

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Wall-street Presidentialities.

Gratitude from the whole country is due the New York Evening Post for its report upon Wall-street preferences for President. The reported order of preference is (1) Harmon, (2) Taft, (3) Underwood.

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Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

In the latest militant demonstration of suffragists in London there is an excess of the flavor of toryism. If the leaders of that demonstration are seeking suffrage for women as an extension of democracy, they have a poor way of showing it under the circumstances. Their apparent policy is much less significant of a democratic intent than of aristocratic designs—of a purpose to strengthen toryism in British politics by perpetuating the plural vote for property owners and preventing the extension of the single vote to all men and all women.

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Race Snobbishness.

When rich persons refuse to meet or courteously to behave toward poor persons in places of common use, or the "high-born" slam public doors in the faces of the "low born," this is a species of snobbery. Not that the rich or the "high born" may not choose their associates in freedom. They may. It is no snobbery to exclude from one's privacy the uncongenial, be the reason for it poverty

or wealth, birth or breeding. But he who demands the exclusion of his social "inferiors" from places of public accommodation—such as theaters, railroad trains, sleeping cars, the common schools, or hotels—is a snob. The test of this snobbery? Any person who is fit to meet with you in places of public accommodation as a servant is fit to meet you in places of public accommodation upon equal terms. If you draw proscriptive birth-lines, breeding lines or race lines in public places to exclude persons against whom you would not draw those lines there as servants, you are a snob.

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Snobbery is much more common along race lines than any other. Though the nobility draw it tight in their private companionships, as they have a right to, they do not draw it candidly in respect of public places. The commoner may go to hotels that cater to nobility, and if he can stand the low temperature he will not be ordered out. So the poor man may go to the rich man's hotel if his taste is so far perverted and he "has the price"—he will not be excluded. But Jews are excluded from some hotels—yes, and from some countries; and Negroes are excluded from most of our hotels. It is folly to hold hotel managers responsible for this. The fault is not with them; it is with their patrons. In other words, there is some anti-Jewish snobbery in this country, and with anti-Negro snobbery Americans overflow. Please do not overlook, however, the distinctions we have drawn. No man is a snob for making any kind of discrimination, however absurd, with reference to his personal companions. Nor would we call that man a snob whose daughter is in such imminent danger of marrying "a nigger" that she cannot be trusted to catch glimpses of Negro gentlemen in the cosmopolitanism of a theater or hotel—except as servants—lest she marry one of them offhand; every white man must of course be conceded the inalienable right of choosing the color of his own grandchildren. But as a rule the all-round proscription of a race for racial reasons, like the all-round proscription of any other class for class reasons, is snobbery.

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It is the most comical kind of snobbery. Like the snobbery of the person who, conscious of his own uncertain social standing, scrupulously avoids all relations with "inferiors," except the relation of master to servant, race-snobbery is the species that falls most snugly into the dictionary definition of a snob—"one who is servile in spirit or conduct toward those whom he considers his

superiors, and correspondingly proud and insolent toward those whom he considers his inferiors." Your true aristocrat is guilty of no such absurdity. Acknowledging no superiors, he insists upon no inferiors. He is so democratic that he would as soon "kick his butler down stairs" as the president of his club; so sure of his own status that he can associate in public places with the uncongenial of whatever fortune or level of birth without the slightest fear of losing social standing. Were he to find a Negro in his hotel as a guest, it would give him no more concern than it gives a snob to find Negroes there as servants. Indeed, if he had any antipathy to the Negro race, he would rather see a Negro in the hotel dining room as a guest, or in a sleeping car as a passenger, than in either place as a servant; the personal association would be so much less intimate.

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But there are not many true aristocrats, not many persons who acknowledge no superiors and therefore need no inferiors to "save their face," not many who are sure enough of their own social standing to put it at risk by tolerating "inferiors" without their labels of inferiority. Consequently hosts of white men who patronize hotels refuse to patronize those that accommodate Negroes—that do their public duty by persons whom these white men, uncertain of their own social status, wish to be snobbishly insolent to. We have no fault to find with such hotels. If they want white men's patronage, they *must* exclude Negroes. It is a necessary business policy. Their hotel business would collapse if they did not discourage Negro patronage; for white patronage would be withdrawn and Negro patronage could not sustain the establishment. No law will reach this kind of case. That has been abundantly proved. The only remedy is the development by Negroes of Negro hotels—with that superior cleanliness of which the Negro is capable, that superior service for which he is famous, and that delicious cookery which has always commended his products of the table to the American palate—a hotel withal to which white men are admitted only as a favor and with the clear understanding that it is for Negroes first. This policy would soon wipe out the color line at hotels—or else we overestimate the American white man's propensity for "butting in."

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But meanwhile, conceding the business necessity of excluding Negroes from hotel dining rooms, except as servants—always remember that

your American snob has no objection to Negroes anywhere *as servants*—conceding this necessity, why exclude Negroes from the private dining rooms of white guests at hotels? If an organization which is composed mostly of white persons, yet does not bar Negroes from membership—if such a body engage private rooms for a private dinner at a hotel, how can it hurt the business of the hotel if Negro members participate? They are in that case not guests of the hotel; they are guests of the organization dining there in private. In such a case is it not the hotel rather than the general public that makes the exclusion? At any rate, this was the question which the Singletax Conference of last week found itself suddenly forced by the La Salle Hotel of Chicago to decide. This Conference refused to draw the color line with reference to its own delegates and guests in its own private dining rooms when the hotel made the demand, and for that reason was obliged to cancel its arrangements. If this plan of exclusion persists, the hotels that enforce it will have to refuse dining accommodations to political gatherings, to religious gatherings, to civic gatherings, to all gatherings of organizations and movements which do not wish, or else do not dare, to “draw the color line.” Either that, or all those gatherings will have to find accommodations where no such absurd rule exists. If hotels exclude Negroes in the regular course of business between themselves and Negroes, that is an affair between the Negroes and the hotel, and of nobody else except as public opinion may seem to make it a business necessity and therefore a reason for public agitation. But the hotel which carries this anti-Negro policy to the length of dictating to any of its otherwise acceptable patrons, the conditions of race, color or other social status that shall govern the admission of their own guests to their own private apartments in the hotel, must be considered as having a management superiorly comic in its lack of the saving sense of humor.

* *

Jurors and Judges.

Some fun has been made in the newspapers over the reluctance of a woman jury in California to find a verdict of “not guilty” in a criminal case in which they believed the defendant to be guilty but were ordered by the judge to acquit. So far from having made themselves fair subjects for male mirth, those women did the sensible thing until they yielded. Could any custom be more absurd than this of judges in ordering sworn jurors to find verdicts contrary to their own judgment and conscience? Could anything open the door wider

to judicial maladministration? Jurors ought to be willing to go to jail for contempt rather than yield to such usurpation, moss-grown with age though it be, on the part of the judiciary.

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That no judge should be allowed to order a verdict of “guilty,” goes without the saying. We haven’t yet reached a time when the judiciary undertakes to compel criminal *convictions* by supposedly independent juries. But the vicious practice of *ordering* verdicts of acquittal leads straightway in that direction. If a jury’s verdict of conviction shows prejudice—as very well might be,—the judge is in position to protect the outraged prisoner by setting the verdict aside and ordering a new trial. By that procedure the responsibility is upon himself, where it belongs; and the jury’s remains with them, where that belongs. All the power a judge needs or should have over verdicts is thereby conceded. In civil cases he may set aside verdicts whichever way they go; in criminal cases he may set them aside if they are for conviction. He needs no further authority in the interests of justice. But when judges *order verdicts*, whether civil or criminal, they confuse responsibility and assail the independence of juries. When juries acquiesce in such orders, contrary to their own judgment and conscience, they help judges to make a mockery of the jury system—a worse and more dangerous mockery than any for which it is criticized by the autocratic-minded who wish to abolish it.

* * *

WOMEN AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Among the fallacies of the opposition to woman suffrage is the argument that it makes no civic improvement where it has been introduced; and some vitality is given this fallacy by advocates of woman suffrage who allow themselves to become entangled in futile controversies over petty, local and temporary questions of fact with nothing in them but confusing irrelevancies.

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An instance in point is the following from The Remonstrant, an anti-suffrage periodical tract published in Boston. Under the fallacious title of “The Proof of the Pudding,” The Remonstrant for October said:

The Colorado legislature, which enjoys the distinction of being the only legislature with women members, passed at its recent session, in spite of the indignant protests of the decent element of the public and the strong opposition of the Governor, a bill to legalize race-track gambling. The deplorable

fact is recorded that all four of the women members voted for the bill. Apologists for conditions in the suffrage States are in the habit of insisting that women cannot be held accountable for what is done simply because they have the ballot. But these women in the Colorado legislature are surely responsible for their own votes. By casting them for this bill, they did what they could to disprove the claim that woman suffrage means cleaner politics. What Governor Shafroth, himself an ardent suffragist, thought of the women members of the legislature may be inferred from the following extract from his message vetoing the bill:

We are looked upon as a progressive State, one where the influence of the mother and wife, by reason of the existence of equal suffrage, is exerted upon all public questions. We know they are against such measures, but let this bill become a law and the finger of scorn and ridicule will ever after be pointed at the influence of woman's franchise in State affairs.

It is a homely old adage that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." Is there any better way of judging what the political woman would do than to observe what she actually does, when she has the chance?

If all women were as illogical as the writer of that final paragraph seems, and men were not, the paragraph might suggest reasons for doubting the competency of women for citizenship. To adjudge all women incompetent from the fact that four Colorado women may have been so, raises a more serious question over the judge than over the judged. But we attribute this illogical comment of The Remonstrant to human nature rather than feminine unreasonableness. It comes not from vacuity but from the ardor of controversy, and goes to prove that women also are human.

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It is less The Remonstrant's comments, however, than its facts and what they signify, that call for attention; and we have taken pains to investigate the facts before considering their significance.

It seems that of the four women alluded to by The Remonstrant as members of the Colorado legislature, three were from Denver. They had been nominated by the "gang" that controlled the local boss-ridden Democratic party, and had been elected by a plurality of hardly more than one-third of the votes, thereby defeating three other and better qualified women. The fourth was a Republican from an outside county who was regarded as superior to her three colleagues, two of whom were not especially bright in civic qualifications and had probably been put on the Democratic ticket by the "bosses" for that reason. They are regarded however as better than the men who were on the ticket with them. So much for the four women legislators as individuals.

Now as to the circumstances of the race track bill. Let its wickedness be fully conceded, yet The Remonstrant is misinformed when it says that there were "indignant protests of the decent element of the public" against it. There were no protests at all prior to its passage. The papers had made no reference to it, and the public knew nothing about it until it had passed both Houses almost unanimously and Governor Shafroth interposed his veto.

Moreover, it was drawn so skilfully as to hide its wickedness beneath the cloak of a bill for promoting agricultural, industrial and live stock exhibitions under the censorship of a State commission.

Furthermore, when the Governor's veto came before the Senate the veto was sustained. The bill therefore did not become a law. For this result, which ought to cause The Remonstrant to inquire and reflect, the credit was given to the Women's clubs of Colorado. It is to-day considered in Denver as an undisputed fact that the bill would have become a law in spite of the Governor's veto but for women voters.

Finally, the very women legislators whom The Remonstrant condemns as typical of women with the ballot, publicly announced their regret for having inadvertently voted for such a bill, and thereupon helped defeat it by supporting the Governor's veto.

Those are all the facts we have discovered regarding The Remonstrant's criticism of woman suffrage in Colorado. It may be that we have given more facts than necessary; which is better, however, than to have withheld any that might possibly be pertinent on either side. We give the fullest measure in our power and leave consequences to care for themselves.

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But after all, the question of whether the record of four women members of the legislature of a State steeped in business and political corruption for years, was perfect is of not the slightest importance in considering the question of woman suffrage. This question does not turn upon immediate and right solutions of civic problems by women voters. It turns upon the service of women jointly with men as civic equals, in giving the solution of civic problems the full benefit of an effective union of feminine with masculine ideals and intellect.

Suppose the statement of facts in The Remonstrant had been true instead of mistaken. What of it? It is unfair and impudent for men to de-

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mand of women citizens, as a condition precedent to conceding them the voting right, that they be free of all human weaknesses with reference to civic affairs; and *women* who make that demand are shirks as to their own civic responsibilities and obstructionists as to the civic responsibilities of others.

If those demands were exacted of all citizens, not only would democracy be impossible, but so would every other form of government. There was never a reigning monarch so perfect as this demand requires women to be before participating in the reign of the people.

But, unfortunately, opponents of woman suffrage are not the only offenders in this respect. To assert that women *do* come up to the requirements of that demand, is to argue against woman suffrage as truly as to assert that they do not. For that they do not is the fact. Judge Lindsey showed in his "Beast and the Jungle" how some women are as subservient to the Beast as some men, and he was "roasted" for it by woman suffragists who thought it hurt their cause. They were as wrong as The Remonstrant is.

The primary purpose of the suffrage movement, like that of every other democratic movement, is the improvement of civic conditions through the extension of civic intelligence by use of the human mind on civic problems. To meet criticisms of such a movement with arguments assuming that all woman voters would be civic angels, lends support to the fallacy that none of them would be if some of them are not or if none were quite so.

Why not stand for woman suffrage on broad democratic grounds, letting the opposition meet it on those grounds if they can? Why try to refute tory fallacies with toryistic denials of what may be deplorable facts?



Though The Remonstrant was in error as to the facts it happened to cite about Colorado, it might have cited stronger ones without error. Take, for instance, Judge Lindsey's bill for the protection of children from the vice trust in Colorado. Surely this was more important than a race-track gambling measure. But he had the greatest difficulty in getting the women members of that legislature to introduce the bill. Some of them absolutely refused, and one of them, a bitter opponent of child labor laws, did all she could to secure legalization for the employment of children over thirteen years of age in mining and other dangerous vocations.

Why not recognize the fact—for fact it is,—why

not recognize that under equal suffrage there will be "machine" women as well as "machine" men, as long as there are "machines;" and that well-meaning women voters as well as well meaning men voters will be fooled by those that are not well-meaning? These weaknesses, whether in state or church or business or frou-frou society, are neither masculine nor feminine but human.

In Denver, three progressive women had been nominated for the legislature against the women referred to by The Remonstrant; but the corporations and the vice trust—together with some really good men and possibly some really good women—all of it as human as the apple episode in Eden—combined against them. So the progressive women were defeated by a small plurality, and those whom The Remonstrant sets up as types of womanhood in civic action were elected.

But for that narrow plurality, there might have been no necessity for Governor Shafroth's veto of a gambling measure passed with women's votes, nor any difficulty in securing women sponsors in the legislature for Judge Lindsey's child-labor bill.



There will be "machine" women, reactionary women, tory women, vice-legalizing women, after as well as before suffrage, and some of them will no doubt get into legislatures. But that is beside the question. The question is whether our civic problems shall continue to be "stag"-muddled instead of humanly solved—whether organized society shall be of the bachelor type or of the family type. There is bad in both; but it is not bachelorhood, it is familyhood, that gives hope.

Even in Denver at its worst, let us not forget, Judge Lindsey was re-elected by a clear majority over both "machines," and the women electorate made it possible.

With all the civic frailties they have in common with men, the instinct for right things quickens with women as a mass more spontaneously than with men as a mass. Their moral hearing is less dull, their civic spirit more willing when the clarion calls.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT WORK.

San Diego Cal., Nov. 10.

It is "hats off" to the women of southern California. Obtaining their enfranchisement by the small majority of some 3,600 votes, they at once, even in spite of themselves and their previous attitude, find themselves possessing the balance of power on some very vital questions and being sought after with

great solicitude. The newspapers and interests which had disparaged and ridiculed their suffrage, now thoroughly alarmed about local conditions, are using every effort to prevail upon the women to register and vote, vying in the matter with the oldest suffrage advocates.

The surprisingly large Socialist vote at the Los Angeles' municipal primaries, some 20,183 to the Good Government's 16,790 and scattering 8,570, and the fact that Los Angeles must borrow \$18,000,000 within the next two years to complete her municipal aqueduct, power-plant, harbor, railroad, and other big enterprises before the opening of the Panama Canal, are responsible for woman's glorious though hurried entrance into the field, and some 70,000 have been registered since the passage of the amendment only one month ago, in order to qualify for the elections of December 5th.

In San Diego a \$1,000,000 bond issue, a now-or-never opportunity to obtain a municipal harbor, and requiring a two-thirds vote of all the ballots cast, has also made the votes of the women of vital importance. A large registration is the result. In both cities schools for voters have been established to instruct women in the proper method of casting a ballot. Serious-faced women compose a large proportion of all public meetings.

But the path of the women may not be all roses. Apprehensive interests which fought the suffrage amendment, now taking advantage of the small majority in its favor, threaten a referendum on the subject in 1912, and count upon the vote of the women who have all along opposed or been indifferent to suffrage to destroy their new political freedom. It will not be difficult for the Interests to obtain the necessary signatures; but women, having been given the ballot and tasted its power and influence, will they now allow themselves to be disfranchised? Quien sabe?

SEYMOUR W. TULLOCH.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE UNIVERSALITY OF DEMOCRACY.

Chicago.

Every good cause suffers as much from the bad arguments of its advocates and friends as from the weak and illogical reasoning of its opponents. The social reformer is by no means exempt from the faults and inconsistencies incident to our imperfect human nature. The ability to think clearly on one subject and the courage to espouse a difficult cause are not always accompanied with mental breadth or deep sympathies. Too often the merits of great leaders are those of the special pleader, who may be useful, even highly efficient, but whose spirit is essentially partisan and who has little moral perspective.

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Woman Suffrage presents no exception to the rule. Its advocates often employ as bad arguments in its support as any that are offered against it from press or platform. An example is found in some recent utterances of an able leader in this field: "Let the Negro alone. It will offend the South. All colored

men are opposed to woman suffrage." These words have the commander's imperative ring. One wonders who could have touched upon this theme on a suffrage platform in more challenging terms, but let that point pass.

"Do not touch the Labor question. It will offend our capitalist friends." The same kind of warning might be spoken against affiliation with the temperance cause, the tariff or Singletax, since in every case we run the risk of offending some one.

There are times and places, we will agree, when a particular subject has the right of way and the platform must be yielded to the occasion and the main issue. A temperance gathering cannot spare time for a discussion of the tariff, or a Singletax conference for an argument on temperance or suffrage; but that would not be a very enlightening discussion of any of these issues which eliminated comparison or ignored the vital relation of each to each. Every social question of the hour is but a phase of one and the same subject—our growing democracy. The suffrage, the labor and the race or color questions reveal a like situation among different groups suffering the same kind of social injustice, choosing different methods of relief. The analogies between the woman and the color problems in this country are particularly strong and striking and show how human and generic is the special issue of each.

Moreover our politic concern for what shall and shall not be said on a particular platform is politic and not philosophic or even rational. Our reform conventions suffer from a narrow and ex parte treatment of a single issue. A philosophic temper as well as a warm all-round humanity is conspicuously absent at times. Social progress is not to be measured in terms of a single propaganda or creed.

Woman suffrage is but one line of march towards the goal of true democracy, yet the proportion of sincere intelligent democrats in the suffrage ranks is not large. We may well look with dread and discomfort on many of the aspects of this movement in this its day of rapid growth and popular favor. Women are as yet preferably aristocratic, exclusive and conservative. Their prevailing attitude in the work of social relief and uplift in which they are so busily engaged is that of class assumption and patronage. The mainspring of action is an intense, easily aroused and easily diverted sympathy. The motive which springs from a conviction of justice or the essential worth of human nature per se is one she is reluctant to accept, nor is it any answer to say that the same is true of men.

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How many women suffragists believe in their good cause as part of a general forward movement seeking the complete emancipation of the race with equal opportunity for all? Very few.

Yet woman suffrage has worth and meaning only in its relation to suffrage at large, to that growing ideal of freedom of which the ballot is one form and symbol. Unless women can rejoice and feel their cause strengthened in every gain in manhood suffrage they have not gone far in true understanding of the cause in which they are so heroically engaged.

Over and over again do we hear from the suffrage

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platform such arguments as these: "Is it not a shame that my coachman has the right to vote when I am deprived of that right?" Or, when the contrast is painted in still darker colors, the question runs, "Is it not a shame that my colored coachman can vote"? etc. Why should not the coachman vote, even when he is colored?

The argument for a restricted suffrage shows a poor understanding of the worth and meaning of a republic, yet there is scarcely a woman's suffrage assembly where it does not find eloquent voice and advocacy.

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We are told that "all Negroes are opposed to woman suffrage," an astonishing statement which will not bear examination. I have worked with and among colored people for many years. In the institution with which I am connected, the Frederick Douglass Center, the subject of woman suffrage is a familiar and welcome theme. Suffrage meetings have been held in our assembly room where the subject was discussed by white and black. I have yet to hear a serious argument on the negative side from a colored speaker.

The feeling of the most thoughtful Negroes on this subject is one that does equal credit to heart and understanding. "I know what disfranchisement means," said one of these in my hearing. "I have suffered from it, my race suffers from it still. I should be ashamed to impose such a wrong on any other class." Compare this to the rallying cry, "Do not touch the Negro problem!"

It may be well in this connection to tell the story of one of Miss Anthony's very early visits to Chicago, her first I believe. She had come in the hope of securing a chance to speak her gospel word. Church after church was solicited from the white clergy and invariably refused. It so happened that the friend with whom Miss Anthony was stopping lived near the colored district and was on friendly terms with her dusky-skinned neighbors. She called on the pastor of Quinn Chapel, the oldest and largest colored church in the city, whose use was promptly granted. Thus it was from a colored pulpit and in the main to a colored audience that our Susan addressed her first argument in the City of the Lakes.

Woman suffrage had no more loyal friend than Frederick Douglass. Doubtless he injured himself in many more cautious minds by thus openly allying himself with a cause which was in those days far more unpopular than the black man's. Did anyone say to him, "Let the woman question alone"? One can easily imagine the reply he would have made, he who said: "I know no race problem; there is a human problem." His last public act was to attend a meeting of the National Association, where Miss Anthony spoke words of gratitude and praise to him, pinning a flower in his buttonhole. He went to his home and an hour later was dead.

Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, Mary Livermore, Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and a host of other men and women came into the woman suffrage work through the anti-slavery door. Human freedom was the great cause they served.

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It is natural and right that we should choose our

particular line or field of work, but when in partisan zeal for one class we are led to speak words of discouragement and opposition to another class in equal or greater need and seeking the same high ends, our power of usefulness and our understanding of the real situation are sadly impaired. Let us adopt Henry George's motto: "I am for men." Not for one kind of man, but the generic man, the black, brown, red or yellow man no less than the white, the woman and little child; every state and condition of being that needs a helping hand, for whose ultimate and common benefit all our social reforms are working. When we have learned to join hands in our common task, to help each other no less than ourselves, to recognize our common heritage and kinship, we shall find ourselves much nearer the ends we seek.

CELIA PARKER WOOLLEY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Monday, November 27, 1911.

American Singletax Conference.

An unofficial Conference of Singletaxers of the United States, participated in by Singletaxers of Canada, assembled at Chicago on the 24th under the call of The Joseph Fels Fund Commission of America. This Conference, designed by the Commission to be advisory only and to go out of existence with its adjournment on the 26th, conformed strictly in its proceedings to that design. The earlier meetings were held at the La Salle Hotel, as all the others were to have been, including a general dinner of delegates and their friends; but when the hotel refused to serve Negroes, of whom there were five or six among the expected guests, the Conference refused to draw "the color line" and went elsewhere for its meetings subsequent to the afternoon of the 25th. For the dinner, it chose Kimball's Cafe, after having canceled its arrangement with the La Salle Hotel; for its meetings of the 26th it engaged Willard Hall, in the Woman's Temple. The latter change might have been necessary in any event to accommodate the audiences; but the dinner change, although a lower price was in fact secured by it, was due wholly to the race question. Over 175 reservations for the dinner at the La Salle Hotel had been made (and there were reasons for expecting at least 50 more) when the Conference managers were confronted with the Hotel's ultimatum. They rejected it before hunting for another place for the dinner function and subsequent meetings, and with no assurance that they could find any accommodations at all. At one time there was apparent danger of a diversion

of the attention of the Conference to the race question from the specific subject it had met to discuss; but this danger passed away, and the Singletax movement, as one of immediate practical concern, was considered with a degree of thoughtfulness which the subject had not received since the agitation began. [See vol. xiii, pp. 1110, 1113, 1145; current volume, page 1194.]

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When the Conference assembled on the 24th, it was called to order by Daniel Kiefer as chairman of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission; and upon motion of ex-Congressman Robert Baker of New York, W. H. Holly of Chicago was elected permanent chairman. Stanley Bowmar and Luther S. Dickey were then elected secretaries, and on motion of C. M. Koedt, Joseph Fels was elected honorary chairman. Among those present at the various meetings were the following:

Arizona—Mrs. Geo. B. Marsh.

California—James P. Cadman.

Colorado—J. R. Herrmann.

Connecticut—Charles S. Prizer.

Illinois—Edward Gates, U. A. H. Greene, Mr. and Mrs. Walter B. Griffin, Richard Greener, Dr. and Mrs. Robert E. Graves, Mr. and Mrs. Vance J. Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. R. O. Barler, Mr. and Mrs. M. F. Bingham, Judge and Mrs. E. O. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. F. D. Butler, Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Harding, Mr. and Mrs. Leon Hornstein, Mr. and Mrs. Louis F. Post, Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Richardson, Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Max M. Korshak, Mr. and Mrs. Leo R. Klinge, Mr. and Mrs. John Z. White, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. V. Wells, Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Spencer, Rev. and Mrs. August Dellgren, Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Dickey, Prof. and Mrs. H. B. Loomis, Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Turner, Dr. and Mrs. C. H. Treadwell, Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Edson, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. R. Eames, Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Moore, Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Moulton, Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Vestal, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. C. Madison, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Bowmar, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Lydia Avery Coonley Ward, Nellie Carlin, Katherine Kennard, Sarah A. Kirkley, Mrs. J. A. Kelly, Mrs. Rudolph Heun, Mrs. Minnie M. Kapple, Miss Vickery, Frank Brown, Miss Sue Wells, Annie Pieton, Miss Gussie Cullman, Miss I. Olmstead, Lydia T. Loesch, Mrs. Herman Lieb, Mrs. Frederick S. Stewart, Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Hale, Mary O'Reilly, Mrs. J. W. Sercomb, Mary L. Sayer, Mary David, Mrs. Mary E. O'Brien, Jean Wallace Butler, Mr. and Mrs. E. Ruzek, Mrs. Constance Engstrom, Miss Eliza Engstrom, Miss Lucia Norse, Mrs. L. D. Maclachlan, Mrs. M. Meredith, Ella Buchanan, Luvera Buchanan, Wilma Rhinesmith, Mrs. Julia Fox, Mrs. N. V. Eckert, Miss I. Olmstead, Mrs. J. J. Leach, Eliza Haley, Dr. M. Lychenheim, Mrs. Agnes T. Lychenheim, Miss Marion Lychenheim, Mrs. Myron M. Blackman, Dr. Alma E. Braucher, Dr. Roswell F. Connor, Dr. Mary H. Connor, Dr. Leonora Beck, Dr. Blanche Moyer Elfink, Ernest N. Braucher, A. O. Coddington, James E. Brennan, T. J. Amberg, H. G. Adair, Chas. R. Adair, H. A. Batchelor, Magnus

Branson, M. M. Blockman, Frank H. Bode, W. H. Bowe, W. R. Browne, H. S. Browne, M. L. Bryan, E. C. Buechler, H. J. Harrower, Henry D. Hatch, William H. Holly, A. G. Hubbard, Chas. J. Hudson, Chas. Horn, Chas. H. Cileski, Harry Heun, J. B. McGinty, Alexander Pernod, Dr. W. E. Harper, B. E. Page, Joseph B. Perkins, F. P. Ide, S. Jones, J. B. Johnston, Jno. D. Jones, E. W. Ritter, Thomas Rhodus, David Rosenheim, M. J. Rowan, Lawrence B. Ryan, Robert Cumming, W. B. Colver, Otto Cullman, G. A. Osinga, E. M. Miller, Chas. W. Miller, Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Maynard, Miss Frieda Maynard, E. C. Moeller, Dr. John Muller, Henry Vick, E. M. Moore, Jay D. Miller, Wiley W. Mills, Chas. H. Mitchell, James B. Ellery, Joseph Farris, Michael Eldridge, Edward W. Eldridge, Fay Lewis, Geo. E. Lee, M. G. Lloyd, Myer Linker, Jacob C. Le Bosky, John L. Dennis, M. F. Daggett, V. Y. Dallman, Rev. Jesse S. Dancy, A. L. Daniels, W. C. Daniells, Samuel Dauchey, J. E. Dressendorfer, B. Sherman, Thomas Wallace Swann, Geo. M. Strachan, S. S. Stanger, W. A. Staub, Dr. Chas. L. Logan, W. J. Spaulding, Parker H. Sercombe, Geo. A. Schilling, Clayton B. Loomis, Wm. B. Steers, H. W. Macfarlane, John A. Swanson, Mrs. Elizabeth Tideman, H. L. T. Tideman, Geo. Tideman, Ebby P. Tideman, S. N. Tideman, W. D. Tate, Morton G. Lloyd, E. Woltersdorf, W. J. Watts, Thos. Odell, E. A. O'Brien, R. M. O'Brien, Chas. W. Triggs, Geo. C. Olcott, J. W. Woolf, Chas. L. Young, Wm. D. Neighbors, Ralph Nash, A. A. Worsley, Fred M. Wheeler, S. Wetstone, A. Wangemann, Henry L. Wallace, H. L. Bliss, J. L. White, Edw. E. McMorran, Frank Kapple, B. Kendrick, Chas. H. Castle, A. P. Canning, A. P. Callahan, C. L. Craig, John W. Conway, Chas. W. Kellogg, C. M. Koedt, Lesley L. Kennedy, Dr. Walter E. Elfink, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Grimm, Mr. and Mrs. Avery Coonley.

Indiana—Geo. A. Briggs, U. G. Manning, Judge Lawrence Becker, James A. Bell, Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Connell, Joseph H. Herr, Hilton Hammond, Geo. W. Brown.

Iowa—Frank Vierth, Vernon M. Vierth, James E. Jamison, Dr. A. O. Pitcher.

Kentucky—Susan Look Avery.

Massachusetts—Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Joy.

Minnesota—C. J. Buell, S. A. Stockwell, Stiles P. Jones, Wm. B. Stewart.

Missouri—J. W. Diller, Dr. W. P. Hill, Arthur M. Custer, Frank K. Ryan, William Marion Reed, John B. Herman.

New Jersey—Dr. Mary D. Hussey, Charles H. Ingersoll.

New York—Hon. Robert Baker, Bolton Hall, J. K. Rudyard, Frank Parker Stockbridge.

North Dakota—R. B. Blakemore.

Ohio—A. B. du Pont, Hon. Thomas Hunt, Daniel Gingrich, Herbert Quick, Daniel Kiefer, Mrs. Daniel Kiefer, Daniel Kiefer, Jr., Henry C. Kiefer.

Oregon—W. S. U'Ren.

Pennsylvania—Warren Worth Bailey, R. F. Devine, Chas. R. Eckert, S. Danziger, Henry J. Eckert, Gustave Friebe, Mrs. Augusta A. Harned, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Fels.

South Dakota—R. E. Dowdell.

Washington, D. C.—Willis J. Abbot.

West Virginia—W. I. Boreman.

Wisconsin—Dr. and Mrs. C. L. Babcock.

Canada—W. A. Douglass, Alan C. Thompson, C. G. Norris, A. B. Farmer, W. H. Lynch, M. T. McKittrick, Robert L. Scott, Chas. A. Brothers.

Guests—Ex-Mayor Edward F. Dunne, Hon. Frank Buchanan, George E. Cole, Mrs. Louise Root Coonley, Frances Avery Ward, Kate Starr Kellogg, Joseph S. Martin, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Alice Henry, Editha Phelps, S. M. Franklin, Geo. E. Hooker, Prof. Ernest Freund, Geo. R. Carman, J. S. Coonley, Herman Kuehn, Lillian Harman and E. D. Jones of Chicago. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Haag, Winnetka, Ill. Robert S. Vessey, Governor of South Dakota, Mrs. I. F. Ward and B. Brooks, Wyoming, N. Y. Miss Rose E. Briggs, Louisville, Ky. S. M. Macdonald, England.

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In the course of the Conference proceedings, the Joseph Fels Fund Commission reported to it for advisory action, Chairman Kiefer presenting the report of activities for the past year, the Treasurer, A. B. du Pont (successor to the late Tom L. Johnson), presenting the financial report. On these reports the Conference, after a day's consideration, and on motion of Emil W. Ritter, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, that this Conference approve the work outlined in the report presented by the Joseph Fels Fund Commission for the year.

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Bolton Hall presented from New York a report of the discussion at a meeting of New York Singletaxers where some had criticized the action of the Fels Fund Commission for supporting Initiative and Referendum measures, basing their criticism on the ground that these measures are foreign to Singletax work, which meeting had by a divided vote adopted a resolution requesting the Commission, now that the Initiative and Referendum has been secured in several States, to cease supporting further agitation for it. Upon consideration of this communication from Mr. Hall, the following resolution was adopted by the Conference:

The report of a meeting of Singletaxers in New York and the resolution adopted thereat as submitted to this Conference by Bolton Hall having been duly considered, be it Resolved that this Conference convey to our New York friends the information that there has been but \$500 of the Fels Fund expended directly upon the Initiative and Referendum, and only small amounts in any way indirectly, during the current year; and that the administration of the fund is in our judgment entitled to their confidence. And be it further Resolved that the said report and resolution from New York Singletaxers are hereby respectfully referred to the Joseph Fels Fund Commission of America, with the advice of this Conference that promotion of the Initiative and Referendum has been and still is, in the opinion of this Conference, an appropriate object for the support of said Commission at their discretion.

Apart from the business described above, and from reports from Missouri by Dr. Wm. Preston Hill and from Oregon by Wm. S. U'Ren, together with speeches of information from Colorado by J. R. Herrmann of Denver, and from northwestern Canada by Robert L. Scott of Winnipeg, on the "Gateway Amendment" to the Federal Constitution by Herbert Quick, on the progress and financing of the movement by Joseph Fels, and on different phases of the proceedings by a large number of speakers, the only important business of the Conference was its adoption of a plan for circulating 1,000,000 copies of Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade," and of the following provision, moved by George A. Schilling, for a financial committee auxiliary to the Joseph Fels Fund Commission:

Resolved, that the Conference appoint an auxiliary committee to promote the raising of funds in behalf of and in conjunction with the Joseph Fels Fund Commission of America, and that the committee report during the year to the Joseph Fels Fund Commission and for discharge to the next Conference called by said Commission.

Pursuant to that resolution the following Auxiliary Committee was appointed and organized:

Charles S. Prizer (Connecticut), Chairman; and George A. Schilling (Illinois), H. W. McFarlane (Illinois), James B. Ellery (Illinois), Robt. E. Blake-more (North Dakota), Charles R. Eckert (Pennsylvania), R. F. Devine (Pennsylvania), C. H. Ingersoll (New Jersey), and S. A. Stockwell (Minnesota).

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At the dinner at Kimball's Cafe (La Salle and Monroe Streets) on the 25th, William Marion Reedy of St. Louis presided as toastmaster. Among the other speakers were William S. U'Ren, Herbert Quick, S. A. Stockwell, Joseph Fels, Robert E. Dowdell (president of the National Press Association), Robert S. Vessey (Governor of South Dakota), Dr. Mary D. Hussey, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Alice Thacher Post, Dr. Leonard Beck, Robert L. Scott and Andrew P. Canning. The speaking began with the introduction of and an impressive response by the venerable Susan Look Avery. Mrs. Avery, now in her 95th year, began her democratic career as an Abolitionist in Kentucky before the Civil War. She has had her interest and activities involved in the woman suffrage movement from its early days, in the "greenback" and "populist" movements of the seventies and eighties, in "Bryanism" since it began back in the nineties, in the revolt against imperialism at the beginning of the present century, and in the promotion of those ideals of Henry George which have made her a comrade of Daniel Kiefer and his associates in the work of the Fels Fund.

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The final meetings of the Conference were at

Willard Hall, with a special order in the afternoon and another in the evening. The afternoon order was a discussion of the fiscal phases of the Singletax, under the subject-title of "Tax Reform." William S. U'Ren of Oregon, Robert L. Scott of Manitoba, A. B. Farmer of Ontario, and John Z. White of Illinois, were the speakers. The evening order was a symposium on the social phases of the Singletax, under the subject-title of "Poverty." Mrs. Raymond Robins, Frederic C. Howe (from whom a paper was read), Joseph Fels and W. A. Douglass were the participants. At the close of the symposium the Conference dissolved, having taken no action to continue its authority other than the appointment of the Auxiliary Committee, which is directed to report for discharge to the next Conference the Joseph Fels Fund Commission may call, and meanwhile to report to the Commission.

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The Commission has added Charles H. Ingersoll to its number, making the Commission as it is now constituted, as follows: Daniel Kiefer (Cincinnati), Chairman; Lincoln Steffens (Connecticut), Frederic C. Howe (New York), Charles H. Ingersoll (New Jersey), Jackson H. Ralston (Maryland), and George A. Briggs (Indiana). Anthony B. du Pont (Cleveland) is Treasurer of the Commission, and its headquarters are in the Commercial Tribune Building in Cincinnati, where its Chairman may be addressed.

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Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

Mr. Asquith's announcement on the 7th of the Ministerial agreement on suffrage, and his explanation, drew forth a Suffragette delegation on the 17th, at which Chrystabel Pankhurst was spokesman. Mr. Asquith had on the 7th announced officially that immediately after the Christmas holidays a bill for manhood suffrage and the abolition of the plural-voting evil would be introduced as a Ministerial measure; and had explained that this measure, while not including woman suffrage, would be drawn in such a form that the House of Commons could so amend it as to include women as well as men if a majority of the House desire. [See current volume, page 1170.]

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On the 17th the Suffragette delegation of which Miss Pankhurst was spokesman, was received by Mr. Asquith, Lloyd George and other Ministers, to whom she said, as London dispatches of the 17th report, that the societies the delegation represented "demanded that the Government make the question of woman suffrage a party one," and that these societies "refused to accept the suffrage on any basis narrower than that on which it was proposed to be granted to the men." Inasmuch as

the Prime Minister had already explained that the House could amend the measure so as to make it apply to women equally with men, the interpretation of that demand seems to be that the Ministry must include woman suffrage in their own bill, whether a majority of the House favor it or not, and thereby assume the responsibility of being forced into another general election immediately. Mr. Asquith replied to Miss Pankhurst, according to the same dispatches, that "the question of woman suffrage really lay with the House of Commons, and whatever form of qualification the majority thought best would be adopted for women and in that form would be introduced into the bill." Preparations were thereupon made by these suffrage societies for violent demonstrations in Parliament Square. On the 21st this program was begun, and in consequence a large number of arrests of women for rioting and resisting the police were made. Some were fined, and for non-payment were imprisoned for two weeks; others, charged with damaging property to the amount of more than \$25, were committed for trial. Among those arrested was Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who was charged with striking a policeman in the face and was sentenced to a month's imprisonment.

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Meanwhile, Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had addressed a message to the National Union of Woman's Suffrage societies, in which he said:

The Premier's announcement on the attitude which the Government is adopting toward the question seems to me to make the carrying of a woman's suffrage amendment, on broad democratic lines, to next year's franchise bill a certainty. I am willing to do all in my power to help those laboring to reach a successful issue in the coming session next year, which provides a supreme opportunity, and nothing but unwise handling of that chance can compass a failure.

This offer was rejected on the 24th under the signatures of 200 of the riot prisoners. They declared that they would accept nothing less than a Ministerial measure in which women are included on the same footing as men. The interpretation of this declaration seems to be, like Miss Pankhurst's speech, that the policy of the suffrage societies is to try to force the Ministry in to proposing a bill which, if defeated in the House of Commons for lack of a majority, would compel the Ministry to resign and thereby to challenge the Conservative party to another trial of strength at a general election. With the Labor insurance measure pending, also the measure to abolish plural voting and property qualifications, and the Irish home rule bill, to all of which the Liberal party is committed by two recent elections, it is highly improbable that the drastic policy of the Suffragette leaders, if it is as inferred above, will succeed.

Lloyd George has, however, begun an agitation within the Liberal party on his own responsibility, for adult suffrage on a democratic basis. In his speech at the annual meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Bath on the 24th, he devoted half of a long address to an argument, as the cable reports him, for broad democratic suffrage for women, his purpose being to secure a majority of the House of Commons in support of the amendment to the Ministerial bill for which the Ministry has promised, through Mr. Asquith, to provide opportunity. If the majority favors that amendment, the Ministerial bill would enfranchise men and women equally, and upon no other condition than manhood and womanhood together with residence in their respective voting districts.



The Chinese Revolution.

Fighting with heavy loss of life continues at Hankow. The Imperialists claim victory. The Imperialists at Nanking are short of food, with retreat cut off by land and by water. The city was fiercely bombarded all day Sunday by the beleaguers. General Wong, second in command, has been killed. The fall of this city, the ancient capital of China, would be very probably the most decisive event of the war. [See current volume, page 1195.]



The new Premier, Yuan Shi Kai, is practically without a cabinet, only the presidents of the minor boards in the cabinet named by him on the 16th, having accepted office. The Chicago Record-Herald's dispatch of the 26th stated that "the Throne's back has stiffened since Yuan Shi Kai has become Premier, and it now refuses to comply with other demands than those made by him. No notice has been taken of resolutions adopted by the National Assembly with reference to the calendar and the cutting of queues. Unable to induce the Premier to appear before the Chamber and powerless to have its resolutions promulgated in an edict, the National Assembly seemingly has ceased existence." Opinion as to the sympathies of the new Premier varies from day to day, between the extremes of monarchism and republicanism, and between Manchu dominance and Chinese self-government. On the 21st, according to the Chicago Record-Herald, in an interview for the American people, he said:

"I judge from the newspaper reports that the advocates of a republic for China have stirred a sympathetic chord in American hearts. This is natural, but I am sure the most enthusiastic republican, if familiar with conditions in China, would doubt the wisdom of the adoption of such a regime here. The form of government suitable to America, where all the people understand governmental problems, would be a most serious experiment in China, where has

existed through the centuries a crude patriarchal monarchy, whose very slackness has developed in the people little respect for government and less understanding of their responsibilities toward the government. It has been demonstrated that the agitation for a republic has conveyed to the masses only the idea that popular government means no taxes and no government. I fear the embarkation of China on the republic experiment would only lead to the dissolution of the Empire, foreign intervention and the partition of the country. Therefore I believe a constitutional monarchy is best."

Determined to avoid giving any pretext for foreign intervention for financial reasons, the Chinese government has ordered all receipts from maritime customs, including the 1901 Boxer indemnities, to be deposited with the foreign banks to the credit of China's foreign debtors.

NEWS NOTES

—John F. Dryden, formerly United States Senator from New Jersey, died at Newark on the 24th at the age of 72.

—Cipriano Castro, former President of Venezuela, is again reported to be on the borders of his native country with thousands of followers. [See current volume, page 784.]

—Persia has yielded to the Russian demands over a question of the authority of W. Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General of Persia. Apologies will be made, and Russia advances a step further in her domination of an ancient people. [See current volume, page 1196.]

—A mass meeting of women willing "to refuse on moral and political grounds to pay their personal taxes," is to be held from 5 to 7 p. m., December 3, in the Rose Ball Room of the Hotel La Salle, Chicago, under the auspices of the "No Vote No Tax League," of which Belle Squire is president.

—Justice Wright of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia decided on the 23d against the motion of Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison for dismissal of the contempt proceedings pending against them in the Bucks Stove and Range case. [See current volume, page 613.]

—Senator John P. Works of California spoke on the 24th before the Illinois section of the National League of Medical Freedom in opposition to the Owen bill for a Federal Department of Health, arguing that this measure would make an allopathic bureau of medical control. [See current volume, page 1196.]

—"The National Citizens League for the Promotion of a Sound Banking System," incorporated in Illinois on the 6th of June, 1911, has just issued a statement detailing the object and progress of the movement it represents. Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin of the University of Chicago is chairman of the executive committee.

—Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court of the United States denied the application on the 23d of the defendants in the Chicago beef trust case

for a stay of their trial before Judge Carpenter, but granted an order to the prosecution to show cause before the Supreme Court on the 4th why such a stay should not be granted by the court. [See current volume, page 1195.]

—Another brief in support of the Initiative and Referendum in the Oregon case, submitted under "friend of the court" practice, is by George H. Shibley (director of the American Bureau of Political Research and president of the People's Rule League of America), jointly with Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma and J. Harry Carnes as counsel for the State of Washington. [See current volume, page 1172.]

—Nine Governors of States left St. Paul on the 27th in a "Western Governors' special" train, to carry to the cities of the East a message of prosperity from the West. They are Governors Eberhart of Minnesota, Burke of North Dakota, Vessey of South Dakota, Norris of Montana, Hawley of Idaho, West of Oregon, Carey of Wyoming, Shafroth of Colorado, and Oddie of Nevada. Their route lies through Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo, Albany and Washington, and back by way of Philadelphia, New York, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis and Chicago to St. Paul. They are due in St. Paul on the 16th of December.

—A series of lectures on social, political, philosophical and religious questions is conducted in Brooklyn, New York, by the Civic Forum every Sunday evening, in the auditorium of the Kaplan School, 1731 Pitkin avenue. The programme for the month of December is as follows: Dec. 3, Mrs. Jessica Gardiner Finch, educator and suffragist, "The Woman and the Future." Dec. 10th, Franklin Pierce, ex-Assistant District Attorney, on "The Tariffs of Three Countries." Dec. 17, Norman Hapgood, editor-in-chief of Collier's Magazine, "The Relation of Politics to Happiness." Dec. 24th, Homer Davenport, the famous cartoonist of the New York "American," "The Power of the Cartoon," with illustrations. Dec. 31, Harry Waton, candidate for District Attorney at the last election, "The Old Testament and Judaism; the New Testament and Christianity."

—The several dissatisfied groups in Mexican politics have united in opposition to President Madero, according to a dispatch of the 22nd. The three especial leaders are General Bernardo Reyes, charged by the United States with conspiring in Texas against a friendly government; Dr. Vasquez Gomez, and the guerilla fighter, Emilio Zapata. The latter with 800 followers suffered a defeat at Santa Ana on the 24th. The State of Oaxaca formally seceded from the federated Republic on the 25th. The action was taken by the legislature and ratified by Governor Benito Juarez, Jr., and was reported to have resulted from the refusal of President Madero to permit the Federal troops to assist the Governor in suppressing the local insurrectionists. In spite of this explanation of motive, reports of the 26th tell of a Federal victory in Oaxaca over the rebel organization of that district under the leadership of Vasquez Gomez. [See current volume, page 1196.]

—"Lloyds," the immense organization for the collection and distribution of maritime intelligence published in "Lloyds List," is celebrating its centenary,

having been founded in November, 1811. "Lloyds is an association of underwriters in the City of London," explains the annual calendar of the corporation, which "does not as a corporation undertake insurance business. This is conducted solely by its members on their own account, and so long as they conform to the rules of the society they are free to follow their individual views. Lloyds is, in fact, a great market for insurance." Though the agencies were established 100 years ago, the institution itself goes back much farther. It began in the seventeenth century and the name is derived from a coffee house kept by Edward Lloyd in Tower street, where underwriters met to transact business. In 1692 Lloyd's coffee house was removed to Lombard street, and in 1774 Lloyd's left the coffee house to take up premises in the Royal Exchange, where it has since remained.

PRESS OPINIONS

Tom L. Johnson's Biography.

The (Chicago) Dial (literary), Nov. 1.—There is at least one man to whom "Tom Johnson's" story of his own life should come as a revelation—and that is the man who is already before the people with a book on the same subject, the most striking feature of which was the opinion that Johnson was not at heart sincere in the policies with which he so vigorously identified himself, but took them up as the most promising means of attaining to high political position. One may pick many a flaw in the career of Tom L. Johnson; but this volume, taken from his own dictation as his last legacy to the public, during the weeks when he was aware that disease was fast crowding him toward the brink of the grave, bears overwhelming testimony to his absolute sincerity—a quality which no one who really knew him had ever doubted.

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Progress of the Singletax.

The Christian Science Monitor (Boston), Nov. 2.—The spread of the Singletax idea in the Dominion of Canada is calculated to arrest at once the attention of the English-speaking world. The seeming limitation of interest involved in this statement may be justified by the fact that the writings and teachings of Henry George, though well known to educated people everywhere, are more generally familiar in the Anglo-Saxon than in other countries. It does not follow from this that the Singletax theory has few advocates in non-English-speaking nations; the contrary is true; but, relatively, the hope of practical demonstration of the doctrine lies for the present in its intelligent and thorough and honest trial by the younger communities of the British empire and the American republic.

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St. Joseph (Mo.) News-Press (ind.), November 20.—The national conference of Singletaxers to be held in Chicago the end of this week, is chiefly interesting because of the awakening in various parts of the country to the merits of the Singletax doctrine, which

was advanced by the late Henry George thirty years ago. In Oregon, advocates of the Singletax have taken advantage of a statute to urge adoption of Singletax methods in many of the counties. Here in Missouri Singletaxers have prepared and will submit through the Initiative a measure which provides for the gradual introduction of the Singletax. In Rhode Island a somewhat similar measure is under consideration, and in Ohio a Singletax campaign is being conducted under the leadership of Brand Whitlock, the eccentric Mayor of Toledo. The spread of this gospel is being considerably aided by Joseph Fels, a wealthy manufacturer of Philadelphia, who has taken the singular position that he has more wealth than he is entitled to and that he did not come by his holdings honestly—that is, not by personal dishonesty, but through the wrongfulness of laws that permit unfair advantages. Mr. Fels is giving liberally each year toward the Singletax propaganda and is also making a personal campaign in its behalf. Mr. Fels thinks there would be more employment and more self-sustaining people in the country if the surplus holdings of the wealthy land owner were taxed so high that he would either have to sell or make them productive. The number of people who subscribe to this doctrine is increasing with remarkable rapidity and the day is approaching when the Singletax idea is going to become a great issue.

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As Easy as Climbing a Greased Pole.

The Chicago Record-Herald (Rep.), Nov. 14.—Draw fairly twelve names from the jury wheel, give each side two or three challenges, impress upon the talesmen their duty to put aside superficial notions and carry out the intent of the organic law, eliminate buncombe, wrangling and irrelevance, and you have provided a method of filling the jury box in an hour or, under the most "sensational" circumstances, in a few hours.

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A House Divided Against Itself.

San Diego (Cal.) Sun (ind.), Oct. 11.—Value of New York real estate increased \$150,000,000 last year. Who made the increase? The new population that went there to live and labor. Who gets it? About five per cent of the inhabitants, who own the property. Who pays it? About 95 per cent of the inhabitants, who rent the property. Who pays the taxes on the increased valuation? The tenants, who are the "ultimate consumers." If the city gets bigger and bigger, the property more and more valuable, the rents and taxes higher and higher, the five per cent richer and richer, the 95 per cent poorer and poorer—what then? Well, it is to be hoped that the plain people will get wiser and wiser. It's that or "bust."

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An Old Fable in Modern Guise.

The Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Nov. 4.—No doubt it is one of the irritations of the publishing business to discover the season's success or any notable book coming off the other fellow's presses and to have a pained recollection of rejecting it in manuscript. No doubt it increases the irritation when the story

of the rejection finds its way into print later, with others, as illustrating the "Mistakes of Publishers." In an article of this nature it was related recently that Henry Holt had been offered Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" and had declined to handle it on the advice of a reader, who reported it to be "the wildest kind of agrarianism." After the work had been published Mr. Holt was heard to say, according to the article: "I wish some one had rubbed my nose in the office rug when I refused that book." To this Mr. Holt replies in a letter published in the New York Sun. He does not remember that the book ever was offered to his house, he says, and consequently does not remember that it was rejected. Necessarily, therefore, he does not recall wishing to have his nose rubbed in the rug. Mr. Holt is inclined to distrust the entire story. He gives his reason for this mistrust by saying: "I am very clear in my mind that neither then nor now would I publish it on any consideration."

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The Idle Acre.

Green's Fruit Grower (Rochester, N. Y.), October. —Have you an idle acre on your farm? If so, why not at once put it to some use—if for no other reason, that it may work no injury to yourself or to your neighbor? Every such acre, in a settled community, is an accuser, branding its owner—so says a contemporary—"as either thoughtless, wasteful or shiftless; possibly all three," says C. R. Barns, Minnesota University Farm. On any such acre, weeds may grow sufficient to "seed down" a township and to increase the labors of the whole farming population. The broad areas of uncultivated land, which form so large a percentage of thousands of Minnesota farms, are a standing indictment of our systems of land ownership and taxation, as unreasonable and unjust. No man should be entitled to hold more land than he can fully cultivate or make otherwise useful to the community; as, for instance, in the growing of timber trees or in the maintenance of a well-stocked fishpond. Idle land could be so heavily taxed that nobody could afford to keep it out of use—it must be "Cultivate or sell." But instead of observing this just rule, we punish with heavier taxation the farmer who improves and enriches his land, and let off, with only nominal taxation, the owner of idle acres.

† † †

It appears by the record of United States Military Statistics that out of the men examined for military duty during the Civil War, of journalists 740 in every 1,000 were found unfit; of preachers, 974; of physicians, 680; of lawyers, 544. Grave divines are horrified at the thought of admitting women to vote when they cannot fight, though not one in twenty of their own number is fit for military duty, if he volunteered. Of the editors who denounce woman suffrage, only about one in four could himself carry a musket; while of the lawyers who fill Congress, the majority could not be defenders of their country, but could only be defended. And even these statistics very imperfectly represent the case. They do not apply to the whole male sex, but actually to the picked portion only, the men of military age.—Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

LOUIS R. EHRICH.

Died in London on Oct. 23, 1911. Interred at Salem Fields, Cypress Hills Cemetery, Brooklyn, N. Y., on Nov. 16.*

A jubilant song for the Master
Whose blaze marks the paths we tread;
Sound not a note of disaster—
The Master can never be dead.

What though we mingle his ashes
With the soil of this hillside bleak;
The faith in man still flashes,
The love and the vision speak.

The hatred of all oppression—
Blind greed, small aims, foul strife—
Rise, from this dream of suppression,
In everlasting life.

ARTHUR L. MAYER.

* * *

EHRICH'S LAST MESSAGE.

Parts of the Address of the Late Louis R. Ehrich,
as President of the American Free Trade
League, Given at Boston, May 20, 1911.

The greatest blessings which we enjoy, as members of human society, have largely come to us as the bequest of men whose names are buried in oblivion. The noblest workers in the field of social service have cared nothing for recognition. Their reward has come from the joyous consciousness of helping to bring nearer a happier day for humanity. It was in this spirit that his work was done by the late President of our League—William Lloyd Garrison. Time may efface his memory from the minds of men. But we, of his generation, should keep his memory bright in the recognition of the devotion, the self-sacrifice, and the commanding ability which he brought to the cause for which we stand!

Protection throws the whole balance of production and consumption out of equilibrium. Under natural competitive conditions Capital must seek its reward by an ever-increasing production with coincident reduction in prices, thus creating an increasing demand for Labor, with a cheapening of what the laborer must buy. Under our present arbitrary interference with natural laws, Capital secures its disproportionate reward by restricting output with corresponding advance in prices. This means a decreased demand for labor with added burdens in the struggle for existence. It explains why, in this day of plenty and of miraculous invention, great armies of human beings are con-

*See *The Public* of November 3, page 1121; and *The Public* of November 10, page 1148.

demned to live on or below the margin of subsistence. It also explains why at this time, when there is not a cloud in our national sky, and when we have but just extracted a value of nine billions from our soil, we should have a hundred and eighty-six thousand freight cars lying idle, with business halting and stagnant throughout the country.

Protection is a war-breeder! Externally it means commercial war between Nation and Nation; internally it means industrial war between Capital and Labor. At this very epoch, when the improvements in transportation have brought the Nations into closer and closer relations, the business of the world is still based on the spirit of isolation and of injustice; and injustice is always a pent-up volcano.

A dim perception of these facts led to a political overturn in our elections of last November. The Democratic Party, now in control of the House of Representatives, has pledged itself to reduce the Tariff so as to make it mainly a means towards raising the necessary revenues of Government. Is such a fiscal policy acceptable? It is surely less objectionable than extreme Protection; but, on the score of logical consistency, it is even less defensible. That a man, who, by some process of tortuous reasoning, has convinced himself that it is wise to reduce the natural labor demand which flows from imports, who favors a policy which tends to burden men with work rather than to make easier the satisfaction of their wants, whose mind is intent upon the production of wealth without regard to its equitable distribution, that such a man should champion Protectionism is logically conceivable. But that a man who favors the international exchange of commodities, who believes that the incidence of Taxation should not fall on the poorer classes, whose motto is "Special privileges for none," and who advocates economy in Governmental expenditures, that a man of such convictions should defend a revenue-tariff is logically incomprehensible.

A revenue-tariff is only diluted Protection. It acts equally as an unnatural barrier between Nations, it is equally productive of Governmental extravagance (and if well-devised may become more so) and it reduces the scale but does not destroy the essence of special privilege. Some Democrats frankly admit this. Three years ago the Democratic State Convention in California again declared in its Platform: "The difference between Parties is one of the degree of protection to be afforded."

But the worst feature of a revenue-tariff is that it is only a temporary adjustment. It keeps the tariff question alive. It maintains intact all the administrative machinery for high protection; it keeps in hungry suspense the appetite of the classes who have fattened on Protection favors; and, no matter how well justified by the results, it will be

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constantly attacked and, with the first coming of accidental adverse conditions, is sure to be overthrown. Thus the same battle for Tariff-reduction will have to be fought over and over again. The Walker revenue-tariff of 1846 gave us the most prosperous years ever enjoyed by our Nation. Its effects had been so satisfactory that none of the National political platforms of 1856 contained any allusion to the tariff. The optimists of the period persuaded themselves that the Tariff Question had been permanently settled. Yet to-day, after an interval exceeding half a century, we find ourselves suffering from the most Protective Tariff ever enacted. The policy of Protection will never cease from poisoning our political and industrial life until the Tariff is completely abolished. Free Trade, absolute, unlimited Free Trade, is the only practical, the only satisfactory, the only permanent solution.

The removal of all interference with the natural laws of exchange would bring world-wide beneficial results. Above all it would increase the share of the wage-earner in the wealth which he helps to produce. We find many thoughtful men who have been converted to Free Trade with the highly civilized Nations, but who fear unrestricted exchange with Asiatic low-paid labor. They do not appreciate the demonstrated facts that the highest-priced labor is the cheapest labor as measured by the product; and that low-wage labor is always employed on the low-priced commodities which are the least profitable to manufacture. On this issue we can turn from theory to experience. For the last sixty years England has opened wide her ports to free exchange with all the nations, wholly irrespective of their wage-scale. The convincing result is that, despite her limited area, her congested population, her iniquitous land-system, and her prodigal waste of treasure in colonial adventures, England pays her laborers higher wages than those prevailing in any of the protected Nations (the United States alone excepted), and she has amassed wealth in such superlative degree as to make her the creditor Nation of the globe.

We hear much these days of "Conservation," of "Scientific management," of "the doctrine of efficiency." There can be no real efficiency in our industrial life, no scientific management or conservation of the resources of this planet, until these resources are virtually conveyed to the race as a whole by the simple expedient of removing all trade barriers, and by conferring on every man the privilege of making what he can most advantageously produce, and the right to exchange it in absolute freedom with the rest of mankind.

Free Trade would reduce poverty, and poverty's issue—crime. Free Trade would introduce more normal and more stable conditions in our business life, preventing the present oscillations between hot-house prosperity and trade stagnation. Al-

though Free Trade, with the reasonable tax laws which it would bring as a sequence, would make it impossible for any man to acquire hundreds of millions in the period of a single life, it would none the less yield ample reward to the captains of industry, with the added consciousness that their possessions were made far safer against the inroads of society, and that they had not been obtained by the legalized plunder of their fellow-men. Free Trade would tend more to introduce peace and good-will in the world than a hundred Hague conferences or a thousand Peace temples.

To all this men are apt to reply: "Free Trade is ideal, but it is not practical." My friends, the ideal is always the practical. It is the only practical. It is the ideal because it is the practical. Men shrink from the great forward movements through timidity, through the power of inertia, through a misnamed Conservatism. When in this very city men first contended that the only cure for slavery was its complete abolition, they were scoffed at as fanatical idealists; and yet our history and our experience abundantly prove that they alone were the practical men, and that they offered the only practical and permanent solution of the question.

We now collect about three hundred and forty millions from tariff taxes. Of this the forty millions which come from the "duties" on imported tobacco and alcoholics could be secured by Internal Revenue devices. How about the remaining three hundred millions? Let us premise by the general statement that we defy the wit of man to conceive any plan of raising national revenue which shall be as anti-social and as productive of evil as the present method of taxing the buying power represented by incoming merchandise. We might suggest that one way, and a very healthy way, in which to make a balance between income and expenses is to reduce expenses. It is well to remember that a New England Senator, after a very extended legislative experience, contended that improved methods of conducting our National administration would effect an annual saving of three hundred millions. But irrespective of this, it will be found that the expenses of State and Nation can be readily and abundantly met, without subtracting from the results of individual efforts, by the absorption of the wealth which Society as a whole produces through the increase and concentration of population.

+ + +

HOUSEKEEPING BY PARCELS POST

Editorial in *The Outlook* of September 9.

"We stood in a little antique shop in Hereford, and the Extravagant Lady, who had cultivated the bad habit of buying everything that struck her fancy, looked thoughtful as she picked up the change left from a five-pound note.

"Yes," she acceded, while the little dealer, as antique as his shop, expatiated over the bargain he had just let go, 'yes, I know they're a bargain—only what on earth am I to do with them while we go tripping around? I can't pack them in my trunk.'

"Post them," suggested the little man, nonchalantly.

"Post—*these!*" repeated the Lady.

"These' were a shovel, poker and tongs, accompanied by a lovely brass fender, all guaranteed to be seventeenth-century junk.

"Certainly. Post them to Liverpool. The steamship people will keep them till you sail.'

"Post them!" repeated the Lady. "That's preposterous! They've got to be expressed.'

"The little antique man stared in perplexity. 'What's expressed?'

"Why, expressed is—expressed. It's sending bundles by express—through an express office. Don't you understand?" The Extravagant Lady looked at him as if he ought to be expressed to an imbecile asylum.

"I'm sorry," he confessed humbly; 'it must be something American; I never heard of it before. We have nothing but the post in England!'

This was the startling experience of a trio of travelers in England, related by a writer in the "Good Housekeeping Magazine" for July. Having discovered that, while there was "nothing but the post in England," the post was a very accommodating and economical agency of transportation, the travelers began to take full advantage of it. They had had the usual experience of European travelers of finding their trunks grow heavier and heavier as the souvenirs and mementoes and special bargains of place after place had been added to them; but now they set about to make the post the scapegoat of their extravagances. "We bought twopence worth of strong brown paper, five yards of black calico to sew things in which would not wrap, a penny's worth of stout twine, then we went at lightening our trunks. The hotel clerk sent up a set of scales, and we did as fine calculation over our merchandise as if it had cost the cent an ounce it does here, instead of two cents a pound charged by liberal Britain. . . . Here are the contents of one bundle: Three wooden dolls, a lace robe, two pewter plates, one pewter teapot, a hair brush and mirror, a brass inkstand, three tartan photograph frames, six tablecloths, fourteen towels, a camera and two rubber hot bottles, all wrapped and stitched into a steamer rug which weighed four pounds. That was only one parcel—we sent a dozen through the Hereford post office: a Merry Widow hat in gigantic box, the postage on it was twopence; and all the helter-skelter pick-ups from London shopping—shoes, gloves, a set of furs, a winter suit, two raincoats, an old clock, brass, copper and pewter, bric-a-brac and baskets, a Sheffield tray,

ancient candle-sticks and a mahogany footstool." They soon found that they had posted to the steamship company, to be held until they were ready to sail, fifteen bundles of all sizes, on which they had spent only \$1.25 in postage. When they reached the home port with their purchases, says the writer, "the Custom-House men were heartless, but they did not approach the express company in that regard. The latter charged \$26.50 to transport from the dock to our home things which the generous British post office took off our hands for \$1.25." That is the sort of thing that the British parcels post will do for the prodigal traveler from across the water; for the native Briton it forms an almost indispensable accessory of his daily life. The famous short bread of Lhanbryde, the wonderful Harris tweeds spun by the crofters in the Western Highlands, the soft, fleecy goods of the Shetlanders, the haddies of the fisher-folk of Finnan and the jams and jellies of tiny out-of-the-way villages are all marketed throughout the United Kingdom by post. "Everywhere," says the writer, "the British parcels post brings a market to the door of any British subject in the most out-of-the-world spot, if he has anything worth selling and knows how to sell it." "Where we went visiting," she continues, "our hostess wished to rent a vacuum cleaner for a few days. It came from London, with twenty cents of postage on it, and the rent began from the moment a postman handed it in at the door. I saw crated dogs, cats and pigeons in the post office, cans of milk, pots and pans, perambulators, guns, carpets, memorial wreaths, rubber boots, bundles of sheep wool, fiddles, hams, blankets and whiskey. If you could buy an eleven-pound gravestone, I fancy that would go through the mail, for eleven pounds is the stopping point." The poor Briton living in blissful ignorance of the wonderful inventions of the new world—like the express company—has "only the post." But perhaps if we had a post like his, and enjoyed such service as has just been described, we might be almost willing to see the express companies go out of business, unless they could—and would—go and do likewise.

BOOKS

"THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WORLD."

World Organization, As Affected by the Nature of the Modern State. By David Jayne Hill. New York: The Columbia University Press. 1911. Price \$1.50.

A greater public service than experts in international law yet realize, probably greater than Columbia University appreciates, was that of this

University when, on the Carpentier Foundation, it provided for the delivery and publication of the eight lectures comprising this volume. They have the qualities of an elemental book.

When the expertential mists that usually envelop a new social order in its beginnings shall have passed away, this book may not improbably be placed on the same level and in direct line of succession with the earlier elemental books on international law that are now called classic. There is nothing new in it, which is a point in its favor in that respect. What was there new in Vattel? There is nothing pretentious about it, and that also is in its favor. It raises the banner of Right at a time when the experts are still swinging censers at the altars of Might, which testifies for it. The experts view it indifferently or contemptuously, which is in itself a tribute to its greatness. And, considered simply upon its own merits, it is a book which, welding the best thoughts on world organization into one great thought, endows that thought with the power and clothes it in the beauty of simple and lucid literary expression. Of his work for his own period, it may be said distinctively, as Mr. Hill says distinctively of Vattel's work for Vattel's period, that it combines "a clear grasp of controlling principles and an ample practical knowledge of the facts, methods and conditions of actual statesmanship as pursued at the time."

Students of international law, whether already fairly familiar with its character and history or not, will doubtless read Mr. Hill's book from beginning to end in the order in which the lectures or chapters are arranged; but partisans for peace, also those for war, may find it better to read the seventh first, so as to get the author's view on warfare, and then to read the lectures consecutively. Although the fact of future warfare is acknowledged as probable, and the possible justice of war is not wholly discarded, the right to make war is treated as "a limited right," which "does not exist unless it is necessary to employ force in order to obtain the recognition of a right denied or to redress a wrong inflicted." The object of the book throughout is to bring the light of reason to bear upon the law of right between sovereign powers, with a view to world organization on the basis of justice and regardless of mere might.

Proceeding from the common sense hypothesis that "rights and duties are only opposite sides of the same relation," the author finds that therefore there is moral law wherever there is society, and that the state is self-justified by its progressive translations of moral law into jural forms. Progressively the state has thus become "the embodiment and protagonist of jural law as the security for human rights"—"the jural expression of Man the species as distinguished from man the individual"; and by contemplation of the

nature of the state there is created within us "a conviction that, through its agency, there may be found a solution to the problem of world organization." That the idea of force is involved in this solution is evident, and Mr. Hill makes no concealment of that fact nor of its dangers. But he traces the real peril beyond mere force to the pretensions of the state, as it has existed, that it may employ force justly or unjustly at discretion.

This opens up the old controversy over the nature of states, as to whether they are in their nature unlimited and irresponsible or based on inherent rights. Mr. Hill takes the latter ground, against Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes and Austin, and with Althusius, Suarez, Grotius, Pufendorf, Locke, Vattel and Bentham. It is this moral attitude, and his superb championship at a period of world-change in that direction, which may easily rank Mr. Hill in the line of leadership to which Grotius and Vattel lent distinction. If, as Hill writes, "Grotius entered upon the endless road of human progress and set the thought of his race upon an ever ascending highway," Hill himself has landmarked that highway with a further record of ascent.

In principle and tone democratic, this book affords a highly probable explanation, inferentially, of why Mr. Hill's presence at Berlin as American ambassador was unwelcome. Tested by his book, it would be difficult to find in any diplomatic service a better representative of American ideals in spirit and ability than David Jayne Hill.

* * *

SENATOR CULLOM'S POLITICAL CAREER.

Fifty Years of Public Service. Personal Recollections of Shelby M. Cullom, Senior United States Senator from Illinois. With portraits. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1911. Price \$3 net.

Near the conclusion of his fifth term as United States Senator and on the threshold of a contest for the sixth, Senator Cullom of Illinois would have much of general interest to tell even if his memory as a public official did not extend back into the period of Lincoln and Douglas. He was city attorney of Springfield in 1855, member of Congress in 1865, Governor of Illinois in 1877, and has been United States Senator since 1883. But his recollections of this long period of stirring events and profound controversies are those of a politician rather than a statesman. For their personalities they are of passing interest and perhaps that is all that was intended. At any rate they add little to accumulated political knowledge and nothing to political wisdom—except as inferences may be drawn from the author's delightful candor.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The House of Iron Men. By Jack Steele. Published by Desmond Fitzgerald, New York. 1911. Price, \$1.20 net.

—Searchlights on Some American Industries. By James Cooke Mills. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1911.

—Social Value. By B. M. Anderson, Jr. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—The Flower Shop. A Play in Three Acts. By Marion Craig-Wentworth. Published by Richard G. Badger, Boston. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—My Story. By Tom L. Johnson. Edited by Elizabeth J. Hauser. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1911. Price, \$2.00 net; postage, 20 cents.

—The Woman Movement in America. A Short Account of the Struggle for Equal Rights. By Belle Squire. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1911.

—An Open Letter to Society. From Convict 1776. With an Introduction by Maud Ballington Booth. Published by Fleming H. Revell Co., Chicago, 1911. Price, 75 cents net.

—Building, Loan and Savings Associations. How to Organize and Successfully Conduct Them. By Henry S. Rosenthal. Published by American Building Association News Co., Cincinnati. Third Edition. 1911.

—Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Volume V, 1838-1841; Volume VI, 1841-1844. Edited by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York. 1911. Price, each \$1.75 net.

PERIODICALS

The Single Tax Review.

In its September-October number, The Single Tax Review (150 Nassau St., New York City) supplements the interesting features of the preceding number with voluminous information of similar kind. Mr. Luther S. Dickey, who wrote of Vancouver pioneering in the Singletax at work, writes now of the Hudson's Bay Company and of "The Farmers' Movement of Canada," the latter being one of the great manifestations of practical progress in the Singletax direction. A former mayor of Edmonton, Wm. Short, tells how that thriving Canadian city grew toward the Singletax, to which Mr. Dickey adds an illustrated description of Edmonton in the character of

LIFE AND LABOR

publishes in the CHRISTMAS NUMBER an article on 33 of the leading woman suffragists of this country, by Mary Gray Peck, recent Headquarters' Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The writer's point of view is the result of observation and experience, and since it differs from the popular estimate should be of special interest.

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"the freest city in America." An attractive as well as instructive lesson in American economic development is furnished in reminiscences regarding "The American Farmer," by Millard F. Bingham, head of the printers' rollers manufactory of which his father was the founder. The personal portraits, both by camera and by pen, of active spirits in the democratic movement in Canada are further contributions to the attractiveness and usefulness of a magazine that is keeping step with the forward movement of the cause it has undertaken especially to represent.

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Moody's Magazine.

Moody's (New York) for November offers a symposium of exceptional value on "The Proposed National Reserve Association." The contributors are A. Piatt Andrew on "Co-operation in American Banking," Maurice L. Muhleman on "The Burden of Unequal Credit Facilities," Prof. O. M. W. Sprague on "The Clearing Function of the National Reserve Association," W. Martin Swift on "Merits of Our Present Banking System," Arthur Reynolds on "Commercial Credits in the Middle West," Irving T. Bush on "Banking Reform for Business Men," and William C. Cornwell on "New Currency Primer—How the Money Power is Kept Out of the National Reserve Association" (illustrated by charts). Two of the contributors are officials of the treasury, one is an associate editor of Moody's, one is a professor of political economy at Harvard, two are prominent bankers, and one is an official of the National Citizens' League.

+ + +

"What is a soldier of fortune, pa?"

"A soldier of fortune, son, is a vagabond who fights for anybody who asks him, and then, puts up an awful scream for help from his own country when he gets into trouble."—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

+ + +

Laborer: "And have they tall buildings in America, Pat?"

Pat: "Tall buildings hav' they—faith, Mike, the last one I worked on we had to lay on our stomachs to let the moon pass."—Life.

+ + +

"Even the Standard Oil Company has found out that there's a hereafter."

"Think so? You'll find out in due time that its hereafter is about the same as its heretofore."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

The Rev. Lyman Powell of Northampton has a bright little son who is very much frightened in thunderstorms. One day a heavy shower came up

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when the little fellow had wandered away from the house. His father, who was watching for him, saw him come running toward home as the first drops fell. He looked terrified, and his lips were moving.

"What are you saying?" asked his father.

"I was reminding God that I am a minister's son!"
—Cosmopolitan.

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READ THE NEW OFFER—Quarter acre cottage sites or town lots at "The Summer Rendezvous For Reformers" at Crystola, Colorado, not to be paid for until after the 200% increase or "unearned increment" has accrued to the value of the property purchased.—SEE FULL PAGE ADVERTISEMENT IN THE PUBLIC OF NOV. 3rd AND NOV. 10th.

A banker from Springfield, Mass., also reformer and reader of The Public, after seeing our "Crystola" advertisement in that paper came to Providence, and, in a conversation with me, not only expressed his great interest in the objects and success of our enterprise but contributed some practical business wisdom.

"You are offering 'unearned increment' for sale," he said. "You are offering \$300.00 worth for \$100.00 This would be 200 per cent profit on the investment. This offer is exceedingly attractive. But I would suggest an improvement by which you can make it entirely convincing. As it now stands it contains an element of risk or speculation to be assumed by the investor. I desire to be one of your investors and to co-operate in making the enterprise a great success because its objects are noble, it is based on good business, and the noted men identified with it inspire confidence."

The element of risk or speculation to which he referred I was of course acquainted with. Some of the 200% profit is not now in existence but is yet to be created by our attracting people to this locality. "It is evident," said he, "that if your company succeeds in selling a hundred or so of cottage sites and town lots, in such an ideal location as you have, the values will increase and the unearned increment created according to your expectations, and every investor will make his 200%. But suppose you fail to sell the necessary number of cottage sites and town lots? In that case the values will increase but little or slowly." Then he remarked, "Why can you not sell the cottage sites and town lots on terms such as to give to the investor, from the start, his 200% profit on the amount of cash advanced by him?" He suggested that this could be done by the company's showing its willingness to accept, as a first payment, an amount representing less than the present cash value of the land, and to accept the further payments at times when certain stated numbers of cottage sites and town lots have been sold.

This hard headed and successful business man's suggestion has led the company to make a new offer whereby the elements of risk or speculation are minimized.

THE NEW OFFER.

The Crystola Co-operative Association is to select its very choicest and most valuable locations for cottage sites from the large area of land described in its descriptive pamphlets and lay them out into quarter acre tracts. These, and the town

lots which are already surveyed, are now offered for sale upon the following terms and conditions:

First payment	\$10.00 down.	
Second payment	15.00	when 25 of said cottage sites and town lots have been sold.
Third payment	25.00	when 75 of said cottage sites and town lots have been sold.
Fourth payment	25.00	when 125 of said cottage sites and town lots have been sold.
Fifth payment	25.00	when 150 of said cottage sites and town lots have been sold.

Total.....\$100.00

It is expressly understood as a part of this offer that any of the deferred payments which should not fall due one year from the date of the first payment will be forfeited by the company in favor of the purchaser, and a Warrantee Deed will be issued to the investor without further payments by him. This means, for illustration, that if the number of cottage sites and town lots sold by the time referred to should be less than twenty-five, the purchaser gets his deed notwithstanding that he has paid but \$10.00. If, however, the number sold should be more than twenty-five but less than seventy-five, the second payment of \$15.00 would have fallen due and the investor would receive his deed on a total investment of \$25.00.

By this arrangement it is seen that the investor does not make any deferred payments until after the 200 per cent profit or "unearned increment" has actually accrued to his property.

This schedule is likely to be changed or withdrawn at any time. Therefore, to make sure of securing a quarter acre cottage site or town lot on the terms here offered one should send his first payment of \$10.00 at once.

It is furthermore understood that, inasmuch as very few investors will find it convenient to go to Crystola before next summer, the company agrees to make the selections for its investors without partiality, giving any preference in values to the first investors in the order in which they come. The investor will furthermore have the right to exchange the locations selected for him by the company for any other one of the quarter acre cottage sites or town lots remaining unsold at the time of his visiting Crystola within a year.

Make check payable to The Crystola Co-operative Association and mail to me to my address below.

HIRAM VROOMAN, President, P. O. Box 1041, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

P. S.—Send your name and address to me on a postal and one of the company's descriptive pamphlets will be mailed to you.