of the currency committee who knew anything about the currency question and that he coached Speaker Reed (finding him a very thick-headed pupil) on the silver problem. The father used to say that his son and heir was destined for the United States Senate, and many worse things might happen than that Joseph—I had almost written "Surface"—should get there by and by!

He has won the cordial good wishes of a new host of observers recently by a plucky and enterprising attempt to commit the old Bourbon Home Market Club to the Taft tariff-commission and piecemeal revision policy. "Let us never forget," said Joseph Walker, at the Home Market Club meeting where he sprung his proposal on that scandalized body, "that there is a vast difference between the preservation of the home market for home industries, and the exploitation of the home market by special interests." The president of the Home Market Club, one MacColl, a Providence mill-man, had denounced piecemeal revision of the tariff as depriving protected interests of the advantage of consolidating their claims by arrangements with one another. Speaker Walker had the courage, in his speech following, to hold up to reprobation as log-rolling and corruption. Young Walker had the valuable honor of being voted down by the assembled members of the Home Market Club in his proposed endorsement of President Taft's programme. But he subsequently made a postal-card canvass of the full membership and secured a vote of about three to one in his favor, and in rebuke of the notorious Whitman, MacColl and other ruling spirits of the moribund club of stand-patters.

E. H. CLEMENT.

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, December 6, 1910.

The British Elections.

The first pollings in the series of British elections that began on the 3d (p. 1139) were reported by the news despatches to have been keenly disappointing to the Tories. Mr. Balfour, the Tory leader, had aroused hope of union of his Protection and anti-Protection followers by promising no Protection legislation without a referendum. He had also advocated the Referendum as the best means of breaking deadlocks between the two Houses. But Mr. Asquith, the Liberal leader and present prime minister, described Balfour's proposal as a "caricature of the Referendum;" he explained that it would mean a referendum on all

Liberal measures, because the Lords would make a deadlock when the Liberals were in power, and no referendum on Tory measures, because the Lords would make no deadlock when the Tories were in power. The pollings of the 3d—for 125 seats in the House of Commons (including those in which there were no contests)—resulted in a gain of 7 and a loss of 4 by the Tories, being a net gain of 3. Six of their gains were from the Liberals and one from the Labor party. Their 4 losses were all to the Liberals. On the 5th the pollings brought the Tory gains up to 11 and their losses up to 6, making a net Tory gain of 5. The total result at that time was as follows:

Liberals	87
Labor	14
Irish Nationalists	16
—	
People's Coalition	117
Tories	116
—	
Coalition majority	1

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Among the advocates of land value taxation re-elected are Whitley (pp. 58, 102, 127, 153) and Parker, from Halifax, the former Liberal and the latter Labor, their majorities being respectively 4,174 and 3,909. Another distinguished land value taxpayer re-elected as a Liberal is Henry George Chancellor (pp. 153, 177), who captured a Tory constituency last winter and is now re-elected by a majority of 405. W. P. Byles (pp. 58, 128, 153), another of the land values group, is re-elected by a majority of 239; and Russell Rea, a leading Free Trader, goes back with a majority of 52. Dr. Macnamara's majority is 982. Sir Christopher Furness is re-elected by 48. Philip Snowdon (Labor), Ramsay-MacDonald (Labor), T. P. O'Connor (Irish Nationalist) and Joseph Martin (Liberal), the latter the prime minister formerly of British Columbia, are re-elected. One of the land values group, Max Muspratt (p. 153), is defeated for re-election from Liverpool; but Josiah C. Wedgwood (pp. 82, 104, 127, 153, 175, 258), another and a leading member of that group, is re-elected.

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Congress.

The expiring Congress met in regular session on the 5th, and on the 6th President Taft's messages were delivered to each House.

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Annual Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League (pp. 84, 443, 900, 947) was held last week in Boston. Moorfield Storey, David Greene Haskins, Jr., and Erving Winslow were re-elected President, Treasurer and Secretary respec-

tively. At the adjourned meeting held at the Twentieth Century Club on the afternoon of the 29th more than one hundred members of the League were present. Addresses were made by Rev. A. A. Berle and Roger Sherman Hoar. In his annual report the Secretary, Mr. Winslow, declared that—

It is extremely improbable that the heady and passionate elements of character which have marred the career and crippled the influence of a notorious American citizen, originally possessed of high ideals of purity and civic righteousness, would have developed into New Nationalism without the intoxication of the Navy Bureau and San Juan Hill.

Of the effect of our imperialistic colonial policy upon the democracy of our own home government, Mr. Winslow said:

Imperialism at home, with its assumptions of increased executive power, its disregard of the sanctions of the courts, and progressive centralizing of authority, has been advocated and proclaimed in such high quarters and in so open and sweeping a manner as would have been impossible before the past decade of colonial administration.

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A Conservation Compromise.

Announcement is made by the National Conservation Association of which Gifford Pinchot is president (pp. 653, 733) that a plan to bring together the advocates of Federal regulation of water power and those who stand for State regulation, is under consideration by the executive committee. The object of the plan, which was drafted by Philip P. Wells, counsel for the Association, who, as former law officer of the Forest Service had a large share in devising the system of water power regulation in national forests, is to afford a water power platform on which both sides of the water power controversy may unite to protect the public interest and at the same time encourage the development of the many millions of horse power now going to waste in the mountain streams of the far West and the great rivers of the central and eastern parts of the country. Its reported basis is development without delay, waste or the sacrifice of other and higher uses of flowing water. For this, the plan holds, private capital must be aided by the State or nation through corporate franchises, condemnation of private property, and licenses to use public lands and obstruct public waters, etc. The power companies would have certainty of tenure for a reasonable time, and a chance for generous profits upon actual investment; for the public, the plan promises good service, fair prices, full publicity as to cost, honest capitalization, and fair rentals for public property used by companies. It is conceded in the plan that the Federal government has no jurisdiction unless its land is to be occupied, or navigable rivers are affected. Even in such cases the regulation of service and prices is to be the function of the State,

leaving to the national government the duty of securing prompt, full and orderly development, a reasonable time limit for the leases, publicity as to financing, and fair rentals for Federal property used, perhaps paying a part of the proceeds to the State.

* * *

Progressive Republicanism in Minnesota.

A convention of the Progressive Republicans of Minnesota is called for January 4, next, at Minneapolis. The call comes from a joint committee of the Progressive Republican Leagues of Minneapolis (p. 657), St. Paul (p. 683) and Stillwater, supported by the signatures of leading Republicans of every Congressional district in the State. The convention is described in the call as "the first political convention ever held in the Northwest solely for the purpose of considering political principles." Other statements in the call, of its character and purpose, are as follows:

The Progressive Republicans of Minnesota are waging a vigorous fight within their party for clean government and popular rule. This is an uprising of the people that is spontaneous and not the result of any pre-arranged leadership or plan. It springs from causes that are deep seated and common to the whole State. The voters of Minnesota are driving special interests from the control of the State government. They are driving business out of politics and politics out of business. They are restoring to themselves the power guaranteed in the State Constitution. The essentials of success in this struggle comprise a complete organization of all the people, together with such progressive legislation as will give the people an equal opportunity with predatory interests.

* * *

New Mexico Statehood.

When the Constitutional convention of New Mexico (p. 1072) adjourned at 5:30 a. m. on the 22d, it had drafted for submission to the people of the Territory as the basis for Statehood an extraordinarily lengthy Constitution (occupying 19 newspaper columns in small type) in conformity to the dictation of the Republican caucus, controlled by corporation agents, but with some concessions to the Democrats to secure unanimity. Eight Democrats voted for it, with reservations, explaining that they did so merely for the purpose of getting the document before the people. A resolution for an eight-hour day for State employes, and one for the protection of railway employes, were voted down, although the support of railway employes seems to have been secured by a provision abolishing the "fellow servant" doctrine in cases of negligence. A resolution for guarantee banks (vol. xii, pp. 326, 350, 1250, 1256) was tabled, and one for the Initiative was killed. Homestead exemptions were voted down; so was a resolution forbidding the leasing of convicts. All the Republican delegates but one voted for the

Constitution, and the one exception did not vote at all. Among the Democrats, 8 voted in the affirmative, 18 in the negative, and 3 refrained from voting. The Constitution carried in the convention by 78 to 18, with 4 not voting.

* *

On the subject of taxation this Constitution requires that "the rate of taxation shall be equal and uniform upon all subjects of taxation," thereby leaving the way open apparently to the exemption of any kind of property. The control of private corporations is put in charge of a "State Corporation Commission," which, subject to the Constitution and laws, "shall be the department of government through which shall be issued all charters for domestic corporations and amendments or extensions thereof, and all licenses to foreign corporations to do business" in the new State. The right of popular Referendum, but not of Initiative, is reserved on the basis of a petition of 10 per cent changed, altered or abrogated" except by a Consti-counties, provided the aggregate is not less than 10 per cent of the voters of the entire State. To sustain the Referendum there must be a majority of all votes on the question, and not less than 40 per cent of all cast at the election. General appropriation laws, police laws, public debt laws, public school laws, and local or special laws, are excepted from the operation of the Referendum. To amend the Constitution there are exacting requirements. At the first session of the legislature two years after the Constitution goes into effect, and at any regular session after each eighth year thereafter, the legislature may, by a majority vote of all the members of each House, voting separately, submit amendments, which, if ratified by a majority of the people voting thereon, provided this be 40 per cent of all votes at the election in the State and in each of one-half of the counties, the amendment is adopted. At other sessions of the legislature two-thirds of each House, instead of a majority, is required for submission. Not more than three amendments can be submitted at any election. The clauses on voting qualifications (including denial of woman suffrage), and those on public education, are apparently unamendable. No Constitutional convention can be called within twenty-five years without a three-fourths vote of each House and approval by the people, nor after twenty-five years without a two-thirds vote of each House. If any amendment not initiated by a two-thirds vote of each House allows the popular Initiative, any laws adopted under popular Initiative shall be invalid if in contravention of any provision of the present Constitution. The clause regulating amendments must "not be changed, altered or abrogated" except by a Constitutional convention.

In the closing hours of the session H. B. Fergusson, a leader in the opposition, declared war against this Constitution. As reported by the *Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen* of November 23, Mr. Fergusson said on the floor of the convention:

As far as I am concerned, New Mexico shall not enter the Union in chains. States were created for the purpose of permitting the inhabitants of the States to rule themselves. I was elected on a platform which pledged self government in the most direct form which experience has produced—that of the Initiative and Referendum. I stand on the platform on which I was elected, and were there no other reasons save the absence of these provisions from the proposed draft, I would still oppose it. Even were I to waive this most important feature, the document as it stands is such that I could not support it. The desire for Statehood springs from a hope of our people to escape from a condition of political peonage. We want to be free from a government whose seat is thousands of miles away, from rulers who have little knowledge and little care for the best interests of this vast district and its patriotic, home loving, ambitious people, who are giving their toil and their lives to create a prosperous community. This document simply changes masters. Instead of the central power at Washington, it gives the powers of government into the hands of holders of special privileges. Our government will be directed from the offices of railroads and great industrial corporations instead of from the bureaus of the national government. Our citizens will still be ruled. They will still be without the power to rule themselves. Instead of tax levies directed by a "government from above," our people will be taxed for the private profit of those to whom the reins of government have been given. This is the era when the rights of men are becoming paramount. The object of every patriotic citizen should be the restoration of power to the people. A Constitution which thwarts or hinders this purpose should be defeated. I believe in democracy, but it must be that democracy which has, as its foundation, the will of the majority. It must rest on a majority of citizens—not on a majority of dollars. It must be a democracy in which the rights of the humblest are as sacred as those of the most powerful. This Constitution, as it stands, is simply a clever instrument to enslave, politically, the people of this new empire to favored aggregations of dollars. It was written in the interests of these special interests. It is designed to keep the people from ruling themselves just as a Territorial form of government was designed to prevent that very condition. I do not know what others will do. As for myself, I shall fight its adoption.

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Settlement of Chicago Garment Workers' Strike Hoped For.

One fatality has occurred in the restless conditions in Chicago caused by having 40,000 garment workers out on strike (p. 1137). On the afternoon of the 2d Charles Lazinskas, a strike picket, was shot and killed by Tony Yacullo, a special policeman employed by the Royal Tailors. A coroner's jury held Yacullo to the grand jury. Sev-

eral witnesses testified that Lazinskas was backing away from Yacullo when the latter fired the fatal shot. Yacullo pleaded self-defense. The painful impression created upon the strikers by the report of the death of Lazinskas, intensified by his public funeral on the 5th, has delayed the progress of settlement undertaken by the committee appointed by the Mayor last week (p. 1138). The leading employing firm—Hart, Schaffner & Marx, in whose shops the strike began—has made the following offer of agreement:

All of the former employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx (except those who have been guilty of violence) who are now out on strike shall be taken back and shall return to work within fifteen days from the date the strike is terminated. Whether any of such employes have been guilty of violence shall be the first matter to be determined by the arbitration committee hereunder. And should such employes who are not taken back because of the charge of violence be found not guilty by the arbitration committee, Hart, Schaffner & Marx shall pay them for the time they have lost.

There shall be no discrimination of any kind whatever against any of the employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx because they are or are not members of any union.

An arbitration committee of five shall be appointed. The employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx who are on strike shall select two, Hart, Schaffner & Marx shall select two, and the four so chosen shall select a fifth. The finding of said committee or of a majority thereof shall be binding. Subject to the provisions of this agreement, said committee shall take up and consider whatever grievances, if any, the employes of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, who are now on strike, shall have, and shall devise a method for the settlement of grievances, if any, in the future.

The joint conference committee on the strike, consisting of representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Women's Trade Union League, the District Council of the garment workers, the United Garment Workers of America, and representatives of the strikers themselves, has endorsed this agreement, and has commended it to the strikers. The Chicago Federation of Labor has also endorsed the agreement, and one group of clothing cutters accepted it on the 5th. It has been necessary, however, to have the agreement printed in nine different languages for distribution among the strikers, before votes can properly be taken upon it in all the different shop groups, and a final decision upon it is therefore not looked for for several days.

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Unrest in Mexico.

President Porfirio Diaz was inaugurated for the eighth time on the 1st (p. 731). The insurrection (p. 1138) continues to show its head here and there. President Diaz is reported to have sent out a peace commission from Chihuahua on

the 2nd, to confer with the revolutionists at San Isidro.

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Revolt in a Portuguese Colony.

Macao, a Portuguese city at the mouth of the Canton river in southern China, was the scene on the 30th of a revolt of the Portuguese troops of the local garrison and the crew of the Portuguese gunboat *Patria*, lying in the harbor. The revolting troops demanded the expulsion of the religious orders, increased pay for army and navy, the suppression of a certain newspaper, and the righting of various wrongs suffered by the soldiers and sailors. Under threat the Governor granted all demands. The movement seems to have been an attempt to introduce the reforms being enacted in Portugal under the new Republic, into a colony the government of which had merely perfunctorily acknowledged the change from a monarchical to a republican allegiance. It will be remembered that the army and navy played a large part in the recent Portuguese revolution (pp. 968, 995, 1001, 1009, 1045, 1049, 1097). The Governor, who was suspected of protecting the religious orders, has since been replaced by Judge Marques Vidal. The population is reported to have acclaimed the change.

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Death of Mrs. Eddy.

Mary Baker Eddy, originator and prophet of the Christian Science movement, died at Chestnut Hill, near Boston, on the 3d, at the age of 89 years, 4 months, and 17 days. The news of her death is reported to have been withheld until after the regular church services on the 4th. Since she had had no medical attendance in her last hours, Dr. George L. West was called in to make the death certificate. Having done this, he gave out on the 4th the following statement:

I was called to the home of Mrs. Eddy early this morning and arrived there in my automobile about 9:30. I was met at the door by Calvin A. Frye and others of the household, who directed me to a bed chamber on the second floor. Here I met Mrs. Sargent. I found the body of a woman of about 90 years, lying on the bed, her hands crossed over her breast. The face was somewhat wasted, but kindly, and in repose. I talked with Mr. Frye, who said: "Mrs. Eddy had been in error about a week and passed away very quietly." Mr. Frye described the symptoms and spoke of an inflammation of the chest, which led me to the conclusion that pneumonia had been the contributory cause of death.

Mrs. Eddy's property is understood to be in the hands of trustees, headed by Archibald McClellan.

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"Do you believe in Santa Claus, little girl?" "No; but I pretend to, just to please mamma. She thinks I do; and why rob her of her harmless illusions?"
—Louisville Courier-Journal.

NEWS NOTES

—A Japanese antarctic expedition (p. 949), led by Lieutenant Shirase, sailed from Japan on the 28th.

—The third annual conference of Governors of States and Territories closed its session at Louisville, Ky., on the 1st.

—Contracts between Chicago and the Sanitary District for electric lighting power to be supplied by the latter were signed on the 3d.

—A woman, Vergil Conner, a student of Ouachita College, Arkansas, has been awarded one of the Cecil Rhodes scholarships at Oxford.

—The eleventh annual meeting of The National Civic Federation will be held in New York City from the 12th to the 14th of January, both dates inclusive.

—The wild tribesmen in Mindanao in the Philippines, who were reported a month ago to be raiding the planters (p. 1045), are being rounded up by the United States constabulary.

—Major General Wesley Merritt, U. S. A., retired, one of the three Federal commissioners who arranged terms of peace at Appomattox at the close of the Civil War, died on the 3d at Natural Bridge, Va.

—A conference of civic organizations for the 7th has been called by the Legislative Voters' League of Illinois (p. 1132) for considering a legislative program for the coming session of the Illinois legislature.

—David J. Lewis of Cumberland, Md., a brilliant single tax advocate of long standing, and formerly a member of the Maryland Senate, was elected to Congress last month from the sixth district in his State.

—An ordinance prohibiting smoking at polling places on election day was passed by the Seattle council on the 29th, a direct result of the adoption of the woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution (p. 1094).

—The commission, appointed by President Taft under authority of the railroad law passed by the last Congress, began hearings on the 28th at Washington with President Arthur T. Hadley of Yale University presiding at the hearing.

—Delegates from the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and the Methodist Protestant Church, comprising a joint commission on federation, opened their sessions at Baltimore on the 30th with the immediate object of bringing about a federation of the three bodies.

—A memorial meeting to Mark Twain (pp. 439, 443) was held in Carnegie Hall, New York, on the 30th, at which William Dean Howells presided, and Joseph H. Choate, Speaker Cannon, Champ Clark, and Col. Watterson were the speakers, and the Rev. Dr. Van Dyke read an appropriate poem of his own composition.

—Under orders of Judge Grosscup of the United States Circuit Court the properties of the Consolidated Traction Company of Chicago, and its eight underlying companies, were sold under the hammer

on the 30th to Andrew Cooke, the only bidder, who secured 187 miles of track, rolling stock and all other equipment for \$1,425,000.

—By a vote of two to one the three judges at the Nebraska University on the 3d awarded to Nebraska the decision in the oratorical contest with the University of Wisconsin debaters. Nebraska's three debaters had the affirmative side of the question, "Resolved, that the movement of organized labor for the closed shop should receive the support of public opinion."

—The Chinese war against opium (vol. xii, p. 15) continues. The new Imperial Senate (p. 1115) on the 2nd passed a resolution looking to the extermination of the drug as a factor in Chinese life. The interprovincial transportation of opium will be abolished in July of the coming year, and the planting of the seed and smoking will be prohibited in January, 1912.

—The Page law of New York for the physical examination of women arrested as prostitutes (p. 891) was held by Judge Bischoff of the New York Supreme Court on the 25th to be unconstitutional, not for sex discrimination, but for imprisonment without due process of law. The full effect of the sentence depends upon the exparte report of a physician after conviction.

—At their own request the newsboys of Boston have been assisted in forming a Newsboys' court which has official judicial recognition in the city government. Three boy judges, elected by the boys themselves, will sit with two adult judges, one of them the secretary of the newsboys' club. The boy judges will receive a salary of fifty cents for each session of the court. The court is empowered to handle all violations of newsboy licenses.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 709) for the ten months ending October 31, 1910, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for October were as follows:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise ...	\$1,430,984,543	\$1,296,226,777	\$134,757,766 exp.
Gold	56,068,411	49,929,386	6,139,025 exp.
Silver	46,034,318	36,652,464	9,381,854 exp.

\$1,533,087,272 \$1,382,808,627 \$150,278,645 exp.

—A large meeting was held at Bowen Hall, Hull House, on the 2d to encourage the people of Canada in their protests against the extradition to Russia of Savva Fedorenko, formerly a Labor member of the Douma, whom the Russian government demands as a fugitive charged with murder. His extradition is opposed on the ground that his alleged offense is political, not criminal. The chairman of the meeting was Mahlon Barnes, and the speakers were John C. Chase, ex-Mayor of Haverhill, Mass., W. H. Hoop of Winnipeg, Louis F. Post of Chicago, Charles Frederick Adams of New York, and Jenkin Lloyd Jones and P. H. O'Donnell of Chicago. Another large meeting in Chicago was held on the 4th, at which the speakers were Russian-Americans.

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"Ah, my dear sir, the meeting! From the first day all the records fell! All the aviators also!"—*Le Rire.*

PRESS OPINIONS

New Political Alignments.

The Milwaukee Journal (ind. Rep.), Nov. 4.—No Progressive voters should vote for any candidate who is not Progressive. None should hesitate to cross party lines in order to support a Progressive. To a Progressive Democrat a Progressive Republican ought to be immeasurably preferable to a Tory Democrat. To a Progressive Republican a Progressive Democrat ought to be immeasurably preferable to a Tory Republican. The fight has ceased to be one of Republicanism vs. Democracy. It has become one of Progressivism vs. Toryism. Every Progressive should understand this. None should make the mistake of helping to defeat their friends and of putting their foes on guard.

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Unearned Increment.

(Chicago) American Lumberman (trade), Nov. 5 (page 77).—Two men who are prominently identified with the logging industry in northern Minnesota have materially increased their fortunes. These are P. H. Nelson, of Duluth, and Thomas York, of Chisholm. Mr. Nelson, who has been identified with the Swan River Logging Company many years, has made a fortune in mining. Mr. York is vice-president and general manager of the logging company. Messrs. Nelson and York and Gust Carlson, of Hibbing, bought 120 acres of land on the Cuyuna iron range, this State, a new iron district, a few years ago for \$25 an acre. They have explored the ground with drills and have discovered 20,000,000 tons of merchantable ore and have leased the property to the Inland Steel Company of Chicago on a basis of 50 cents a ton royalty, which makes it a \$10,000,000 proposition. It is undoubtedly a much larger project, for the exploratory work is not completed. Some of the drills which are deep in ore have not fully penetrated the mineral deposit.

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Light Breaks in the West.

The (Los Angeles) Graphic (ind.), November 26.—As land increases in speculative value a few gamblers get rich quickly, but wages go down and general prosperity decreases. The unearned increment on land has to be paid for in human labor. When a piece of land increases in value \$1,000 in a year, say, it means that the holder of that land has a mortgage of \$1,000 on human labor which he has done nothing to earn. It is not his fault that he reaps where he has not sown, of course. The fault is the system of land tenure under which we are operating—an ancient system of grab, which rewards idleness and discourages industry—a system that will have to be changed before the terrible pressure of involuntary poverty can be removed and anything like a condition of fairness and decency established in the world.

✦

The (Portland) Oregon Journal (ind.), Nov. 27.—The Oregonian says if single tax is ever adopted

it will put an end to the present "uniformity and equality" in taxation. How absurd to speak of the present taxation as "equal and uniform." The inequality and injustice of the present system is notorious. The almost complete escape of wealth from a just share of taxation is common knowledge.

It is only by a vote of the people that it can be adopted in any county in Oregon. If the citizens and taxpayers of such a county do not favor it, no county will attempt it. Since it is a plan of home rule as to taxation, and since it is in the hands of the people themselves to determine, there need be no fear that by its adoption government of, for and by the people will be harmed. The only thing that will be disturbed will be government of the few for the profit of the few, who are responsible for the present robber tax system.

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The Destinies of England.

Collier's (ind.), Nov. 19.—Two Americans have recently exercised a clear influence on the immediate destinies of England. One is the late Henry George, the other is Joseph Fels. Much of the present land-valuation and land-tax agitation, which is the spearhead of the 1910 Budget, is due to the gradual permeation of Henry George's ideas on taxation of land. And some of the concentration and immediacy of that agitation is due to Joseph Fels. For some years Single Taxers have been sowing the seed through the Kingdom. Such men as Crompton Davies and John Paul have been addressing small meetings in many places. Gradually the interest has increased, and permanent groups of converts and believers have been formed in certain communities. They have won over the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Alexander Ure, to the cause of a progressive tax on land. Large audiences have listened to him. Eighteen months ago Joseph Fels began to grow busy in England. Fels is a Philadelphia Jew who makes Fels-Naptha. By it he has netted eight million dollars, much of which he believes he has stolen from the working people. He calls himself a "robber." He has two master passions in life—one is to free his own people from the age-long persecution by establishing a colony in some safe and fertile spot; the other is the crusade against poverty. Single tax is to him a religion, and he stands ready to pour out his fortune in establishing it.

+ +

'Tis true, as every man must know
(And every man regrets it),
Man wants but little here below,
And very seldom gets it.

—Puck.

• + +

The new minister in a Georgia church was preaching his first sermon. The colored janitor was a critical listener. The minister's sermon was eloquent, and his prayer seemed to cover the whole category of human wants. After the services one of the deacons said to the janitor, "Don't you think he offers a good prayer, Joe?" "Ah mos' suhtainly does, boss. Why, dat man axed de good Lord fo' things dat de odder preacher didn't even know He had!"—National Monthly.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TOLSTOY.

For The Public.

So much he achieved in the time that was given
To him, as to many who merely have striven
For pleasures it brought them,
With sorrows it taught them;
Yet time to the idle and barren is left,
While the fruit-bearing tree in its glory is cleft.

Perchance in a new realm some task has been need-
ing

The gift that from earth-life was slowly receding,
Where soul-kin receive him,
Nor carelessly grieve him,
As the land of his birth in her blindness has done,
Weaving thorns with the laurels so peacefully won.

She is mourning today in hovel and prison,
Albeit her lost star already is risen
Above the lone pillow,
The cypress and willow;—
Where justice is watchword, where death has no
room,
And the flower of his life-work is ever abloom.

Not lost to his Russia the Christ-like endeavor,
Full of hopes to be crushed and to blossom forever;
Through slaughter and yearning
With sad eyes discerning
The strength of her heroes who suffer and wait,
The worth of her women, so simple and great.

We grieve and rejoice for the hero departed,
The man many-sided, the great Russian-hearted,—
A life worth the living,
And help worth the giving,
Whose thought, world-embracing, shrank not from
its test,
While his heart of hearts bled with the race he
loved best.

D. H. INGHAM.

+ + +

THE PESSIMIST.

Balancing the Account.

"By working my mill day and night," said a manufacturer of fine silk, "I get my money for three per cent."

"That may be true enough so far as you are concerned," replied the Pessimist, "but every time you write the name of one of those children on your night shift time book, you draw a check on the fund of social energy, and some day, either in your time or in the time of your children, society must square that account."

+ +

Too Much Hurry Up.

"Well, I'll be blessed," said the manufacturer of wooden boxes in a tired tone, "but we can't

keep help in the factory any more. A man wants to loaf all the time and he expects to acquire a handsome fortune at that occupation in the course of a few months. If he don't get that fortune he grumbles about under pay and unfair division of the profits of industry. It's awfully exasperating. "It was indeed, particularly as the box manufacturer's wife had paid \$85 for a bracelet in the early part of the month, and the bill had just come in.

"What's the matter with your men?" asked the Pessimist.

"Oh," replied the manufacturer, "they're lazy. You see in our mill the boards go into a machine to be shaped and fitted, and from there they are carried over to another machine to be put together. We pay nine dollars for that carrying work, and the fellow on the machine gets a couple of dollars extra, and orders to push things so that the men who carry will get good sized loads. Well, sir, those fellows don't want to carry much of anything, and they want to loaf at that. Just to show you. Last week we took on a Polak. He was a good husky fellow, and went to carrying. To-day he walks up and says,

"Gif me my money. Me no more vork for you."

"What's the matter, Stan?" said I.

"Me no like ze vork. Too much hurry up for nine dollars.' Now what do you think of that?"

"I think," replied the Pessimist, "that Stan is doing some thoughtful thinking."

MAX WORTH.

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THE CHICAGO GARMENT MAKERS.*

Extract from "Wage-Earning Women," by Annie Marion MacLean.

First let us look at the garment workers [of Chicago] as they toil through the long day in non-union shops. The shops or trades that are organized naturally have better working conditions and higher wages than those that are not, since the unions have established very definite standards in these respects. Our study was therefore confined to those establishments in which the workers had no such guarantee of immunity from the unfortunate phases of industry as that furnished by union contracts. It is true, of course, that some non-union shops present as good conditions as union establishments can boast, but there can be no certainty of their continuance when the employer alone has the power of determining the character of his establishment.

*This extract from a book published last winter—a review of which appears on another page of this Public—is a timely corroboration of the facts being at the present moment disclosed in connection with the strike of the Chicago garment workers (pp. 1155, 1162).

. . . We confined ourselves to eight establishments employing approximately 1,000 women—a small proportion, it is true, of the full 30,000 women engaged in this industry, but the places visited were representative. Employers were extremely loath to allow any investigation to be made, and they seemed unduly sensitive on the wages question. It was possible, however, to learn much of a section of this most important industry so far as women are concerned. Employes were seen at their work places, and in their homes, and many of them talked freely upon what industrial life meant to them. Very few seemed satisfied. Their dissatisfaction was not always caused by low wages, or long hours, but by petty annoyances connected with the trade. As an example of the tyranny of offensive customs, the case of one rather conspicuous establishment employing about 300 women may be cited. Among the workers were the newly arrived immigrants from Poland, Bohemia and Hungary, but the majority were Poles, Bohemians and Scandinavians born in the environs of their present workshop. A large percentage of these speak English but little, and understand only the simplest words. It would be difficult to find a place with better physical conditions. The wages, too, are higher than those found in many factories, and there are seldom long slack seasons, but the rules of the house, the restrictions placed upon the employes, and the petty annoyances to which they are subjected are most distressing to girls who have the energy and intelligence to resent them.

There was an oppressive atmosphere of dull, stupid endurance, and the faces of most of the women were pitifully blank. There was abundant evidence of lack of opportunity for promotion, of ceaseless mechanical work, of colorless, uneventful lives, and all this with good physical conditions and fairly good wages. "Girls are unreasonable," said the employer; "what more can they want?" They want an absence of fines for imperfect work for one thing, and the employer to furnish thread and needles for another. But he does not see the force of these old contentions. The buying of thread or needles or both is a constant source of irritation to the more intelligent workers of the needle trades in the West as in the East. In several Chicago establishments this was found to amount to about \$2 a week for those using one-needle machines, and it falls heavier on the two and three-needle operators, who pay sometimes from \$2.50 to \$3 a week for their thread. It is the old, old story heard in various parts of the country, and filling the worker with a revolutionary spirit whenever it is told. The girls insist that the garment is sold with the thread, and the profit goes to the employer. An added grievance is that employes are required to buy thread from the firm. When questioned about this one girl smiled satirically and answered: "Sure, that's

the way they make their money. We could get it much cheaper at a store."

Another thing which all resent is the lack of liberty. The piece-workers are especially rebellious because they are required to be ready for work at 7:30 in the morning on pain of dismissal, and because they cannot leave any time during the day they wish, or when work is so slack that there is nothing for them to do. They argue that since they are piece-workers, their presence in the factory should not be required when the firm has not sufficient work to keep them busy, and that they should not be compelled to stay in the building idle unless paid for their time. In one factory a girl said: "I finished all I had to do three hours ago, and now I sit and fold my hands. My mother is washing at home and would be glad to have me there. I don't see why I should have to stay here when it does not do the manager any good or me either."

Thus do they complain. They want first a chance to work, and then some voice in regard to the disposal of their time. In many factory processes there are delays, often unexpected, and often unavoidable, which bring hardship to the piece-worker. The young girl cannot see why she should sit idle before a silent machine, when the alluring world outside is calling to her. In some places girls are not permitted to go home for sickness unless it is an illness sufficiently serious to frighten the superintendent. One girl advanced the theory that it is because of fear lest they seek employment elsewhere that they are not allowed to leave during working hours.

The week workers are really less restricted than the piece-workers. Many of them are little girls, finishers, packers and inspectors, who laugh and sing while they do their work, and seem to feel restraint less than the older girls.

In a corset factory, where there is a graduated piece rate for all operations, the girls insist that this rate is constantly being lowered by changes in fashion so that one has to work almost twice as hard as she did a year or two ago to make the same amount of money. The new-style garment is nearly twice as long as the old. The women receive the same rate for sewing the long seams as formerly for the short ones, and they say that whereas some of the best workers used to make \$12 and \$18 it is now impossible for a girl, working all the time at the highest possible speed, to make more than \$10 a week unless she has exceptional energy and endurance. This is only another instance of the hardships freakish changes in fashion have forced upon women in industry.

The working conditions in most of the shops are generally fairly good. They are clean enough and well lighted. The air is not bad in summer when the windows are open, but there seems to be little attempt at artificial ventilation, with the result that the rooms are often foul in winter. There

are, however, few among the employes who seem to understand the necessity for fresh air. Even in summer there is a persistent odor, in some places, of gas from the gas iron, and when the doors and windows are closed it is very distressing. This is especially true in the tailoring shops. It would seem that there is careless neglect in this matter. There ought to be some way of preventing the escape of gas. One of the girls working in such a place spoke of the difficulty she had in breathing during the winter. Like many factory girls, she is afraid of draughts, and objects to open windows; but she believes that if the foreman or some one in authority were to insist upon having the windows lowered a little at the top, the draught would not be serious, and the girls would stop wrangling over the subject. All through the year the windows are closed before the employes leave at night and remain so until after work begins in the morning, if they are opened at all.

In one place there were two little Italian girls who were undoubtedly under fourteen years of age. In another shop there were several Polish children who gave their ages as fifteen, but they were much younger, judging from appearances. These children cut and sewed on tags. Their work is not hard, and the foreman is considerate and kind to them, but they have to stand all day. When his attention was called to this he said that they could not conveniently do their work sitting, but he afterwards admitted that he had never thought how injurious constant standing might be to girls of that age and said he would provide seats for them. They are paid from \$2.50 to \$3 a week.

Almost without exception, the girls said that spent their free time at home helping their mothers. Among the older girls there is strong class feeling. There are many newly arrived immigrants who do not speak English, and the foreman of one factory said that almost every day he hires a new girl who is still on the ocean. The immigrants who drift into these shops are ignorant and dull, and too often the native-born are not far in advance. There are a few bright girls, some of whom are studying hard at various things outside of their working hours, and many who say that they read a great deal, while others had never heard of the public library or its various branches.

As has been indicated before, much discontent prevails among the workers in this trade. The chief complaints of the girls in the clothing establishments have not to do with wages, although in many instances there is seemingly good ground for complaint on this score. The weekly earnings range from \$2.50 to \$12, with an average in the neighborhood of \$7. The girls protest most against the long day, and the effects of this and the nervous strain of their work are decidedly noticeable. It appears in heavy eyes with deep, dark rings, in wrinkled skin and old young faces. The high rate of speed that must be maintained

through so many successive hours is undermining the health of thousands of girls in this industry.

Another grievance is overtime in the busy season. The girls are required to work until 7:30 or 8 o'clock two or three nights a week. They usually stay at their machines through the supper hour and send boys out to bring them a bite to eat. This is done to save time in the hope of getting through a little earlier. They seem to resent this overtime requirements quite as much as the inevitable slack seasons, which amount to about twelve weeks in the year.

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COUNTER CURRENTS.

From the August 10, 1910, Christian Commonwealth, of London.

The girl with the red hair brought in a box of half-finished safety-pins and flung them down on the narrow shelf beside her press; then she sat down with an air of tragic importance as befitted the bearer of bad news, and began "capping" her pins with incredible rapidity. The hum of conversation in the long dingy shop had ceased expectantly at her entrance, but she did not speak.

In the next department the machinery kept up a sound like the hurrying to and fro of the feet of an agitated multitude; in the capping-room the women's presses punctuated the noise with restless tapping; no one paused for even the fraction of a second in their work, but furtive glances were thrown at the downcast face of the red-haired girl.

At length the suspense became unbearable, and the oldest woman in the shop looked across her heap of tangled pins:

"I shouldn't be in no 'urry ter speak, ef I was you, which I ain't," she said with dreary sarcasm.

She had a pinched nose and sunken cheeks, this oldest woman in the shop; her hair was grey, and her cotton blouse, which was patched with material of a different color, hung on her thin shoulders as on two pegs. She was thirty-nine and looked fifty-nine, and from time to time she coughed violently, letting loose a virulent host of tubercle bacilli into the heated and dust-laden air.

The red-haired girl answered, sulkily:

"We got three days."

There was a gasp of dismay, though no one spoke. The sickly glare of the noon-day sun through the dirty skylights seemed to take on a more leaden gleam.

Then suddenly there arose the sound of sobbing.

A child, not yet fifteen, had laid her head down on her arm and begun to cry.

"Don't take on, Beattie," said the girl opposite to her; "it ain't no better for none of us." But Beattie had not yet learned to accept things with the dull apathy of those who know that it is vain to rebel against the laws of the strong against the weak.

When she had capped and pressed thirteen dozen safety pins for fivepence during as many years as the oldest woman in the shop had done, she would have learned the uselessness of tears when brought face to face with industrial law. Female labor is plentiful, therefore cheap, therefore a "great gross" of pins must be capped and pressed for fivepence. Now a great gross is really twelve dozen dozen, but in the matter of safety pins it is reckoned to be thirteen, and "every pin through your hands twice;" thus it came about that Beattie, who was not so quick as some of the others, earned on an average six shillings a week, or a penny farthing an hour for fifty-six hours' work. Yet the news that she was to have three days' holiday came to this child of fourteen years as an unmitigated calamity.

"Don't carry on, Beattie; there's a good gell," said the girl at the next machine, as Beattie continued weeping.

"Oh, s'all very well for the likes of you," she answered, "but me mother's ill, an' the baby an' all, an' me father ain't done no work for this 'ere fortnit. Oh, whatever does folks went Bank 'Oli-days for?"

No one said any more; perhaps they were all too busy, perhaps, their sympathy lay too deep for words, and in not a few cases they were too depressed, for, as one girl had said, "It wasn't no better for none of them." She herself, for instance, had another life to support besides her own, although it was true she was a quick worker, and had even been known to make as much as ten and sixpence some weeks when she had been given "best" work. Suddenly, a girl who was about seventeen, and possessed of rare beauty, of form and coloring, if a little lacking in refinement of feature, clutched at a vain straw of hope.

"Did the foreman tell yer 'isself?" she asked.

"Course 'e did," answered the red-haired girl. "'Spose I made it up? 'Spose I'm one o' them there blooming' practikkle jokers?"

The hope died out of the other's face and the beautiful eyes clouded as she drooped them again on her work; and Beattie ceased to cry, and returned to her pile of pins with a nervous effort to work more quickly which only had the effect of delaying her. The child-mouth had hardened, and the whole sensitive little face had changed in expression; very slightly but perceptibly she had deteriorated; henceforth her attitude towards life would be one of defiance and distrust. She had been caught in the down-current.

Steadily the work went on, and almost silently. Somehow the impulse to talk seemed to have left everyone; the atmosphere became tense with strain and haste, for by working at top speed it might be possible to earn several pence more during the days that remained towards the cruel deficit of the following week of only two and a half working days.

It was a slight matter that had caused the fatal decision to close the works for three days instead of the usual two. The works manager was going to spend the week-end touring in a motor car, and he found that by taking one extra day he should have time to go into a neighboring county and pay a formal call on a distant relative of his wife's.

At last the long morning was over, and the machines that had been running unweariedly from 8 o'clock ceased, in order that the human machines who tended them might recuperate their strength for another five hours' labor in the afternoon.

In less than three minutes every man and woman who went home to dinner had left the works; rows of tiny, anxious-faced children were standing by the great gates with dinner for mother or father carefully held in a basin or paper; and men and girls were hurrying to and fro with tea-tins fetching boiling water from the tap in the engine yard.

Beattie put a faded woollen cap on her thin, straw-colored hair, and dejectedly prepared to go out.

"Thought as you always staid dinner, kid," said a sour-faced woman called—behind her back—"Nagging Mag."

The child flinched. "I ain't goin' to to-day," she answered.

When she had disappeared Nagging Mag jerked her thumb over her back in the direction in which Beattie had gone.

"Got to clem, I reckon," she said, in acid tones; "did the same yesterday."

Then everybody remembered that the child had gone out to dinner yesterday.

"'Ow do yer know she ain't going' to a cook-shop?" coughed the oldest woman in the shop.

"Oh, I specks she 'ad a six-course dinner along o' them there swell rest'rongs," answered Mag; anyways I seed her acomin' back at five minutes to 2 yesterday be Blaize street; an't no cook-shops in Blaize street, an' she 'adn't the looks of a six-course dinner on 'er, neither, *she* 'adn't."

Presently the red-haired girl said: "Wish me mother wouldn't put them bernarnas along of my dinner; I 'ate bernarnas."

"Seems like I've made me more tea 'n I can swaller," said the girl who had to keep herself and her baby on her earnings; "it's a sin to waste good vittels; I shall arst Beattie ter drink it fer me."

"Blowed, if I can heat all this 'ere cold liver an' bread," said another girl, "t'aint 'ealthy ter heat such a lot in weather s'ot as this.

"Well, that's jes what I thinks," said the pretty girl in soft tones; "our mother sez, sez she, 'f yer carn't eat it all give it away,' she sez, 'it's so messin' like ter carry bread and jam 'ome."

By-and-by Beattie came back, white and silent, to find a highly miscellaneous and indigestible meal awaiting her, with urgent entreaties from the rest of the shop to "elp them out," as it appeared they had all got an annoying surplus of dinner that

day, and were greatly put out at the inconvenience of having to carry it home.

The child fell upon it ravenously, and with the instinctive delicacy that underlies the rough exterior of the very poor, the rest all went to the shop door, to "look fer a fren," or "get a breath o' air," so that she should not feel herself watched as she ate.

That night as the little girl was going home she suddenly felt herself roughly caught hold of and dragged into the shadow of an entry.

"'Ere's two shillin's t'elp make up fer August Bank 'Oliday week," hissed the voice of Nagging Mag in her ear, "an' if yer split about it ter anyone, I'll do for yer, so I tells yer straight."

And as Beattie resumed her way, she noticed the clouds were pink above the ugly chimney pots; henceforth her attitude towards her fellow-workers would be one of trust and appreciation. The up-current had swept into her soul.



ENSLAVED AND FREE.

Translated from the Yiddish of Morris Rosenfeld,
by Rose Pastor Stokes.

My tailor's shears I scornéd then;
I strove for something higher:
To edit news, live by the pen—
The pen that shall not tire.

The pen that was my humble slave
Has now enslaved its master;
And fast as flows its Midas wave,
My rebel tears flow faster.

The world once clothed I, tailor-hired,
Whilst in my rags I quakéd;
Today, myself am well attired
And let the world go naked.

What human soul, tho' chain-oppressed,
Can feel my chained soul's yearning?
A monster woe lies in my breast,
In voiceless anguish burning.

Oh, swing ajar the shop door: do!
I'll bear as ne'er I bore it.
My blood! . . . you sweatshop leeches, you!
Now less I'll blame you for it.

I'll stitch as ne'er in former years!
I'll drive the mad wheel faster!
Slave will I be but to the shears.
'The pen? I must be master!

BOOKS

"FRATERNITY."

Fraternity. By John Galsworthy. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price, \$1.35 net.

Recently a welder of a cavalry pen wrote to a knightly friend of mine: "Tell him to read 'Fra-

ternity,' by John Galsworthy, and you read it, too." Presently I answered: "Tell him to send me 'Fraternity.' Since a beneficent government has protected my labor so completely, I have stopped buying pork and novels."

My knightly friend did something unusual for him; he compromised. Chivalry forbade his sending on my message, so he bought the book, had it sent to me, and I am to send it to him when I have read it. Blessed forever be the knightly ones; but for that other part of me, that book would never go forward. As it is, however, I shall have to send it, even though I deem it almost a duty to teach knights discretion.

And the book "Fraternity"? It is a striking book indeed. Personally, it is quinine to me; I rejoice in its result, if it *was* bitter to take. My democracy is less material; I notice this particularly when I remember the defeat of the Cleveland traction settlement by referendum in October, 1908.

The author gets his effect by introducing one into the lives of certain cultivated and refined people most intimately. He does this with subtle skill, one knows; but the telling is not spectacular. Lives far from cultivated, one also looks at. One looks at them quietly, there is no flashlight effect; so in consequence the ghastly meagerness and loneliness of their lives sink into one's brain.

Interspersing the doings and conjectures of the above characters is a philosopher, living with individuality, and as near to nature as his environment—Kensington, London—permits. He is writing "The Book of Universal Brotherhood," and his sayings are humorous, and are often so introduced as to contain that kind of humor especially noticeable in "A Perplexed Philosopher." These are two out of others as good:

In that slow, incessant change of form to form, called Life, men made spasmodic by perpetual action, had seized on a certain moment, no more intrinsically notable than any other moment, and had called it Birth. This habit of honoring one single instant of the universal process to the disadvantage of all other instants had done more, perhaps, than anything to obfuscate the crystal clearness of the fundamental flux. As well might such as watch the process of the green, unfolding earth, emerging from the brumous arms of winter, isolate a single day and call it Spring. In the tides of rhythm by which the change of form to form was governed, the golden universal haze in which men should have flown like bright wing-beats round the sun, gave place to the parasitic halo which every man derived from the glorifying of his own nativity. To this primary mistake could be traced his intensely personal philosophy. Slowly but surely there had dried up in his heart the wish to be his brother. . . .

They did not stop to love each other in this life; they were so sure they had all eternity to do it in. The doctrine was an invention to enable men to act like dogs with clear consciences. Love could never come to full fruition till it was destroyed.

One of the results of reading this book is a stunning recognition of the incompleteness of life lived in class segregation, while not entirely devoid of social conscience and a glimmering knowledge of the lives of the robbed producers. The mind is entirely conscious of this result, though the wit and skill of the author render it difficult to specify the method by which it has become so stunningly apparent.

One character in the book will especially appeal to readers of *The Public*. It is that of a young doctor, nick-named the "Sanitist," and entirely driven by reason. As one reads the sayings of this doctor, some of us of the West, and also of the East, aided by personal memories, will see a tallish, smooth-shaven man. To those who know him, his reason-driven eyes probing their emotions, his clear voice flaying an ill-considered remark, will appear as this doctor speaks. I am transported also to some hall, and again I hear his expression of the solution, for the things he has been so unturningly analysing. It is then that one can see how high unturning reason lifts a man. This tallish, smooth-shaven man has been transfigured, his very person changed, for me, as I have listened. Because of this connection I am the "Sanitist's" respectful admirer.

"Fraternity" is well worth while, even to those who, like myself, will associate it with quinine. For such it is, I think, particularly adapted. It has doubled, for me, the luminous value of a gem, "Man," which Ernest Crosby wrote:

He must have the innocence and humility of the saint, the power of self-conquest of the ascetic, the broad vision of the seer, the loving kindness of the lover of men,

The unquestioning devotion to quiet usefulness of the laborer, the submission and the contempt for danger of the sailor and trooper.

He must show the nonchalance of the gamester, the geniality of the tippler, the easy manners of the man of the world.

He must feel the absolute freedom, the revolt against all external unassimilated law, of the felon, the anarchist, and the atheist. . . .

He must control these sinister forces in himself as a Greek demi-god firmly planted on the back of an unruly stallion.

I am petitioning the Public Library to get "Fraternity." Since I must return this copy, and abide by my own law, this is my solution for getting quinine to cure me when malarial.

GEORGE HUGHES.

* * *

AMERICAN WORKING-WOMEN

Wage-Earning Women. By Annie Marion MacLean. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. Price, \$1.25 net.

Woman, housekeeping, vote-seeking, or wage-earning would seem enough written up. Dr. MacLean proves not, by giving out this most readable

and instructive book—the result of an investigation undertaken by the author and a corps of twenty-nine assisting sociologists, for the Young Women's Christian Association.

Glimpses of hundreds of women at work in the New England mill towns, the New York and Chicago clothing trades, the California fruit industries and the Oregon hop fields are all made vivid by their concreteness, and educative through the author's clever tabulations and sane deductions.

To the non-technical reader peptonized statistics are grateful as they are rare; while the calm yet sympathetic judgments from observations appeal to one as fair—the following, for instance:

Unquestionably, the most serious problems that the young girl at work has to face are low wages and the constant jeopardizing of her health by the occupation in which she engages. Where wages are concerned, all averages are deceptive and need to be interpreted in terms of actual time employed during fifty-two weeks in any year. It is the exceptional wage-earning woman who has uninterrupted employment. And this does not mean the worker of exceptional ability, but rather the one of unusual good fortune. Employers are too ready to say that intermittent employment does not work hardship for their particular employes, inasmuch as they all live at home and welcome occasional vacations. While it is true that 1,304 of the 1,476 interviewed in New York, and 1,618 of the 1,914 in Chicago, lived at home, it is equally true that only 58 in the first group and 75 in the second appeared to have their earnings for personal use; that is, paid nothing for board and lodging. The vicious and unsupported theory that girls flock to the factories and stores for "pin money" seems even yet to have a firm hold on the employer's mind. The necessity for self-support becomes the dominant force in driving the young girl out to seek employment, and in compelling her to keep her place once she has obtained it.

A suggestive bibliography and some useful appendices complete an excellent book.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

PERIODICALS

Everybody's and McClure's.

In so far as the interest of our readers is especially concerned, these magazines for December go together. In Everybody's, Lincoln Steffens closes the first series of "It" with the best of the series and one of the best productions that ever came from his pen. It is a profound analysis of American plutocracy, not yet complete in detail but rounded out to perfection. No attack upon any man, is this dissection of Big Business—Mr. Steffens does "not wish to hurt any man any more"—but an explanation in general of the great god Control at whose shrine the business man worships humbly as does the politician. One of the fine touches is the parallel of "boss" and "heeler" as they are called in poli-

tics, though the same functionaries have pleasanter names in business. Steffens draws a picture in Everybody's; Moody and Turner tell a story in McClure's. He is abstract, impersonal, seeking the source of business power, and finding it in "Con-

The Womens' Trade Union League

OF CHICAGO

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Letter on the Land Question entitled

A Great Iniquity

which appeared in the London Times of August 1, 1905, and was reprinted in The Public of August 19, 1905, can be had in book form, red paper covers, with three portraits, for 10 cents, postage included in price.

ALSO, copies of The Public containing the reprint are for sale at five cents a copy, including postage.

THE late William Lloyd Garrison said of "A Great Iniquity":

"Its substance touches the marrow of the conflict between democracy and privilege, at present nowhere raging more fiercely than in Great Britain."

THE PUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, CHICAGO

trol"; they are historical, concrete, personal, specific, narrating the development of its high priests.

+ + +

Mr. Smith was reading aloud from a magazine about the size of China's population. The article stated that every fourth child born into the world was a Chinaman. Little Carmen, the third child in

the family, looked up and exclaimed: "O mother! Our next baby will be a Chinaman!"—*Woman's Journal*.

+ + +

Teacher (to new pupil): "Why did Hannibal cross the Alps, my little man?"

My Little Man: "For the same reason as the 'em



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ADDRESS

THE PUBLIC, BOOK DEPT., Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

crossed th' road. Yer don't catch me with no puzzles."—Sydney Bulletin.



A colored man was brought before a police judge charged with stealing chickens. He pleaded guilty and received sentence, when the judge asked how it was he managed to lift those chickens right under the window of the owner's house when there was a dog loose in the owner's yard.

"Hit wouldn't be no use, Judge," said the man, "to

try to 'splain this thing to yo' all. Ef you was to try it you like as not would get yer hide full of shot an' get no chickens, nuther. Ef yo' want to engage in any rascality, Judge, yo' better stck to de bench, whar yo' am familiar."—Chicago Daily Socialist.



"I suppose we will soon be hearing the joke about the big fish that got away."

"My friend," replied the fisherman, "with food at

The Public

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

It is also an editorial paper, according to the principles of fundamental democracy, expressing itself fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage.

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

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

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Delivered by

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JOHN SHERWIN CROSBY

Compiled by EDMUND YARDLEY

"Seldom have funeral orations been of the vital quality of those which electrified that remarkable gathering at the Grand Central Palace in New York, Sunday, Oct. 31, 1897. They came straight from the hearts of the several orators and they went straight to the hearts of that vast multitude which had come to do honor to the hero who had fallen in the midst of the battle. . . . As one reads these remarkable addresses ten years after the event one does not wonder that they were marked by demonstrations of an inspiring character. The great crowd could not restrain its feeling. Burst after burst of applause interrupted the impassioned speeches. In no other way was it possible for the followers of the dead man to express their sympathy with and approval of the sentiments that were given utterance; and when it was all over the Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton said: 'At first I was shocked by the applause; but as I reflected, it seemed to me impossible that the audience should not applaud. This was not a funeral; it was a resurrection.'"—From the Johnstown Democrat of Sept. 9, 1907.

Since the publication of our advertisement of September 2nd, we have taken over the balance of this edition entire.

When this stock is sold out the book will be out of print.

We now have 97 copies of these "Addresses" bound in blue cloth, lettered in white. Price per copy, postpaid \$0.40

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THEPUBLIC, Book Dept, Ellsworth Bldg, Chicago

present prices the fish that gets away is not a joke. It is a calamity!"—Washington Star.

† † †

"If we can abolish poverty we shall have taken the greatest step toward the abolition of crime.—Lydit Maria Child, "Letters from New York" (1842).

† † †

Policeman (to whom Old Lady has been com-

plaining of the destruction of her flower-beds). "Perhaps it's birds, Mum!"

Old Lady (sharply). "Tut, tut; more like two-legged birds!"—Punch (London).

† † †

Housewife: "Are you willing to chop some wood for your dinner?"

Plodding Peter: "Sorry, mum, but I am a Pinchot man."—Boston Transcript.

The New York Observer

makes a concise and perfectly fair statement of the general character of

Social Service

when it says, in its issue of June 30, 1910, that

the underlying philosophy of this book is the teachings of Henry George. Commencing with the mutuality of service and its indispensability, owing to the complex social organism of civilized life, our author goes on to consider both the use and abuse of money in social service. From this he argues that the primary impulse for social service is individual self-service. Demand and supply, trading, credits and accounting, with land values, are considered until finally through feudalism and capitalism he is led to consider the social service law of equal freedom. This can be had, according to Mr. Post, only when the people themselves, all together and in common, are the "land capitalists," while each for himself is a "machine capitalist," either alone or in voluntary co-operation with others. This can be brought about through the single tax. The book is diffuse, at times even prolix, in style. Mr. Post admits this, but thinks it necessary. In form, the discussion is colloquial and is addressed to an imaginary individual known as "Doctor." It is interesting and easily understood.

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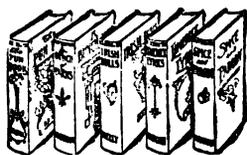
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Please mention THE PUBLIC when you write to Advertisers.

MEMORIAL

of the

Testimonial Dinner

to

TOM L. JOHNSON

in New York, May 30, 1910.

on which occasion Mr. Johnson was presented with a large bronze medallion, made by Richard F. George, commemorative of his public service under the influence of the spirit that animated Henry George. (See Public of May 27, page 490; of June 3, page 515; and of June 10, page 537.)

THIS Memorial is to contain about 64 pages, set in old style type, and is to be printed on natural tint Strathmore Japan paper with deckle edges. It will include an Introduction; the Addresses delivered at the Dinner; a list of the persons present at the Dinner; a list of the contributors to the Medallion; and portraits of Henry George and Tom L. Johnson.

DANIEL KIEFER, of whom these beautiful books may be ordered, is hoping that they will be ready before the holiday season is past, for they will make handsome gifts. The price, postage paid, is

50 CENTS

Address, DANIEL KIEFER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

While we are in the mood—

A friend sends in \$6.00 to pay for nine new yearly subscribers. He writes that he is sending these as a New Year's Greeting to nine of his friends and acquaintances. That he is writing to each one a personal letter telling them what he has done, and why he wants them to read *The Public*.

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William Allen White, of Emporia, Kansas, says of this feature: "I consider the files of *The Public* the best current history in America."

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Begin the new volume with the new year, and keep the file for future reference.

EMIL SCHMIED, Manager.