

# The Public

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

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## EDITORIAL

### A Favorite Performer in a Familiar Part.

Opie Dilldock of Oyster Bay is about to mount his steed again. So they say. Hurray! Hip, hip, huray!

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### A Chance to "Play Politics."

Talking about "playing politics," why don't the Republicans in Congress "play a return match" with the Democrats? Sulzer's Russian resolution would offer a fine opportunity if the Republicans were "nervy" enough to answer the play in kind, which they probably are not. With a preamble modeled upon the splendid democracy of the Sulzer resolution abrogating a treaty for exclusion of American Jews from abroad, what a mighty demonstration could be made against the disfranchisement of American Negroes at home. A bill beginning with a reassertion in the terms of the Sulzer preamble, adopted 300 to 1, that "the rights of American citizens shall not be impaired *at home* or abroad because of *race* or religion," might make lively reading matter for the Congressional Record if it were framed to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment.

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### The McNamara Case.

While waiting to get a true angle on the McNamara case, its mysteries and its significance, instead of "lobbing at hand-me-down" conclusions as so many newspaper writers are doing—

from Roosevelt in *The Outlook* to those lazy editorial writers, especially in the South, who work over for their own papers editorials from New York papers—we should like to know if some classes do get indulgences for crime. Whom do we mean? Well, at this moment we especially mean bankers, and our allusion is to the following statement which we quote from the *Chicago Tribune* of December 14, 1911, page 6, first column, first paragraph:

George M. Reynolds, president of the Continental and Commercial National bank, told the national business congress last night in an after dinner speech that bankers have to violate the law in times of stress.

Is that confession true? If it is true, why are not bankers punished? Do they escape because they violate the law only "in times of stress"? But every other criminal who confesses would make that plea. The McNamaras make it. What, then, is the difference between the McNamaras on one side, and the president of this great bank and his banker brethren on the other? Is it that the criminal McNamaras kill people by their kind of crime, whereas criminal bankers protect people by theirs? There may be such a difference, to be sure, but isn't it a dangerous difference to base any other appeal upon than an appeal for mercy and lighter punishment? Any community which allows some classes to "violate the law" for the public good, must expect to suffer from violations of the law from baser motives. And who shall decide what is for the public good—law makers or law breakers? While you are thinking over the McNamara case with its sinister significance—and sinister indeed it is—would it not be well to consider whether it is true that our laws punish McNamaras but exempt Reynoldses. If it be true, then is it not high time for a housecleaning, and not in trade unions alone as dilettante moralists urge but throughout society?

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### The Assault Upon Lloyd George.

It may be that the cable reports which attribute last week's assault upon Lloyd George to the violence wing of British woman suffragists, are in that respect untrue; but the act itself, the hurling of a box into his face with evident intent to do him physical injury, is so manifestly in line with the tory policy of that group as to make their responsibility for it fairly probable.

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Whether this inference against them and their leaders be valid or not, there is no obvious escape from the conclusion that the assault could not

have been inspired by any democratic purpose. When attacked, Lloyd George was coming away from a Liberal meeting at which he had been speaking for woman suffrage. His speech was made in a campaign for equal suffrage for adults regardless of sex, which he is leading and which has every reasonable prospect of immediate success if the House of Lords do not use their limited veto—of success during the life of the present Parliament if they do. Tories are opposed to that policy, for tories stand for the classes and against the masses always. Those that oppose woman suffrage, want property suffrage for men alone; those that favor woman suffrage, want property suffrage for men and women alike; and both are opposed to adult suffrage. The special ire of both kinds of tory is excited against Lloyd George at this juncture because he is campaigning for adult suffrage on a democratic basis and is likely to succeed.

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Lloyd George demands the abolition of "plural" voting, and in this the whole Ministry are with him, while the tories of both sexes are against him. He demands manhood suffrage, and in this also the whole Ministry are with him, while the tories of both sexes are against him. He at the same time and through the same Parliamentary bill demands woman suffrage along with manhood suffrage. On this the Ministry is divided, but the tories of both sexes are a unit against him. The difference between the two is that the Ministry have agreed to acquiesce if he gets the support of a majority of the House of Commons (which he has undertaken to do and doubtless will succeed in doing if violence by woman suffragists doesn't have the effect of driving away his weaker supporters), whereas the tories of both sexes are determined to thwart him if they can, to the end that the highly prized privilege of government by property instead of people may continue. This is the otherwise inexplicable meaning of the revival of systematic violence by a certain group of woman suffragists in Great Britain. It is the meaning, too, of the assault upon Lloyd George last week at the close of his London speech for adult suffrage regardless of sex.

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### Death of John R. Waters and Herman V. Hetzel.

These are names that have been known in the American Singletax movement since long before it took that name—Mr. Waters especially in New York and Mr. Hetzel especially in Philadelphia. For ten years they were associated in the business of fire insurance through individual and recipro-

cal underwriting, a method of mutual insurance of which Mr. Waters was the pioneer and leader in this country. Both were well known in that connection from coast to coast. Mr. Waters died on the 7th of December and Mr. Hetzel on the 14th. Their contributions to the cause in which both were deeply interested for thirty years, differed as the men did. Of reserved disposition and executive in habits, Mr. Waters helped largely by personal and business intercourse and through the distribution of literature, one of his contributions having been an extensive distribution of "Progress and Poverty" over a wide field of his own selection. But Mr. Hetzel, a personal "mixer" and a public speaker, will be remembered better by the spoken word with which he sowed seed broadcast. As a "stump speaker" he had few equals. His power to draw crowds by the charm of his speech, and as they grew to hold them by the spell of his thought, was phenomenal. Although he came to be less aggressive in this method of propaganda as the years went by, none of its value was lost; for he was always ready to answer a call for service on the "stump," and between calls he lost no reasonable opportunity to show others in personal discourse the star that he himself had seen. This was true also of Mr. Waters, in his own quite different way. Both were reckoned by Henry George among his personal friends.

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### Jurors and Judges.

When we applauded a woman-jury in California for refusing to obey the judge who had ordered them to acquit a prisoner they believed to be guilty,\* we had no expectation that a man-jury would so soon vindicate the function of juries against similar judicial usurpation. But that this has been done, and how, may be seen in the News Narrative of the present number of *The Public*. A judge had commanded a jury in St. Louis to find a verdict for the defendant in a civil case, but the jury defied him by finding a verdict for the plaintiff.

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As this judge explains, the law does not give judges authority to order non-suits in the kind of case on trial before him and that jury. The very fact that the law gives no authority to order a non-suit is highly suggestive of the intention of the law to leave the decision to juries, a purpose which this judge seems to have intended to evade by his order to the jury. Think of that! Twelve men are impaneled to decide a lawsuit, and their decision must be unanimous; but if the judge, one

man, doesn't agree with them, and the law doesn't allow him to take the case away from them, he may compel them to find a verdict to suit him! Could anything ostensibly reasonable be more preposterous?

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What else is needed to disclose the tendency of judges to do what Thomas Jefferson said they always do—draw power little by little away from the law unto themselves. That trained lawyers honestly approve this tendency, and that some of them argue as to the very case we are writing about that the judge could have punished the disobedient jury for contempt of court, confirm Jefferson's judgment. So of those who argue that it was the duty of the jury to obey the judge whether he could compel them or not. It all goes to show how judicial usurpations work their way surreptitiously into the warp and woof of the law—as the law is taught in the schools and at the bar. Of course we are not insisting that a jury's verdict must be absolutely binding under all circumstances. The law may very well give to judges, since it must place it somewhere, the power to non-suit for total lack of legal proof. It may very well allow judges to set aside verdicts where there is evidence of a jury's corruption or prejudice, or where either may be reasonably inferred from a verdict flat in the face of the proof. But that judges should arrogate to themselves, by judge-made law, the authority to command a jury to bring in a verdict to suit him and not them, is irrational and despotism.

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The jury in that St. Louis case, by refusing to find the verdict the judge ordered, and by returning one on their own conscience and according to their own judgment, have performed a badly needed and most useful service. It remains now for some equally sensible and brave jury or juror to resent in open court the next instance of a common practice—some judge's insolence in rebuking a jury in open court for finding a verdict their way instead of his. Jurors in a panel are as truly officers of the court as is a judge on the bench; their function of finding verdicts is as high as his in interpreting law; and a rebuke in open court by him to them for finding a verdict he disagrees with is as truly of the nature of contempt of court as if they could punish it. If the judge who is guilty of it won't punish himself, as a judge with any sense of humor who had blundered into excoriating a jury for its verdict would do, the jury ought to go at least as far as to protest in the name of American citizenship and the law of the land. A judge may indeed denounce a jury

\*The Public of December 1, 1911, page 1211.

when he gets into his private room. That would be only a variation of every defeated lawyer's right to go "into the tavern woodshed and cuss the court." But what we are contending for is the right of every jury which returns its own verdict on the oath and conscience of its own members, to be free from any insolence from the judicial bench for having done so. If the jury system is bad or worn out, let's get rid of it by law, and not by judicial usurpation.

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### Poverty's Causes.

"Intemperance and immorality are no longer the chief causes of poverty in New York City." So runs an Associated Press dispatch of the 9th in transmitting its account of a report of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Intemperance and immorality never were the chief causes of poverty, in New York or anywhere else. If intemperance and immorality were the chief causes of poverty the greatest poverty would be among the rich. Is that a paradox? Then make the most of it. Heretofore as well as now it has been true, as the above named society reports for the current year, that "poverty due to industrial conditions is far in excess of that produced by vices." Nor are these conditions accidental or unavoidable. Poverty among the industrial poor is caused by the wealth of the idle rich. Every dollar that goes to anyone who doesn't earn it, is extorted somehow from others who do earn it.

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### Doctrinaires and Dunces.

When one person derisively calls another a doctrinaire, it is "better than an even bet" that the former does not understand the latter's doctrine and is too lazy to try to.

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### Specialization and Generalization.

Intense specialization was a normal reaction from too much *a priori* generalization, and a good thing it was. But indolence, which is to human tendencies what inertia is to those that are purely physical, has made the fad for specialization as much an obstacle to progress as lazy generalization ever was. The effect is often shown in a species of contempt for generalization, a contempt which takes no account of whether the generalizer is generalizing with a wish-bone or on the basis of facts. Such critics are not only not generalizers, they are not even specialists; for specialization is useless except for purposes of generalization. The mere specialist belongs in the infant class,

where a horse is not classified as a quadruped but is considered as an animal with one leg at each corner, and a centipede would be regarded as altogether too complex for leg-classification.

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## A CHRISTMAS STOCKING FOR "U. S."

In building the Panama Canal *we* are learning to do things for ourselves instead of turning the job over to syndicates and higher-up financiers, and paying them millions to do what *we* can do better—plus other millions of interest and dividends on the values *we* create.

We are learning to co-operate for the Common Good and for our common wealth in our Panama Canal task. We are doing that job far better than any "private enterprise" could do it, and that is natural; for public enterprise can do a public work better than private enterprise can, because the latter is interested chiefly in private profit, while public enterprise is concerned with public service.

Our public servants down at Panama are engaged in and are carrying to completion the greatest engineering work of modern times, the greatest of all ages. They are digging that public canal without "contractors," thus giving flat and conclusive denial to the myth that men must have the incentive of private profit to do good work; they have taken the straw out of the bogie that warns us against trying to do anything unless we get the consent of money-lending Oliver Twists who continually demand "more."

Just think of it—the spirit of Common Good has taken hold upon the laborers at Panama, and two gangs of common laborers, or Common-Good laborers, working on different dams, are engaged in a great Marathon race to see which crew shall have the honor of completing its work more quickly, more efficiently and at lower cost. One of the gangs has the advantage by one-eighth of a cent per cubic yard of concrete laid, and the other is striving to reduce that lead. Ever see two street paving contractors engaged in such a race for the Common Good?

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Panama was once "a place where white men can't live," but our sanitary corps in our little army of the Common Good down there has put the morbidity rate and the mortality rate below that of any city in the United States. We have learned why it was once true that white men couldn't live at Panama, and now we are begin-

ning to apply to our States and cities the knowledge gained in preventing disease at Panama. The village in Kansas will be more sanitary for that knowledge.

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In some other matters we have "butted into" the temple of holy private enterprise by our Panama experiment—for it is an experiment, based on scientific calculations.

We have learned that *we* can run for ourselves a line of steamers; *we* are running a line between New York and Colon, making the run one day quicker than private enterprise is running its steamers, and last year our profit on *our* line was \$150,000. Yet—is this too "radical"?—wouldn't it be even more profitable to *us* if we ran the line at cost? And still more profitable if we ran it free, as "business men" run elevators in their office buildings, and *pay the cost out of our land values?*

Then, on the Isthmus are two little railroads, owned by "us." On the cars and locomotives is the legend "U. S.," and that spells *us*. Our railroads down there show gross earnings of a little more than \$6,000,000; and since passenger and freight cars that travel up and down in high buildings are run free of direct charges, the service being paid for in rentals, can't we do the same with our back-and-forth passenger and freight cars, and pay expenses of service out of our increased land values? Is a system that is conservative enough for conservative business men too "radical" for *us*?

We are doing still more down there at Panama.

The great and good government of the United States has actually burglarized the Socialist platform—*we* are the burglars, mind you—and is conducting at Panama and along the route of the canal, publicly owned, Common-Good hotels, laundries, machine shops, bakeries, boarding houses, stores, et-cet-e-ra! Lost our minds, haven't we? And the Supreme Court hasn't issued a single injunction against us, so what we are doing at Panama must be judicially reasonable, even if it be commercially wild-eyed.

And again, worse and more of it.

Those of *us* who are doing *our* work at Panama get the best food for themselves and their families at anti-race-suicide prices. At our experiment station down there we are showing that we can do our Common-Good housekeeping honestly and efficiently without skinning ourselves, or permitting some of *us* to skin the rest of *us* with the knife of "public enterprise for private profit."

It's quite a jump from Panama to Alaska, and there's some difference between digging a canal and digging coal. But we can make Alaska an experiment station, and "difference" is a big factor in scientific experimentation.

We have vast coal fields in Alaska; great coal fields owned by *us*. We are actually running a coal mine owned by *us*, and private enterprise has shown *us* how not to mine coal as well as how to mine it.

Any reason why we can't dig our own coal in Alaska, out of our own coal deposits? Any reason why we can't build and operate our own railroads in Alaska, running them into *our* coal fields and bringing *our* coal in *our* cars over *our* tracks to *our* shipping ports, there to be loaded into *our* ships, brought to *our* public docks on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, and sell it to ourselves out of *our* coal bunkers?

Long ago Brutus said, "I pause for a reply." Well, that's what I'm doing.

This coming winter, and the next and the next, we shall need coal at reasonable prices more than we need the Panama Canal. We don't need a canal to furnish heat; we can't cook breakfast with a canal; and possibly that's the reason the Guggenmorgans permitted us to build our own canal.

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Then, we have a few water-power sites left unmorganheimed, and they mean heat, power and light. Can't we do something for ourselves with our water powers?

Crazy? Of course we are.

But having made a good beginning, and since we are getting a reputation for craziness, let's make a good job of it.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### ELEMENTARY POLITICS IN FRANCE.

Paris.

France is an old nation; her literature has lived for eight centuries; her past, glorious as it may be, weighs her down. She has borne so long the monarchical yoke, that it may seem still an open question to know whether purely democratic institutions may now suit her. Experience has yet to give its verdict. But so far, after many changes in governmental sign-posts and labels, France has known nothing but the worst features of autocratic and really irresponsible government. The present day regime is no exception to the rule.

France is nominally a republic; but that republic is, in fact, nothing else but an autocracy of vested interests. Parliament is filled with defenders of

Privilege and hirelings of Monopoly. The nation at large has been embruted by a deeply calculated system of materialistic education; immorality of every kind has been, on purpose, cultivated as a fine art; the entire press is sold or to be sold; and every care is taken in order that no news as to the real progress of other nations may filter through the density of official teaching.

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Meanwhile, taxes grow incessantly, the needs of the state apparently going up with the financial difficulties; the process not being carried on without much rhetorical talk in the Chambers.

Practically everything is taxed, mainly the necessities of life. Salt is taxed up to 50 per cent of its value. Besides the customs at the boundaries, there are octrois at the entrance of every town. State monopolies (matches, tobacco, among other things), sell infamous goods at fancy prices. A fine is put upon attempts at hygienic improvements, in the shape of a tax on doors and windows. Another fine is placed upon attempts at enjoyment, in the shape of a tax of 10 per cent, topping the value of theater tickets. The antiquated poll-tax has not aged in France; it is still in the prime of vigor, and claims but 9 francs from every citizen per year. It must be added in fairness that this poll-tax is not levied with due respect to the praiseworthy principle of "Egalité."

The working population of Paris is not called upon to pay the poll-tax; it is surmised that there would be difficulties concerning that payment. But the peasants, even the poorest, being of an easy-going temper, have to submit. As a matter of fact, there is no equality in France so far as taxation is concerned. The customs tariffs recognize "zones." Besides, some parts of the country are favored at the expense of others: the Departments of the north are paying at least one-half of the share of those of the south, in excess of their own burden. To this, the island of Corsica proves an exception; she is overloaded with tariffs to such an extent that she has to send her products to France through Italy, in order to obtain better terms. The unfortunate island is threatening revolt.

Protectionism produces its baneful effects; unemployment is rife. The public debt increases; all told, it goes up to 50 milliards of francs; of course, the sinking fund has been sunk. The cost of living is rising, the population decreases, and poverty and corruption, under all their forms, gnaw at the heart of the nation. Everywhere there is decay, material and moral. It is utterly impossible for France to exist in 10 years from now, if she does not mend her ways.

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And this would mean practically an upheaval. The French, up to the neck in the slough of political imbecility, have not, as a rule, the slightest idea of a life different to theirs. They know that they suffer; but they do not even suppose that means have ever been discovered of allaying those sufferings.

As a matter of fact, the French, who boast of their having freed the world, do not suspect what sort of thing freedom may be; they understand it neither for their neighbors nor for themselves. Every man is begging for special rights, every class

clamoring for privileges. The dream of the average French citizen is to become a state official in order to make a show of authority, and to tie a ribbon at his button-hole in order to make a show of superiority.

As for women, they have no rights whatever. Girls without a dowry are practically debarred from marriage. Thrift, practiced as it is in the teeth of dire penury, has become a national calamity; enterprise at home finds no encouragement and no capital.

Law in its worst forms maps out beforehand the life of every Frenchman, and even at the point of death the unfortunate Gaul is not released from its grasp, for the code gives him strict orders about his will, and forbids him to dispose freely of his own.

It can be said that the average Frenchman has lost the sense of public and even of individual life. Protracted and made-up agitation about Anticlericalism has rendered him impervious to anything with a practical meaning. He has been artfully led to believe that "priest-eating" will, in some unexplained way, fill his hungry stomach; and, wonderful to relate, although starving he still believes it. His faith is unabated, too, in the "laïque" schools; establishments from which every reference to religion is carefully banished and which, nevertheless, turn out every year an ever-growing number of vicious and ignorant children.

French colonies are extensive, and many of them of great value. Still they cost much to the metropole, and give nothing in return—except to a gang of well-known speculators. It is that gang which has been sending France to the sly conquest of Morocco.

The governing bodies, wholly innocent of the most elementary knowledge in political and social economy, and deep in the pay of vested interests, have no remedies to offer, save worn-out shams, spurious panaceas which have been tried elsewhere long ago and found wanting.

For instance, discussions have dragged on for years, and are still dragging on now, in the political world, about the application to France of the income tax—which, as has been well said, makes but liars and thieves of people; and that Income Tax is considered, among French shining lights, as a great and striking novelty.

Practically the whole of taxation is indirect; which leads to sophistication on the one hand, and to official squandering of public money on the other. So-called social laws, continually enacted under the pretense of helping the poor—and which have no other effect than to augment the frightful number of Jacks-in-office—add to the financial entanglement.

To sum up, France suffers from Protectionism and from Indirect taxation because she suffers from Indirect government.

Centralization has been carried to its extreme length. Local government exists nowhere, even the smallest municipalities living under the club of the representative of the Central Power. The legislature is elected—in the most trumped-up fashion—every four years, and, with the exception of the fortnight during which the elections take place, the electorate is unable to utter a word; it has no control whatever upon the acts of its representatives. There is not even the shadow of Initiative and Referendum. Notice, it is the legislature which nominates the

Executive power—making thereby, of the President of the Republic, its most grateful and obedient tool; and it is also the legislature which designates the Ministers, the holders of any great office in the state. The legislature being held in golden bondage by Monopoly and Privilege, the consequences can easily be drawn.

Furthermore, the fact must not be overlooked that France is over-ridden by secret societies, the goal of which, although not very clear, is certainly to uphold the conditions, social and political, now obtaining; and which count among their members the very great majority of the official people. These secret societies, of which Free-Masonry is the foremost, have the upper hand everywhere; they form a kind of tie between the many vested interests, and they are up in arms against any new idea concerning political economy being brought to the notice of the French people. They permeate the whole Press. They have established a permanent and ubiquitous system of spying, and they stick at nothing in order to keep unbroken the ignoble spell which they have thrown over France.

Individual activity is admitted nowhere in public life. For instance, Paris, with its 3,000,000 inhabitants, is ruled by the unchecked will of the representative of the state—the "Prefet de la Seine." This high official is the absolute master of everything. He is a perfect autocrat, and owes not the smallest account of his acts to the Parisians! Paris boasts, it is true, of a Municipal Council (with 80 members), but that so-called Council has not the right to make any decision without the authorization of the "Prefet"; this official having an unlimited right of vetoing (without stating his reasons for it) any deliberation of the Council.

Amongst the results of this are: the unsafe and dirty state of Paris; the utter indifference of the citizens to public affairs—as spirited and intelligent discontent is only kept alive by uninterrupted action, and is fatally deadened by prolonged inactivity; and, above all, the shameful dissipation of public money. The town of Paris has recently floated a loan of 900 millions of francs; the money is now being squandered in a way which is heart-rending, considering the hopeless misery and degradation of the masses.

All this goes to show how political difficulties, in France, are entangled with economic difficulties; and points out that no economic progress is possible without some political progress.

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There is one more consideration which cannot be left untouched. By the side of the obstacles created by the general conditions of the country, be they political or economic, there is another barrier across our way in the shape of financial institutions peculiar to France, and the main effect of which is to bind the people, by the ties of interest, to the existing state of things.

One of these institutions is the "Credit Foncier," half a state establishment and half a private one, the object of which is to lend money to landholders in need and to impoverished municipalities. The "Credit Foncier" represents several milliards. In order to get the money which it loans, the "Credit Foncier" issues bonds bearing interest, chances of

drawing lots at yearly lotteries, and which offer special guarantees; on account of this, these bonds are held by the majority of French people; no small tradesman, no petty official, who is not in possession of some of them. The effect of that possession, of course, is to make the bondholder, indirectly, a usurer—a moneylender who has advanced his money upon this pledge of the land; and, who accordingly has the greatest interest in opposing bitterly any idea attacking the system of land-tenure and mortgages, which makes all the security of his pledge.

It is sure that, as soon as the idea of the taxation of land values is brought to the front in France, the "Credit Foncier's" bondholders—and they are legion—will create disturbances.

Such is the state of things prevailing now in France. Long-winded prattle about traditions, prestige, and what-not, cannot dispel the significance, just outlined here, of unquestionable facts.

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The so-called Republican Party, now still in power, became the victor after the disasters of 1870-71, and has since lived on the spoils. The opposition is formed by Socialism on one hand, and by the old Dynastic parties on the other.

French socialism has no idea, no system, cannot indicate either a practical way or a definite goal. It is a mixture of all kinds of blind discontents, rolled into a lump, and wrapped up in the stuff which dreams are made of. Orthodox Socialism is weakened by the attacks of Anarchism, and by the onslaughts of Syndicalism which reduces the whole social question to a rise in wages—and which contrives, naturally, to bring about a rise in the cost of living at large.

As for the old Dynastic parties, they are fretting away in the sorry rags of their worm-eaten traditions. An Emperor! a King! Such titles may have had a meaning in days gone by; but now, what significance do they carry?

It is not an empty formula that is wanted, but a clear, logical idea of far-reaching economic reform—such an illuminating social philosophy as that which the Physiocrats brought out in the middle of the 18th century. Their teaching has been forgotten, drowned in the human blood so vainly shed during the French Revolution. But their whole conception of the Singletax has been found again, never more to die, by that great American, Henry George. And today it is another American, Joseph Fels, who is instrumental in bringing back to the French people the truth without which they can no more exist—as a nation cannot live without common-sense and without justice.

France is wholly ignorant, nowadays, of the land question. She will be quite a new field to be tilled by the plough of the Singletax. And who knows whether that plough, once it has driven its steel to the deep of the ground—a ground which is neither industrial nor commercial, but mainly agricultural and artistic—will not call forth quite unexpected harvests? The land question is a very far-reaching question, and the horizon it opens stretches itself away much beyond the region of purely economic interests.

GEORGES DARIEN.\*

\*Mr. Darien is the editor of the French Singletax Review, *La Revue de l'Impot Unique*.—Editors of The Public.

## THE ONTARIO ELECTIONS.\*

Toronto, Ont., Dec. 16.

The Provincial elections are over and the Conservatives have again secured a large majority.

No sooner had Sir James Whitney announced that a new election would take place than some of the Conservative papers proclaimed their belief that, in consequence of his opposition to local option in taxation, it would be well for the country to have a stronger Opposition. At the same time the Liberal party came out unequivocally in favor of this local option; and the leader of that party, Mr. N. W. Rowell, in his opening meeting gave his approval to the proposal and was heartily applauded for it by the audience.

To those who have had to fight the politicians, often with very little encouragement, thus to see one political party and some of the members and papers of the other political party endorsing this all important measure has been a cause of great rejoicing.

The two Conservative candidates for the city of Ottawa, I presume under the influence of the Southam brothers of the Ottawa Citizen, pledged themselves publicly to support a measure for local option in taxation, so that in spite of the opposition of Sir James Whitney, the leader of their party, a bill to grant power to municipalities to remove taxes from improvements will be introduced in our next Parliament.

During the election Sir James was induced at last to notice the criticism of some of his own supporters, and in a communication to the press, he assumed a case in which two men bought farms for \$4,000 each, on which one man erected a home worth \$1,000 and the other a home worth \$16,000. "Now," he said, "the proposal is made to give the one man an exemption of \$16,000 and the other an exemption of only \$1,000." Then he continued: "I shall not argue this point at all, but will say that when the farmers of Ontario make it clear that they desire the imposition on themselves of such a rank and manifest injustice, no government will stand in their way."

In making this assumption, he very carefully avoided the case of the man who, by holding a single acre in any of our commercial centers, without spending an hour in the production of anything, can secure the crops of a hundred farms every year.

In this same communication he promised that there would be a special committee to deal with assessments at the close of the next session of the local Parliament. The question has now obtained so strong a hold on the minds of the people, and has received such hearty support from a large portion of the press of both parties, that it will not down.

Twenty-one years ago the Parliament of Manitoba, in consequence of the representations of the farmers, who saw the speculators reaping the benefit of their pioneer work, amended the assessment act with the following words: "All land in rural municipalities, used for farming or gardening purposes, shall be assessed as it would be assessed if it were unimproved." Shortly after that the Province of British Columbia passed a measure which allowed the taxation of improvements to the amount of only

half the value, and as much less as the municipalities might choose. Saskatchewan and Alberta followed with similar legislation, while the Province of Ontario, which prided and boasted itself as the most progressive, populous and wealthy of the Provinces, has been clinging blindly and stupidly to an antiquated and unjust method, which aroused, often to a white heat, the spirit of speculation, and time and again brought on financial cataclysms that swept the country, in spite of its fertility and the skill and industry of its people, with epidemics of bankruptcy.

W. A. DOUGLASS.

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## AUSTRALASIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, Oct. 27.

Mr. George Fowlds has resigned his position as the Minister of Education in New Zealand, as he considers Sir Joseph Ward's ministry not sufficiently progressive. He found that as a Minister he was hampered in the expression of his views, and he felt he could serve the people better as a private member. He will advocate that the tax on land values be increased by a penny in the pound, and that customs duties on the necessities of life be remitted.

A general State election was held in Western Australia last month, when the Labor party was returned by a large majority. At present, there is in force in this State a land value tax of one penny in the pound, with exemptions. The Wilson ministry, which was defeated, had proposed to abolish this tax, and to increase the income tax. The Labor party supports a land value tax without exemptions. It is much sounder on land value taxation than the State Labor parties of Victoria and New South Wales.

The budget of last year, submitted to the State parliament of South Australia by the Verran (Labor) ministry, was passed by the lower house, but defeated in the Legislative Council. [See *The Public*, current volume, p. 79.] The Ministry is trying to pass a veto bill, somewhat similar to that recently enacted in England. This year's budget was lately presented by the Treasurer, Mr. Crawford Vaughn. Like that of last year, it is on Singletax lines, the increased land value tax being in substitution for existing taxes. It is proposed to increase the tax on land values by one-half penny in the pound. Against this, railway freights are to be reduced, the income tax exemption raised from £200 to £300, and stamp duties on receipts abolished.

In Victoria, local government taxation is levied on the annual rental value of land and improvements. The State Ministry has introduced a bill making it optional for municipalities to tax land values instead, and providing that if a Council does not adopt this method, a poll of taxpayers may be taken to decide the question. But the conditions laid down in the bill will make it very difficult to obtain the holding of a poll, and plural voting is not abolished, so the bill is a very disappointing measure. As a general State election is to be held in November, it is doubtful if the bill will be proceeded with this session. At this election, a system of preferential voting will be used for the first time. The State is divided into 65 constituencies, each return-

\*See *Public* of December 15, page 1267.



ing one member, as previously, but an elector will now vote for the candidates in the order of his preference, instead of voting for one candidate only. This method is an improvement on the old one, but is much inferior to the system of proportional voting in force in Tasmania.

The McGowen (Labor) ministry in New South Wales started with an absolute majority of two, but owing to some by-elections the parties became equal and for some time there was a deadlock. Another by-election has now restored the Government majority. The Ministry proposes to reduce the income-tax exemption, and to restore the stamp duties on checks and receipts, which were abolished a few years ago. The New South Wales budget is thus a great contrast to that of South Australia.

The Federal graduated land-value tax, in its first year of operation, produced nearly £1,400,000, in spite of the high exemption of £5,000. The Federal government intends to establish a Commonwealth bank, which will conduct all ordinary banking business.

ERNEST BRAY.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### ORGANIC EDUCATION.

Fairhope, Ala.

Whoever heard of a grower of fine plants or animals, making requirements of those plants or animals? Instead, the wise student of nature studies the symptoms of health or disease and works in harmony with those symptoms. Whenever the plant or animal responds unsatisfactorily, the treatment is changed at once. So also with the wise physician. He does not blame the patient when results are undesirable, but changes the prescription!

In our school work, however, it is different. We do not study the needs of the child as evidenced by the symptoms; but we plan a course of study and exercises which are designed to help him, but under which he often languishes or becomes restive, indifferent or even vicious. When this occurs we do not change the treatment, but console ourselves with blaming the child.

When the little child grows nervous, near-sighted, and round-shouldered, we put on glasses, give a few "corrective" exercises which often still more exhaust the nervous system, and continue to require the child to spend his time in an unwholesome room, working in an unwholesome way at needless employment.

When the girl's nature does not respond to the requirements in arithmetic, she is counted dull or stupid, or possibly abnormal, but the nature of the requirement is not changed. When the boy grows indifferent, languid, or vicious, refusing to do his best at school, acquiring a distaste for grammar or languages, the school "fails" him, exhorts him to greater effort and brands him "different"—but never once does it enter the minds of the authorities to change the requirements.

Why should education insist upon being uneducational? Our insane desire to "educate" is a fatal barrier to development which is the only true education. Could a child's conscious striving and over-

eating make him taller or broader? Neither will conscious striving and over-study make him wiser or better.

Why not act as reasonably in education as in other things? If the nature of the little child requires freedom, why not give freedom instead of requiring him to sit at stationary desks and be silent? If his nature requires out of doors, fresh air, why not give that? Can't he "learn" anything out of doors? If his seeing should not be at close range, why give him a book at so young an age? Can't he learn anything without books? If his nervous system requires the larger movements first, why put him at writing so young? Are there no other "educative activities" in which he may more safely engage?

We know that many children "fail" in school. We know that many grow indifferent and unhappy. We know that some are not strong enough to meet the "requirements." Then why in the name of education should we continue the treatment when the response is unsatisfactory? Why not sanely and bravely look the little child in the face, and throw away all of the "traditions of the elders" and all of our unrighteous requirements, and simply and religiously meet *his* requirements? How shall we know them? By the symptoms of his response or reaction. For the test of the environment is the reaction of the child. The test of a school is the condition of the child—bodily, mentally, spiritually.

What does the body need? Fresh air in out-of-doors, play, freedom, no stationary desks, no enforced silence, but quiet—only when the occupation requires it; much choice in occupation, physical co-ordination through creative handwork.

What does the mind require? Time to observe, investigate, think and reason out a few things—often help and guidance from the teacher, but rarely ordered attention; experiences and activities in harmony with age and interests—that is, things of sense in the early years, books, experiences of others and abstractions in the later years.

What is necessary for the spirit? Joy in work, a genuine desire to do it; work which enlists every part of the entire organism. In fact, all half-hearted work is insincere, and we often cultivate dishonesty in the child when we try to develop "will power" by arbitrary requirements.

True education is organic—that is, it develops, strengthens and improves the body, makes the mind more intelligent and the spirit sweeter—in fact perfects the entire organism.

But can it be done? Why not? What is to prevent our taking the desks out of the room, allowing only twenty pupils to the teacher, and removing the "intellectual requirements" of the first grades in any city? Instead of desks, have tables at which the children may work. Instead of requirements in reading, writing, numbers, etc., let the children sing and play, make things of paper card board and textiles, taking care that the nervous system is not injured by too close work. Let them have gardens in which they may plant what they choose, and which they may care for in their own way with the sympathetic assistance of the teacher. Let them have stories of geography, history, and literature. Give them an opportunity to learn to speak some other modern language than their own. Let them have

water colors and clay which they may freely use. Allow the teacher to take them out of doors at any hour she may wish, taking them to parks and museums for the pleasure and profit of going and seeing, rather than to prepare them to "pass" any particular examination. Let them gain fundamental conceptions of numbers by the use of the rule, handling things, counting, estimating, weighing, measuring, etc. Let them hear beautiful poems recited by the teacher, and allow them to recite them also, but do not force the committing.

One year spent in such occupations and activities will make every six-year-old child in any city stronger, sounder, more beautiful of body, more intelligent, alert, and responsive of mind, and sweeter of spirit, even though he has not learned to read or write or "do" arithmetic. He has learned to think and observe and reason as well as a six-year-old mind is able. The integrity of the nervous system has been preserved and the body improved in every way, and the spirit has been happy and has grown finer and more responsive. Is not this education?

Then why not continue the same general scheme for the second, third and fourth grades, enlarging the scope, and using books as soon as they are needed to explain, verify, or broaden the child's experiences?

The School of Organic Education at Fairhope, Ala., is making an effort to literally meet the demands of the child. No requirements are made in the first six years. No so-called "lessons," no grades, marks, or examinations, no home tasks given.

The children come to school to have a good time—to do things—to find out about things; and incidentally they learn many things. The day is full of activity—singing, playing, working, investigating, observing, story-telling, gardening, using numbers and materials, art work, and nature study. No books are used by children under the tenth year, except as the child himself desires to learn to read. No writing is required, no formal numbers nor spelling. At ten the children begin to use books, learning to read very quickly because the desire to read is strong and the nervous system has been strengthened instead of weakened during the previous years. From ten to thirteen all books—literature, geography, and history—are used *with* the teachers, for the simple purpose of enjoying what the book may contain—never as a task to be learned and recited. Learning the true value of books in this way, with the assistance of a sympathetic teacher, a real love of books is acquired.

Formal arithmetic is begun at ten, and with the growth of the fundamental conceptions attained in the previous years, very little difficulty is experienced.

At thirteen and fourteen regular formal work in the seventh and eighth grade studies is begun, but the children have learned to think and reason, have learned to use books, and are keen to get everything possible from the books, so that there are no real "school tasks" even in the grammar department.

At fourteen or fifteen the children begin high school work. Four years of serious, earnest, enthusiastic—for it will be more enthusiastic than ever if the previous years have been well spent—work in mathematics, science, history, language, and litera-

ture, with gardening, manual training, music and art continued, constitutes the high school course.

No "passing per cent" is required in the high school, but if the work is pursued seriously and earnestly, the youth gets from it all that is possible for him to absorb or digest at that time, and what can be the value of forced study or mental indigestion?

Institutions to be educational must meet the demands of the individual, rather than make requirements which he must meet. An institution has no right to ask, "What do you know?" "What have you done?" "Where are your credentials?" But must ask, "What do you need?" "How may we serve you?" The "standards" of an institution are measured by its service, not by its requirements.

Unless the individual emerges from the institution stronger of body, more intelligent of mind, sweeter and more helpful of spirit, the process has not been educational.

MARIETTE L. JOHNSON.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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Week ending Tuesday, December 19, 1911.

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### Russian Relations with the United States.

Under the leadership of Congressman William Sulzer of New York, the House of Representatives adopted on the 13th the following concurrent resolution:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion; that the government of the United States concludes its treaties for the equal protection of all classes of its citizens, without regard to race or religion; that the government of the United States will not be a party to any treaty which discriminates, or which by one of the parties thereto is so construed as to discriminate, between American citizens on the ground of race or religion; that the government of Russia has violated the treaty between the United States and Russia, concluded at St. Petersburg Dec. 18, 1832, refusing to honor American passports duly issued to American citizens on account of race and religion; that in the judgment of the Congress the said treaty, for the reasons aforesaid, ought to be terminated at the earliest possible time; that for the aforesaid reasons the said treaty is hereby declared to be terminated and of no further force and effect from the expiration of one year after the date of notification to the government of Russia of the terms of this resolution, and that to this end the President is hereby charged with the duty of communicating such notice to the government of Russia.

The purpose of this resolution was to terminate a

policy of discrimination enforced by the Russian government against Jews with American passports who visit Russia.

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Prior to the adoption of the foregoing resolution by the lower House of Congress, its presentation by Mr. Sulzer had precipitated a Cabinet meeting at the White House on the 5th, at which the Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, was directed to advise the Russian ambassador at Washington, George Bagmetioff, that the President would recommend abrogation of the treaty of 1832 unless Russia recognizes the right of American Jews to visit Russia pursuant to the first Article of the treaty, which is as follows:

There shall be between the territories of the high contracting parties a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation; the inhabitants of their respective states shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places and rivers of the territories of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce.

✦

It should be explained that the Russian government interprets the above Article by a clause of the treaty which makes the sojourn of visitors from either country in the other conditional upon "their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing," and therefore argues that all Russian restrictions applying to Jews living in Russia may be enforced against American Jews visiting Russia. By the American State Department under both political parties it has long been urged that the United States cannot acquiesce in religious tests; but to this point the Russian government responds that it does not exclude all Jews nor act toward any Jews with reference to religious tests. It refers the matter to questions of internal civil order which necessitate barriers to "certain categories of foreigners," thereby bringing the Russian policy within the principle of the American policy of excluding "anarchists." According to an editorial in the St. Petersburg newspaper "Rossia," of the 7th, described as a "semi-official" paper—

the prohibition of foreign Jews, irrespective of nationality, from entering Russia as well as Russian Jews who emigrated without permission, was established by law on March 23 and Aug. 11, 1824. The Russo-American treaty eight years later contains no provision with respect to a modification of the existing law in favor of American Jews. American Jews err in supposing that Russia has introduced new restrictions with regard to them. On the contrary, Russian legislation of 1835-'39 granted admission to certain selected categories. Regula-

tions adopted on March 27, 1891, empower the Russian consul to vize passports of heads of business firms and also their commercial travelers, representatives and clerks without limitation, with respect to admission to the pale and without preliminary sanction by the Minister of the Interior. The passports of other Jews are vized with the sanction of the Minister of the Interior. Thus all Jewish business men and all others engaged in an occupation not regarded as undesirable may enter and reside in Russia for six months. But the sovereign right not to admit undesirables cannot be disputed, and is exercised strictly by the United States itself. Only Jews emigrating through the agency of the Jewish Colonization Society are permanently excluded, in accordance with the rules of March 21, 1892. Of the eleven American Jews applying for a vize during 1910 only three were rejected. The laws for the readmission of foreign Jews cannot be changed as a result of demonstrations of groups of American Jews nor as a result of friendly representations on the part of the United States. The United States government, of course, does not possess the right of interference in the home affairs of Russia. The repeal of the treaty of 1832 has been suggested, but all the disadvantages of such a step would fall upon the United States. Russian customs statistics from 1905 to 1910 show that the Russian exports to America amounted to \$20,500,000 and imports to \$177,000,000. The figures in the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington put the Russian exports at \$85,000,000 and the imports at \$113,000,000. Furthermore, the American imports into Russia are constantly growing. They amounted to \$20,500,000 in 1905 and \$36,500,000 in 1910. It is to be regretted if the traditional friendly relations between true born Americans and Russians are disturbed.

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A mass meeting which demanded the abrogation of the treaty upon one year's notice was held at Carnegie Hall, New York, on the 6th, the speakers advocating abrogation being Senator O'Gorman, Governor Wilson, Speaker Clark, William McAdoo, William Randolph Hearst, Congressman Sulzer, Congressman Francis Burton Harrison and ex-Congressman Bennet. Andrew D. White, former ambassador from the United States to Russia, spoke against abrogation and in favor of inviting Russia to arbitrate at The Hague. He argued that peremptory demands would lead to indignant rejoinders regardless of justice.

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Congressman Sulzer's concurrent resolution was agreed to unanimously on the 12th in the House Committee on Foreign Relations, of which he is chairman, and was accordingly reported favorably to the House by him on the 13th. Congressman Olmstead of Pennsylvania then moved to amend so as to make the resolution complain of Russia's interpretation of the treaty instead of charging her with violating it, but this motion was lost by 115 ayes to 184 noes. Thereupon the Sulzer resolution

was adopted without alteration by 300 to 1, the one dissenting vote having been recorded by Congressman Malley of New York. The resolution went at once to the Senate, where it was discussed on the 14th, but without action of any kind.

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Meanwhile representations had been formally made on the 16th to the American State Department by the Russian ambassador, to the effect that approval of the Sulzer resolution in its original form as adopted by the House would be regarded by the Russian government as an insult to Russia and be followed by a severance by Russia of all friendly relations with the United States. The President thereupon decided to make a dead letter of the Sulzer resolution by giving formal notice at once to Russia of the desire of the United States to terminate the treaty under a clause of the treaty which provides that it shall continue in force until January 1, 1839, provided that—

if, one year before that day, one of the high contracting parties shall not have announced to the other, by an official notification of its intention to arrest the operation thereof, this treaty shall remain obligatory one year beyond that day, and so on until the expiration of the year which shall commence after the date of a similar notification.

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Accordingly on the 18th, President Taft sent to the Senate a special message in which he explained that instructions had been given on the 15th to the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in accordance with which "there was given to the imperial Russian government under date of the seventeenth day of December, 1911, official notification on behalf of this government of intention to terminate the operation of the treaty of commerce and navigation of December 18, 1832, between the United States and Russia upon the expiration of the year commencing on the first of January, 1912." Upon the Senate's receiving this message, the Senate committee on foreign relations, of which Senator Lodge is chairman, reported a substitute for the Sulzer resolution. This substitute, after summarizing the terms of the treaty in respect of its duration, proceeds:

Whereas, on the 17th day of December, 1911, the President caused to be delivered to the imperial Russian government by the American ambassador at St. Petersburg an official notification on behalf of the government of the United States announcing intention to terminate the operation of this treaty upon the expiration of the year commencing on the first of January, 1912; and whereas, said treaty is no longer responsive in various respects to the political principles and commercial needs of the two countries; and whereas, the constructions placed thereon by the contracting parties differ upon matters of fundamental importance and interest to each; Therefore be it resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress

assembled, that the notice thus given by the President of the United States to the government of the Empire of Russia to terminate said treaty in accordance with the terms of the treaty is hereby adopted and ratified.

After debate, the foregoing substitute resolution was adopted by the Senate by a unanimous vote.

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### Election in Arizona.

The election that determines Arizona's Statehood and chooses State officials in case of a popular vote satisfactory to President Taft on the Recall, came off on the 12th. Officials voted for were the Governor, two United States Senators (subject to election by the legislature), one Representative in Congress, several judges, State Senators and members of the lower house of the legislature. Three tickets were in the field with the following candidates: Republican, Edward W. Wells; Democratic, George W. P. Hunt; Socialist, P. W. Galentine. A heavy vote was polled—about 26,000. There was much "scratching" and the exact returns are not yet available, but there was a Democratic landslide. The Recall was modified as President Taft required, by an overwhelming majority. Explaining the result the Chairman of the Democratic State Committee said on the 13th that—

the people of Arizona simply refused to indorse Taft's dictation. While they voted to eliminate the Recall from the Constitution, as they were obliged to do in order to gain Statehood, they showed at the same time that the Recall would be placed back in the Constitution as soon as it possibly could be done.

[See current volume, pages 866, 875, 930, 971.]

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### Judicial Dictation Defeated.

A successful revolt of a jury against dictation by the judge in a trial before them is reported from St. Louis. It exemplifies an editorial in *The Public* of December 1, 1911, at page 1211. The suit was over the will of Bridget McDermott. Her daughter, Mary Farrington, brought suit to annul the will in order to acquire certain real estate which under the will had gone to her mother's priest, the Rev. John White, a Catholic. Mrs. Farrington is described as having been a nurse in a lunatic asylum at a salary of \$25 a month, out of which she had saved \$3,000 and bought a home, taking title in her mother's name. Through her mother's will this property went to Father White, and she sued to set aside the will on the ground that her mother had been unduly influenced by him. There appears to have been no direct evidence of undue influence, but the jury were unanimously of opinion that undue influence had been shown by circumstantial evidence. Religious considerations do not appear to have entered into the controversy be-

tween the Judge and the jury; for, although the Judge is a Roman Catholic, so were about half of the jury. The question raised seems to have been purely one of general public policy, namely, Shall judges be allowed by juries to coerce them into rendering verdicts against their own judgment and conscience?

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The case came to trial before Judge Withrow and a jury of twelve men at St. Louis, and on the 12th Judge Withrow instructed the jury to return a verdict in favor of Father White on the ground that undue influence had not been proved. This the jury refused to do and a deadlock continued three days. The Judge explained (as reported in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of the 15th) that—

a suit to set aside a will is quite different in nature from any other civil case, in this, that it cannot be dismissed by the plaintiff, nor can a non-suit be properly entered by the Court. The case must proceed to final verdict. As the plaintiff had failed to prove her case, by its instruction requiring the jury to find a verdict sustaining the will, the Court relieved the jury of all responsibility and left nothing for the jury to decide. The signing of the verdict by the jury was merely a formal act to complete the record.

But on their side, according to the same newspaper report—

the jurors several times in court defended their stand with the claim that they are maintaining their rights as American citizens to return a verdict as their consciences dictate.

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After refusing for three days to sign a verdict for the defendant as directed by the Judge, the jury on the 15th returned the following verdict for the plaintiff:

We, the jury in the above entered cause, find in favor of the plaintiff, for the reason that from the circumstantial evidence of the witnesses examined, we believe there was undue influence exerted over Bridget McDermott prior to and at the time she executed the instrument in question, and that it was not her last will and testament.

Examining this verdict and consulting several passages in law books he had sent for, Judge Withrow said:

Gentlemen, although you have found in violation of the Court's instructions, the Court will accept this as your verdict, which, on the motion of either side for a new trial, the Court may set aside.

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#### Singletax Rivalry.

As the result of a challenge by A. B. du Pont of Cleveland, made at the Singletax conference at Chicago last month and accepted by George A. Schilling of Chicago, a competition between Cleve-

land and Chicago has begun for raising contributions for the Joseph Fels Fund, the prize to the successful city being Miss Buchanan's statuette, "Votes for Women," a copy of which Mr. du Pont and Mr. Schilling have bought for the purpose. The test is to be the amount raised in each city in proportion to its population. [See current volume, page 1217.]

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Pursuant to this challenge, organizations have been effected under Mr. Schilling's direction in Chicago and under Mr. du Pont's in Cleveland. In Chicago the organization has taken the form of a committee, with Theodore J. Amberg as chairman and treasurer, James B. Ellery as secretary, and Otto Cullman, George V. Wells, and Frank D. Butler as executive committee. In addition to the work of this organization, Mr. Schilling, as a member of the national Auxiliary Committee appointed at the Conference, is pushing the movement for financial support throughout the State of Illinois. In Cleveland, where the managers have set themselves the "task" of raising at least half a cent per capita of the city's population, a Singletax Club has been organized with J. B. Vining as president, Dr. J. E. Tuckerman as vice president, and Martin F. McCarthy as secretary and treasurer.

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#### Chinese Conferences.

A peace conference between Wu Tingfang, the foreign secretary of the Republicans, and Tang Shao Ya, representing the Imperial Premier, Yuan Shi-Kai, each accompanied by five delegates, opened at Shanghai on the 18th. The peace terms offered by the Republicans were announced in advance to be as follows: the Manchu dynasty to be abolished; a republic to be established, with Yuan Shi-Kai President and Sun Yat Sen, Vice-President; the first cabinet to be selected by the revolutionists, and the second-term President to be elected. In the meantime a revolutionary convention sitting at Nanking, composed of delegates from fourteen provinces, has elected Dr. Sun Yat Sen President of the new Republic. [See current volume, pages 1075, 1267.]

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The British Parliament was prorogued on the 16th until February 14th.

—Ella Flagg Young was re-elected by the Board of Education on the 13th as Superintendent of the public schools of Chicago. [See vol. xiii, p. 1203.]

—After successful experiments with a few of the public school buildings in Chicago, a general policy of utilizing them for social neighborhood centers has now been adopted by the Board of Edu-

cation. [See vol. xiii, p. 636; current volume, page 111.]

—The Governors of Western States ended their Eastern tour on the 16th at St. Paul, where they spoke at the Northwestern Land Products Show. [See current volume, page 1268.]

—Louis Forrer, Vice-President of the Federal Council of Switzerland, was elected on the 14th President of the Swiss Republic. [See vol. xiii, p. 1213; current volume, page 1123.]

—Notice was given by the British war office on the 15th that pending beef trust trials in the United States none of the concerns involved will be allowed to bid for British army contracts. [See current volume, page 1268.]

—The Sherwood pension bill passed the House in Congress on the 12th by a vote of 229 to 92. It gives a pension to all surviving United States veterans of the Mexican and Civil War, allowing \$1 a day to those who served a year or more.

—The formal transfer of the British telephone system from private hands to government ownership and operation will take place on New Year's day. It is announced that the government will begin large improvements at once. [See vol. xi, p. 580.]

—A national protest committee of Negroes was organized at New York on the 12th for the purpose of sending from 5,000 to 10,000 Negroes to Washington next March to demand of President Taft the suppression of mob violence against Negroes.

—The seventh annual convention of the American Civic Association was held at the New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., on the 13th, 14th and 15th. One of the papers, by Frederick C. Howe, was on the subject of building cities for people in Germany.

—Under the management of the Henry George Lecture Association at Chicago (Frederick H. Monroe, manager) Charles Frederick Adams is to lecture at San Francisco from the 24th to 27th, and at Red Bluff (California) on the 28th. [See current volume, page 1268.]

—The Lloyd George bill for labor insurance—against sickness and unemployment—passed its third and final reading in the House of Lords on the 15th, and went to the King for his signature in the form in which it had come from the House of Commons. [See current volume, page 1267.]

—William C. Reick has purchased control of the New York Sun. The negotiations leading up to the purchase were conducted by James M. Beck. Mr. Reick was a close personal friend of the late H. H. Rogers and he numbers among his friends such powerful financiers as James Stillman and Clarence H. Mackay.

—While five years ago there was not a school in Kansas teaching domestic science, and only five teaching agriculture, today, according to Henry J. Waters, president of the State Agricultural College, out of 7,886 rural schools, there are more than 7,000 teaching agriculture. Out of 500 high schools more than 400 are teaching agriculture and 200 are teaching domestic science.

—"Starved Rock," scene of Indian battles and the explorations of the early French missionaries, passed into the control of the State of Illinois on the 15th.

The State paid \$146,000 for the tract of 290 acres. This new preserve lies ten miles west of Ottawa on the south bank of the Illinois River. In addition to "Starved Rock" proper, it comprises precipitous cliffs, canyons and glens, said to rival many of America's most famous scenic wonders.

—A referendum vote on Dominion-wide prohibition was announced in New Zealand on the 11th. It was found that 55.93 per cent of the total vote was cast for the prohibition measure, while 60 per cent was required to make it a law. Thus, though a majority favored it, it was defeated. The next referendum on this question will be taken in 1914. Had the proposition won, the nearest saloon would be 1,200 miles away from New Zealand.

—John Bigelow died at New York on the 19th, at the age of 94, having been born November 25, 1817. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1839; was associated with William Cullen Bryant as an editor of the New York Evening Post in the early '50's; was American minister to France in the '60's; held the office of Secretary of State of New York in 1875-76; was a distinguished author, a leading Swedenborgian and a public-spirited citizen of pronounced democratic principles.

—Several women, arrested in connection with the violence near the House of Commons, London, on November 21, were arraigned at the London Sessions December 12. Nearly 200 had been summarily sentenced by the police magistrate on minor charges. The accused who are indicted have to answer charges of maliciously damaging property. All pleaded not guilty. The first group were convicted and, refusing to undertake to refrain from similar acts in the future, were sentenced to two months in jail. [See current volume, page 1218.]

—David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, was reported by cable dispatches of the 16th as having been injured while leaving a women's Liberal meeting at London at which he had just made an address favoring the inclusion of woman suffrage in the manhood suffrage bill of next year. A man described as "a male suffragist" hurled a brass-bound box at Mr. George, which struck him full in the face. This man, who gave his name as Allan Ross McDougall, was sentenced on the 18th by a police court to two months in prison at hard labor.

—A singletax conference for Pennsylvania is announced to be held at Hotel Henry, Pittsburgh, January 23, 1912, the delegates to be entertained in the evening by the Young Men's Democratic Club of Alleghany County. Among the Singletax leaders announced to speak are John Z. White, Henry George, Jr., Henry H. Wilson, Charles Eckert, Charles S. Prizer and Frank Stephens. The question of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in Pennsylvania is to be the principal subject for discussion. Classification of assessments, equalization of school taxes, and taxes on machinery having been abolished in Pennsylvania by the last legislature, this Singletax conference expects to open a campaign for exempting real estate improvements or for local option in taxation.



Only the truth which the soul appropriates gives life.—Phillips Brooks.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Roosevelt Redivivus.

The Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Dec. 16.—Colonel Roosevelt visited Boston to attend a meeting of the Harvard overseers. He made no speech, gave no interview, dropped no hint regarding current politics. He was cheered by multitudes on his arrival as well as his departure. At New York, on his return, a crowd of cheering men greeted him and he made his way through the station with difficulty. "Does this look like a dictator's homecoming?" asked the Colonel, alluding to the just reported remarks of "Boss" Barnes, chairman of the New York Republican State committee, on the national political situation. . . . Yet cheering multitudes in Boston and New York, suspecting nothing and deaf to Barnes' cries and warnings, hail Roosevelt as a friend of the people!



### Judges versus Juries.

The Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Dec. 17.—There is nothing surprising in the "victory" of the "striking" St. Louis jury. When the judge who had threatened the jurors with fines and jail sentences for "contempt" examined the Supreme Court decisions of his State—and of other States, no doubt—he found that the jury was not bound to render a "directed" verdict. A judge has the right to take a case from a jury. He has the right to set a verdict aside as being contrary to the weight of the evidence. But he has no right to "direct" a verdict, if the jury disagrees with him. The directing of verdicts regardless of the jury's own opinions and sentiments is an abuse. It makes a mockery of trial by jury. The St. Louis jury may have been wrong in its view of the case. But it was right in insisting on giving its own verdict. It was justified in "standing on its legal rights" and resenting dictation and usurpation.



### A Pointed Question.

The Boston Common (ind.), Nov. 18.—Columns are being written to prove that the great recent gain in the Socialist vote—the upstanding fact in the late election—doesn't mean Socialism. All agree, however, that it means discontent; widespread, profound, growing discontent. One fact should be remembered. The Socialists have a program. Agree with it or not, you have to face it, for in politics you cannot beat something with nothing. No longer can this discontent be pooh poohed. It may be guided. But Standpatters cannot guide it. The discontent is because of their guidance. Middle-of-the-road moderates like President Taft aren't guiding it—it is thrusting them aside. The more radical Progressives want to guide it, but haven't agreed very far upon a program. That is what they will have to do soon if it is not to get beyond their reach, also. . . . If the wise men who reject the ultimates of Socialism wish to avert them, it is high time for them to begin to point out better paths. If not Socialism, what?

### Mayor Baker of Cleveland.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), Oct. 30.—Critics of Newton D. Baker call him a dreamer—at least they did before his opponent had indorsed so many of Mr. Baker's campaign arguments. Since then not so much has been heard about dreaming. Mr. Baker himself has not denied the charge, and there is no reason why he should. The progress of the world is written in the deeds of dreamers. The epochal achievements of all ages are built upon the acts of those who have had the breadth and courage to dream. There are thousands of people in Cleveland who five years ago were calling Tom L. Johnson an impractical dreamer, but who are now willing to acknowledge the success with which he wrought. The best Mayor this city ever had was a dreamer and gloried in it. No man ever dreamed more persistently, and few ever saw more of their dreams come true. . . . Unless a man is a dreamer he is a plodder. Unless he can see beyond the needs and demands of one day to the possibilities of the day to follow, he is a plodder. Plodders, of course, have their useful role to play, but no wide-awake city wants one for Mayor. . . . Mr. Baker a dreamer? Let no one attempt to deny it. And Cleveland needs a dreamer of his type in the mayor's office.



### Joseph Fels in St. Louis.

The St. Louis Daily Times (ind.), Dec. 2.—Whenever Mr. Joseph Fels comes to St. Louis there is occasion for publishing in the local news columns some of those theories which are as sound as a demonstration in Euclid, but which the country still insists upon regarding as a fine theory which cannot be put into practice. Mr. Fels has recently had something to say on the theories enunciated by the late Henry George. He deprecates the practice, followed by thousands of individuals, of buying land and waiting for other men to make it valuable, as a means of attaining riches. There can be no reasonable doubt that this universal evil is based upon injustice and is a hindrance to the growth of every community. There are scores of acres of land within the city limits of St. Louis, as in other cities, which are greatly needed for homes and factories, but which are held at a prohibitive price. Their value is increasing steadily; not because the owners are doing anything to make them more valuable, but because thousands of men who sorely need a little land are coming to the city every year—and paying a good part of their earnings for rent, and are living unwholesome lives in many cases. That a man is a better citizen when he owns his own home is a very likely proposition. That speculators are doing all in their power to prevent home-owning is plain. The "unearned increment" is not one of those dark and mysterious theories which thrive in the dark. It is an economic principle which describes, simply, the process by which the masses of the people are denied a portion of the wealth which they help to create. Mr. Fels does not pretend to bring us a new thought. Still, he is performing a worthy service in that he is reiterating a principle which ought to be proclaimed and expounded until it is made plain to all men.

## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

#### HAD I BEEN ONE OF THOSE.

Had I been one of those  
Who watched their sleeping flocks by night  
And saw the heavens, joy-faint with light,  
Beneath fair Bethlehem's rose;  
Would I have known, could I have guessed,  
Would I have followed with the rest  
Upon that far strange quest?

And had I been  
A guest in that small crowded inn  
Where Mary and the child enstabled lay,  
Would I, adoring too, have knelt to pray?

And had I heard  
The hillside Preacher's word—  
"Come unto me," and "Blessed are the meek,"  
Would I have guessed, would I have known  
This was the One we came to seek;  
This is Messiah—He alone?

Would I have loved upon his breast to lean,  
Or coldly asked, "Who is this Nazarene?"  
In wrath for Him have raised the sword—  
Incarnate God, the Spoken Word—  
Yet thrice denied Him in one day,  
Mayhap have kissed His life away?

Had I been one that day  
To stand on Calvary's way,  
Would I have joined the cry,  
"Away with Him" and "Crucify";  
And helped to plait the crown of thorns,  
And held to Him the cup of gall,  
And deemed Him lost whom the world scorns,  
And said, "This is the last," and "This is all"?

How easy in these safe and pleasant days  
To worship and to praise!  
But if a sleeping babe now lay  
Within a manger filled with hay,  
And God's star pointed out the way,  
Would I believe? Would I obey?

How many great hearts silently  
Seek their Gethsemane  
To pray and weep,  
While we, forgetting, sleep!  
For Truth is mocked and scourged away,  
And Love is crucified each day.

Yet Love and Truth abide!  
Love bursts the tomb and breaks the bonds of Death  
And Hate, as ancient prophet saith.  
Sweet Bethlehem's star  
Still shines afar;  
And Christ himself doth dwell  
In every heart that doeth well.  
So keep we still our Christmas-tide.

CELIA PARKER WOOLLEY.

## DO WE REALLY CARE FOR PEACE?

### Suggestions for Christmas.

#### For The Public.

As Christians do we care for Peace? Do we believe in a "Gospel of Peace"? We celebrate Christmas in honor of him who is rightly called the "Prince of Peace", whose disciples we profess to be. With our lips we join in singing the song which the angels in the skies are said to have sung at his birth: "Peace on earth, Good Will to men!"

Is all this only a mere empty form of words on our part? Or are we sincere and in earnest? If we are, what evidence of it do we give? What are we doing to check the unchristian spirit of militarism in the world, and to promote the Christ-spirit of peace? Christendom is an armed camp, with the death-dealing batteries of so-called Christian nations everywhere turned against other Christian nations. On every ocean the so-called Christian powers have fleets of fighting ships which are the most costly and perfect machines the world ever saw for wholesale murder; and the murder primarily contemplated is not simply of human beings, but of fellow Christians. Could anything be more shocking or more insane? Has not the time come for us either to stop singing the angel song, stop celebrating Christmas, stop pretending that we are Christians, or else speak out, and by actions as well as words, against this crushing burden on the backs of men, this crime against civilization, this standing insult to Him whose gospel we profess to accept? Shall we not this year have a Christmas season used as never before for real Christmas ends,—to do something actually to promote peace on earth?

What shall we do? I venture to suggest.

1. Shall we not, first of all, see to it that our Christmas gifts to our children, and to the children of others, include no toy soldiers; no swords or pistols or guns, toy or real; no soldiers' caps or uniforms or decorations; not only nothing that glorifies war or tends to make the soldier-idea attractive, but nothing that can even suggest soldiers or war?

2. Shall we not call to mind the very great psychological power of suggestion, especially upon children, and as a consequence proceed at once to take down all war pictures from the walls of our homes? And also shall we not resolve to do what we can, from this time on, to get all such psychologically evil pictures removed from public places, especially from school rooms and school buildings? We are told that Napoleon attributed his ambition for military glory to the silent influence of a battle scene which hung as a picture in the living room of his home during the susceptible years of his childhood. War pictures and military statues, wherever seen, are powerful influences in promoting the military spirit.

3. Shall we not at once, if we have not done



so already, rid our libraries and book shelves of all books that extol fighting, and that paint army life in attractive colors, and fill their places with others which will teach our boys and young men (yes, and our girls and young women, too,) that the truest field for patriotism is peace, that the noblest heroisms are those of peace, and that the glory of our flag lies in making it everywhere the emblem, not of war and destruction, but of progress, and human service, and Christian civilization?

4. If any of us as Sunday school superintendents or teachers, have failed to give our schools or classes proper instruction regarding peace, war, international arbitration, The Hague Court, and the like, or if any of us as ministers have been neglectful of our responsibilities to our congregations relating to these important matters, shall we not avail ourselves of the approaching Christmas season as a fitting time to make good our omissions, and to do our duty?

5. Last but not least, and as especially pressing at the present crisis time in our national history and in the progress of the cause of arbitration and peace among nations, shall we not at once set about doing whatever lies in our power to give our United States Senators at Washington to understand that the intelligence, the patriotism and the enlightened conscience of this country demand the prompt ratification of the just, reasonable and immensely important treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and France, which only await senatorial assent to become the most conspicuous and inspiring land-marks in the progress of the peace cause that the world has ever seen?

Having done these five things, that is to say, having thus proven our sincerity by turning in some measure our words in praise of peace into intelligent efforts to promote peace, we shall have earned the right to celebrate Christmas without appearing to be hypocrites, the right to call ourselves in some true sense disciples of the "Prince of Peace," the right, without blushing with shame, to join in the angels' song of "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men!"

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

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## HARMONY.

For The Public.

Harmony—beatific word! Among the legion of sounds from the tongues of humanity can we find one more expressive, comprehensive and beautiful?

Doubtless when "the Lord spoke to Moses" admonishing him as to his leadership of Israel's children, that word, or its Hebrew equivalent, was the keynote of his discourse.

Where is the condition of life where harmony is not as necessary to effective action as the air we breathe? Yea, if we cannot harmonize with

our proper environment 'twere better we did not live.

As a commonplace illustration, take any business firm, shop or factory employing help; the most indispensable officer or manager is the one who has mastered the technique of business harmony, especially in its application to his own conduct towards subordinates.

The personality of the orchestra leader reflected in harmony in each member of his band, from first violin to the banger of drums and cymbals.

If the head of a business firm fails to cultivate and apply the principles of that magic word, the symptoms are in evidence from his general manager to the woman who mops the office floors. If he is a martinet, a task-master who grudges faithful employes proper remuneration or periods of vacation to relax, keeping them always keyed up tense and disgruntled, he is throwing his business keyboard out of alignment, and the result is destructive discord and discontent.

The sulking employe, balking at a little extra duty, or grouchy at needed and saving reproof, becomes a fly in the commercial ointment, or like a slippery fiddle-string which must be tightened or snapped.

If harmony could be injected into every marriage relation, every home, whether flat or mansion, would be a cooing dove-cote, and divorce lawyers and judges would be available for useful and productive employment.

Could honest harmony be established in politics and government, grafters, bosses and lobbyists would disappear like the bloodthirsty pirates of old, and we might be able to prevent the conditions which breed in one generation the criminals which we have to build jails for in the next.

The whole world groans and travails for peace 'neath the tread of the gun and bayonet-bearing martial host, armed and drilled to slay brothers. Could we inoculate the warring nations and their rabid dogs of war with the blessed serum of harmonious peace, rifles could be seen only in museums, and battleships would be selling for a trifle per ton as curious and antique junk.

It is not sacrilegious to suggest that even the church needs harmony to make consistent the Babel of creeds and dogmas, so that a reasonable faith would not be a rarity, and the prophecy of "One Church, one Shepherd" might be fulfilled.

If a cut-and-dried recipe for harmony could be marketed it would be more valuable than radium, and would be sought for like an elixir of life. Yet the great quality can be cultivated into a habit of mind. Such mental habit had those wise, immortal leaders, Washington and Lincoln, whose watchwords in practice were Truth, Forbearance, Reconciliation, Justice, Mercy, honorable Peace; all crowned with the winning kindly tone and smile that smoothes the frowns of discordant fol-

lowers, who must involuntarily follow, and lay the vibrant chords of their hearts open to the master's touch.

Many of us are often lost in the thick mazes of life, bewildered by a myriad roads which seem to lead nowhere. If at such times we allow the venom of morbid discord to settle on our mind it will affect the whole physique, even to clogging the intestines and depressing the circulation; and all the pills and potions on earth will not heal until we seek the hygienic sunlight of harmony where the winds of peace blow freely.

The weird and fairy music of the æolian harp is dumb unless it is placed in the silent window nook where peaceful zephyrs are blowing; the human being is the most wonderful instrument, full of emotional sensitive strings on which the winds of Life must play.

Deep in the great soul of the Universe there is evidence of a central organ of all action from which emanate only perfectly harmonious chords, as when that mystical inner voice in the midst of jarring discord whispers, "Peace, Peace, be still." If we obey in silence we shall share the vibrations of that Great Harmony which is in truth the acme of Peace—"the essence of things hoped for, the substance of things unseen."

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

## BOOKS

### A FELLOW-SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE.

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

To every personal friend of Mayor Johnson's—and no one knows how many thousands look upon him as a personal friend—there may come at first regret in the reading of his book. For this is not in the usual sense an autobiography. It is not "the story of my life" but "the story of my nine years' war against Privilege." So boyhood and manhood and incidents and intimacies are touched upon in the narrative only to make clearer the mayoralty period. With the true editor's insight and the friend's divination, Miss Hauser has in her introduction and final chapter compensated for the book's impersonality. She is very right to open with an appreciation of Mr. Johnson's character and the conditions under which he worked, and to close the book with a brief and beautiful account of how he bent to his life's purpose those last hard months on earth. Any remaining regret at not being told by himself more of what manner of man Tom L. Johnson was, is speedily lost in the inspiring story of what he did and how he did

it. And at the book's end it flashes upon the reader as he thinks over the story that better than by relation of incident or diary of thought and emotion, has the man been revealed in his works.

The first third of the book—a hundred pages—is about Mr. Johnson's life before he was elected Mayor of Cleveland, his life as a monopolist, he calls it. His younger childhood was spent in Kentucky during the war. "Joe Pilcher and I," he writes, "were playing on the floor with a Noah's ark and a most wonderful array of painted animals. . . . After infinite pains and hours of labor my playmate and I had arranged the little figures in pairs, according to size, beginning with elephants and ending with the beetles, when one of the young ladies of our household, dressed for a party, crossed the room and with her train switched the lines to hopeless entanglement in the meshes of the long lace curtains, two of the animals only remaining standing. Joe, who was somewhat my senior, burst into tears, while I smiled brightly and said: 'Don't cry, Joe; there are two left, anyhow.' My mother never tired of telling this story and its frequent repetition certainly had a marked influence upon my life, for it established for me, in the family, a reputation as an optimist which I felt in honor bound to live up to somehow. I early acquired a kind of habit of making the best of whatever happened. In later life larger things presented themselves to me in exactly the same way. Nothing was ever entirely lost. There was no disaster so great that there weren't always 'two left anyhow.' My reputation for being always cheerful in defeat—a reputation earned at such cost that I may mention it without apology—is largely due to this incident, trivial though it may seem."

Of his first monopoly, when at the end of the Civil War a train-conductor carried papers for him only, and he made eighty-eight silver dollars in five weeks, he says: "The lesson of privilege taught me by that brief experience was one I never forgot, for in all my subsequent business arrangements I sought enterprises in which there was little or no competition. In short, I was always on the lookout for somebody or something which would stand in the same relation to me that my friend, the conductor, had."

The magically rapid rise in the business world through invention, manufacturing and street railway manipulation, the lessons learned at Johnstown from the flood, the chance reading of social problems which resulted in lifelong devotion to Henry George and his teachings, are all briefly told. His little comment on Henry George is one of those rare remarks which show how sympathetically conscious of its intent one great soul is of another. "It is this, this disregard of self-interest, this indifference to one's personal fate, this willingness to 'raise hell' for the sake of a cause or to give one's life for it that the world can not

understand. And it is because the world has never understood that men like Henry George in all the ages have had to pay so big a price for just the chance to serve."

Mr. Johnson's experience in Congress was to him something like what college is to most young men: "It gave me an acquaintance with men of many types from all over the country, broadened my outlook, enlarged my vision, and increased my sense of responsibility." The final resolution to end his career as a monopolist came partly from an interview of which he tells. A business friend called upon Mr. Johnson late one evening. He was worth many millions, and with his simple tastes couldn't spend his income.

"Yes, yes," he said, "I ought to stop business. I know it and I've tried it. My family seems to get some joy out of life and I ought to. But I can't get away from the office. I have stayed away for weeks at a time as a trial, and then I get so blue that I have to rush back. Then after I've been at the grind awhile I am overwhelmed with the awfulness of it all, as I was to-night when I had to come down here to see you."

"Well," I answered, "if you will play the game, you've got to take the thumps." He answered that he saw no relief in any course he could now take.

That incident set me to thinking seriously of my half-formed resolution to give up business. I asked myself whether it was possible if I continued in it that I should come to be possessed with the insanity of it as this unhappy old man was. Would it become a habit with me, like a drug? Would I find myself powerless to give it up, as a gambler is powerless to stay away from his games? I was young and strong and I dearly loved the stimulation that went with the fight. But I decided that I must get that stimulation some other way. I knew I "was as other men" and I foresaw that in the end business would control my destiny; that I should not rule it, but that it would rule me. No, much as I enjoyed the game, I wasn't willing to take the thumps, and having reached this decision I threw all my energies into my efforts to get out of the various things I was engaged in. This sounds easier than it was, and I never did get out entirely, but from the night of that old financier's visit I never lost sight of the fact that I must give up the money-making game.

Then comes the story of that great war upon Privilege in Cleveland which in the eyes of the public and in its most dramatic aspects centered in the traction question, but which as Mayor Johnson never forgot and often emphasized, was fundamentally a question of taxation. "The greatest of all privileges," he used to say, "is the privilege of having another man pay your taxes."

To give "good government" in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term, wasn't the thing I was in public life for. It was a part of our policy from the beginning of our work in Cleveland, it is true, but as a side issue, merely. While we tried to give the people clean and well-lighted streets, pure water, free access to their parks, public baths and comfort stations, a good police department, careful market in-

spection, a rigid system of weights and measures, and to make the charitable and correctional institutions aid rather than punish wrong doers, and to do the hundred and one other things that a municipality ought to do for its inhabitants—while we tried to do all these things, and even to outstrip other cities in the doing of them, we never lost sight of the fact that they were not fundamental. However desirable good government, or government by good men may be, nothing worth while will be accomplished unless we have sufficient wisdom to search for the causes that really corrupt government. I agree with those who say that it is Big Business and the kind of Big Business that deals in and profits from public service grants and taxation injustices that is the real evil in our cities and the country to-day. This Big Business furnishes the sinews of war to corrupt bosses regardless of party affiliations. This Big Business which profits by bad government must stand against all movements that seek to abolish its scheme of advantage. It was these fundamental wrongs that I wished to attack.

Because he believed his experience in Cleveland typical of fundamental reform's experience in any city, he was persuaded to write his story and write it in detail. This is why his story is so valuable. To men enlisted in similar wars? Yes, but who is not? Soon or late, consciously or unwittingly, must everyone take his stand for or against Privilege. And one great thing this book will do for every reader is to teach him the better and the sooner to recognize the contest and knowingly to choose sides. "My Story" will help to do just what in his fascinating chapter on his municipal co-workers, Mr. Johnson says the Cleveland movement did. It will "make men."

Living, Tom L. Johnson, alone in the United States, frightened the moneyed Interests into full use of their repressive and vindictive power; dying, he has left behind him a guide-book straight into their fearful souls. That this book was not suppressed must be for the same reason that Mayor Johnson kept gaining headway against Big Business. Big Business could not perceive the nature or extent of the new injury until after it had been inflicted, nor could it guess his next quick move. So now Privilege thinks that few will read and none can put the book into practice. Gratitude once more for that everlasting weakness of Mammon—its underestimation of the mighty moving power of Truth!

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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## THE WOMEN CLERKS AND THE CHRISTMAS SHOPPERS.

Miss 318. By Rupert Hughes. Published by Fleming H. Revell & Co., Chicago. 1911. Price 75 cents, net.

Thanks to the operation of our new ten-hour law for women, Mr. Hughes' sympathetic and witty picture of the shopgirls' hardships during

the Christmas season is no longer true for Illinois. The author seems to blame the shoppers and their perversion of the Christmas spirit; but it occurs to his shopper-reader that two or three daily shifts of clerks for the holiday rush would solve the problem. Exactly that change the ten-hour law has brought about; and the storekeepers, treated all alike, make no loud complaint.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Crux. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Published by the Charlton Co., 67 Wall St., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00.

—The British Consuls in the Confederacy. By Milledge L. Bonham, Jr. Whole Number 111, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Published by Columbia University, Longmans, Green & Co., Agents, New York. 1911.

## PERIODICALS

Henry George in the Twentieth Century.

B. O. Flower's series of personal recollections of liberal and progressive leaders, begins in the Christmas Twentieth Century (of Boston), the second issue under the editorship of Charles Zueblin, with an excellent characterization of Henry George. "Among the great politico-economic writers," Mr. Flower ranks George as "entitled to a foremost position as a fundamental thinker, a clear-visioned and rigidly logical reasoner," but beyond and above this, as "dominated by moral idealism" which "made his work germinal in character." It may be that Mr. Flower did not quite catch Henry George's reason for distrusting a "get together" program suggested to him and others in 1892, which was that if the group of varied leaders present could not agree upon an immediate program (as was the case) the nebulous discontent of the time could not be expected to crystallize upon a practical issue with efficient voting strength in national politics. But Mr. Flower has put this conference on record with a recognition of its significance and in the same interesting style that marks his whole article.

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The New Girl: "An' may me intended visit me every Sunday afternoon, ma'am?"

Mistress: "Who is your intended, Delia?"

The New Girl: "I don't know yet, ma'am. I'm a stranger in town."—Harper's Bazar.

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"It's a shame the way they crowd these cars. The passengers should rise up and insist on getting a chance to sit down."

"You may send me up the complete works of Shakespeare, Goethe, and Emerson—also something to read."

"I'd like to dance, and I should dance, only the

music puts me out and the girl gets in my way."

"Yes, her husband robbed her of every cent she had—and just think, she only married him because she was afraid of burglars!"

"Hello! Is this the butcher? Well, you may send me up a roast of beef, and remember, please, butcher, to have it rare. That's the only way my husband can eat it."—Boston Transcript.

+ + +

Customer: "How much for that suit of clothes, if I pay cash?"

Tailor: "Forty dollars."

Customer: "How much on credit?"

Tailor: "Eighty dollars, half of it down."—Toledo Blade.

+ + +

"I should like to open an account at this bank, if you please."

"We shall be glad to accommodate you, madam. What amount do you wish to deposit?"

"O, but I mean a charge account, such as I have at the big dry goods stores."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

"Mr. and Mrs. Witcherley seem to be such a happy couple."

"I think they merely pretend to be happy."

"Why do you say that? Have you any reason for believing they don't get along well together?"

"Oh, they may get along all right together, but they certainly can't be happy. She's getting stout

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Do you want it? There is no Single Tax Newspaper in the broad United States. (The Socialists have many.) For several years we have had in mind the starting of this paper and all of our efforts have been in that direction. We now have a printing plant with almost enough machinery to launch the new paper. The paper is to be 4 pages 6 cols. (6 col. folio) and the price to be 75c a year, with a drop to 50c if possible. If you are willing to subscribe to this paper send us your name and address and call attention to this notice. It is necessary for us to get a bona fide list of subscribers before we start so as to get second-class postal rates. We will get out a tentative edition first. Later the regular edition will start—the time depending upon the number of people willing to subscribe and upon certain mechanical arrangements. Address CHARLES LeBARON GOELLER, Editor Union-Endicott News P. O. Box E UNION, BROOME COUNTY, NEW YORK

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The Arden Printery  
Arden, Edge Moor, Del.

and he's beginning to lose his hair."—Chicago Record-Herald.

+ + +

"Is this the kind of weather you generally have out here in Oregon?" inquired the dyspeptic easterner.

"This is about the kind we've had all summer," said the hotel clerk.

"Why don't you use the Recall on it?"—Chicago Tribune.

## What Time

on washday do you get through with your washing?

Ten o'clock, noon, three o'clock or night?

If you do it the old-fashioned, boiling, hot water, hard rubbing way, you're lucky to get it done by sundown.

If you wash the Fels-Naptha way, in cool or lukewarm water without boiling or hard rubbing, you can be done well before noon and take it easy all the time.

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# A NEW LAND OF PROMISE

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Other new countries have been developed before, but with comparative slowness, because the railroads have been slow to extend their lines, but in Canada things are not done that way. When they once start they never stop until the job is done and the tremendous energy and wealth of the people drive every project through with almost incredible speed.

Consider the new Grand Trunk Pacific railroad, which is almost literally stalking across Canada with seven-league boots. Begun only a short time ago, it has fairly leaped forward until now it is all completed except the last four hundred miles. Grading camps are already within two miles of Fort Fraser, which is destined to be one of the largest cities in this rich territory.

Everything points to an even greater development here than in Calgary, which, a few years ago, was opened up by the Canadian Pacific Railway and now has 40,000 people—and original \$100 to \$500 lots are now worth from \$1,500 to \$30,000.

Fort Fraser gives every indication of starting out to make a new record in the rise of land values. Its splendid location gives it every natural advantage necessary to quick growth.

But so fast do things move that few people yet realize what tremendous opportunities confront them in this future great city. Lots there can be bought now from \$150 to \$200 and up on easy terms of 10 per cent down and 5 per cent a month, with the splendid chance that they will double or triple in value before the last payment is due. No interest is charged, or taxes, until lots are fully paid for. The British Columbia Government guarantees the titles.

When the railroad comes—as it must in 1913 and probably will much sooner—values will go sky-high, and if you own one of these lots it should make you a tidy fortune.

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