

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Fighting Direct Legislation.

Plutocracy dies hard. Its beneficiaries and their agents were so stupid for a long time that the virtues of the Initiative and Referendum as a regulator of representative government took hold upon the popular imagination before plutocrats realized that "the blamed thing was loaded"; and now its progress has got such headway that nothing can head it off. But even as a fool king once tried to sweep back the ocean tides, so has the moribund Civic Federation of Chicago, relic of a professional secretary's genius in making a soft place for himself while incidentally furnishing plutocracy with a medium for selfish expression in the name of public spirit—even as that king so this civic federation has undertaken to sweep back the inevitable.

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Wonderful indeed was the Civic Federation's call for a meeting to sound alarms against the dangers to plutocracy of the Initiative and Referendum. "We foresee," so read the call, "the 'boss-controlled' minorities of our great urban centers holding the balance of power in legislative matters, the public having no chance to fix responsibility and no one to punish by defeating him for office!" If "boss-controlled minorities" could hold the balance of power on Initiatives or Referendums, it is not easy to see why they can't hold it on candidates; and if they hold it on candidates, how could the public punish candidates by defeat-

ing them for office? That call reads as if its writer had composed it after a banquet instead of before one.

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But over-stimulation at table does not account for the whole performance of those gentlemen who mistake devotion to their private interests for civic holiness. To discredit direct legislation they have made display of an enormously long direct legislation ballot, putting this absurd thing forward as characteristic. In fact the ballot they display is a South Dakota specimen, and its length is due not to direct legislation but to representative legislation. A legislature of South Dakota, in order to furnish enemies of direct legislation precisely this kind of campaign material, enacted a law requiring the text of every direct legislation measure to be printed on the ballot. Consequently, six questions on the South Dakota ballot make that ballot about ten feet long. But 32 questions on the Oregon ballot occupy no more space than the names of candidates do. The simple and sufficient Oregon ballot was devised by a law initiated by the people; the absurd South Dakota ballot was devised by a legislature.

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It was in its speakers, however, that the Civic Federation excelled at its banquet in opposition to the Initiative and Referendum. They were of two classes: (1) the confessedly unintelligent (on the subject in hand); and, (2) the manifestly self-interested. The first were well represented by Prof. Laughlin, one of those faithful conservatives who would probably insist upon eating with his fingers yet if forks hadn't come into vogue before he began to eat at all; the second found a perfect representative in the Oregon lawyer for the corporation which is to Portland what the electric combine is to Chicago. This gentleman reported from Oregon that the Initiative and Referendum there are dangerous. His testimony was quite unnecessary. To such corporation interests, as those he represents, the Initiative and Referendum are exceedingly dangerous, not only in Oregon but wherever they get a foothold. If they were not, they wouldn't be worth advocating.

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Government by Minorities.

Now that the Initiative and Referendum movement forges ahead, its adversaries discover in themselves a prodigious and hitherto unsuspected regard for majority rule. Heretofore insistent on limiting the suffrage to "the intelligent," or "the propertied," etc., they now fly so far from their

moorings as to oppose the initiation or the vetoing of measures by a majority of those who vote on them, if those voting be fewer than those who vote for candidates, even though every voter be allowed full opportunity. Here is a test of intelligence—the Initiative and Referendum—which is self-executing. A question is brought to vote; every qualified voter is given a ballot; every qualified voter who is intelligent on the subject votes one way or the other; the unintelligent (on that subject) voluntarily disfranchise themselves to that extent and for that occasion. But your restrictionist of the suffrage is not satisfied. He wants the whole body of voters who voluntarily refrain from voting on a referendum question to be counted in the negative—the lazy business men and the lazy professional men and the venal voters who get paid for voting for candidates but not for referendum voting, the "heelers" who take no interest in politics except as it has spoils in it, and blind partisans who relate their politics to nothing but the party of their daddies or a hero of the moment. Therefore your adversary of the Initiative and Referendum explains himself with professions of love for majority rule. But he doesn't want majority rule. What he wants is a temporary argument that sounds plausible, with which to oppose the Initiative and Referendum. So he urges that experience shows that only a small proportion of the electorate vote on referendum questions. It isn't true, but what if it were? The essential principle of majority rule is not that all shall vote whether they wish to or not; it is that all shall have opportunity to vote.

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Governor Wilson and Direct Legislation.

In our mention of Governor Wilson's attitude toward People's Power (pp. 74, 97), we appear to have given an impression that he has definitely declared for the initiative, referendum and recall—reforms he had previously opposed. For such an intimation we have had no warrant. The most that can be said is that in his inaugural address he apparently alluded to those reforms favorably. That there may be no further misunderstanding, we quote from his address as published in *The New York Evening Post*, of January 17th:

There is widespread dissatisfaction with what our legislatures do, and still more serious dissatisfaction with what they do not do. Some persons have said that representative government has proved too indirect and clumsy an instrument, and has broken down as a means of popular control. Others, looking a little deeper, have said that it was not representative government that had broken down, but the effort to get it. They have pointed out that with our present

methods of machine nomination and our present methods of elections, which were nothing more than a choice between one set of machine nominees and another, we did not get representative government at all—at least, not government representative of the people, but government representative of political managers who served their own interests and the interests of those with whom they found it profitable to establish partnerships.

Obviously, this is something that goes to the root of the whole matter. Back of all reform lies the method of getting it. Back of the question of what you want lies the question, the fundamental question of all government, how are you going to get it? How are you going to get public servants who will obtain it for you? How are you going to get genuine representatives who will serve your real interests, and not their own or the interests of some special group or body of your fellow citizens whose power is of the few and not of the many? These are the queries which have drawn the attention of the whole country to the subject of the direct primary, the direct choice of representatives by the people, without the intervention of the nominating machine, the nominating organization.

I earnestly commend to your careful consideration in this connection the laws in recent years adopted in the State of Oregon, whose effect has been to bring government back to the people and to protect it from the control of the representatives of selfish and special interests. They seem to me to point the direction which we must also take before we have completed our regeneration of a government which has suffered so seriously and so long as ours has here in New Jersey from private management and organized selfishness. Our primary laws, extended and perfected, will pave the way. They should be extended to every elective office, and to the selection of every party committee or official as well, in order that the people may once for all take charge of their own affairs, their own political organization and association; and the methods of primary selection should be so perfected that the primaries will be put upon the same free footing that the methods of election themselves are meant to rest upon.

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All who are basing their favorable judgment of Governor Wilson upon his attitude toward direct legislation, must concede that he does not there distinctly declare for it. Although the Oregon plan includes it, the only part of the Oregon plan which he definitely adopts is that which has to do with the choice of representatives. Yet he does not declare against the other features of the Oregon plan, and with reference to the features he declares for, he says that they seem to him "to point the direction." There is, of course, not much significance to be attached any longer to a political leader's coming out for direct nominations. Only with pronounced reactionaries is there any opposition now to that policy. So far, then, as Governor Wilson is to be judged

by his declarations regarding People's Power, it may be fairly said that he has yet to urge the initiative, referendum and recall definitely and distinctly. Nevertheless, let it be observed that his action, insofar as he has been called upon to take any, has been in the direction of People's Power and against further toleration of Big Business in politics. Nor must too much be asked of any man in actual political service in the way of declaring for principles not yet at issue in his own sphere of political influence. Some men must quite constantly give evidence of their devotion to fundamental principles; but as this is likely to put a long distance between them and the masses of the people, tests that properly apply to them may not apply to political leaders. All that can be demanded of political leaders is that they keep abreast of the fighting line of the progressive army. It would seem but reasonable, therefore, to consider Governor Wilson as having intended to advise his followers that, though he may not yet consider it prudent for a progressive political leader in New Jersey to declare specifically for the initiative, referendum and recall, he nevertheless intends to move steadily forward in that direction.

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Senatorial Unobtrusiveness.

Here is an excerpt from the reported proceedings of the Senate on January 30:

The resolution providing for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people was reached today and it looked for a moment as if it might go through by default.

"I object," at last said Senator Kean, unobtrusively.

"The Senator certainly can make no objection to the adoption of that resolution," remarked Senator Shively, inquiringly.

The New Jersey Senator made no reply, but later, when Senator Borah sought to obtain unanimous consent to vote on the resolution on February 10, Senator Penrose filed an objection, thus effectively for the time obstructing disposition of the resolution.

Unobtrusive John Kean! With both parties in his home State of New Jersey demanding popular election of Senators, he "objects." Whom does the senior Senator from New Jersey represent? Possibly his Democratic analogue, "Jim" Smith, and the 1,000 backers allowed him in what Governor Wilson recently called a liberal estimate of his plutocratic faction. If Mr. Kean has 1,000 wealthy Republicans to match "Jim" Smith's 1,000 Democrats, he has just about a month of political life left in which, by "unobtrusive" objections, to see the 1,000 dwindle. For

plutocrats have as much use for weak-kneed service as democratic Democrats have.

* *

Defeat of the St. Louis Charter.

By a vote of nearly 3 to 1 the new charter for St. Louis has been defeated. It ought to have been defeated. Had it carried, its adoption would have been regarded all over the country as a condemnation of direct legislation for cities. The charter was framed by men who distrust popular government. They did provide for a Recall, but in such a way as to make it exceedingly difficult to invoke and ingeniously ridiculous if successful. A recalled officer would have retained his office for six months after being recalled! This might imply an intention to "queer" the Recall, but that wasn't the object. The absurd recall came from excessive anxiety to avoid people's power in the government of St. Louis. St. Louis progressives were hostile to this charter, and William Marion Reedy, the brilliant and progressive editor of *The Mirror*, opposed it at first for its lack of democracy. But importuned by good citizens, and knowing how bad the present charter is in respects in which the proposed one made improvements, he submitted to the latter as the lesser of two evils. Yet he was right in his original judgment, and the people of St. Louis have sustained it. It cannot be believed that the 65,046 who voted against the new charter were influenced by the "bad people" who want the old charter. The probability is that the comparatively small number who did want the old charter were reinforced by progressives who would have voted for the new charter had it been democratic, and enough of them to have secured its adoption. A leaven of democracy in the next new charter the good people of St. Louis propose might be worth trying. Gentlemen, the day is passing when the people of our cities are willing to be governed without their consent, whether by "bad" politicians or by "good" business men and their lawyers.

* *

Public Ownership in Detroit.

The Michigan Supreme Court has denied Detroit the right to vote on the municipal ownership of its street railway system until its general charter has been amended. While this is a setback for those who favor an immediate vote on a municipally owned street railway system, the decision establishes several things that will eventually help the principle of community ownership of public utilities. So the "defeat" has been turned

into a victory by the Supreme Court's outspoken announcement that—

cities can own their own public utilities, including street car systems . . . The bonds issued for their purchase or construction are a lien only on the utility. . . . The home rule bill passed by the last legislature is Constitutional, and the people have the right to make their own charters free from interference by the legislature, and to initiate local laws that conform to Constitutional limitations.

It is reported as probable that at the spring election Detroit will select a commission to revise the charter. After this has been done, electors will be free to adopt, by a six-tenths' vote in its favor, the public ownership of any public utility they desire. For the adoption of civil service and other progressive legislation, only a majority vote is needed. So, after all, democratic Democrats and democratic Republicans, democratic Socialists and democratic Prohibitionists, and all other democrats have no reason to feel depressed over this decision. They may be encouraged, moreover, by the fact that Detroit is already collecting \$300 a day from the street car company for the use of thoroughfares where franchises have expired.

* *

Postal Parcels.

The express companies have been successful so far in heading off the parcels post, but they are being smoked out. They would have been smoked out long ago and the parcels post established, if our "representative" form of government were not so hedged in that representatives feel their responsibility to special interests more sensitively than to the public.

* *

A Sensible Assessor.

In Whatcom County, Washington, the people have elected a tax assessor, W. H. Kaufman (vol. xiii, p. 1130), who appears to be completely "on his job," at any rate, upon the first "go off." He has begun his term of office by sending out a letter to the merchants and manufacturers of his county, in which he tells them that the law requires him to assess their personal property for taxation; that this amounts to a fine in proportion to the prosperity they have helped to bring into the county; and that it would be much better all around to exempt personal property and landed improvements and to measure each man's taxes by the market value of his land. "We fine the mill man," he says, "and if in spite of this discouragement the mill comes to our city, we give the increased ground values to land owners who are often merely speculators." What he declares

he would like to do is to encourage mill men and manufacturers by exempting them from taxation, and to discourage land speculators by taxing land alone and in proportion to its value. Nevertheless, he explains, he must enforce the laws as they are. Therefore, he invites the merchants and manufacturers to meet him at their respective localities on particular dates, which he names for making his rounds of the county. To this invitation he adds the suggestion that—

each meeting appoint two committees, one to co-operate with the assessor's office in securing fair and equitable assessments as far as possible under the present law, and the other to co-operate with similar committees from the Seattle Manufacturers' Association, the Business Men's committee from Everett, and like committees from other cities, from the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the Federation of Labor, Teachers' clubs, etc., etc., to secure the submission of a Constitutional amendment granting to counties local option as to taxation as is now the law in British Columbia on the north and in Oregon on the south.

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Tax Reform in Illinois.

In transmitting the report of his Tax Commission to the Illinois legislature, Governor Deneen correctly explains the effect of the Constitutional amendment it proposes. Should this amendment be adopted, the legislature would be free to exempt personal property altogether or by classification, as it chose; but it would not be free to exempt real estate improvements in the slightest degree, nor otherwise to discriminate against land monopoly values and in favor of improvement values.

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The proposed measure might be an acceptable fiscal reform as an entering wedge, if it were a legislative act; but as a Constitutional provision, its "thus far and no farther" deprives it of every wedge-like quality. That it could not be a legislative act is quite true. It could, however, have been drawn broadly enough as a Constitutional amendment to clear the way for exemptions by the legislature, of real estate improvements as well as personal property. Thus drawn, it would have enabled the legislature to distinguish between personal property which is so in fact, and that which is so only in law, being in fact mere evidence of legal title to public utility franchises and monopolized natural resources.

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This tax amendment should be withheld from popular vote by the legislature at the present session, because its presentation now would postpone

the presentation of the Initiative and Referendum amendment, which the people of Illinois demanded by a majority of 319,510 (p. 105) at the election last fall. The two amendments could not go to the people together, for the Illinois Constitution forbids submission of amendments to more than one of its articles at the same election, and tax regulations are in a different article from election regulations. Since one of these amendments must precede the other, that for the Initiative and Referendum is entitled to preference. In the first place it has been asked for by the people; the other has nothing behind it but an appointed commission whose chairman is known to be a professional representative of corporate interests. In the second place, the Initiative and Referendum comes first in reasonable order; with this power reserved to them, the people could control the class of tax exemptions and not be bound by "jack-pot" legislatures.

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Entirely apart, however, from all questions of preference, the proposed tax amendment should be defeated. Two of its objectionable features are alone enough to condemn it. (1) It would not permit the exemption from taxation of real estate improvements along with personal property. Consequently, the improvements of farms and the homes of workers, always worth more as a rule than their sites, would be subject to taxation by Constitutional requirement. To be sure they are subject to it now; but the possibility of so amending the Constitution as to exempt them would be greatly diminished after exemptions of certain so-called "personal property" had been secured. (2) By allowing legislatures to classify "personal property" for exemption while requiring them to tax real estate improvements, and in the absence of Initiative and Referendum powers, opportunity is afforded corporation interests to secure exemption for some of the most valuable kinds of land in the guise of "personal property." The capital stock of corporations in Illinois is now required to be taxed by a State board. In legal terms this is personal property; in fact, most of its value is land value—street car rights, water power rights, mineral rights, railroad rights of way, railroad terminals, etc. Through corruption, much of this property escaped taxation until the Chicago Teachers' Federation forced it into the courts; but if the proposed tax amendment were adopted, any "jack-pot" legislature could legalize the tax-dodging the Teachers exposed. And that is probably the principal object of the proposed amendment.

Pardon of Warren the Socialist.

When President Taft does a right thing he does it awkwardly enough to indicate some lack of experience. The pardon of Fred D. Warren, the socialist (p. 99), is an instance in point. Warren was convicted of an infraction of a postal law, nothing else. Whether he was a socialist or not did not enter into the case legitimately. He had done precisely what is frequently done—offered a reward for a fugitive from justice, printing the offer on the outside of mail matter. When convicted of this offense he attributed his prosecution and conviction to his being a prominent and aggressive socialist. There was much in the circumstances to make it seem so, and Mr. Taft removes all doubt. In granting a pardon which Mr. Warren refused to ask, Mr. Taft goes out of his way to comment on Warren's socialistic writings, which were not involved in the case. So Mr. Warren is pardoned by Mr. Taft (except for \$100 of the fine, and this is not to be collected by criminal process), for a postal offense, not on any grounds related to the offense itself, but because his "wild" and "perverted" views on other matters ought not to be taken too seriously. For whatever value it may be to him or his cause, Mr. Warren can now prove by President Taft's message that his prosecution was not for the offense of which he was convicted, but for his "wild" socialism.

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THE NEW NATIONALISM OF DIAZ.

"Mexico as She Really Is" remains as coy and retreating from the view of the inquisitive outside observer as ever, and the fact that the Republic is supposed to be dealing with "a real revolution at last" has unfortunately not brought us enlightenment.

We are diverted at times by reports that the State Department at Washington has been notified by the Mexican embassy that the "backbone of the disturbance has been broken," printed side by side with despatches narrating "another insurgent victory" obtained by daring correspondents who somehow escaped with their lives, and the news (if news it is) in spite of bandits and press censors.

In our perplexity it is some comfort to reflect that the Awakener of the World's Conscience knows the truth about our sister Republic. Prompt upon the appearance of a "Mexico as She Really Is" article in Pearson's by J. Creelman, a letter issued from the White House, dated March 7, 1908, "thanking" the writer for his eulogy of

President Diaz. Among contemporary statesmen, wrote the Colonel, there was none greater than Diaz, for he had done for his country everything that a man humanly could do, and Mr. Creelman had given to the American people, he said, the best and most lifelike picture that is known up to date of this great President.

Mr. Creelman had in his Mexican trip fully as many weeks in which to form his opinion of Mexico as Mr. Roosevelt had days in Egypt in which to decide that country's future. The Colonel must therefore have found in Mr. Creelman's information trustworthiness in absolutely superfluous amounts.

The response, if any, he makes to Carlo de Fornaro's "Diaz, Czar of Mexico," a book prefaced with an open letter condemning the Colonel's hasty appreciation, is probably short and ugly. Mr. de Fornaro, however, as an editor of "El Diario," a newspaper published in Mexico City, had had several years' experience with press censors of the Republic. He asserts that a "Bastille" and a "Siberia" are parts of the system; that the workingmen, driven to despair by plunder-taxes upon industry, are shot down in droves by government troops.

The "new nationalism" of Diaz has been in force for thirty-five years, to flower in "a real revolution at last," according to our hopeful correspondents. It is instructive to note that Diaz began his career in a struggle for political ideals; and demanded honesty in public servants, and later an efficient army for preservation of peace.

HERBERT S. WEBER.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE FORD HALL FORUM.

Boston, Feb. 2.

Truly the old order changeth when tumultuous applause follows prayer at a public meeting on a Sunday evening in the metropolis of New England! This did not occur in Faneuil Hall or Tremont Temple, but in Ford Hall on Beacon Hill, a building owned and controlled by the orthodox Baptist denomination, and at a gathering conducted by an auxiliary branch of that church—the Boston Baptist Social Union.

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The late Daniel Sharp Ford, founder and publisher of The Youths' Companion, and a zealous member of the Baptist church, left a bequest of several hundred thousand dollars to the Baptist denomination to erect a magnificent edifice, in one portion of which is Ford Hall, with a seating capacity of 1,200, and admirably arranged for forum purposes.

Mr. Ford's will specified that part of his bequest

be used as an endowment of the Baptist Social Union for the purpose of healing the breach he saw widening between the "House of Want" and the "House of Have," or, in the words of the testator, to "soften the inevitable conflict." Mr. Ford builded better than he knew. There is no forum in America where social and economic questions are more intelligently, fundamentally and fearlessly discussed than from this rostrum. All shades of economic and religious thought are welcomed to this platform.

These meetings, established three years ago, are typical in their development of the movement of thought throughout the world. The first season there was a course of six lectures, five of them delivered by clergymen of national reputation but to meager audiences. Last season there were twenty lectures, and among those who occupied the platform were Keir Hardie of Great Britain, Rabbi Wise, Professor Joshi, of India; Prof. Zueblin, the late Charles Sprague Smith and Prof. Rauschenbush. The present season was opened by Henry George, Jr., and among the other speakers so far have been Bishop Chas. D. Williams, of Michigan; the Rev. Dr. George D. Lunn, of Schenectady, N. Y., and the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati.

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Mr. Bigelow occupied the platform January 29. Notwithstanding the weather was most inclement, two lines formed, extending nearly a block, a half hour before the doors were opened; and before 8 o'clock the doors were closed, as even standing room both down stairs and in the gallery was all taken. Mr. Bigelow's subject was "Stealing as a Fine Art," and from start to finish he had the sympathy of the entire audience.

At the conclusion of the prayer the audience applauded spontaneously and vigorously. When the applause had ceased the chairman said: "It is perhaps quite unusual for a prayer to be applauded, but I see no reason why we should not express our appreciation of a prayer in that way as well as in the good old Methodist fashion of saying 'Amen!' We do not have to follow any precedent here at Ford Hall, but can make our own precedents; and if that is your way of expressing your interest in a prayer you are perfectly welcome to use it." Here is the prayer:

Oh Thou Creator of all things and of all life, teach us we pray thee to recognize the real nature of property and its relation to human life. As property would have no value without men, forbid that we should be continually mistaking the shadow for the substance. Since property is created and made available by the labor of human beings, help us to strive mightily against that materialism which makes wealth of more account than men. Save the creators of wealth from being dominated by what they themselves have created; save the masters from idolatry and the workers from slavery. Cleanse our souls from the love of getting something for nothing. Help us to abominate misappropriation under every form and in every guise. Amen.

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These lectures are followed by questions from the audience for a half hour. The meetings open with a concert, and hymns are sung by the audience. Prayer is offered before the speaker is introduced, but no collection is taken, the expense of conducting

the meetings being defrayed entirely from the Ford endowment fund.

The originator and director of these meetings, George W. Coleman, was for many years publisher of The Christian Endeavor World. For several years he was president of the Boston Baptist Social Union and noted for his zealous activity in church affairs. He is the dominant factor in popularizing the Ford Hall meetings.

D. S. LUTHER.

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PROGRESSIVE CANADIAN FARMERS.

Winnipeg, Jan. 30.

Events democracy-ward in these western Provinces are moving with a rapidity that must be getting on the nerves of the corporations and their obedient servants, the politicians. The Manitoba Grain Growers, at their annual convention a year ago, endorsed the Initiative and Referendum. At this year's convention, held at Brandon on the 24th and 25th, they followed up that endorsement with a resolution demanding direct legislation of the Provincial legislature at the forthcoming session. The emphatic feature of their deliberations was the determined brushing aside of party lines.

The unanimity displayed by the Manitoba farmers on this question, the unanimous endorsement of it by the United Farmers of Alberta at their convention a week previously, the assurance by delegates at both conventions that the Saskatchewan farmers are not a whit behind their neighbors of the sister Provinces, and the certainty that they will endorse the principle at their convention, all give promise of the early establishment of People's Power in the Canadian West.

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F. J. Dixon of Winnipeg addressed the Brandon convention on the single tax. He was closely followed and well received. A large number of our farmers are convinced single taxers. There were others at the convention who were afraid the principle would adversely affect them because they were large land-users. Some of them told Mr. Dixon afterwards that he had cleared away their doubts. There was considerable demand for literature on the subject, and also a number of requests for addresses to be delivered at meetings of local organizations.

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The farmers are determined that the proposed railroad to Hudson's Bay shall be built, owned and operated by the people. They declared themselves unalterably opposed to the government's building the railway and then handing it over to one of the existing companies to operate. A scheme is on foot to form a farmers' joint stock company to build and operate the road rather than allow either of the existing grab-everything-in-sight corporations to get the franchise.

A conference is to take place early in February between the representatives of the organized farmers and the different labor bodies. It is confidently expected that a common platform will be formulated for combined political action, particularly in the matter of direct legislation.

Selkirk, a town about 25 miles north of Winnipeg, with a population of 3,200, and the oldest town in the Province, will apply to the legislature for power to raise its revenue by means of land value taxation. The decision to do so was reached at a recent joint meeting of the Town Council and the Board of Trade.

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The result of the reciprocity negotiations with the United States is received with mixed feelings. Any step, however faltering, in the direction of free trade is a welcome one; but the farmers had demanded free admission of agricultural implements, and the reduction is only from 17½ to 15 per cent. The free admission of vegetables and fruit will be very welcome in Winnipeg and the other mid-west cities and towns.

SEYMOUR J. FARMER.

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THE COMMON LIFE IN SWITZERLAND.*

Switzerland.

In my old home in Switzerland, where I have had time and opportunity to investigate land ownership, I found laws and customs practically the same as they were over fifty years ago when I left there and as they had been centuries before.

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In the Gemeinde Buchs, with over 4,000 inhabitants, there are 600 Vollburgers who own collectively the community land—1,227 acres of valley land, 490 acres of timber land and 4,290 acres of Alp land. The Alp land is pasture land high on the mountain above timber line.

Vollburger or full citizenship is inherited, belongs to married men or their widows, and entitles them to a share of the community land. Single men obtain one-fourth portion after the age of 24. As soon as a man marries he obtains a full portion.

There are many citizens who enjoy political rights since there are no difficulties in obtaining political citizenship, but this does not entitle them to communal property rights.

The management of communal land and property is conducted by a council of five members elected by male Vollburgers. The political or civil affairs and school management are also controlled each by a council of five members elected by direct vote of all citizens. Church affairs are conducted by the members of the respective churches, who pay their share of church tax according to the amount of taxable property they own.

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High up in the Alps where the most nutritious grasses grow cows are sent for summer pasture. The entire business of milking, making butter and cheese, taking care of the cattle and keeping buildings in repair has been conducted on the co-operative plan for centuries.

The timber lands are mostly on very steep slopes and gullies, so steep that without the utmost

*The writer of this letter from the country of his birth is a Kansas farmer, a disciple of Henry George, who has served repeatedly in the legislature of Kansas, part of the time as a Senator.

care in cutting and replanting the small amount of soil with a large portion of rocks would be washed down the valley leaving the bare mountain sides, and destroying valley land by covering it with gravel. Since 1897 the supervision of forest land has become national, and no timber can be cut, without consent of the federal authorities, and must be replanted again according to regulations. Even private forests are under the same regulations, and no reduction of forest area is allowed.

The valley land is mostly under cultivation except a portion which is too low; this is planted to timber (Erlen), which grows very fast and makes a fair fuel. When the water is high gates can be opened to let the muddy water flow in, and sediment is deposited so the land will gradually become very good agricultural land. In the meantime it brings a fair income through the growing of timber.

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To accommodate the growing population many building lots have been sold from the communal land. They are sold at auction to the highest bidder. From the proceeds of these the Gemeinde has a fund of over 200,000 francs, from which the interest is used for the public good.

Agriculture and dairying could not support the present population. Embroidery brings in more money than agriculture. Nearly every family has an embroidery machine. The work is usually done in the home, and the majority still work their portion of the communal land. Most people own their own homes with a small garden. No one is very rich according to American ideas, and scarcely any entirely destitute.

While in St. Gallen, the capital of my old Kanton, our consul told me that on the embroidery exported last year from there to the United States, duty to the amount of \$11,000,000 was paid. The tariff is 60 per cent. How would it affect the mass of the people in the United States and the embroidery workers in Switzerland if we changed our method of raising federal taxes from indirect to direct?

M. SENN.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF PROTECTION.

Thomson, Ga., Jan. 25.

Let me call your attention to the fact that we have at last ample evidence to overthrow the infernal tariff system by assailing it on Constitutional grounds.

In his official message to Congress, President Taft has confessed that the true purpose of the new law was to enable manufacturers to "pay high wages," and to "reap reasonable profit" on the capital invested in this branch of industry.

Without entering into the question of alleged high wages and alleged reasonable profits, let me call your attention to the legal effect of his amazing admission—an admission never before made in this official, Constitutional way.

The Congress has no legal right to legislate higher wages into any field of employment. It has no authority to enact profits, reasonable or otherwise, into any favored province of production. It can only levy customs duties to raise revenues for the support of the government.

Inasmuch as tariff bills invariably carry, in the preamble, the fiction that they are meant for revenue purposes, lawyers have thought that they could not be attacked on Constitutional grounds. That has never been my own opinion. I have always believed that, if the question were raised, the courts would hold that the purpose of the law would be determined by the character of its provisions—not by the name given in the preamble. Thus, a disbursement might be named a bill to raise revenue, but no court would stultify itself by holding that the preamble should govern its decision as to the true nature of the law.

In my judgment, the courts would admit in evidence not only the whole of the Payne-Aldrich bill itself—with its confiscatory or prohibitive rates—but also the drawback provision, the punitive features, and the discretionary powers delegated to the President. Furthermore, the speeches made by the Senators and Representatives whose votes passed the bill. Lastly and conclusively, the official admission of the President whose approval made the law.

It seems to me that the case against it is absolutely impregnable.

As you know, I'm not a Single-taxer; but as between the damnable, indirect tariff system and that of Henry George, I infinitely prefer the latter.

THOS. E. WATSON.

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HENRY GEORGE IN SPAIN.

Chicago, Feb. 4.

The daily of Cadiz, Spain, Jan. 13, reports a meeting of "The Republican Center of Instruction" in that city on the evening of Jan. 12. This center is composed of clubs. It was called to discuss the theories of production, rent, interest, wages, capital, and labor, as explained in the works of Henry George. Mr. Antonio Albendin, the leading single taxer of Spain, was the speaker of the evening, and is reported as having handled the subjects in an able manner, receiving much applause and a vote of thanks at the termination of his speech.

C. L. LOGAN.

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HORACE GREELEY AND THE TRIBUNE.

Sheboygan, Wis., Feb. 3.

Reading in your issue of Feb. 3 the story of Greeley's broken heart (p. 98) brings to my memory the fact that the story as you relate it was known at the time of Greeley's death wherever admirers of Greeley lived. It was told me by my father in 1872 and shortly thereafter many of the old subscribers of the Tribune discontinued the paper because of what was considered the perfidy of Whitelaw Reid. Following Mr. Reid's career since, I have never been able to overcome the feeling that his advancement was largely due to his betrayal of Greeley.

PAUL T. KREZ.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, February 7, 1911.

Progressive Republicans at Work.

The Constitutional amendment providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people (p. 35), having been placed in the order of unfinished business in the Senate, the following address to progressive Republican Governors, members of State legislatures, Mayors, national and State committeemen, officers of civic organizations, and other persons of influence in communities large and small, has been issued by Senator Bourne of Oregon as president of the National League:

The joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote will be acted upon by the United States Senate within a few days. It is not certain that it will receive the necessary two-thirds vote. It is certain that 90 per cent of the people are in favor of it. Will the Senate represent public sentiment upon this question? Do you know how your Senators stand? If their position is in doubt wire and write them. Bring the force of public opinion to bear upon them. It is a critical time. Your influence may determine the result. Wire them today.

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The National organization has now been completed, with Frederic C. Howe of Ohio as secretary, and with offices at Washington. Literature is being issued to promote and assist in the organization of local Leagues.

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The Fight for Direct Legislation.

A movement to prevent the next step for direct legislation in Illinois (p. 105), was begun by the Civic Federation of Chicago last week. This federation was organized several years ago by Ralph M. Easley, who left its secretaryship to form the National Civic Federation. Since that time the Chicago organization has not been obtrusive in civic affairs until recently, when the popular demand for the Initiative and Referendum, on the Peoria Conference petition (p. 106), was carried by 447,908 to 128,398. Half of its executive board then called a banquet meeting for the 4th to oppose the reform. One of the most prominent

of the committee, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, protested publicly in advance of the meeting. At the meeting Prof. Laughlin of the chair of political economy of the University of Chicago, presided, and the other principal speakers were Charles G. Dawes, John Richberg, and Frederick T. Holman of Portland, Oregon. On the same day the City Club was addressed in favor of direct legislation by George J. King, of Ohio, lecturer for the Direct Legislation League, who has recently been in Oregon. Mr. King stated that Mr. Holman is the attorney for the Portland Power and Light Company. On the 5th, at the regular meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Mr. King, Raymond Robins and Samuel Gompers spoke for the adoption of direct legislation; and Mr. Robins explained that the Chicago Civic Federation is putting forward the proposed tax amendment now before the legislature for the double purpose of securing tax exemption for corporate interests and obstructing the movement for direct legislation—it being Constitutionally impossible to amend more than one article of the Constitution at the same election. At this meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, resolutions were adopted demanding that the General Assembly submit the direct legislation amendment to a vote, instructing its legislative committee to work for the adoption of the reform, and requesting the Illinois State Federation of Labor to co-operate.

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In Kansas and Nebraska the opposition is trying to kill direct legislation by loading the measure down with tricky amendments.

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Direct Legislation in Ohio.

The Direct Legislation League of Ohio, headquarters in Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, has begun a campaign to elect delegates to the coming Constitutional convention of Ohio who shall be publicly pledged to support the Initiative and Referendum. It has also undertaken to furnish Initiative and Referendum articles to newspapers throughout the State, to hold public meetings in the interest of direct legislation, to organize local leagues, and to create a fund for the general expenses of the campaign. The executive committee is composed of George W. Harris, president of the League; Herbert S. Bigelow, secretary; George M. Hammell, field secretary and organizer, and Fenton Lawson, treasurer.

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Woman Suffrage in California.

A Constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage in California, which had already been adopted by the State Senate, was adopted by the Assembly on the 2d by a vote of 65 to 6. It now goes to the people of the State for final action.

The "Hobo" Convention.

Another convention of the Unemployed International Brotherhood and Welfare Association, "hoboes" (vol. xiii, p. 1214), has been held. "Hoboes," let it be noted, does not mean idlers or beggars; it is the name of the road for traveling casual workers. The head of the organization is James Eads How, grandson of the distinguished architect of the St. Louis bridge. A young man of fortune, Mr. How gave up his inheritance in order to be one of them among the men he has organized and is trying to secure decent treatment for. The object of the organization is to unite unorganized workers, secure employment for the unemployed, and utilize unused lands. The convention of this year met at Milwaukee on the 1st. Mayor Seidel made an address of welcome. When they proposed giving him a rising vote of thanks as the first city official that had ever officially welcomed them with a friendly address, he urged them to vote it down, saying:

I hope that motion will be voted down. I want you to understand the spirit in which I am here. If you have a message to give to the people vote that motion down. I am here today in an official capacity, but I don't know but that I will be in your ranks some day, and therefore I am speaking for myself.

It was then moved that President How respond to the remarks, which he did. After a three days' session, the convention adopted an address and fixed Washington, D. C., as the next place of meeting.

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The Chicago Garment Workers' Strike Called Off.

The garment workers' strike in Chicago (p. 82) was unexpectedly called off on the 3rd by the executive committee of the garment workers' union, with the sanction of President Thomas A. Rickert of the United Garment Workers of America; and without consulting the joint strike conference board, of which John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National and of the Chicago Women's Trade Union Leagues, were members; and without taking a referendum vote from the strikers themselves. The effect of calling off the strike before agreements were consummated with the rest of the manufacturers—some having already signed agreements (pp. 36, 58)—will be as summed up by the Tribune, that—

the strikers must return to work in the shops of the "association" houses as individuals. The open shop policy of the employers will be maintained. All grievances, if any, will be adjusted by the employers with each individual employe.

The duration of the strike has been twenty-two weeks; the number of firms involved, large and small, was 250; the maximum number of strikers, 45,000.

New York Shaken by an Explosion.

Manhattan island from end to end and the adjacent sections of New Jersey were shaken at noon of the 1st by the explosion of forty tons of dynamite on the New Jersey water front. The dynamite was being unloaded from a freight car into the hold of a lighter when the explosion occurred. As all persons connected with the work of transshipment were instantly blown to atoms the exact cause of the explosion will probably never be known. About thirty persons lost their lives; the Jersey Central terminal was wrecked; two lighters were destroyed and other shipping damaged. Glass was broken all over New York City, and the shock was felt on the street levels as well as to the top of the Singer tower, and as far away as Long Branch, a distance of forty-five miles.

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Ship Subsidies.

In extraordinary circumstances, a ship subsidy bill was passed by the Senate on the 2d. It is the Gallinger bill, which provides for a bounty of \$4 and \$2 a mile respectively for the outwardbound voyage to American ships of the second and third class operating between American ports and ports of China, Japan, Australasia, and South American ports south of the equator. Ships operating from North Atlantic ports, in order to receive the bounty, are required to touch at least one port of call on the Atlantic coast south of Cape Charles for mail, freight and passengers. The bill limits the amount of subsidy to be paid in any one year to \$4,000,000, and, further, that it shall not exceed the amount of money received on account of foreign mails. The bill now goes to the lower House, where, as an Administration measure, every effort will be made to put it on final passage before the session ends. Its passage was due to the fact that Senator Watson of West Virginia was absent without a pair and that Senator Lorimer of Illinois was present. Mr. Lorimer's affirmative vote made a tie, in the absence of Mr. Watson, and Vice-President Sherman gave his casting vote for the bill. An amendment offered by Senator Shively limiting the amount of subsidy to the profits received from carrying foreign mails, after deducting the cost of railroad transportation to the seaboard, was lost by 40 to 35; one by Senator Stone which meant practically free ships was lost by 39 to 37. One by Senator Jones to make the provision apply to "vessels hereafter built" was lost by the Vice-President's casting vote. Throughout the voting the Progressive Republicans voted solidly with the Democrats to amend the measure and at the last to kill it. During the discussion Senator Owen of Oklahoma made this challenge:

The majority which directs your deliberations has been repudiated by the American people at the polls. The popular vote has expressed to this majority a lack of confidence. You are not in sympathy with

the spirit and wishes of the American electorate. You have indeed a legal right to remain in session and to continue your routine deliberations, but you have not the moral right any longer to exist as representatives of the people, and it is your duty to adjourn just as soon as may be.

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Conservation of Natural Resources of Illinois.

A lengthy report on the submerged lands of Illinois by the Chipfield legislative committee (vol. xii, p. 799), made public on the 6th, states that enormous grabbing of public lands has been made, most of which can be recovered by prompt action. The committee makes the following recommendations:

Immediate action by the Attorney General to contest the title to the encroachments.

A special appropriation for the work.

Suits to test the franchise rights of the Illinois Central Railway Company, The Chicago Dock and Canal Company, the Wiggins Ferry Company at East St. Louis and the Cairo Trust property to exclusive shore privileges.

Creation of a permanent State rivers and lakes Commission. Duties: To prevent encroachments, to provide public preserves along rivers and lakes, to prosecute aggressions on submerged land, to develop waste bottom lands, to conserve the natural facilities of lakes and streams, creation of a Chicago harbor by some municipal corporation with safeguards against private ownership, co-operation with the War Department in preventing abuse of Government permits.

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Taxation in Illinois.

The Constitutional amendment proposed by the Illinois tax commission (p. 59) and transmitted by Governor Deneen to the legislature would be section 14 of Article X of the present Constitution. It is as follows:

From and after the date when this section shall be in force, the powers of the General Assembly over the subject matter of taxation of personal property shall be as complete and unrestricted as they would be if sections 1, 3, 9 and 10 of this article of the Constitution did not exist. Provided, however, that any tax levied on personal property must be uniform as to persons and property of the same class within the jurisdiction of the body imposing the same and all exemptions from taxation shall be by general law and shall be revocable by the General Assembly at any time.

In his message of transmittal Governor Deneen calls attention to the important fact that this amendment "leaves the present Constitutional provision with regard to taxation of real estate, requiring that every person or corporation shall be taxed in proportion on the value of his holdings thereof, entirely unaffected."

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The Chicago Federation of Labor adopted a

resolution on the 4th, proposed by Margaret A. Haley, declaring that the Federation—
condemns the proposed amendment to Section 14 of the Constitution of Illinois recommended by the State Tax Commission, the chairman of which was John P. Wilson, tax attorney for the corporations, and the purpose of which is to permit the legislature to pass valid laws relieving the corporations of capital stock tax as now provided by law.

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Taxation of Unearned Increments in Germany.

The bill in the German Reichstag for the taxation of unearned increments of land for Imperial purposes (p. 84) was enacted on the 1st by a vote of 199 to 93. Cities and other municipalities are allowed to retain 40 per cent of the proceeds of this exaction, and also to levy a supplementary tax on these increments. Socialists and Radicals voted against the bill on account of its unfair exemptions. It exempts the holdings of the Emperor and those of 22 kinglets, as well as great estates of agricultural land. These exemptions had been struck out of the bill at the request of the Imperial treasurer, but were restored on its third reading.

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The British Parliament.

The new British Parliament (p. 84), which came together informally last week, was formally opened by King George on the 6th. Only two legislative measures were mentioned specifically in the King's official speech—which is in fact the Ministry's statement. The first of these is reported by cable as follows:

Proposals will be submitted without delay for settling the relations between the two Houses of parliament, with the object of securing an effective working Constitution.

The other was to the effect that legislation will be proposed for insurance against sickness and unemployment.

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When the two Houses had assembled separately, they were addressed by Lord Landsdowne in the House of Lords and A. J. Balfour in the House of Commons, Tory leaders in their respective Houses, both of whom denounced the reciprocity agreement between the United States and Canada (p. 108). The prime minister, Mr. Asquith, explained that the British ministry could do nothing to interfere with the natural trend of events, and stated that he regarded the leveling of tariff walls between Canada and the United States as inevitable. He gave formal notice also of the bill to restrict the veto powers of the House of Lords, and announced the intention of the Ministry to claim the whole time of the Commons until the Easter recess, in disposing of this measure.

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The Labor party members elected James Ram-

say Macdonald as chairman in place of George N. Barnes (vol. xiii, p. 177), who was obliged to retire from that position on account of illness. Mr. Macdonald took the floor in reply in behalf of the Labor party to Mr. Balfour's condemnation of the reciprocity agreement with Canada, describing Mr. Balfour's speech as in this respect the most awkward and colossal blunder he had ever heard in Parliament.

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Persia.

Sani-ed-Dowleh, Persian minister of finance (vol. xii, p. 469), and a leading representative of the modern regime in Persia (vol. xii, p. 1039), was shot dead in the streets of Teheran on the 4th. The assassins, two Armenians, escaped. The Chicago Inter Ocean's dispatch says that the assassination has come at a time of considerable political excitement in the Persian capital as a result of a bitter quarrel in parliament over the appointment of American financial advisers. The parliament had voted on the 2nd to engage five financial experts from the United States to reorganize the country's fiscal system. This action was preceded by a dispute as to the nationality of the advisers to be employed, which threatened a split between the ministry and parliament. The ministers for a time supported the original plan to have Frenchmen placed in these posts, and one faction of the chamber of deputies held out for the naming of Swiss advisers. It has been said that Russia and Great Britain favored the choice of advisers from small neutral states.

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The Filipinos' Hope.

Manuel L. Quezon, delegate to Congress from the Philippine Islands (vol. xiii, p. 1073), in an address before the Beacon society of Boston on the 4th, declared that what his countrymen most fervently desired is "the right to govern themselves, and to become, without restriction of any kind, a free and independent nation." He continued:

Whether this result shall be most expedited by an international agreement providing for the neutralization of the islands, continued the delegate, or whether the speedier course would be through the establishment of an American protectorate, I do not here pretend to say, but whatever the method selected to bring about this result, the fact remains that the Filipino people look confidently forward to the early realization of their cherished ideal.

It is not too much to say that the material development and prosperity of the island is today seriously handicapped by the uncertainty and doubt regarding the policy of this government towards them.

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The Insurrection in Mexico.

The Mexican revolutionists (p. 108) continue to refuse to be put down. On the 31st two passenger

NEWS NOTES

trains on the Mexican Central railway between points in Chihuahua province were reported to have been captured by them, to the interruption of traffic. Also many bridges had been burned. The city of Juarez, across the Rio Grande from El Paso, was threatened on the 2d by the insurgents, who sent word that they intended to bombard it. The money and papers of the local branch banks, the postoffice and the custom house were hastily taken over to El Paso, and thither also most of the inhabitants fled. The two revolutionary generals, Orozco and Blanco, joined forces south of Juarez on the 4th, their combined forces numbering 2,000 men. General Orozco took command and was soon engaged in battle with government troops under Colonel Rabago, who arrived on the evening of the 4th over the Mexican North-western. After fighting all day on the 5th Colonel Rabago, with small losses, succeeded in entering Juarez, and Orozco was believed to have, at least temporarily, abandoned his hope of entering the city.

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James R. Garfield (vol. xiii, p. 849), late United States Secretary of the Interior, arrived in Cleveland, from Mexico on the 4th. He reported that he had been on one of the trains captured by the revolutionists. In an interview in the Cleveland Plain Dealer he said:

"The revolutionists are under strict discipline, but there is marauding of all kinds. They took charge of our train at Montezuma and all of the Americans on the train were well treated. The revolutionists paid for everything they got on the train or at any of the stations where stops were made.

The men in the rebel army are very much in earnest and they brought with them the wounded from the recent engagements in which they have participated.

One of the striking features was the activity of the revolutionists in looking after the comfort of all incoming tourists. Gen. Orozco, in particular, looked after the comforts of the Americans on the train. All means of communication in the province has been destroyed by the revolutionists. Telephone and telegraph wires have been cut and bridges blown up.

The revolution is well defined and the leaders are working toward the capture of Chihuahua, which is a comparatively short distance from the City of Mexico. It is impossible to state the actual strength of the rebels, and to what their strength will develop.

The only means the Mexicans have of getting information is through the newspapers, and this is uncertain. To minimize the effect of the revolt upon the people the Mexican government is withholding any reports on the revolutionary success.

The revolutionists are an apparently well organized and well disciplined body of men. They are fighting every inch of the way and meeting few reverses. While I was in Chihuahua they had captured three trains.

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Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.—George Bernard Shaw.

—The government of Honduras and the revolutionary leaders (p. 108) are considering peace negotiations.

—A proposed charter for St. Louis, submitted by a local freeholders' charter convention, was defeated on the 31st by 24,891 to 65,046.

—Paul Singer, Socialist leader and member of the German Reichstag, died on the 31st. His funeral was attended by over 100,000 people.

—The eruption of the Taal volcano, near Manila, reported last week (p. 109), with accompanying earthquakes, has cost something like 850 lives.

—The State capitol of Missouri at Jefferson City, built in 1838, was struck by lightning on the 5th and taking fire was totally destroyed, along with public records of great importance.

—General Piet A. Cronje, a commander in the army of the South African republics during the Boer war, died at Klerksdorp in the Transvaal on the 4th (vol. iii, p. 23; vol. vii, p. 217).

—Judge Mack (p. 85) was confirmed by the Senate on the 31st as a member of the new Commerce Court. He has since resigned from the Illinois bench and taken the oath of office required by the Federal appointment.

—With only one dissenting vote the House of Delegates of West Virginia concurred on the 6th in a resolution of the West Virginia Senate, favoring the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

—The official canvass of the vote on the Statehood Constitution for New Mexico (p. 108) made public on the 6th, showed that 31,742 votes had been cast for the Constitution and 13,399 against it—a favorable majority of 18,343.

—The staid and conservative old University of Copenhagen, as reported by London Land Values for January, has engaged C. N. Starcke, Ph. D., of the Henry George Society of Denmark, to deliver a series of six lectures on land value taxation.

—The report of the special Tax Commission of Illinois (p. 59) and its effect on the proposed constitutional amendment for direct legislation (p. 105), will be discussed by George D. Olcott on the evening of the 10th, before the Chicago Single Tax Club, 508 Schiller Bldg.

—Both the Senate and the lower House in Ohio adopted resolutions on the 6th calling upon Congress to provide for ratifying an amendment to the Federal Constitution, requiring United States Senators to be elected by direct vote of the people. The dispatches state that Gov. Harmon urged this action upon the legislature.

—The 100th birthday of Horace Greeley (pp. 75; 99) was commemorated on the 3rd at his birthplace in Amherst, N. H., at his home in Chappaqua, N. Y., at the City Hall in New York, at New York University, at Yale University, at Tuskegee Institute and at Greeley, Colorado. The principal address at his birthplace was by Albert E. Pillsbury; at Chap-

paqua the Chappaqua Historical Society dedicated the site for a monument. At Greeley, Colo., business was suspended for the day, and there were speeches by friends and special exercises at the public schools.

—At a caucus of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives at Washington on the 6th, a resolution endorsing the reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States (p. 108) was carried by 90 to 22, and on motion of Champ Clark the endorsement was made unanimous.

—The election for the recall of Mayor Gill of Seattle (p. 60) came off on the 7th, and he was recalled. George W. Dilling, the candidate of the Public Welfare League, was elected by a reported majority of 4,000. Of the 71,000 voters registered for this election, 22,000 are reported to have been women—for the first time allowed to vote in the State of Washington (vol. xiii, p. 1094).

—At their convention in Columbus, Ohio, on the 31st the United Mine Workers, of which John Mitchell (vol. xiii, p. 803) was formerly president and is still a leading member, voted on roll call by 1,213 to 967 to adopt an amendment to their constitution, providing that members of the National Civic Federation must forfeit membership in the United Mine Workers of America. This amendment forces Mr. Mitchell to give up his position as an officer and member of the federation or resign from the miners' union. The vote on roll call followed a standing vote of 446 to 344, taken in the morning, which favored adoption of the amendment.

—At a conference of the Labor party of Great Britain at London on the 1st, a resolution denouncing militarism and war, declaring for arbitration of all international disputes and urging the workers of Great Britain to take organized action with their co-workers in Germany and other lands to attain these ends was carried unanimously; but a resolution offered by Keir Hardie providing for the summoning of an international labor congress if war between England and Germany threatened, in which event the workers would pledge themselves to suspend all productive work on the day war was declared and not resume until the war ended, was defeated by a majority of only six votes.

PRESS OPINIONS

The Approach of People's Power.

The Sheboygan (Wis.) Daily Press (ind.), Jan. 23.—The day is not far distant, Mr. Voter, when you will have the opportunity through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall to say who shall serve you and how. Today in many States your supposed servant is your master. Time will make him your servant, and an unfaithful one will find that he has been retired to private life.

Chicago Daily Tribune (Rep.), Feb. 2.—One might suggest that a majority which is ignorant of its rights and apathetically refuses to take advantage of its superior voting strength to defend itself is not deserving of any consideration. . . . We want laws which shall have received the approval not of a ma-

majority of an indifferent electorate but of a majority of the men who are interested in and know something about the questions involved. We seek the verdict of the intelligent voters, be they few or many. That of the indifferent mass is worth nothing.

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Chicago Examiner (Hearst), Feb. 1.—And the present Legislature is in duty bound to consider the people's wishes regarding this fundamental reform. The Initiative and Referendum go to the root of dishonest legislation—something Illinois badly needs. Even "jack-pots" will become a mere legislative memory when Illinois makes this twin restoration of popular government.

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Boston (daily) Journal (ind. Rep.), Jan. 26.—This movement for the rule of the people is the biggest thing in our national life today. Nobody can doubt this who will observe the activities at a score of State capitals where today the Oregon plan of Senatorial election, the Short Ballot, the Initiative and Referendum are being urged with great popular backing. . . . There is just as sharp division in the Democratic party over this set of issues, as in the Republican. . . . Whether it be found at work in one party or the other, this people's rule movement cannot be laughed out of countenance. It is going to win, and the party which first surrenders to it will well serve its future.

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The St. Louis Charter.

The St. Louis Mirror (Wm. Marion Reedy), Feb. 2.—Our big charter fight has done one thing if nothing else. It has evoked a lively interest in the details of municipal government, and futhered the cause of more democracy. That was the issue. The pros said the new charter gave us more democracy. The antis said it didn't give enough. Direct popular government has had a new impetus.

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Lloyd George.

Twentieth Century (B. O. Flower), Feb. — It was a splendid spectacle to see this young David confronting the Philistine hosts of privilege and wringing victory from the Bourbon Upper House, much as Cobden and Bright had rendered victory for the people inevitable in 1846, because their cause was just and they had awakened and had behind them the aroused conscience of a great people. Few of us at the present time appreciate as yet the full significance of the work achieved by Mr. George along this line of fundamental advance. Only a first step, you say? Granted; yet it was a step that forced the recognition of a new basic principle of social justice, after which all that is needed is to press forward along the same lines of advance.

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New Jersey and the Rising Sun.

The Commoner (Wm. J. Bryan), Feb. 3.—Beyond the importance of electing to public office such men as Martine, a great principle was at stake in the New Jersey Senatorial contest. . . . Wilson and Martine fought shoulder to shoulder, and the result was one of the most notable victories for popular govern-

ment yet recorded in the political history of any State. It required great courage on Governor Wilson's part to take the course he adopted in New Jersey. . . . But Governor Wilson held resolutely to his course and from every section of the country the thanks of men in all political parties are given to the New Jersey Governor for the good work he has accomplished. . . . In the name of every lover of popular government The Commoner thanks Governor Wilson for his patriotic efforts. It congratulates New Jersey upon having sent to the United States Senate such a man as James E. Martine, and it expresses the hope that from now on the fine effort of which New Jersey's Governor is so capable may be given on the side of those Democrats who insist that the way to win a Democratic victory worth having is to keep the party free from corporation influences and to write its platforms in harmony with the heartbeats of the people who believe in "equal rights to all and special privileges to none." The first contest will come in the effort of the special interests to control the Democratic National Convention of 1912. Let us hope that in that great contest Governor Wilson will be found speaking the same language he spoke during the New Jersey Senatorial contest and fighting the same battle for the upbuilding of a Democratic party that shall be free from the domination of special interests and of real service in the effort to perpetuate popular government in America.

+ +

A New Kind of Lawyer.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), Jan. 27.—There is a new kind of lawyer in this Louis D. Brandeis of Boston. He has been figuring extensively in the public prints of late and a current magazine throws some light on his character that is very interesting. Brandeis is described as "the people's lawyer." He has been very successful in his practice and has been notably so in his battles for the cause of the masses. Brandeis is a Jew, born in Kentucky. He was a poor boy, but he had pluck and perseverance. After going through college he took up the law and was soon a busy man. Finally he became a corporation lawyer and later he was an attorney for a trust. During these few years he got an insight into the ways of corporations and trusts and resolved in the future to give his services without charge to the people. He made no announcement to this effect. He kept that resolve to himself. He had decided upon a new kind of philanthropy and as a philanthropist he did not advertise his purposes. In his own quiet way, whenever opportunity presented, he simply bobbed up in the courts, or before investigating committees, or Congressional commissions, as "the attorney for the people."

+ +

The Progressive Republican Leader.

Boston Common (ind.), Jan. 28.—Of course Colonel Roosevelt could not sign up as a promoting member of the National Progressive Republican League without inviting the suspicion that he was seeking another nomination. The logical candidate of Republican progressives is Senator La Follette, who led the advancing column when others feared or faltered,

who has proved his constructive skill and who does not compromise.

+ +

True Meaning of Bryan's Defeats.

The (Wichita) Kansas Commoner (dem. Dem.), Jan. 26.—The Democratic party should make an aggressive fight for progressive Democratic principles. It is not essential that we always win, but it is essential that we be true to democratic ideals. It is not necessary that we succeed, but it is necessary that we keep the faith if democracy is to live. More was gained for the people in the Bryan campaign that ended in apparent defeat than would have been accomplished by the barren victory of leaders controlled by the powers that prey. These campaigns wrought a revolution in the public conscience, and aroused the people to the need of reform. Underlying these campaigns, and greater than any special issue was the struggle of humanity against the oppression of plutocracy, of men against dollars and of conscience against greed. Through these campaigns the people were awakened and they are ready now to give the harvest to be reaped from the sowing of the seeds of truth. While it is better to lose with the right than to win with the wrong, we can be right and win also.

+ +

Champ Clark.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), Jan. 26.—Champ Clark's Presidential boom is growing. It is already nearly as big as that of any other Democrat mentioned in connection with the 1912 Presidential nomination. The more the Democrats think the matter over, the more convinced they are that Clark is the most available compromise candidate. . . . Clark is not behind his own boom. While he was no doubt naturally pleased at the first connection of his name with so high a place, he has recently asked some of his friends who were intent upon urging his fitness for the position of Democratic standard bearer in 1912 to desist, at least until he shall have made good as Speaker.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

COURAGE, O WORKERS.

For The Public.

Blithely the birds in the treetops are shouting their matins.
 Hark! do you hear their glad notes—their seraphic rejoicing?
 Nay, 'tis the winter's gray fields where we toil and endeavor!
 Far in the Southland they warble, those orioles splendid:
 Give us their olive and palm, their rich tropical splendor,
 Give us their warmth and their ease—then our praise theirs shall equal!

Softly the zephyr chants runes through the leaves of
the laurel.

Hush! do y u feel on your cheeks its caress as it
passes?

Nay, 'tis a Boreal blast from the caves of the Arctic,
Hurling its arrows of sleet, that we feel in our faces!
Somewhere for others—a few—may blow cinnamon
breezes;

Not for Man yet as a whole are life's sunny Ber-
mudas.

Up the wide beach curl the crests of the beckoning
waters.

Softly they break and submerge the gay circles of
bathers

Stretched on the sands or pursuing each other with
laughter.

Join in their care-free delight, O my brothers, my
comrades!

Nay, through the ice of the ages we strive and go
stumbling!

Far from our reach trend the shores of Man's south-
ern Pacific.

Courage, O thinkers! the systems of men are but
transient.

Only the system of **MAN** is unique and forever!

MAN is the one, the eternal, the mighty, triumphant!
All that is falsehood he spurns as the centuries
hasten,

All that is wrong he outgrows as his vision in-
creases;

Man is himself of his future the master and builder.

Courage then, workers! we strive not in vain in
the conflict!

Upward he climbs—the rude man-child his glory dis-
covers!

Truth shall be won, and mankind through the truth
shall be victor.

Not for a few, but for all, are life's heights and life's
splendors—

Summits of thought and of will! of the soul! of the
spirit!

Hasten, O earth, to Equality, Brotherhood, Freedom!

JAMES HARCOURT WEST.

Boston.

+ + +

TOLSTOY AND HENRY GEORGE.

Land Values, of London, for January.

The passing of Tolstoy has been the occasion for publishing various articles and notes of interviews with him. The following are taken from two, written by continental writers, and kindly translated "by another hand."

The first is from a Russian writer, who tells how a discussion was going on in Tolstoy's presence as to the teaching of Henry George, and whether Tolstoy should recommend it.

"George is dear to me," replied Tolstoy, "not because he created his system, not because he showed us this way, but because he, more than any one else, has helped to abolish the prejudice in favor of private property in land. Show me the man," concluded Leo Nicolaevich, "who does

it better, and I will leave Henry George and follow him."

The second is from a Spanish writer who saw Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana in 1905. After observing that a portrait of Henry George was near Tolstoy's writing-table, he says that Tolstoy received him heartily and began to ask about Spain.

"I am interested in Spain," he went on, "in her modern state. . . . The burning question in Spain, as everywhere, is the land question. . . . All that is connected with the land movement—all that is included in the social question in Russia and abroad—is the subject of my study. Europe interests me, not by her political organizations, not by parties . . . but by everything connected with the land question, because land must be our and everyone's property. . . ."

Proceeding, he said:—

"In the history of mankind every century has its problem. The nineteenth century has settled the question of slavery. . . . This century will have to settle the question of land monopoly. . . ."

And again:—

"The great reform . . . has its roots deep in our Russian history. What is the usual topic of our villagers? How did our village community arise? . . . Did not the epochs of highest prosperity in Russia and in the whole of Europe coincide with collective land ownership? . . . What were the causes of wars even from of old—Indian, Assyrian, Carthaginian, Roman, and other wars, down to the Transvaal and the Russo-Japanese wars? They have all been on account of the land. . . ."

+ + +

HENRY GEORGE AND THE BLACKSMITH.

For The Public.

About 1868 a big, solid, quiet blacksmith appeared at the famous college school in Oakland, California. He was some thirty years old; his classmates were sixteen; he was supporting his mother and sister by making horseshoes Saturdays, and both after school-hours and before them. He afterwards became a State Senator, and he died, a loss to the world of thinking men, in the prime of his powers. His name was Henry Vrooman.

About 1870, when Henry George was toiling at his desk in San Francisco, and was writing that pamphlet published in 1871, "Our Land Policy," which so clearly foreshadowed "Progress and Poverty," Henry Vrooman had a memorable talk with Henry George. I suppose that I am the only person now alive who can tell it as it happened.

Vrooman was in many respects the sort of a man that George Eliot's "Felix Holt" was; both

Vrooman and Holt seem alive to me, and still at work somewhere. Thousands of people called him "Henry"—and no more; he impressed everyone just as Felix Holt did; he went his own way; he talked with, drew out and aroused everyone he met. One Sunday about 1870 he was in a barber-shop in San Francisco—one of the smallest and cheapest, in an alley on the edge of Chinatown.

As he expressed it to me, "I began to talk to the boys who were sitting on the bench waiting, as I was: they were foundry-men, you know. We talked labor questions, better government and a freer ballot. At that time a workman could be given a marked ballot and watched every minute till he put it in the box. He had to hold it up between his thumb and forefinger!"

"All at once," Vrooman continued, "a little red-dish-haired man who was half-shaved, in a chair, sat up, thrust the cloth aside, and began to talk to us, especially to me. He urged us to read more, think more, get more education. Then he took me by the arm and we walked over the San Francisco hills all the rest of that Sunday. He was half-shaved, and I was not shaved at all. When we came back the barber-shops were closed.

"He explained to me then what I never had been able to understand—the true theory of wages—that labor is paid out of the value created by itself. I accepted that. He did not fully carry me with him in regard to his single-tax idea, but I saw the importance of it years later. I remember that he called me 'Henry' and I called him 'Harry' before we had been with each other an hour."

That is the gist of the incident, as told to me by Henry Vrooman when I was a boy in Oakland, California. It remains in my memory as truly illustrative of the nature of that thirty year old newspaperman of old San Francisco, Henry George: it gives a glimpse of his fellowship with, and influence upon plain everyday workers.

CHARLES HOWARD SHINN.

* * *

WHO PAYS FOR ADVERTISING?

For The Public.

"Wasn't it Dr. Watts who said,

"When e'er I take my walks abroad

How many ads I see?"

"No? Well, it sounded like that anyway."

We were riding on a train, my socialist friend and I, and what prompted my remark was the fences of advertising that lined both sides of the track.

"Outrageous!" my friend growled.

"Look at that now!" he exclaimed a moment later, pointing to a full-page newspaper advertisement of a standard commodity. "Look at that and think of the enormous waste going on every day in advertising. All of it has to be paid for by the consumer and the cost of the goods correspond-

ingly increased. Why, only yesterday I was told about a man in Chicago who made \$100,000 a year in profits just placing advertisements. Do you wonder we are poor, eh?" And he glared at me as if I were to blame for it all.

"I deny the waste, in the sense you mean," I said; "and I deny that the cost of goods is increased by the expense of advertising. Just think a moment. You are the manufacturer of a standard commodity like this one advertised. Any one may make it. How much would it cost a man to make just one of these articles for his own use?"

"Perhaps \$20, counting time and materials," he replied.

"But, making them by the million, as you do," I said, "you can sell them at \$1 apiece and get a good profit, provided a million men are informed that you can supply them with this particular thing. Now, the advertising agent attempts to so inform them, and in so far as he succeeds in doing this he brings together the maker and those who want the goods. He is an essential factor in the co-operation and division of labor by which the goods are produced, and because of his aid each purchaser has saved the equivalent of \$19. Further than this, many men are enabled to enjoy the commodity who would otherwise have to go without it by reason of their inability to obtain the materials, or because of their lack of time or skill to make it. The man who advertises your goods is a producer just as much as you are or the book-keeper or mechanic in your factory. Hence he is as much entitled to wages as you or they are. And just as the wages of your employes do not come out of your pocket nor out of the pockets of your customers, neither do his. We, your customers, are not poorer by your work, the work of your employes and the advertising agent, but richer to the degree you have helped us to gratify our desires with the least effort. The real reason why we are poor—why anyone is poor—is another question."

C. F. SHANDREW.

* * *

GENERAL PROVIDENCE, NOT SPECIAL.

Herbert S. Bigelow in the Twentieth Century for February on "The Religion of Henry George."

Many in our day, sick with the world's sorrow, have found, in the pages of Progress and Poverty, a truth which has flooded with light the very darkest problem of man's life. A victorious faith has taken the place of doubt and dismay. They dare now to believe in God. The very poverty which staggered their faith has been turned to evidence of God's justice. The inspired pen of Henry George has traced for them, even in the dismal field of political science, the unmistakable outlines of God's providence. In the pages of this book they

have found a quickening truth which has rolled away the stone from their hearts and called to life again a faith that was dead. . . . With advancing knowledge, caprice gives way to law, and men find the highest proof of God in the established justice of a moral order that justifies increasingly the ways of God to men. . . . When a man begins to interpret the facts of life in the light of a general providence, when he sees that cities reap what they sow, and that floods come when public forests are rifled by private greed, his confidence in the integrity of the universe will be restored and he will cry out again, "The judgments of God are true and righteous altogether."

* * *

THE TWO MOST DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD.

Frederic C. Howe in *The Outlook* of January 15, 1910.

Switzerland and Denmark are the most democratic countries in the world. They have demonstrated not only that the people can rule, but rule far more wisely than their betters. Representative government has shifted more completely to democratic government in these little nations than anywhere else on the globe. Switzerland is ruled by public opinion. It expresses itself through direct legislation. The people propose laws as well as amendments to the Constitution by petition. They vote upon their own proposals just as they elect men to office. In consequence, every man with an idea has a hearing. If he is right enough, and persistent enough, he achieves his end. Almost every great democratic reform in Switzerland has come through the initiative and referendum. Not immediately, it is true; but when the public was ready for it. By these means Switzerland abolished the sale of absinthe and took over the alcohol monopoly. After three attempts it nationalized the railways, and is now operating them better than ever before, and with the idea of service paramount. Through the same instrumentality, Switzerland saved her natural resources. She took control of the water power of the country in the interest of all the people. Private monopoly has been barred. The State itself is to become the purveyor of electric water power. It plans to run the railways by the white coal of the mountain sides, to supply all industry, to operate the street railways, and to light the cities. Not content with this, Switzerland plans to carry the electric current to the most obscure country district and to relieve the farmer and domestic industry of the drudgery of manual labor. Country roads and houses will be lighted by the streams from the mountain sides, while the motor will churn the butter, thresh the grain, pump the water, and even relieve the woman along with

the man of the most burdensome kinds of agricultural labor.

Switzerland has done more than this. Formerly she knew the boss. Direct legislation has taken his power from him. Formerly there was corruption, both vulgar and respectable. It, too, has passed away. And now the nation has destroyed monopoly and made the resources of the nation serve the people.

Denmark, too, is a democracy. She maintains a King, it is true; but he enjoys only the shadow of power. Denmark is ruled by peasants who own their own land. Ninety per cent of the farmers own their own holdings. And they work them like a market garden. The State owns the railways and makes them serve the peasant. The State educates the farmer, sends commissions of experts to foreign countries, and stimulates the production of fine stock. It loans money to the individual with which to buy a farm, and through co-operative agencies 90 per cent of the farmers save to themselves the full value of their dairy farms and purchase what they need at wholesale cost.

Democracy in Denmark has made the people among the best educated in Europe. There is no illiteracy there, and extreme poverty has been reduced to a minimum. Denmark is a free-trade country from conviction, in spite of the fact that her farmers were threatened with extinction by the wheat fields of America. The cost of living is low in consequence, and this little country exchanges its exports with all the world, and buys where it can buy to the best advantage.

BOOKS

EMMA GOLDMAN'S BOOK.

Anarchism and Other Essays. By Emma Goldman. Mother Earth Publishing Co., 210 East 13th Street, N. Y. City. Cloth, 277 pp., \$1.00.

Emma Goldman, "the best advertised woman in America," perhaps in the world, publishes this volume with an excellent portrait and biographical sketch. As might be expected, it is really a radical book and surprisingly temperate, but with no idea of the land question. The advertisement says: "The MS. has been refused by several publishers as 'too extreme.' Lacking the advertising facilities of the great publishing houses, we request your help in calling the attention of your friends to the work."

All democrats and idealists should understand what an Anarchist is. Miss Goldman uses the dictionary definition, furnished to the leading dictionaries by herself: "Anarchist—A believer in Anarchism; one opposed to all forms of coercive government and invasive authority; an advocate

of anarchy, or absence of government, as the ideal of political liberty and social harmony."

The author says "property has robbed man of his birthright," and she always blames "capitalism" for this where I would blame monopoly. She writes, however, that "property, or the monopoly of things, has subdued and stifled man's needs."

The publishers justly say: "Whether the book will meet with your approval or not, it will serve to dispel erroneous conceptions regarding both Anarchism and Emma Goldman."

Although she is a careful writer, it is to be regretted that she does not always give the source of her information for startling facts. For instance, at pages 128-29:

Rhode Island, the State dominated by Aldrich, offers perhaps the worst example of "farming out" prisoners. Under a five-year contract, dated July 7, 1906, and renewable for five years more at the option of private contractors, the labor of the inmates of the Rhode Island penitentiary and the Providence county jail is sold to the Reliance-Sterling Mfg. Co. at the rate of a trifle less than 25 cents a day per man. This company is really a gigantic Prison Labor Trust, for it also leases the convict labor of Connecticut, Michigan, Indiana, Nebraska and South Dakota penitentiaries, and the reformatories of New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, eleven establishments in all. The enormity of the graft under the Rhode Island contract may be estimated from the fact that this same company pays 62½ cents a day in Nebraska for the convict's labor, and that Tennessee, for example, gets \$1.10 a day for a convict's work from the Gray-Dudley Hardware Co.; Missouri gets 70 cents a day from the Star Overall Mfg. Co.; West Virginia 65 cents a day from the Kraft Mfg. Co., and Maryland 55 cents a day from Oppenheim, Oberndorf & Co., shirt manufacturers. The very difference in prices points to enormous graft. For example, the Reliance-Sterling Mfg. Co. manufactures shirts, the cost by free labor being not less than \$1.20 per dozen, while it pays Rhode Island thirty cents a dozen. Furthermore, the State charges this Trust no rent for the use of its huge factory, charges nothing for power, heat, light, or even drainage, and exacts no taxes. What graft!

BOLTON HALL.

* * *

AID TO THE FLANKING COLUMNS.

On the Firing Line. In the Battle for Sobriety. By Jenkin Lloyd Jones. Unity Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill. Price 50c.

In "A Night in a Saloon," "Two Neighbors," and "The Flanking Columns," Jenkin Lloyd Jones, in his usual forcible fashion, sends out his powerful and incontrovertible arguments against the protection and retention of the saloon in professedly civilized and Christianized communities. The facts presented are such as can be disputed only by the subterfuge and false logic to which evil resorts in self-vindication. Take, for instance, the revenue argument. "To state it is to condemn

and refute it. What! license a saloon in order to get money to pay for the police force and courts to handle the crimes which the saloons have chiefly created? The expensiveness of the constabulary, jails, prisons, fire departments, which everybody knows are largely made necessary by the fell work of the saloons, have been presented so often that our ears have grown dull to it."

The three telling chapters "On the Firing Line" with the Appendix of Letters are strong factors in the temperance work, and the reviewer's copy will be turned over to the service.

A. L. M.

PAMPHLETS

Following pamphlets have been received:

Preliminary Report on The House of Correction. By The Chicago Commission on City Expenditures. 1910.

Preliminary Report on the Department of Electricity. By The Chicago Commission on City Expenditures. 1910.

"Positivism and Socialism." By Philip Thomas. Watts & Co., 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E. C., London. 2d.

"The Great Discovery of Henry George." By Henry Rawie, Columbus, Ohio. Price 15 cents.

Female Suffrage from the Viewpoint of a Male Democrat. By Robert Montgomery, editor of the Puyallup

LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP.

But Don't Stand and Look Till You Haven't a Jump Left in You.



(From Puck. Copyright, 1911. By permission.)

Tribune, Wash. Equal Suffrage Association, 495 Arcade Building, Seattle.

"Farm Life Conditions in the South," by E. C. Branson, Athens, Ga.

"La Lucha Contra La Tuberculosis," by Dr. Felix Vitale, Montevideo.

Taxation of Land Values in Massachusetts. By Jonas M. Miles, Concord, Mass. Published for private circulation.

"Report on the Small Holdings established by Mr. Joseph Fels, at Mayland, Essex," by Thos. Smith, Mayland, England.

"Supermorality," by Rev. C. H. Mann. Published by the Single Tax Information Bureau, 134 Clarkson St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Brief on the Cunningham Coal Entries in Alaska, submitted to the President in behalf of Mr. Gifford Pinchot by Nathan A. Smyth and Amos Pinchot, counsel.

"Revolt of Protectionists in the United States against their Tariff," by Franklin Pierce. Cobden Club, Westminster, S. W., London. Price 1 penny.

Why Pay Tribute? A Plea for an Equal Opportunity. By John W. Batdorf. Published by The Volunteer Press, 38 Cooper Square, New York. 1908. Price, 50 cents.

Use and Abuse of Injunctions in Trade Disputes. By Jackson H. Ralston. American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia. Twenty-five cents.

Report of the Joint Special Committee of Councils to Investigate the valuation of Taxable Real Estate in the City of Philadelphia. Together with the Report of the Special Experts' and Manufacturers' Appraisal Company.

Free Trade and Land Values. By Fredk. Verinder. General Secretary English League for the Taxation of Land Values. A paper read at the International Free Trade Congress (Antwerp, August, 1910), on behalf of

the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values. Published by Land Values Publication Department, 376-377 Strand, London. Prices: Single copies, 2 cents; 13 copies, 20 cents; 100 copies, \$1.40.

The Initiative and Referendum, an Effective Ally of Representative Government. By Lewis Jerome Johnson. Professor of Engineering, Harvard University. Massachusetts Direct Legislation League, 79 Milk St., Boston. Five cents postpaid.

"Life and Labour in Germany. Report of the Labour Party and Trade Union Commission on Wages, Hours of Employment, Working Conditions and the Standard of Living." June 10, 1910. Published by the Labour Party, 28 Victoria St., London, S. W. Price 3 pence.

+ + +

Woman with the Sun-Bonnet: "If anybody asks me what I know about you I shall tell 'em the exact truth."

Woman with the Gingham Apron: "If you do, Mag Parkins, as sure as I'm standin' here, I'll sue you for slander."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

Nurse: "Come, Doris. It is time for you and Dolly to go to bed."

Doris: "What's the use? Dolly's so tired she can't sleep, and I've got a touch of insomnia."

—Punch (London).

+ + +

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felt the truth of this very keenly the other day, when he found himself facing an audience of free and independent voters at an election. He had prepared a very fervid oration in support of his father's candidature; but for the first few moments he could do

nothing but gasp. Then, in response to an encouraging cheer, he began to speak.

"Mr.—Mr. Chairman," he stammered, "when I—when I left home this evening only two people on this earth—my father and myself—knew what I was going

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to say; but now—now—well, now, only father knows!"—San Francisco Star.

+ + +

When he left the house Saturday morning Burton yanked at the door as if he would pull it off its hinges. When he could not open it he started to grumble until his wife came to his assistance.

"What'n blue blazes is the matter with the door?"

he grumbled, giving it another powerful yank without being able to open it.

"The trouble with you, John, dear," the wife ventured, "is that you are always down on everything—down in the mouth, down on the world. Let me try it."

With a gentle tug upward on the knob she easily opened the door.

John was about to sputter out a sarcastic remark

The New York Observer

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

Social Service

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

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

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"I get it!" he exclaimed. "I get the lesson."

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✦ ✦ ✦

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