

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### The Supreme Court.

A significant passage in President Taft's message (p. 1160) is that in which he speaks of the Supreme Court. It is significant of a dangerous tendency with reference to the judiciary, and of the possible influence of that tendency upon Mr. Taft with reference to Supreme Court appointments.

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The proper and chief usefulness of the Supreme Court of the United States, so runs that passage in the President's message, is "so to expound the law, and especially the fundamental law, the Constitution, as to furnish precedents for the inferior courts in future litigation and for the executive officers in the construction of statutes and the performance of their legal duties." This passage carefully avoids any definite statement that the Executive and Congress are subject to the opinions of the Supreme Court in the execution of their own functions; but that is the common notion, and Mr. Taft's message lends it color, unless very carefully scanned.

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Nothing could be further from the truth than the idea that the Supreme Court should be politically supreme. The Constitution makes the President, Congress and the Supreme Court independent of one another. Yet the President is not independent of the Supreme Court if its decisions bind him in administration, nor is Congress if they

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bind it in legislation. As Charles Frederick Adams of New York recently demonstrated in a noonday speech on the subject at the Chicago City Club, quoting the best of legal authority to support his argument, a decision of the Supreme Court binds nobody but the parties to the law suit in which the decision is made. Its opinions may be useful to the Executive, but they are only suggestive guides, not authoritative commands.

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As Mr. Adams explained by way of illustration, the Supreme Court's decision declaring the income tax unconstitutional has been treated by the Presidents, beginning with Cleveland, as if it were binding on the Executive. But neither the Executive nor Congress was so much as a party to that law suit. As Mr. Adams suggested, if there had been in the White House at that time a President as sternly determined to enforce the income tax statute as Jackson was to put down the United States Bank, he would have gone on collecting income taxes in spite of the Supreme Court, and income tax payers would have had no recourse but to sue customs collectors for recovery of money paid under protest, which would soon have choked the Federal courts with petty lawsuits and brought the question of conflict of authority up to the people of the United States, where it properly belongs. A careful reading of Mr. Taft's message shows a recognition on the part of the writer, by silence however, of the point that Mr. Adams made. But there is no disguising the fact that the Supreme Court claims the power, and that the Presidents and Congress have practically conceded it, to overrule both Congress and the President on any Constitutional question. It is this that makes Supreme Court appointments so vitally important and of necessity a political question.

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If the nine gentlemen who constitute the Supreme Court had no wider function than deciding quarrels between individuals, their decisions, though wickedly wrong or mistakenly erroneous, would do no harm to any one but defeated litigants, and all such harm would soon wear away. But when those decisions are treated as absolute orders, binding upon Presidents and Congresses and States, and with reference not merely to some ephemeral quarrel, but to the powers of elective executives and legislators as direct representatives of the people, the Supreme Court of the United States becomes the most potent political body in the world. In the last analysis, under this false but growing theory of the relation of the judicial

to the executive and the legislative departments of the Federal government, the people of the United States as a whole, and the States themselves, are ruled, not alone as to private and ephemeral quarrels, but in their politics and perpetually, by five men in a body of nine, all appointed for life.

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Is it any wonder that political considerations dictate appointments to that most potent of all political oligarchies? Is it not right that political considerations should dictate those appointments? Why, for instance, should a President opposed to people's rule appoint judges whose bias is for it, or Presidents who favor people's rule appoint judges whose bias is against it? Why should a Republican President appoint a Democrat to nullify on the bench a political policy to which the Republican party gives statutory form and force? Why should a Democratic President play into the hands of the opposing party by appointing to the Supreme Court a Republican to whose legal mind every vital policy of the Democratic party seems unconstitutional? And why should progressive Senators confirm appointments of reactionaries to the bench? But of all things else, why should a republic based upon the principle of people's rule permit judicial usurpation of autocratic dictatorial powers?

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#### President Taft's Appointments.

The promotion by President Taft of Justice White to the chair of Chief Justice of the United States is applauded because the President and his appointee affiliate with opposing political parties. There is nothing at all in that reason for approval. Justice White affiliates with a faction in the Democratic party which is politically much closer to Mr. Taft's faction in the Republican party than his faction is to the rest of his party. Aside, however, from that empty reason for non-partisan boasting, and simply with reference to conventional tests, the appointment is a good one. In a sense at least it is also a safe one. It can not change the complexion of the court, the appointee being already one of its members with voting rights equal to one-ninth of its great political power. The place to look for the political tendency of the Court under President Taft's appointments of this week is where the new appointees sit.

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The only one of President Taft's judicial appointees of the week of whose bias we are advised is Judge Mack of Chicago (vol. xii, p. 460).

Judge Mack is not only an accomplished lawyer and competent judge, as all the judicial appointees doubtless are, but he is also a democratic Democrat with convictions and the courage of them. If his fellow appointees are of his stamp it is but fair to say that President Taft has improved either in his own perceptions or in good luck.

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### Woodrow Wilson's Declaration.

If the "Jim-Jims" of New Jersey expected to use Dr. Wilson, the governor-elect of New Jersey (pp. 662, 674, 898, 963, 1021, 1095), as a mask for their characteristic operations in politics (and they have given evidence of designs of that kind), they may find that their intended mask is conscious, alert, determined, and further advanced in democracy than they or any one else had reason to suppose, unless it may be confidential friends. At any rate, Dr. Wilson made a deliberate public statement on the 8th which goes further than anything he has yet been credited with, to justify his democracy as a Democrat. After explaining why he regards it as his duty to make the statement, he says:

I know that the people of New Jersey do not desire James Smith, Jr., to be sent again to the Senate. If he should be, he will not go as their representative. The only means I have of knowing whom they desire to represent them is the vote at the recent primaries, where 48,000 Democratic voters, a majority, declared their preference for Mr. Martine of Union County. For me, that vote is conclusive. I think it should be for every member of the legislature.

As James Smith, Jr., is the leader of reactionary Democracy in New Jersey, and James E. Martine has for years stood for democratic Democracy there—a political as well as personal friend of William J. Bryan through the campaigns of 1896, 1900 and 1908—there is no mistaking the ring of Gov. Wilson's declaration. It puts him farther to the front in the democracy of the Democratic party than ever before, on what is coming to be the test question—the principle and practice of people's rule.

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### Some of the Humor of It.

The Astor family of Great Britain draws its income of American dollars from the people of New York City in consideration of allowing them to breathe on Manhattan Island. These dollars have no taint in the mind of your British Tory, for they are neither productively earned nor voluntarily contributed. So it is that a dollar-fed Astor goes to Parliament as a Tory. But the Tories raise their hands in horror at American dollars con-

tributed to Redmond by Irish exiles for Irish home rule. Astor himself is so devoid of humor as to call attention to his tainted American dollars by making faces at the Irish contributions. The spirit of it all is illustrated by this Tory campaign song:

Oh, John Bull, dear, an' did you hear  
The news that's goin' round?  
The rose it is by law forbid  
To grow in English ground;  
No more upon St. George's day  
Its color will be seen,  
An' in its place we'll have to grace  
The Stars an' Stripes an' Green.

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### Mr. Perkins and Profit-Sharing.

We are inclined to regard with confidence the good faith of George W. Perkins, late of Pierpont Morgan's firm, in his plans for removing friction between employer and employed. It is not at all improbable that a man of his experience has been moved by profound sentiments of justice to see what he can do to cure the great industrial evils that force themselves upon every man's attention. His purpose to work out a scheme of profit-sharing might indeed be significant of other than a truly fair minded object; but he may not yet understand the profit-sharing idea. It is the first thought of minds just awaking to social injustice, as it is the constant thought of those intent upon perpetuating injustice. So it is quite conceivable that Mr. Perkins' heart is enlisted without yet having got his head well into the service.

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Profit-sharing is only a form of extending partnerships by taking in a large number of junior partners,—very junior partners in the distribution of profits, but influential as voters in maintaining the going schemes,—to the further enrichment of the senior partners, and the depredation of outsiders. That the great potentates of finance have not long ago made it worth the while of their employes, by slightly higher wages, or a slight sharing of profits with them, to stand by whenever Privilege is attacked at the ballot box, is somewhat of a mystery. But far be it from us to imply that any such purpose actuates Mr. Perkins. We give him the benefit of full confidence in the integrity of his intentions; but if his intentions are genuine he will not resent a suggestion that the profit-sharing plans he announces, while they may slightly improve the condition of a few employes of great corporations, will be detrimental to nearly everybody else, and in the end to those very employes. The only way of fairly and surely ending

the conflict between capital and labor is to decapitalize Privilege.

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### Mrs. Pelham's Object Lesson.

When reviewing last season's work of the Chicago City Gardeners' Association, Mrs. Laura Dainty Pelham said, as the papers report her, that its beneficiaries produced \$3,000 worth of poverty-abolishing material from 12 acres of vacant building sites divided into 100 "farms." The value of poverty-abolishing products which those building lots might have yielded to an appropriate expenditure of appropriate labor for appropriate purposes can only be guessed at; but it would have been vastly more than \$3,000. Buildings rather than onions and potatoes are the appropriate products of building lots, and many times \$3,000 worth of buildings could have been raised on those 12 acres.

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Is it asked what could be done with more buildings in Chicago when so many of those already erected are unremunerative? Doubted that many are unremunerative (eliminating fancy values for sites), but granted for the moment, and here is the answer: More employment for builders makes more effective demand for everything from everywhere that enters into the construction of buildings; this makes more employment of many other kinds, which makes more effective demands for still other labor products; and this, etc., etc., etc., finally rounding out with more effective demands for Chicago buildings on remunerative terms. But isn't that reasoning in a circle? Certainly. Production, distribution and consumption run together in precisely that kind of circle. With the circle unbroken, you have universal prosperity among workers. Break it and haphazard distribution, disemployment and poverty among workers set in. The circle is broken when owners of vacant land—whatever its appropriate uses may be—keep it out of use by demanding more for it than its best use can presently bear. Mrs. Pelham has crudely mended one of the breaks in that circle, for one season. The effect is slight. But it is enough to relieve \$3,000 worth of poverty, and to offer an impressive economic object lesson to whoever will listen to her and then think.

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### Direct Legislation in Illinois.

That there will be efforts to side track the Initiative and Referendum in the Illinois legislature is to be expected notwithstanding the favorable popular vote for it of more than 3 to 1 at the re-

cent election (p. . . .). Big Business and Bad Politics, those inseparable companions, will not allow representative government to get out of their own hands and into the people's if they can help it. They will resort to all kinds of bunco games and put their most expert bunco steerers "on the job." But the Legislative Voters' League is now officially committed to giving this reform the preference (pp. 1132, 1186), and the Committee of Seven of the Peoria Conference are united and determined against its being trifled with. That the people of the State are in earnest, too, is evident not alone from the overwhelming vote for it, but also from the interest exhibited at meetings since the election. One of the largest of recent luncheon gatherings at the Chicago City Club was there on the 10th to hear Senator Owen of Oklahoma on the subject; and the night before, the opera house at Danville was crowded on the ground floor and well filled in the galleries with a sympathetic audience to hear it discussed by Senator Owen and Fletcher Dobyns. The City Club meeting was unmistakably for the reform, and the Danville meeting adopted resolutions instructing the Senator and Representatives from that district to support it.

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### The Big Righteousness.

How strange it is that so many who preach professionally about the Bible commandments, the greatest of which is neighborly love, imagine their profession requires their segregation from economic and political movements, the very essence of which is that greatest commandment. There may, indeed, be economics without neighborly love, and politics without neighborly love; but only as there may be counterfeit money,—which in fact is not money, being counterfeit. When one considers the kind of economics that seems to have scholastic right of way, and the kind of politics that seems to prevail, one must admit that preachers of neighborly love have reason on their side for standing apart. Both are very much like systematic piracy. But that is because they are counterfeit. The indictment that lies against preachers is not that they refuse aid and comfort to economics and politics of the devilish kind—indeed, they too often do—but that they do not insist upon injecting the greatest commandment into both. To be sure, they are not to be condemned lightly. It is those who scrupulously refrain from this that usually get the good congregations and the high places in the synagogue, the elderships and bishoprics and cardinalates. To attempt the spiritualization of

economics and politics is pretty apt to result in ecclesiastical disaster of some kind. But many a preacher has nevertheless raised his cross and carried the neighborly love commandment into the strongholds of mammonistic economics and devilish politics. One of these is Bishop Williams of Michigan. His latest utterance was at the Sunday Evening Club in Chicago, when he connected the economic and the political awakening of the present time with spiritual influences—not cantingly, but in robust words of vital thought. Of the economic and political signs of the times he said: "These signs mean to me a real spiritual awakening, a revival that concerns itself with the salvation of men and the nation, the salvation of commercial honesty, industrial integrity, and political honor. It is the Big Righteousness—that is the movement that is sweeping over the country. Did you ever notice that the church is timid about taking up or even touching such a movement—that it holds such a movement not sufficiently spiritual to be included within its domain? When the teachings of Christ take on a new form, inspiring battles for justice and equity, the Church doesn't know what to make of it, and goes on teaching ecclesiastical proprieties and technical pieties. When the seeker after truth comes to the typical church of today he is set down in a restricted little paddock of accepted beliefs, surrounded by walls of dogma and creed. If the Church of God is to appeal to men—not the narrow, cantankerous, pernickety, little men, but the intelligent, noble, great men—she must cease keeping them fenced in."

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### Those Japanese Cases.

A Tokio dispatch appearing in the New York Call of the 9th states that on the 8th two distinguished Japanese lawyers "were threatened with instant execution" if they undertook "to defend twenty-six Japanese radicals arrested recently on charges of conspiring to assassinate the Mikado and the royal family." The accused are evidently the same persons of whom we spoke last week (p. 1155) as having probably committed no other crime than that of publishing the books of Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Bakunin and Marx. But as the particulars of the crime alleged are withheld, its real nature remains a secret. It seems unthinkable that Japan should be as barbaric as these reports imply, and they should not be too lightly or quickly believed. But the Japanese Minister to this country can easily satisfy all reasonable public opinion here and in Canada, by disclosing these two facts: (1) Are the persons mentioned ac-

cused of conspiracy to murder the royal family, or is the whole story false? (2) If the story is thus far true, what is the nature of the conspiracy? Is it murderous, or does it consist in the publication of books, and if the latter, of what books?

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### PROPERTY RIGHTS AND PROPERTY WRONGS.

We frequently see in editorials and political speeches such phrases as "Property rights versus the rights of man," "The man against the dollar," "When property rights conflict with human rights I am for human rights," and the like.

While phrases of that sort are dramatic, the double meaning of the words "property rights" makes them confusing and perhaps harmful.

\*

If a man has earned an honest dollar, or built a house, or sown and cultivated and reaped a crop, or created any other wealth by his labor, what might he think of these declamations about the conflict between human rights and property rights. He knows that he earned his wealth without injuring any one, and he may jump to the conclusion that he, or his property (which is a part of himself), is being attacked.

Of course the writers and speakers are not attacking him, but how should he know it without an explanation?

\*

Now there can be no conflict between human rights and rightful property.

And there can be nothing but conflict between human rights and property which is wrongfully such.

The ownership of what a man creates by his labor, or acquires by a fair exchange of his created wealth, can injure no one, be the amount of such property little or much. The only property the ownership of which injures humanity is a legal title enabling one person to confiscate wealth which is being created by others.

This power is conferred by laws that permit the legal owners of the earth to collect tribute from those who raise crops, carry on trade, transport persons, merchandise and intelligence, hew the forests, develop the mines, and harness the waterfalls; and by auxiliary laws creating monopolies, such as the tariff and patent laws. Property which consists of legal power to confiscate earnings always conflicts with the rights of those it robs. And that is all there ever was, is or will be to the economic conflict; and there can be no

end to that conflict until this kind of property is completely destroyed.

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Just one fact to illustrate with.

On the American side of Niagara Falls three private power companies take all the water for power purposes that the United States government has allowed to be taken. Yet, though water power is the cheapest power known, the rates for electricity for ordinary consumers in Buffalo are so high that many large concerns find it cheaper to develop their own electricity by steam and gasoline, while nearly all the private houses are still lighted by gas.

But on the Canadian side the Ontario government has created the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, which buys cheap power at the Falls from a power company, and has built transmission lines to many cities for the delivery of electric energy at cost, the cities owning their own distributing plants. The first power was turned on at Berlin, October 11.

Thus we have *robbery* on one side of the Niagara river, and *service* on the other side.

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This country has a long and rough road to travel before her political education reaches the level of many other countries. But the road lies before us and must be traveled. It is inconceivable that we should sink back into despotism. Special privilege must go.

ALBERT H. JACKSON.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### POLITICS IN AND ABOUT NEW YORK.

New York, Dec. 7.

Those who would follow the game of big politics should keep eyes on New York and New Jersey these days. Very interesting is the situation created by the election of Democratic legislatures in these States for the first time in many years.

In New York there will be a United States Senator to elect in the place of that choice representative of the old but fast passing order of things, Chauncey M. Depew; and the New Jersey voters have decreed the retirement to a well-merited oblivion of John Kean, a gentleman who never strayed far from the Aldrich reservation in the Senate, and is proud of it.

Both retiring Senators are now very rich men, and it would be hard to find two gentlemen in public life more insensible than they to the progressive spirit of the politics of to-day.

And, since the common interpretation of the recent political upheaval is to recognize in it a popular protest against men and things as they are, one

should say that in this situation the victorious Democracy of New York and New Jersey would quickly recognize both an opportunity and an obligation.

Let us first look at New York.

To what service shall her Democracy put the great opportunity that has come to it? Shall it be demonstrated again that Big Business can win even when it loses, and that party names mean nothing to it? Or shall it be that the party leaders, if able to resist the sinister pressure that the Interests bring, will yet make some choice that will prove their incompetence to measure the greatness of their opportunity for service to the party and the people. Either of these results is feared at this writing, although potent forces in and out of the official Democracy are working earnestly and enthusiastically for a Democratic Senator whose intellect and character are of the highest type.

This man is Edward M. Shepard.\*

Seldom in the interest of a candidate has there been an expression so wide and sincere as that which has found publicity since election day in favor of Mr. Shepard. When he was defeated for the Democratic nomination for Governor at Rochester, chiefly because of the attacks made upon him by the friends of rival candidates with regard to his relations with the Pennsylvania Railroad,\* it was declared that this was the end of Mr. Shepard as a conspicuous factor in our politics, and I have reason to know that his most intimate friends so regarded it. A Democratic legislature was at that time a hope rather than an expectation.

But when Democrats found themselves confronted, after election day, with the great opportunity and responsibility of matching Elihu Root in the United States Senate with a Democrat, the one name that suggested itself to most people was that of Shepard. If two men in New York got into a great contention at law, in which money was no object, and one of them hired Root to represent him, the other, if he was well advised and desired a Democrat for a lawyer, could not fail to select Shepard as the most conspicuously fit of all the great practitioners at the bar of the State to match in scholarship, in legal learning, in logic and in pleading power, the man who has been selected by the President as the permanent representative of the United States before the International tribunal at the Hague. Root is perhaps the most able, subtle, resourceful and plausible promoter and defender of his party's policies in New York. Shepard matches him in ability and intellectual resourcefulness, and in devotion to the opposite cause.

To Shepard, Democracy means something more than a badge and an empty name. He has expounded Democratic doctrines and defended Democratic policies in many a great speech during the last twenty years, and those who have been closely associated with him in political activity, know that there is conscience and feeling behind the splendid rhetoric in which it is his habit to give expression to his thought. I believe him sound in his view of the larger politics, and that he apprehends unerringly the fundamental democratic aspect of all public questions, often exhibiting a courage that appears

\*See The Public of October 7, page 933.

to disregard the question of personal political expediency. Not a radical in any sense, he nevertheless seems to see to the bottom of things more clearly than any other man who is conspicuous in New York's Democracy. It is for these reasons that sincere Democrats of many different shades have enthusiastically fallen in behind Mayor Gaynor in giving endorsement to Mr. Shepard's candidacy.

The argument that defeated Shepard at Rochester is being used to defeat him for the senatorship. This relates to his connection with the Pennsylvania Railroad as its special counsel in New York. No charge is made that Mr. Shepard's great talents have been used to procure for his client any privilege for which the city has not been adequately compensated, and it is also conceded that whatever have been the relations of this great corporation with the politics and politicians of Pennsylvania, its dealings with this city in connection with the establishment of its vast tunnel and terminal system here have been conspicuously free from scandal or imputation of unfair dealing. It was no doubt because of the prestige he had earned by extraordinary talents and unblemished character that the railroad sought him for its special adviser in New York, and it seems to me that it is for these very qualities that the people should engage him for their service at Washington.

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The name most frequently mentioned besides that of Mr. Shepard for the Senatorship is that of William F. Sheehan.

Although only about fifty years of age, Sheehan is a veteran in every department of machine politics. He was making a record in the legislature for shrewdness, nerve and insensibility to enlightened public sentiment before he was twenty-five years old. He became Assembly leader, Speaker of the House, and Lieutenant-Governor, all within ten years after his entrance into politics in Buffalo. He was a trusted and resourceful lieutenant at different times, of men of the type of the late David Bennett Hill, William C. Whitney and Roswell P. Flower.

It was Flower that took Sheehan to New York and made a rich lawyer out of him by putting him into the street railway business. He is there now as the chief adviser of the vast traction interests of the city.

His law partner is Alton B. Parker, one time a Presidential candidate. Mr. Parker is also occasionally named as a senatorial possibility, but is on record as having stated that he does not wish to go to the Senate.

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These two, Shepard and Sheehan, represent the opposite tendencies of Democracy to-day.

Shepard, I believe, professes the Democratic faith because he believes in it, and seeks in politics the opportunity to put his faith in practice for the greater good of his fellow man.

Sheehan is neither a pretender nor a sentimentalist. He has a cynical contempt for progressive politics. He has never concealed his affiliation with New York financiers of the kind who mix politics with business, and get their privileges never in the limelight. He has grown rich by the affiliation. If he

has ever in public said or done a really democratic thing, it has got by unnoticed. He treads lightly and works in private, and he has a political cunning and capacity that would make him just as fit a representative of the people in the United States Senate as the cleverest plutocrat on the Republican side of the chamber.

If Sheehan goes to the Senate, the common comment of New York will be that Thomas F. Ryan made Murphy do it. For the power of deciding the senatorship question undoubtedly rests with Charles F. Murphy, who is now generally recognized as the State leader, as well as the undisputed master of Tammany Hall. Those who watched Mr. Murphy dealing with the complex and discordant situation at the recent Rochester convention, out of which came the candidacy of the honest and unpledged, if undistinguished Mr. Dix, say that Mr. Murphy displayed the patience, tact and penetration of a real leader in bringing harmony and unity out of a somewhat chaotic situation. He worked as if he wanted Democratic party success primarily.

Despite the sinister intimations that Sheehan, or a man of his type will be the chosen one later on, Mr. Murphy professes to be keeping an open mind, and some of his close friends say he has not committed himself against the candidacy of Mr. Shepard. They say, too, that Mr. Murphy is disposed to be respectful of public sentiment in these days to an extent greater than ever before, and that he is not unmindful of how sensitive the public has grown to be over the intimacy between politics and the financial interests represented by Mr. Sheehan.

In the meantime, Democratic members of the legislature, both Senate and Assembly, are very dumb these days; and in advance of their meeting in joint session by and by, we are not likely to find out what they are going to do about this question of such great importance to the Democracy of New York and the nation.

That is, unless Mr. Murphy lets us know.

The New Jersey senatorship question is worth a story by itself. There a plutocratic Democratic State boss in the person of James Smith, Jr., a democratic Democrat named James E. Martine, and Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic Governor-elect, are the chief actors in a political drama of unusual interest.

Much more than the senatorship is involved.

The making or breaking of an odious and rotten State machine, and the elucidation of the highly interesting question as to whether Mr. Wilson owns himself or is just owned,\* like much other New Jersey political furniture, are among the things involved.

A man with good political eye-sight can discern the outlines of the future picture more clearly in New Jersey than in New York. Therefore, I may predict that it will be discovered that Mr. Wilson owns himself, that Mr. Smith will not go back to the Senate seat in Washington where he once betrayed his party, and that James E. Martine—

But this is another story.

CHARLES O'CONNOR HENNESSY.

\*See this Public, page 1179.

## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

### THE CURRENCY SUCKHOLE.

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 7, 1910.

It is quite a common belief that the amount of money available for business is much greater now than it was during the latter part of 1896. This belief has been engendered very largely by the reports of the Treasury Department, which are made to show that the per capita circulation has been increased from less than \$23 at that time to over \$35 at this. There is no more deceptive thought than that the per capita circulation as reported by the Treasury Department gives any correct information of the amount of money in actual circulation and available for business.

The average business man is likely to express surprise, and not a few students of financial and commercial conditions may be incredulous, when it is asserted that, notwithstanding this large per capita increase since 1896, there is not now in actual circulation a dollar more money than there was then; that in all probability there is \$100,000,000, or more, less than there was at that time.

The Treasury Department, in its circulation statement, divides all money in existence into two classes, and reports one class under the head of "Held in the Treasury as Assets of the Government," and the other class under the head of "Money in Circulation." The Department does not regard money held as assets of the government as being in circulation; but all money outside of the treasury is reported as "in circulation" whether it belongs to the government or not. So far as the Department is concerned, this may be correct as a matter of bookkeeping, but as a basis for economic deductions it is of no value whatever.

How much difference is there, so far as economic results are concerned, between money in the treasury, held as assets of the government, and money in the banking institutions of the country, held in their reserves and out of circulation by force of law?

The cash reserves of banks so held are no more in actual circulation than the money assets of the government in the United States treasury. Neither can be used for business purposes.

If any one will take the trouble to examine the comptroller's abstracts of the condition of national banks, and ascertain the increase of deposits, and of loans and discounts, since 1896, and then add to this the estimated increase of other banking institutions on the basis of the reports received by the comptroller in 1906 from almost 75 per cent of such institutions, it will be found that the necessary cash reserves required as against such deposits, loans and discounts calculated at the very low reserve of 13½ per cent will exceed the increase of money of all kinds during the same time.

If this is true, and there can be no doubt about it, then the explanations, based upon the increased production of gold, or upon the increase of the volume of money in any other way, made by some gentleman of political and financial prominence, concerning commercial and financial conditions, must be revised or discarded.

The money in actual circulation is being "sucked" into bank reserves and taken out of circulation by the continued and alarming increase of bank credits.

If the financial interests are to have their ability to increase bank credits continued, they must have an unlimited paper currency manufactory, somehow and somewhere.

The central bank scheme will furnish it. What will be the probable effect of the enormous increase of credits that will follow, can only be imagined. Bank credits have already reached a volume that makes it impossible for them ever to be paid in the regular course of business. Shall we stop, go on, or go back, is a problem that sooner or later we must face,—and solve, if happily we are able to do so.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.

† † †

### SLEEPY MICHIGAN.

Grand Rapids, Mich.

When a State is bankrupt, when twenty-eight of its officials have been started or sent to the penitentiary during the past twelve years, when the majority party is owned by the mining and timber interests, when its leaders in Washington bear the Standpat stripe, when everywhere in our government there are evidences of extravagance and corruption, when the whole system of taxation needs reform, when two years ago an employe in the State government could not draw his salary because there were no funds in the treasury, when the same condition is apt to obtain again before the first of the new year, when a member of the State Prison Board is appointed because he has served a term for embezzlement and therefore knows the needs of the prison, the same man being a member of the State Central Committee of the Republican party, when there is not even a healthy agitation for radical reform—then I say an honest and patriotic citizen has a right to request that some attention be given these matters from without the State if it cannot come from within.

Michigan is asleep.

It claims to have elected a Progressive to represent it in the United States Senate in the person of Charles E. Townsend, when in reality he is merely a "near insurgent" and his speeches do not have the true Progressive ring. Michigan must be asleep, when conditions are so bad, yet unlike about every other State in the Union except Pennsylvania it elects to continue in the same old rut.

The first ballot I ever cast was for the Republican ticket three years ago. Since that time I have been voting with the minority party, having been convinced that the principles of Jefferson are just, and believing furthermore that a change would be the only means of awakening interest in the State's affairs. I have even had charge of the Democratic campaign in this county, a campaign not without its results as far as national legislation was concerned, but which bore no fruit in the State. It was this experience which opened my eyes to the seeming hopelessness of securing better conditions in this State, unless the magazines and weeklies of the country begin to turn the searchlight of publicity

on Michigan, and by exposing a little of the rottenness, shame the people into doing something.

ALDRICH BLAKE,

## 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 13, 1910.

### The British Elections.

Reports of the elections in Great Britain (p. 1159), now almost at an end, continue coming across from day to day with extraordinary fullness. As early as the 7th the Tories had given up all hope of overcoming or even reducing the Liberal-Labor-Irish majority. On the 12th the general result was as follows:

Ministerial Coalition.	
Liberal .....	191
Labor .....	35
Irish Nationalist.....	56
	282
Opposition.	
Tory .....	229
Tory Irish.....	7
	236
Coalition majority.....	46

Among the candidates elected or re-elected who especially interest our readers, inclusive of those named last week (p. 1160), are the following:

J. H. Whitley (pp. 58, 102, 127, 153) and Mr. Parker, were re-elected from Halifax, the former Liberal and the latter Labor, their majorities being respectively 4,174 and 3,909.

Henry George Chancellor (pp. 153, 177), Liberal, who captured a Tory constituency last winter is now re-elected by a majority of 405.

W. P. Byles (pp. 58, 128, 153), Liberal, re-elected by a majority of 239.

Russell Rea, Liberal, re-elected with a majority of 52.

Dr. Macnamara (p. 58), Liberal, has a majority of 982.

Sir Christopher Furness (p. 369), Liberal, is re-elected by 48.

Phillip Snowden (pp. 58, 105), Labor; Ramsay MacDonald, Labor; T. P. O'Connor (p. 58), 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), Liberal, is defeated for re-election from Liverpool.

Josiah C. Wedgwood (pp. 82, 104, 127, 153, 175,

258), Liberal, another and a leading member of the land values group, is re-elected.

John Burns (p. 58), Liberal, is re-elected from Battersea, with a plurality of 697 more than he got last year, and in a triangular contest against a Tory and a Socialist wherein the Socialist polled but 487 votes.

Will Crooks (p. 58), Labor, a Socialist, defeated last year, was elected from Woolwich on the 6th by 236 majority.

George Lansbury (vol. xii, p. 1178), Labor, a Socialist, defeated last year, was elected on the 7th from Bow and Bromley, an East End district in London, by 863 majority.

Waldorf Astor, Tory, defeated last year, was elected on the 8th by a majority of 734.

John F. L. Brunner (pp. 59, 78, 174), Liberal, was re-elected from Cheshire by 331.

Charles P. Trevelyan (p. 153), Liberal, was re-elected by 2,064.

Winston Spencer Churchill (p. 58), Liberal, and A. Wilkie, Labor, re-elected on the 9th by 3,555 and 4,043, respectively, from the same district. Although Churchill's majority was 488 less than Wilkie's, his vote was 283 larger, the opposition vote against Wilkie being 771 less than that against Churchill.

David Lloyd George (p. 82), Liberal, re-elected from Carnarvon, North Wales, by 1,208 majority, a gain over last year of 130. The Prime Minister, Herbert H. Asquith (vol. xii, p. 1253), Liberal, from the East Division of Fife, Scotland, re-elected by 1,799, a loss from last year of 260.

Alexander Ure (pp. 81, 153), Liberal, from Linlithgowshire, Scotland, re-elected by a majority of 2,070, a loss from last year of 847.

John Hodge, Labor, is re-elected by 953.

Percy Alden, Liberal, is re-elected by 1,101.



### The Canadian Farmers' Movement.

The advance guard of the free trade grain growers of western Canada, who are to have a hearing before the Dominion Parliament on the 16th (p. 1158), left Winnipeg for Ottawa 1,000 strong on the 12th.



### La Follette and Taft.

President Taft, through his secretary, Mr. Norton, and pursuant apparently to Mr. Norton's recent letter in Mr. Taft's behalf, promising Presidential consideration hereafter to Progressive Republicans (pp. 889, 895), wrote a letter officially on the 3d to Senator La Follette, inviting Mr. La Follette to call upon the President for a discussion of judicial appointments. Following was Senator La Follette's reply:

Dec. 5, 1910.—Dear Mr. President: I have a letter from your Secretary, Mr. Norton, stating that you would like to discuss with me certain judicial appointments. The one suggestion I would offer is that, in view of present conditions, only such men should be selected as will be certain to construe the Constitution and the law with due regard to the interest of the people, eliminating from consideration those

whose legislative or judicial records show them biased toward special interests or whose legal connections would tend to prejudice their minds in favor of such interests. I may properly add that I shall support your administration whenever I can do so consistently, and I shall oppose your recommendations only when I find it necessary so to do in accordance with my convictions of public duty.



**The Arizona Constitution.**

After completing the Arizona Constitution for Statehood, the Constitutional Convention for the Territory of Arizona (p. 1097) adjourned on the 9th. Among the reported provisions of the proposed Constitution are the following:

Initiative and Referendum.

Amendment of the Constitution by a majority vote of the people upon the initiative of 15 per cent of the voters.

Recall of all elective officers.

Direct primaries.

Direct advisory primary for United States Senators.



**Constitutional Reform in Illinois.**

A conference of civic organizations, called by the Legislative Voters' League of Illinois (p. 1163), was held on the 6th at Chicago, at which twenty organizations are reported to have been represented, for considering practical measures with reference to the State Constitution. Clifford W. Barnes, president of the Legislative Voters' League, presided. In calling the conference to order, Mr. Barnes said:

It has been intimated that the Legislative Voters' League would attempt to push its own measures in order to sidetrack the Initiative and Referendum. That, I can promise, will not be the case. It has seemed to us quite feasible to introduce into one Article of the Constitution an amendment which would do away with cumulative voting and also introduce the Initiative and Referendum.

George E. Cole, one of the Committee of Seven of the Peoria conference (pp. 1035, 1082, 1132, 1153, 1163), said that while he favored a Constitutional amendment, nothing should be permitted to interfere with the Initiative and Referendum amendment at the next general election. Following were the proposals urged for preference:

The Initiative and Referendum.

Abolition of the cumulative system of voting for State representatives.

Revision of the revenue provisions to conform with forthcoming recommendations of the State Tax Commission.

Striking out the section of the Constitution which restricts the number of amendments to be made at any one time.

The last of these proposals was introduced by B. E. Sunny in behalf of the Chicago Civic Federation; and on motion of Adolf Kraus, a committee of one

from each organization represented was appointed to take further action on all questions. The programme reported by the Record-Herald as appearing to have most support was outlined as follows by Frank J. Loesch:

The people of Illinois, by an overwhelming vote at the last election, declared for the Initiative and Referendum. Therefore this reform, which has been urged principally by the Peoria Committee of Seven, should have the right of way. However, inasmuch as the Initiative and Referendum and the abolition of cumulative voting, which is urged by the Legislative Voters' League, would both be amendments to Article 4 of the Constitution, they can be presented together. I would favor pushing these two propositions at the coming session and taking up other reforms involving changes in the Constitution at a later date.



**The "Public Policy" Referendum in Illinois.**

On the three questions of public policy submitted for advisory vote in Illinois at the recent election (p. 1095) the Secretary of State reports the following result in the State at large:

Shall the next General Assembly submit to the voters of the State of Illinois, at the next following State election, an amendment to the State Constitution, providing for the control of legislation by the people, by means of the Initiative and Referendum; said amendment to provide for the initiation of legislation upon a petition of eight per cent of the voters, and for the reference of legislation upon a petition of five per cent of the voters, the action of the majority of the electors voting to be final; thus restoring to the people the power they once held, but which they delegated to the General Assembly by the Constitution?

Yes .....	447,908
No .....	128,398
Affirmative majority .....	319,510
Percentage .....	78%

Shall the next General Assembly extend the merit system by the enactment of a comprehensive and adequate civil service law, thus promoting efficiency and economy?

Yes .....	411,676
No .....	121,132
Affirmative majority .....	290,544
Percentage .....	71%

Shall the next General Assembly enact a corrupt practices act, limiting the amount a candidate and his supporters may spend in seeking office, and providing for an itemized statement under oath showing all expenditures so made, for what purposes made and from what sources received, thus preventing the corrupt use of money at elections?

Yes .....	422,437
No .....	122,689
Affirmative majority .....	299,748
Percentage .....	74%

The vote in Chicago was as follows:

Initiative and Referendum.....	Yes—159,341	No— 82,889
Percentage .....	73%	
Civil Service .....	Yes—147,480	No— 51,568
Percentage .....	74%	
Corrupt Practices .....	Yes—144,299	No— 51,170
Percentage .....	73%	



Association for Labor Legislation:

The fourth annual meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation (p. 562) will be held in St. Louis, December 28 and 29, in joint session with the American Sociological Society and the American Statistical Society. The Association for Labor Legislation is laying plans to secure in the various State legislatures—

- (1) Prohibition of Poisonous Phosphorus in the Match Industry.
- (2) Investigation of Occupational Diseases.
- (3) Reporting of Industrial Accidents and Diseases.
- (4) Workmen's Compensation for Industrial Injuries.
- (5) Enforcement of Labor Laws.



The Chicago Garment Workers' Strike.

Voting on the strike settlement with Hart, Schaffner and Marx (p. 1162) began among all the strikers, over 40,000, on the 13th, but the results cannot yet be given.



A strikers' parade of 20,000 marched through the streets in the wintry weather of the 6th, led by Edward N. Nockels, and gathered at a mass meeting in the National Base Ball Park, where there were speeches by Raymond Robins, John Fitzpatrick, Emmet Flood, Job Harriman, Joseph Marata, Samuel Landers and Albert Adamski. Not only did Charles W. Murphy, president of the base ball league, contribute the use of the park for the meeting, but he provided for the crowd an abundance of hot coffee and more than 70,000 sandwiches.



A feature of the strike at this stage was the report on the 11th of John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, at the monthly meeting of the Women's Trade Union League, on the management of the commissariat for the relief of destitute strikers. One of the newspaper accounts, the Inter Ocean's, describes him as holding the—

audience spellbound as he recounted the history of the strike since the Federation was asked to come to the assistance of the garment workers' union after the treasury of that organization had been entirely depleted by the heavy drain of the destitute thou-

sands, and there was hardly a dry eye in the assembly when he finished. "We were compelled to abolish the distribution of meat," he said, "because we found that for the price of a small amount of meat, three or four pounds, we could support an eight family for nearly a week on groceries and cereals. We have spent over \$600 for coal which has been delivered to families in quarter ton lots. The greatest difficulty we have experienced has been the ignorance of the people, many of whom could not even talk their own language intelligently. A majority cannot even spell their names or give their correct address in order that they might be reached. The only thing that has saved the situation has been the efforts of the strikers to aid themselves and as far as possible ameliorate their conditions. This the Bohemians and Jews have done to a great extent, but the Italians and Poles have been less fortunate. Whole families have moved into one section of their home in order that unmarried strikers who have no one to cook their food might sleep and eat and have a refuge from the cold. How a condition like this could exist in Chicago is beyond my belief. We are caring for 2,400 families, which average about four members to the family, and some run as high as eight or ten. I am sure it is the intention of the members of both organizations (the Federation of Labor and the Women's Trade Union League) to continue the assistance as long as it is needed, and every member of any organization should feel it his duty to step in and aid in bringing the strike to a satisfactory settlement. All that we want is that the organized workers be given a chance to speak for themselves, voice their grievances and get redress. We take a lot of umction to our souls when we read that this is a free country and we are living in the twentieth century. I have been denounced as a disturber who has placed a blot on the interests of the community by harping upon the evil conditions in the garment industry. I tell you that, taking into consideration the age in which we live, the schools and institutions which now exist for educational purposes, we have a situation here in Chicago now that is blacker than any spot in history. For a man or woman to know of these things and not to speak is worse than criminal."

In behalf of the Women's Trade Union League it was reported that it had collected \$16,582.20, most of which was contributed by labor organizations; that since the strike started 500 babies have been born among the strikers, bringing the total of babies daily supplied with milk up to 7,500; every day there were 8,500 loaves of bread and 3,500 pounds of pancake flour distributed to the hungry idle; that Italian strikers must be supplied with sardines in oil, tomatoes, macaroni and spaghetti; Poles with barley, lentils and codfish; Jews with unleavened bread.



Garment Workers' Strike in Milwaukee.

A strike of garment workers in Milwaukee has been notable for the action of Mayor Seidel in forbidding police brutality on the one hand and securing on the other orderly conduct on the part

of the strikers. The police chief, a holdover official from the administration preceding Seidel's, ordered the usual police conduct toward strike "pickets," whereupon Mayor Seidel addressed him as follows in an official letter: . . .

Mr. John T. Janssen, Chief of Police, Milwaukee, Wis.—Dear Sir: Complaints have been made here that disemployed citizens have recently been subjected to abusive epithets and rough handling by policemen. Whatever may be the basis of these complaints, I want it understood that no man on the police force has the right to interfere with a citizen who is not violating the law. I expect you, as Chief of Police, to make clear to the members of your department that so long as a citizen is within his legal rights he should not be manhandled or insulted. Officers tolerating such tactics and patrolmen practicing them will be accountable. Hoping that reports referred to will, on investigation, prove to be exaggerated.

Subsequent news dispatches told of disorder by strikers which brought out strict demands from union officials as the result of "a talk with Mayor Seidel, who sharply rebuked them for embarrassing the Socialist administration by rioting after the police had been ordered to treat them mildly." Dispatches of the 10th reported the strike as settled on the basis of 54 hours a week, time and a half for overtime, double pay for holidays, and an open way to the employers over the heads of foremen with complaints of ill treatment.

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#### Tolstoy Memorial at Cincinnati.

Most notable of the Tolstoy (pp. 1141, 1144) memorial meetings yet held in the United States was that at Music Hall, Cincinnati, on the 11th. A sympathetic and responsive audience of 2,500 filled the hall. The rich musical program, arranged by Miss Jessie Straus, was executed by Mrs. Catharine Bennett, Miss Jessie Straus, Isadore Weinstock, Alfred T. Holdbach and Frederic J. Hoffman. Stanley E. Bowdle presided, and there were four other speakers. Henry George, Jr., Congressman-elect from New York, paid an impressive tribute to Tolstoy; Herbert S. Bigelow, pastor of the People's Church of Cincinnati, eloquently described the necessity for land value taxation in revolutionizing social conditions; Margaret Haley, business representative of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, described conditions in Chicago with special reference to the public schools and the need for land value taxation to open the way for realizing the George-Tolstoy vision; and W. G. Eggleston of Portland, Oregon, told of the gain in people's power in his State and its projected use to improve economic conditions. The meeting, which had been organized by Daniel Kiefer, chairman of the Fels Fund Commission, emphasized throughout the strongly favorable attitude of Tolstoy toward the teachings of Henry George.

#### The Brazilian Mutiny.

Mutiny in the Brazilian navy, apparently subdued by the granting by the Brazilian Congress on November 25 of the demands of the discontented sailors (p. 1142), broke out again on the evening of the 9th, when the naval battalion stationed at Cobra island opposite Rio Janeiro, revolted, capturing their officers and sending them to the main land. The grievances of these marines were the same, it is understood, as those of the sailors, relating to poor food, insufficient pay, and floggings. On the 10th the guns of the land batteries were turned on the island, and the mutineers were forced to surrender. Some 400 lives are reported to have been lost on the island, on battleships that took part in the action, and among the citizens in the streets of Rio Janeiro. The Chamber of Deputies voted on the 12th to hold the city of Rio in siege for thirty days.

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#### Constitutional Government in China Again Hastened.

The Chinese Regency has once more bowed to the popular will as expressed through the new Imperial Senate (p. 1164). Though that body is not formally representative, it has developed a striking independence and an unlooked for radicalism, so that even the advance of the date for the convening of the long-looked-for Chinese parliament, of which the Imperial Senate is to be the upper house, from 1915 to 1913, granted by the Throne in November (p. 1073), has not satisfied their haste to get full popular government inaugurated; and it was reported from Peking on the 8th that the Regency has decided to accede to a resolution of the Senate praying for the immediate creation of a constitutional cabinet.

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#### The Anti-Imperialist League Honors George Frederick Seward.

At a stated meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League held on the 1st the following vote was passed:

That the Hon. George Frederick Seward illustrated the distinguished name he bore by remarkable services to the Republic in a diplomatic career. In his later years the influence of his practical wisdom was widely and generally felt by his fellow citizens in affairs of finance and business, and was exerted in all ways pertinent to private life for the good of his city, State and country. The Anti-Imperialist creed early received his adhesion, and few advocates have given to its advancement more thought and labor than Mr. Seward.

With unfeigned sorrow we remove Mr. Seward's name from our rolls and communicate to his family our heartfelt condolence.

MOORFIELD STOREY,  
President.

ERVING WINSLOW,  
Secretary.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Andrew J. Graham formally announced on the 9th his candidacy at the Democratic primaries (pp. 1133, 1138, 1153) for Mayor of Chicago.

—Blind persons in Cleveland are to be supplied by the city with special whistles with which they may summon policemen at street crossings.

—Mr. Legagneux, at Pau, France, rose in his airship on the 9th to a height of 10,499 feet, thus surpassing Mr. Drexel's record of 9,897 feet (p. 1142).

—The Mexican revolutionists (p. 1162) continue to make demonstrations in the northern provinces, especially in Chihuahua. They profess to be confident of ultimate victory.

—The following members of the Interstate Commerce Commission were nominated on the 12th by President Taft: B. H. Meyer of Wisconsin and C. C. McChord of Kentucky.

—Margaret Haley, of the Teachers' Federation of Chicago, spoke to the Cincinnati teachers at the 11th District School on the 12th upon the subject of the Chicago tax fight and the bearing of tax problems on public school education.

—The opposition parties in the Russian Douma (p. 1045) have united in addressing an interpellation to the ministers of the Interior and Justice regarding the wholesale flogging of political prisoners in two of the Siberian prisons.

—A statue to Baron von Steuben, organizer and disciplinarian of the American Revolutionary troops, especially at Valley Forge; was unveiled by Miss Helen Taft at Lafayette Park, Washington, on the 7th. President Taft made the dedicatory address.

—Because women taxpayers were denied the right to vote at the special village election on the question, proceedings instituted by the village of Seneca Falls to issue \$240,000 in bonds for waterworks improvements were on the 7th declared invalid by the Court of Appeals of New York.

—Judges of the recently established Court of Commerce were nominated on the 12th by President Taft as follows: Martin A. Knapp, for a term of five years; Robert W. Archbald, four years; William H. Hunt, three years; John Emmett Carland, two years, and Julian W. Mack, one year.

—The subcommittee of the Senatorial committee on elections which investigated the charges of bribery in the election of Senator William Lorimer of Illinois (p. 925, 926) unanimously voted on the 12th to report to the committee on elections that the charges were without proof.

—The arrest for extradition at Washington on the 6th, of Juan Sanchez Azcona, once a member of the Mexican Congress, upon charges of fraud in Mexico, made by the Diaz government, is asserted by his friends to be for political purposes, Azcona having been connected with an anti-Diaz newspaper.

—The Turkish government having obtained Abdul Hamid's signature to an order for \$4,500,000 placed by him when he still reigned as Sultan of Turkey, in the Imperial Bank of Germany (p. 974), the German Supreme Court has decided that a plea of signa-

ture under duress cannot stand, and that the Bank must surrender the funds as demanded.

—Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States were nominated on the 12th by President Taft as follows: For Chief Justice of the United States, Associate Justice White; for Associate Justices, Willis Van Devanter of Wyoming and Joseph R. Lamar of Georgia. The nomination of Chief Justice White was immediately confirmed by the Senate.

—A petition is in circulation in the State of Washington asking the legislature to pass bills giving the voters the right to vote for constitutional amendments for Initiative, Referendum and Recall, at the next State election. It is under the management of the Direct Legislation League, Christopher W. Horr, Executive Secretary, 4144 14th avenue N. E., Seattle, Washington.

—Two elective representatives of commission-governed cities (p. 941)—John MacVickar of Des Moines, and H. B. Rice, Mayor of Houston—spoke at the Commercial Club, Chicago, on the 10th in behalf of this method of municipal government, explaining the advantages of its operation in their respective cities. Mr. MacVickar stated that 100 cities have already adopted the system.

—The first Wisconsin country life conference has been called by H. L. Russell, dean of the College of Agriculture of the State University. It is to be held at Madison, under the auspices of the university on the 14th and 15th of February, and its object is "to bring together Wisconsin farmers, teachers, ministers, editors, business men, and librarians to discuss the social aspects of country life."

—Three reports by the Ballinger-Pinchot investigating commission (p. 1096) were formally made to Congress on the 7th. One, signed by seven Republicans, finds Ballinger "honestly and faithfully performed the duties of his high office, with an eye single to the public interest." Another, signed by four Democrats, and the third, signed by a Republican, finds that he has been false to his trust.

—A bill conferring upon the women of France the right to vote for city, communal and departmental councilors, and making them eligible for election to these offices, was favorably reported upon by a committee of the French Chamber of Deputies on the 6th. The report points out that the right to participate in the affairs of French cities, including Paris, during the Middle Ages, belonged to persons owning property, whether men or women.

—The census bureau announced on the 9th that the population of the United States on the American continent is 91,972,266, and that the population of its outlying dependencies increases the number to 93,402,151. The continental population of the United States was 75,994,575 in 1900, 62,947,714 in 1890, 50,155,783 in 1880, 38,558,371 in 1870, 31,443,321 in 1860, and 23,191,876 in 1850. Consequently the increase in the generation of 30 years from 1850 to 1880, was 116 per cent, while that of the next generation, 1880-1910, was 83 per cent.

—On the strike referendum of locomotive engineers employed on 61 Western railroads over 30,000 votes were cast, out of a membership of 33,700, and 97½ per cent of those voting were reported unofficially on the 11th as favoring a strike. They de-

mand a raise of about 15 per cent over the present rates of pay, and modifications of a number of working conditions, including retention of the "100 miles" as a unit of a day's work and extra wages on the Mallet type of engines. An offer of a raise of about 9 per cent made by the railroads was refused.

—The funeral of Mrs. Eddy (p. 1113), originator of the Christian Science movement, took place at Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, on the 8th. Her body was afterward placed in a receiving vault at Mt. Auburn cemetery. The honorary pallbearers were John L. Bates, Samuel J. Elder, William B. Johnson and Albert Metcalf, of Boston; Edward P. Bates, of Syracuse, N. Y.; Arthur Brisbane, of New York; Judge Charles R. Corning and General Frank S. Streeter, of Concord, N. Y.; Frederick Dickson, of London, and Mayor Charles E. Hatfield, of Newton, Mass. The active pallbearers were: Bliss Knapp, William Farlow, James A. Neal, Lewis C. Strang, the Rev. William P. McKenzie, Thomas W. Hatton, of Boston; John C. Lathrop, of New York, and George H. Kinter, of Chicago.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### The Futility of Our War Expense.

The (Johnstown, Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.) Dec. 8.—Since 1896 the war department appropriations have increased 335 per cent and still we are not prepared for war with any first class Power. Pretty good return for the investment, isn't it?

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### Ballinger.

The Aurora (Ill.) Beacon (ind.), Dec. 8.—It doesn't make much difference whether a majority of the committee on the Ballinger investigation has found the Secretary to be a paragon of virtue or not, there will continue to be a deep seated feeling in the minds of the people of the country that the government could very well dispense with his services. Whether Ballinger himself is as black as he is painted will be questioned by many but the fact that he has been working in league with interests that are not considered wholly devoted to the welfare of the people renders any good he may have accomplished of little worth as compared to the jeopardy in which the cause of the nation is placed.

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### The Arizona Constitution.

The (Johnstown, Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), Dec. 6.—The framers of the Constitution of Arizona have embodied the Initiative, Referendum and the Recall of all public officers, including the judiciary. This progressive piece of Constitution-making excites the wrath of such plutocratic organs as the New York Times. "Only demagogues," it vehemently declares, "would consent to be judges under such a Constitution. But," it continues, "Congress and President Taft, who has had broad judicial training, will refuse to sanction it. Arizona will never achieve Statehood in this fashion." The colossal impudence of this threat to the sovereign people of Arizona would be difficult to match.

### Plutocratic Pittsburgh.

The (Pittsburgh) Spectator (ind.), Dec. 9.—We do not venture to estimate the number of converts that Mr. Henry George, Jr., made to the single tax, during his addresses in the city this week. On his famous proposition, we are not entirely clear. But we did appreciate his analysis of the artificial prosperity of Pittsburgh, due to the protective schedule on steel, which, we agree with him, has made a few rich ones and left the thousands little better off—he said worse off—than they were before. We hasten to calm some of our readers. We are not anti-protectionists, but we are certain that the steel business has been unprofitable to our city, in this, at least, that it has rolled up balls of money for a hundred or more men whose interest in civic stewardship has amounted to nothing.

+ +

### Street Car Fares in Cleveland.

The Boston Common (ind.), Dec. 10.—After eight months' trial of three cent fares, Cleveland, Ohio, has concluded to keep it up for six months longer, in order to be certain that this rate will be sufficient to run the system the way it should be conducted. This is a great victory for Tom L. Johnson, who has from the very first contended that, if economically managed, and the water squeezed out of the stock, three cents for a street car ride was more than enough to give the public the service it needed. What the Cleveland management has done the past eight months is to pay all running expenses, interest on \$25,000,000 of stocks and bonds—something like \$9,000,000 of which, it is alleged, is water and represents no expenditures of any sort—and a sufficient sum to keep the property in good condition. What it has not done is to provide a surplus for further enlargements. Still the fight in Cleveland is not over. The management is demanding the privilege of asking a higher rate of fare, on the plea that this will boost the price of its bonds and enable it to borrow money to make extensions.

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### Tolstoy.

The Commoner (Dem.) Dec. 2.—There will be differences of opinion as to many of Tolstoy's theories and dissent from some of the applications which he has made of truths advanced by him, but no one will deny that with the sincerity of a pure heart and the intensity of a great soul he sought to bring himself into harmony with the divine will and to serve society. To love God with all his heart and his neighbor as himself was the passion of the latter years of his life. The Commoner will, from time to time, bring before its readers extracts from the essays of Tolstoy, but it shares the universal sorrow and offers a brief tribute now: The night is darker because his light has gone out; the world is not so warm because his heart has grown cold in death.

+ + +

Wagner had just invented his style of music. "Got the idea from Republican harmony," he explained.

Herewith he scored a fine boiler-factory effect.—The Sun.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### YE OLDE MAN AND YE FORTY-YEAR DEAD LINE.

For The Public.

Broken and awry is the sword of my endeavor;  
Ambition, wealth and consequence—I bid good-bye  
to them.

Old age, and penury, and death menace me ever;  
But on my heart each night I wear Orion's royal  
gem.

Come up into my altitude, ye little kings that wither;  
Drop the pomp of doing, the idle things of state.  
Seize the great occasion; the planets' show is  
hither,—

Before the worms, they get ye, before it is too  
late!

Who careth now for Ptolemy, royal Cyrus, Alex-  
ander?

Great Pompey's dust is as the rust that getteth in  
the eye;

Better with a little child the meadows to meander,  
And watch the royal circus as Creation passes by.

As to doers—who are hewers in the work-shop of  
the world?

Are they forty, are they eighty? Lord, I do not  
hold thy plan;

Perhaps a royal planet is the object of Creation;  
Perhaps a cell, a humming bird,—perchance an  
aged man.

The Lord is doubtless comforted by good will of the  
workers—

The applause of coral insects on far Floridian  
keys;

But the tramp of marching planets held in rein by  
the Supernal,

Will not hesitate, nor falter, nor be checked for  
lack of these.

Children we were once, of as little worth as you,  
Self-satisfied as coglets in the mighty wheels of  
change;

But the curtain-hand of years opened forth the  
wider view,

Swept aside the pygmy present, showed the glory  
of the range.

When His greatest theater opens, and the foot-lights  
set in heaven

Shimmer, glimmer on a play with planets spun and  
comets hurled,

Where the audience worthy of it, where the qualified  
assembly?

Who but aged men and women, senate of the  
higher world.

Star-dust and schooling in heights and depths of  
human fooling,—

The hind exploits his fellow man and claims a  
longer day,—

While in the purple fields of silence golden planet-  
bees are swarming  
And forming, and reforming, down through the  
Realms of Aye.

Oh, great industrial Captains, piece-work thwarters  
of endeavor,

Evanescent are your mills and works, and slight  
as frosted rime.

Vain is product, vain is fortune; the Master lifts the  
human ever;

Down go mills and works and fortune, rotting on  
the stream of Time.

The hand who makes a part, be it sixes then or  
sevens,

He hath done his labor well, he hath earned his  
guerdon sweet;

But the entire and glorious bouquet of the heavens  
To him who, sole and singly, makes the perfect  
watch complete.

Thus runs the rule Advance; but God's not making  
watches,

He plans the man superior, the type without com-  
pare;

The clock that strikes the passing years, moves in  
its frequent notches;

Where is the radiant figure that His image is to  
bear?

A million piece-work toilers, and never a perfect  
human!

Fie, Captains, to what evil strife you send your  
great cohorts!

The son of man should be a flower, the pathway to  
illumine.

How justify your talent in the stern celestial  
courts?

"See, Master, there great fortunes, trains of product-  
laden cars!"

Answers Silence; and, soft blowing, while below  
swings planet Mars,

Those cool winds that search and shudder

Through the forests of the stars.

Apologies ye olde man scorns; he hath the higher  
vision;

He smiles the smile elate and sure, who hath per-  
formed his part.

His wisdom daily saves the race; and, careless of  
derision,

To his imperial close he wears Orion on his heart.

UNCLE SAM.

+ + +

## A PROVINCIAL NEW YORKER AWAKE.

Leading Editorial in Morrison's Chicago Weekly of  
December 8, 1910.

We were delighted last week to learn through the  
news columns of the Daily News that Charles  
Frederick Adams, former Secretary of the Borough  
of Brooklyn, former member of the law board of  
the Department of the Interior, and one of the  
best-known lawyers in New York City, has been

surprised that there is bustle and business in Chicago as well as in New York. Mr. Adams' visit to Chicago was the first time, according to his quoted admission, that he had been west of Pittsburg during his lifetime of fifty-eight years.

"I was simply amazed by the noise and bustle which greeted me here," our New York visitor said to the reporter who greeted him. "I went out on the street last night and, to speak soberly, I was almost dazed by the confusion I observed all about me.

"I don't know that more work is accomplished here, but there certainly is more visible evidence of what there is going on. My trip has been a liberal education to me. Like many other 'provincial New Yorkers,' I had never been West, although I had been in many countries of Europe. Here in the West I find bustling, thriving cities, sprung up everywhere, with young, virile, red-blooded men in them, and I tell you, sir, I have been simply astonished by what I have seen. It inspires hope for the country's future, and I would advise a similar journey to many who are afflicted with pessimism.

"I might not have been so forcibly struck by the busy life about me if I had passed a more bustling existence myself in New York. To an active New Yorker the scene might not seem to be strenuous. But my life has been passed between my home, my office and the law courts, and I seldom visit the theaters or hotels. That may account for it."

Mr. Adams' admissions are comforting. We have maintained all along that Chicago has made a mistake in permitting New York to have a monopoly of all the brain throbs affecting the affairs of this nation. New York has been permitted to speak for the nation without, in many cases, knowing anything first hand about its subject. Doubting New York editors have censored what laudatory matter has been furnished by honest writers about Chicago. Mr. Adams, like thousands of other New Yorkers, apparently made his trips to Europe, sublime in the impression that Chicago was not far removed from the stage when every other citizen had a wolf hide nailed up to dry on his front door. We hope that Mr. Adams was not too abruptly surprised upon his arrival here to find pedestrians minus long-barreled squirrel rifles and coonskin caps. He failed to find a log cabin the entire length of Michigan avenue.

While it's too bad for a hospitably-inclined city to disappoint the expectations of a friendly visitor from the East, it is well nigh impossible to contemplate Mr. Adams' various distinctions without wondering how he attained them with no wider first-hand knowledge of his country than the territory east of Pittsburg, no doubt, mostly within the confines of Greater New York. Considering the functions of the Department of the Interior, it is interesting to note that Mr. Adams was connected with it in an important capacity.

In ruminating upon the foregoing comments, we would respectfully suggest that New York, in its qualifications for the holding of public office, incorporate a paragraph requiring each candidate to submit a credential, certifying that he has successfully achieved a trip as far west as Chicago under the tutelage and guidance of a reliable tourist agency.

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### CONGRESSMAN KENT.

Readers of *The Public* who have learned from it somewhat of William Kent of California (pp. 121, 434, 651, 915, 962, 1036, 1082, 1095) may like him none the less for this excellent likeness.



Mr. Kent was born at Chicago, March 29, 1864. He graduated from Yale in 1887, and received her A. M. degree in 1908. He was married to Elizabeth Thacher, February 26, 1890. He was a reform member of the City Council of Chicago from 1895 to 1897, the time of the round-up of the "gray wolves." After his experience in the Council he served on the executive committee of the Municipal Voters' League from 1897 to 1904, and as president of the league in 1899 and 1900. For several years he has lived at Kentfield, Cal.

Mr. Kent has large landed interests in Nebraska, Nevada, California, Michigan and Kansas; and out of his holdings in California he has given the

United States Government 295 acres of giant redwood forest, about six miles from San Francisco, for a public park.

He is a reflective student of economic and civic subjects, with a strong tendency to be radical in the sense of getting at the root of things. Naturally, his financial interests in land have brought the economic phases of the institution of land ownership to his attention, and he has not allowed his personal interests to deaden his sense of civic responsibility. To this his written references to the subject amply testify.

So did his speeches in his recent campaign for Congress. He had an uphill climb of it. Not only at the Republican primaries, but also at the election, the whole Standpat interest was against him. It is almost certain that it was the coming together of progressive Republicans and democratic Democrats, against a union of Standpat Republicans and reactionary Democrats, that elected him. For the Democratic candidate for Governor got 5,000 majority in Kent's district, whereas Kent, on the Republican ticket, won by 3,500.

The radical campaign he made is what elected Kent. He did not hesitate to trample upon Privilege, little or big, whenever it got in his way. This aroused the hostility of "pinhead" merchants fearing the parcels post, which he advocated, as well as that of the destructive "dredger" combine, of the lumber crowd, of the wool men and of the marauding railroad interests. So he was forced logically to advanced positions in the direction of his convictions, which doubtless brought him more votes than the Interests were able to take from him. And no one has thought of charging his election to corruption; which is highly significant, since he is a wealthy man and therefore an "easy mark" for that kind of charge. But such a charge could not stick, for every purchasable precinct in his district went for his Democratic opponent, who spent more money, we are advised, than either he or his friends.

Congressman Kent is one of the long line of Republican leaders who are forming behind La Follette.



## A TENDENCY IN MUNICIPAL TAXATION.

From the Official Report of Clinton Rogers Woodruff as Secretary of the National Municipal League, at Its Convention for 1910 at Buffalo.

The Constitutions of 75 per cent of the States require the uniform taxation of all property under what is known as the general property tax system. American cities have practically no latitude given them by their State governments in the matter of taxation. Few statute laws have been passed dur-

ing the year touching upon the matter of municipal taxation.

A most significant occurrence, however, was the introduction into the New York legislature of a bill asked for by Mayor Gaynor's administration and the New York Merchants' Association, to exempt from taxation personal property in the City of New York. Although the request was denied, the action of the Mayor and of the Association was generally regarded as an official recognition of the breakdown of the idea of local taxation of personal property.

There has been an appreciable improvement in administrative methods in cities, especially in connection with the assessment of real estate. The most noteworthy changes in municipal taxation are occurring in Canada, where in several Provinces cities have been granted a large measure of home rule. In British Columbia a general statute has for years permitted municipalities to assess improvements at a lower percentage than land. A recent statute fixed a maximum assessment of 50 per cent for improvements, while allowing a lower rate or an entire exemption by vote of the local council.

Vancouver in March, 1910, exempted improvements entirely, while assessing land at 100 per cent of its value. This followed a progressive reduction of assessments on improvements extending over some years, beginning at a 75 per cent assessment, then 50 per cent, then 25 per cent. Several other cities in British Columbia have also gradually reduced the percentage, while they now exempt improvements entirely.

The abolition of taxes on improvements in Vancouver has caused great activity in local building operations. On the other hand, there has been stagnation in the real estate market so far as vacant lots are concerned. The experiment has not gone on long enough to be sure that this may not be due to some local or temporary cause, but it is the result that tax reformers expect from the policy adopted. The policy has prevailed among the municipalities of the Canadian West to value sites at par and improvements at a fraction ranging from 75 per cent down to 25 per cent. For some years Vancouver at first had it at 75, then dropped to 50, then to 25, and last March to zero.

Nanaimo has had the 100 to zero percentage for several years.

In the Province of Alberta the larger cities have for some years exempted improvements, raising their revenues chiefly from a tax on land values with a slight business tax and a tax on franchises of public service corporations when these are not municipally owned. Most of the new villages asking for incorporation are also requesting this same power of exemption which is granted upon petition to the local authorities.

In Ontario the local taxation of personal prop-

erty was abolished in 1903, a business tax being substituted. At the present session of the Provincial legislature a petition was presented, signed officially by over two hundred municipalities, asking for the same right of home rule in the partial or total exemption of improvements as exists in British Columbia.

It has been opposed so far by the party in power in the Province, although strongly supported by the Ottawa Citizen and other daily papers under the same ownership, and also by a large number of civic organizations. A year ago the formal appeal of the city of Ottawa was denied by the Provincial legislature because the government "did not care to give that city any advantage over other cities," to quote the language of the Ottawa Citizen.

Prince Rupert is starting its municipal career without taxing improvements. Vancouver and Prince Rupert are probably destined to grow with tremendous rapidity. Doubtless they would grow tremendously even if they had the worst system of taxation in the world, because they are the ports of Western Canada and the terminals of great railway systems; but by the policy of not penalizing improvements they are certain to grow, in the judgment of tax reformers, with all the greater rapidity, and land speculation will be to a considerable extent discouraged, to the great advantage of the growing communities. In ten years' time it is expected that those cities will be big enough to attract the attention of the United States. If they adhere to the present policy it cannot but exert a powerful influence on the State of Washington, and probably Oregon.

New York City has a committee on congestion of population that is said to be reaching the conclusion that the most important thing to do is to increase the tax on land values and decrease the tax on improvements. "It does not seem," one public-spirited official has said, "that any intelligent man regarding the conditions which now exist in New York could reach any other conclusion. The Borough of Queens contains about 129 square miles; it has about 115,000 separately assessed parcels of real estate, of which 73,000 are unimproved. The assessed land value of Queens is \$200,000,000. The assessed value of the unimproved parcels is \$100,000,000. In this classification a farm with a home on it is rated as an improved parcel. In fact, any lot to which any value whatever is added for improvements is rated as an improved parcel. The per capita value of land in Queens is out of all proportion to the per capita value of land in the other boroughs, being \$776, as compared with \$718 in the Bronx, \$375 in Brooklyn and \$1,201 in Manhattan. Manhattan values are the result of the dense population and, one may say, of the activities of the whole world. Tax reformers are beginning to declare that it does not take very much imagination to see what would

happen in Queens if the City of New York adopted the policy of Vancouver.

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## BOOKS

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### A FACT IN FICTION.

**Burning Daylight.** By Jack London. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The fact that the great fortunes, even in gold mining booms, are not made by discovery or mining of gold, but by getting a corner on gold lands or town sites, is here emphasized, unconsciously perhaps. Mr. London gives a picture of the birth and growth of a gold camp on the rich Klondike creeks, which is a bit of bravura writing, evidently intended as pure fiction; in other words as a picture of things as they are, with no suggestion or criticism as to how they should be.

In view of this, it is highly interesting to read how Elam Harnisch, the hero of the novel, the man who discovered the gold veins, did not, altho a gold miner by profession, devote himself to opening up the opportunities he had discovered. Instead, he risked the savings of a life of hardship in buying claims, in buying *town sites*, or, rather, in staking out sites for a future town in a wilderness. In this way he comes out of the Klondike a "30 million" man, an "Eldorado king," who became so not by his own work in mining gold, or even in discovering it, but by his foresight in levying tribute on the future soil of those who did mine gold and those who supplied the needs of a growing community.

This object lesson is all the more valuable because it comes from the pen of a writer who has never "seen the cat" in respect of land speculation. Coming from him, it comes as a statement of fact—of facts that speak of themselves.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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### STEAMBOATING ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

**The Captain of the Amaryllis.** By Stoughton Cooley. Boston. The C. M. Clark Publishing Co.

This story pictures steamboat life on the Mississippi and Ouachita rivers, Louisiana. The captain is a man of well proportioned physique, pleasing in manner and a strong personality; other characters, planters living along the route, and pleasure seekers, contribute to the mirth and soberness of the narrative. The presence of a lady with a penchant for the distribution of tracts evokes witticisms from the crew. She is horrified at overhearing the mate swearing at the roustabouts, and her efforts to reform him furnish fun for the by-standers. Moral questions are fre-

quently discussed in a way that holds the attention of the reader. And an entertaining love plot runs through the story, with a Damon and Pythias quality and a John Alden sequel. The descriptive passages are among the strong qualities of the book. Here the author's artistic touch stands out boldly. Picturesque simply as descriptions, they are vital with the life of Louisiana in the Mississippi region. What Mark Twain did uniquely for that region in the '50's this story does for it now, not with the individual humor that made the life revolve around Twain, but in a spirit that leaves the author out but puts the people and their environments in.

JOSIAH EDSON.

\* \* \*

### POLITICAL SHORT STORIES.

**The Gold Brick.** By Brand Whitlock, author of "The Thirteenth District," "Her Infinite Variety," "The Happy Average," "The Turn of the Balance." Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

A collection of short stories by the successor of "Golden Rule" Jones as Mayor of Toledo, taking its title from that of the excellent magazine story by the author about the cartoonist who by nearly selling his soul almost lost his art. Eleven other Whitlock stories make up the collection. They are all of the same deeply true kind, and most of them are political. Back of the characters whose struggles with themselves and one another furnish the comedy and the tragedy of the stories, you get glimpses now and then of Governor Altgeld and of the big crooks who when they couldn't use him, determined to ruin him, with now and then a repentant little crook. But the stories are not history. They are fiction, and intensely interesting fiction, too.

\* \* \*

### HOW OUR FOREBEARS KEPT HOLIDAY.

**Colonial Holidays.** Being a Collection of Contemporary Accounts of Holiday Celebrations in Colonial Times; Compiled, Illustrated and Illuminated by Walter Tittle, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

A gorgeous piece of book-making, with beautiful color illustrations, great plain print, and an elegant cover. Better yet is the letter-press, for that consists of quotations from old private letters, diaries, chronicles and what not, all relating to the sequent holidays of the year as kept by our old Colonial ancestors. Here, for example, is how an expedition led by Captain John Smith fared on a Christmas in the days of the settlement of Virginia:

The extreame winde, rayne, frost and snow caused us to keepe Christmas among the salvages where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plenty of

good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wilde fowl and good bread, nor never had better fires in England.

ALICE THACHER POST.

\* \* \*

### NAVIGATING THE AIR FIELDS.

**Actions and Reactions.** By Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. Price, \$1.50.

"With the Nightmail," by the prince of modern story-tellers, bound up with many other tales in "Actions and Reactions," is of more than story interest. So cleverly has Mr. Kipling worked out the possible details of advanced aerial navigation—a field exciting to the commercial as well as to the romantic imagination—that to read of a night's journey in a mail packet through storm areas far above the seething Atlantic is almost to have had an experience which we are prone to believe will be a part of the routine life of the generation that is to follow ours. Great is the art of the Teller of Tales!

ALICE THACHER POST.

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### A MODERN VIEW AND A STORY.

**The Lords of High Decision.** By Meredith Nicholson. Colored Illustrations by Arthur I. Keller. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. Price, \$1.50.

Among the many novels called out by the new uneasy consciousness of widespread corruption in politics and business—a consciousness which has created the "muckrakers," as well as learned of them;—none shows business hollowness more picturesquely, while still conserving the true story-telling interest, than does this novel, published last year, but good to read for many years to come. The types are true, the story is fresh, the art is fine, and "The Lords of High Decision" deserves a permanent place among good fiction.

ALICE THACHER POST.

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### UP-TO-DATE FAIRY TALES.

**Rewards and Fairies.** Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. Price, \$1.50.

Quaintly modern and British and imperialistic, and yet as imaginative, as sturdy and as unsentimental as fairy stories ought to be, are Rudyard Kipling's tales woven about Puck of Pook's Hill, of which this is a second group. Not the least entertaining pages are those between chapters, bearing witty and assuaging verse.

ALICE THACHER POST.

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## PERIODICALS

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**Hampton's.**

The idea that the city problem consists in part "in abolishing poverty," runs through Frederick C.

Howe's description of Dusseldorf in Hampton's for December. Dusseldorf "recognizes that poverty today is not due to incompetence or intemperance alone," but "is the product of the city" itself; and recognizing this, Dusseldorf makes a business of doing things for her people, not charitably, but as an obligation. The details Mr. Howe gives are novel and significant and his descriptions have the flavor of the place.



**The American Magazine.**

With a challenging article on taxing ignorance and honesty, Albert Jay Nock begins a series in the American for December which all untaxed persons in the United States ought to read, and would read if they saw the first paragraph. For the untaxed person is about the only person that pays taxes, and Mr. Nock shows this clearly. Judged by the first, these articles—their general title is "The Things That are Caesar's,"—promise to be a revelation, in extraordinarily readable form, of the way in which our tax laws work and are worked to exempt big "taxpayers" and heavily tax "non-taxpayers."



**Twentieth Century Magazine.**

The December number has an appreciative article on the Socialist administration in Milwaukee, valuable principally for showing what honest honesty applied to city affairs can do. John T. Paul writes on "new lines of progress in New Zealand," which, already equipped with the most complete code of labor laws

in the world, is pushing out after prison reform, and the care of children, and for changes in taxation. Other engrossing articles along sociological lines, and the usual valuable resumé of radical reform news, editorials and book reviews by Mr. Flower, round out a magazine number of exceptional interest.

E. S.



Well-meaning Golfer: "Er, do you think it quite safe to bring that child across the links?"  
Matilda Jane: "Oh, it's all right, sir. I shouldn't"

**The Public**

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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.

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**NEWARK CUT GLASS CO.,**  
61-63 Arlington St., Newark, N. J.

think of bringin' 'im if he warn't as deaf as a post, poor little chap!"—Punch (London).

✦ ✦ ✦

"Family all back from the summer trip?"

"Yes."

"I hear your wife is confined to her room. What does the doctor say?"

"We haven't employed a doctor. The laundress

promises to have her out in about four days."—  
Courier-Journal.

✦ ✦ ✦

Little Carl (in the forest): "Father, I can hear the cuckoo, but I cannot see any clock."—Jugend.

✦ ✦ ✦

Smiling Visitor (addressing the Sunday school):

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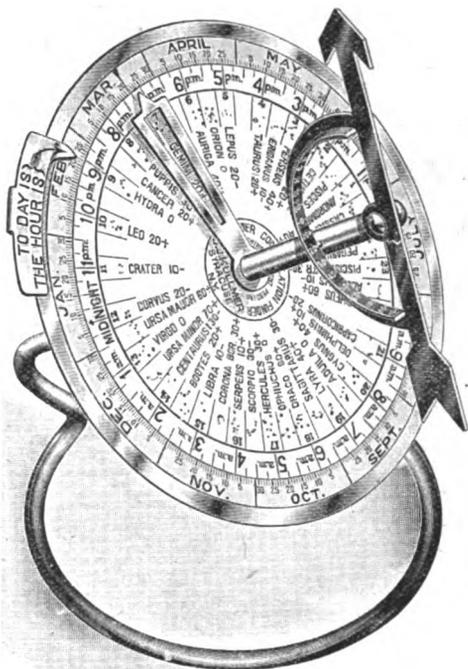
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