

The Public

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EDITORIAL

Arizona's Democratic Constitution.

Strong influence is being brought to bear upon President Taft to forbid Statehood to Arizona (p. 155) with its people's power Constitution.

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President Taft could do nothing to strengthen his popularity more in the only quarters in which he has much popularity left, than to favor corporation interests by vetoing the Arizona Constitution while approving that of New Mexico.

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In New Mexico (vol. xiii, p. 133) the corporations controlled the convention, and with the aid of the Mexican peons they own in large numbers, they swayed the popular voting; but in Arizona, where there is no peonage and the voting masses measure up to the full standard of American manhood, the Constitutional convention, deaf to the corporation influences that controlled in New Mexico, formulated one of the best, if not the very best, State constitutions to be found the whole country over, and the voters have approved it by an overwhelming majority. But because it is a people's power Constitution, the Interests oppose it; and that will be the reason for President Taft's veto, if he vetoes it.

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The ostensible ground for urging President Taft to veto this people's power Constitution is

that it applies the Recall to judges, as well as to legislators and administrators. This would be a subterfuge on the part of President Taft, for there is no argument against the recall of judges in this country which does not apply with equal force to their election, and also to the election and recall of legislators. It is no subterfuge, however, on the part of the Plunderbund; for the judiciary has become the last refuge of plutocratic power. But that is another story.

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The Recall of Judges.

Granted that the power of Recall is a wise one for the people to reserve as to legislators, then it is a wise one for them to reserve as to judges. This is so, that is to say, under existing circumstances in the United States with reference to judicial powers.

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The power to recall judges by popular vote goes logically with the power to elect judges by popular vote; and to elect judges by popular vote is a necessary outcome, in our republic, of the Marshallistic theory regarding the extent of judicial authority. If the judicial function were confined in this country, as it is in Great Britain, to applications by legal experts of the law of the land to individual controversies, we should have a different problem. Judges might then be safely appointed instead of being elected. They might with safety to popular institutions be even appointed for life, subject only to indictment for offenses in office, just as accountants, surveyors or other experts might be. For in those circumstances, judicial decisions would work no harm that could not be easily cured by legislation. Neither mistaken decisions, nor unjust ones, nor partisanship of any kind or degree could then dominate political action. The authority of the people would be supreme, the democracy of the country would remain unimpaired and unassailed by superior power.

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But that is not true in existing circumstances in this country. Political power has been surreptitiously usurped by the judiciary. Under our system of written constitutions the judiciary has made Congresses and legislatures subordinate to judges as factors in government. It has made the people themselves also subordinate. There is no limitation whatever upon the political power of the judiciary—which is vested in the last resort in five out of nine Supreme Court judges—except the people's power of amending con-

stitutions; and this power is so hedged in with limitations that even a small minority of the people can prevent action by a large majority. The governing power in this country is not the President (except through his judicial appointments, which once made cannot be recalled), nor Congress (except through the Senate's power of confirming judicial appointments, which once done is done for life), nor the State legislatures, nor the people themselves (except through baffling processes of Constitutional amendment). The governing power in this country is the judiciary. Through our written constitutions, with their "checks and balances" and with legislative, executive and judicial departments of "co-ordinate" power, we have evolved a system in which the "checks" have been monopolized by the judiciary, the "balances" have been unbalanced by the judiciary, and instead of a "co-ordinate" branch of the government the judiciary has become super-ordinate. It is a law-making and a law-killing power, *the* law-making and *the* law-killing power.

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Judges must therefore be elected directly by the people; and, having been elected, they must be subject at all times to recall by the people. Either that, or our democratic republic will depend for its perpetuity, not upon the people's will, but upon the loyalty of any five out of nine life tenure judges who may happen, no matter how or whence, to rise to the Supreme bench.

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The opposition to a popular recall for judges speaks volumes for the recognition by great Interests of the judiciary as the ultimate seat of power, and of their wish to keep it. "Let our judges censor the laws of a country," they seem to say, "and we care not who enacts them." Their pretense that disgruntled litigants would set the recall machine in motion against judges who decided for their adversaries is altogether too thin. Defeated litigants could get but few signatures to their petitions for a recall of the judge. The public would laugh at them. Their only recourse would be the time hallowed one of a spell of "cussin' the judge out in the tavern stable." But we are told that "no self-respecting lawyer would consent to be a judge," with the Recall staring him in the face. It were better if the man who for that reason wouldn't take a judgeship were left to his pickings as an open instead of a concealed lawyer for special interests. Might a judge be recalled because he held that "a county was obliged to pay

bonds which the people wished to repudiate"? The instance cannot be named where a people have tried to repudiate an honestly contracted debt; and if there were any such danger, the argument would apply as well to the recall of an administrative officer to prevent his making payment, or of a legislator who refused to vote for repudiation, as to the recall of a judge. And if the people in any political subdivision decided to repudiate obligations, they would be too earnest to begin with recalling petty judges. Would the recall be "a menace to the independence of the judiciary"? On the contrary, it would relieve judges of the worse menace that perpetually faces them now. The menace of a majority of all the people of a community is a friendly aid, in contrast with the menace of the Beast. Consider Judge Lindsey's case (vol. xiii, p. 914) and be wise.

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The wail that comes from the Beast lest "an angry community" oust a judge from office "because he had made a just but unpopular decision," may be safely disregarded until somebody produces at least one instance in which a just judicial decision has ever been unpopular. The danger this American republic faces today is not popular assaults upon judges for just decisions; it is corporate coddling of judges for unjust decisions. Arizona guards against this danger by means of the Recall. President Taft is to determine whether or not to thrust their guard aside.

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Reciprocity with Canada.

Republicans who learned their protectionism from its masters, may be pardoned for their confusion over the Canadian reciprocity agreement, which their own President good and true is urging upon Congress as a party measure for cheapening the cost of living. Since they believed President Harrison when he told them that "a cheap coat makes a cheap man inside of the coat," wouldn't they be less than logical now if they didn't think of cheap food as making a cheap man outside of the food? And the farmers, may their innocence be ever blessed by the Protection god—those farmers who voted for dear food by keeping the pauper food of Canada out of the American farmers' God-given home market,—why shouldn't they find their mental adjustment painfully disarranged upon being now assured, in the name of Protection, that it is good for the farming business at home to be "deluged" with Canadian products? It surely is to laugh. But it is better for Ameri-

cans and Canadians alike to laugh at this back-sliding protectionism, than to suffer with the wretched policy protectionism has thrust so long upon both.

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It isn't much that Mr. Taft's reciprocity agreement offers, but it is better than nothing; and all of us should be glad that the progressive Democrats and the progressive Republicans in Congress are backing him up. Senator Cummins gives this free-trade-ward agreement its right place when he says: "The objection I have to the arrangement is not that it is too free, but that it is not free enough."

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On this subject the Henry George Association of Detroit, of which Alex S. Diack (512 Washington Arcade) is secretary, has adopted the following excellent statement and forwarded copies to President Taft, Speaker Cannon, Champ Clark, and Senator Bourne:

The Henry George Association, of Detroit, Mich., having a membership affiliated with all political parties—Republican, Democrat, Socialist, Prohibition—at its last regular meeting, without a dissenting voice, ordered that public expression be made of its approval of the reciprocity program between Canada and the United States, now before Congress. This approval is based on the belief that artificial barriers between nations separated only by an imaginary line and so closely bound by blood ties and natural conditions of climate and territory as is Canada and the United States, can have—and do have—only the effect of making it harder for all to live, and that though some particular industry or a few privileged persons may benefit by tariff restrictions between the two countries, the great mass of wealth producers and wealth consumers on both sides of the border—farmers as well as manufacturers—are very much worse off than if there were unrestricted freedom to barter.

The Michigan Central railroad has just built a tunnel under the Detroit river, in order to cheapen transportation between the two countries, and to overcome natural obstacles to commerce; yet, immediately, the two countries place customs officers at each outlet of this tunnel, their chief duty being to penalize, by an ad valorem or specific fine, those who attempt to take advantage of the improved transportation. Natural trade is always the most profitable trade. The people of the United States cannot buy of the people of Canada unless the people living in Canada buy of the United States, either directly or indirectly, goods and products of equal value. For all trade is barter—the exchange of products for products.

The Henry George Association is aware that the policy of both the United States and of Canada has been to ignore this fundamental economic truth, and to place restrictions on trade between the two countries, in the foolish expectation that it would result in making it easier to obtain work and wages. Still,

as certain industries have been thus artificially nurtured, though at the expense of those not thus subsidized, it is not public policy to so suddenly change trade conditions as to seriously embarrass favored industries. It is the opinion of the Henry George Association that the proposed reciprocity agreement holds the balance fairly well as between what is right, possible and expedient; and that the agreement will personally injure very few, if any, while being of great value to all others.

The members of the Henry George Association feel personally bound to give public expression to these views, in the belief that it will strengthen the hands of those working for the adoption, by Congress, of the proposed reciprocity agreement, and in the hope that those Michigan Congressmen who are hesitating between the personal interests of a few and the general interests of the many, may conclude to take the economically sound and morally just stand that Reciprocity between Canada and the United States is necessary and right.

That statement is so well drawn, and while recognizing the practical obstructions that confront public servants, nevertheless states essential economic principles so unreservedly, that all kinds of patriotic organizations and all individuals who agree with it, might perform a useful service by adopting it as their own and giving their representatives in Congress a chance to look it over.

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Congress and the States.

Mr. Roosevelt's "buts" are usually of the weasel-word order, but not his latest. In advocating the election of United States Senators by popular vote, his "but" is against taking away from the Federal government its present control over elections of Senators. This is sound doctrine. Congress is not—at any rate it ought not to be—a gathering of State agents for State purposes. It should be a national parliament, dealing with national interests on national lines. Regarding Congress, the people of any part of the country are as much affected by elections in every other part as in their own. They are therefore entitled to have those elections conducted fairly. If, for instance, an oligarchy in any State divests citizens of the United States of Constitutional rights to vote for Senators and Representatives in Congress, this would concern the voting rights of all American citizens. It would not be a local question.

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City Nominations in Chicago.

All the nominations for Mayor of Chicago (pp. 97, 106) at the direct primary are now made. On the Republican side, Charles E. Merriam leads the list. Mayor Busse dared not run for re-election, and John R. Thompson is running in his

stead. Governor Deneen's personal necessities in politics are not cordially enough represented by Merriam, so the Governor thrusts forward John F. Smulski, a civic reformer who, like the Governor himself, did once put his hand to the plough, etc. Then there is a mysterious candidate about whom nothing generally is known except that he is a Negro: a retail merchant who never misses an opportunity for advertising his business and who regards this primary as such an opportunity; and a politician of the name of Scully. On the Democratic side we have ex-Mayor Carter H. Harrison, an *ex* for the city's good; Andrew J. Graham, a would-be Mayor for the city's ill; and Edward F. Dunne, the only Mayor of Chicago for many a year who, being neither a Big Business lackey nor a creature of slum bosses nor both, worked faithfully against unprecedented odds for the rights of all against privileges for a few. The Socialist and Prohibition parties have candidates, of course, but only one each—W. E. Rodriguez for the former and William A. Brubaker for the latter. It is easy, therefore, for Socialists and Prohibitionists to choose at the primary; and it ought to be as easy for Republicans and Democrats. The character of the leading candidates in each of the latter parties is such that discrimination seems as automatic as a separation of sheep from goats. Republican admirers of Busse and Lorimer will vote for Thompson as instinctively as ducks would vote for water; the Big Business element will turn as instinctively to Smulski, except as their "gentlemen's agreements" are already made; and progressive Republicans, democratic Republicans, these will vote for Merriam. It is somewhat the same in the Democratic party. Democrats of the Big Business order will vote for Graham; those of the mixed order—Big Business and peanut politics—will vote for Harrison; and those who realize the fidelity to public interests of Mayor Dunne in the face of untold temptations and destructive combines, will vote for Dunne. If the Democrats nominate any of their candidates but Dunne, or the Republicans any of theirs but Merriam, the public interests of Chicago will be wantonly endangered. Should neither of these men be nominated, those interests might as well be on an auction block.

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The Spirit of Dana in the Pen.

In contrast with the bare matter of fact statement in *The Public* regarding the old newspaper story of Horace Greeley and Whitelaw Reid (pp. 99, 129), observe the delicacy of the *New York Sun*:

We feel ourselves almost authorized to announce

that the tribute of affection, gratitude and respect which the Hon. Whitelaw Reid came home to render on the occasion of the Greeley centenary is delayed solely with the purpose of making it as nearly perfect as possible in literary form and finish.

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A Race Question.

In the February issue of that "record of the darker races," *The Crisis*, of which W. E. Burghardt DuBois is the editor, we find this startling story:

Here is a colored boy, the son of a Southern white man, a boy with a fair common school education, good-tempered, pleasant to look upon and a regular worker. He is arrested under a law the essential principle of which has since been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Courts of both South Carolina and the United States. His plea of self-defense in killing an armed and unannounced midnight intruder into the very bedroom of himself and his wife, after he himself had been shot, would have absolutely freed any white man on earth from the slightest guilt or punishment. Yet it could not free a colored man in South Carolina. It brought a sentence of murder in the first degree.

Then follows a tribute to the Governor of South Carolina for commuting that death sentence to life imprisonment, as a brave act; not for its justice, but for its defiance of a dominant public opinion demanding the Negro's blood. The same tribute is paid to "strong papers like the *Columbia State*"; but, asks *The Crisis*, "what shall we say of the civilization of a community which makes moral heroism of the scantiest justice?" The white man, proud of his race, must give a shamefaced answer if he gives any; unless his race pride is for race iniquities. It is beyond dispute, if the statement quoted above be true, that this Negro boy is punished by white men for an act for which white men would applaud one of their own race. But, after all, is this a race matter? May it not be an instance of that cowardly quality to be found in all races and everywhere which makes the strong side popular and the weak one despised?

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Illinois Land Grabbing.

Revelations of unlawful land grabbing in Illinois have been made recently by a legislative committee. But what of it? What difference to the community will it make a few years from now, whether those lands were grabbed for nothing or bought at full price? It is not as if a horse or a cow were grabbed; or a house, if a house apart from its site could be grabbed. In those cases the owner loses the cow, the horse or the house, and the grabber gets them for nothing. If they

are bought instead of grabbed, the value will have been paid, and it is the gain or loss of this that makes all the difference. In a little while the subject of the trade will have passed away. Not so with land. This is the earth itself. To buy it is to trade value for value; to grab it is to get it without pay. But in either case the land will remain in perpetuity a site for industrial life, increasing in value as the community grows.

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What is really grabbed in a land grab, or bought if a price be paid, is not a transient thing. It is the power and privilege of taking in perpetuity for private purposes an increasing premium for the use of that spot on the globe. Nearly all the school land of Chicago—a mile square in the heart of the city—was sold some 70 years ago by the school authorities for \$40,000; the same land will now yield an annual ground rent of as many millions. What difference does it make to the people of Chicago to-day that the titles to that land extend back to a \$40,000 purchase price instead of a grab? In neither case can the title be impugned at law; and in either case the present owners are enriched by the growth of the city of Chicago. To attack land grabbing may be useful in bringing to public attention the fact that all land monopoly, whether bought or not, is essentially land grabbing. But the simple and practical remedy for it is not to bother about old titles but to make their owners pay all taxes in proportion to their respective interests in the site value of the land, exempting improvements and everything else which by making a city grow make the site of the city increase in value.

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SHRINKAGE OF BANK DEPOSITS.

* Interest has been excited by recent news dispatches concerning a decrease of \$158,312,849 of individual deposits in the 39 New York national banks.

The assumption in those dispatches that this large sum represented money was surprising. Still more surprising were their statements that "no two Treasury officials agree about where it went."

But editorials in some financial periodicals indicate that their editorial departments are as much puzzled as the Treasury officials. All of them seem to assume that the amount "was withdrawn" from the banks.

The probabilities are, however, that the reported decrease represented no money at all—or very little.

The possibilities involved in the handling of money understood, little room is left for surprise. There need be no difficulty in understanding it.

Under our banking and financial methods, deposits are almost if not quite as much credits as loans and discounts are, although in bank statements one is called a liability, and the other a resource. Banks are dealers in credits, and money is as much a tool of their trade as their desks and vaults.

They make their profits by a sale of credits. They must create credits in order to have them for sale. As they can not make loans without deposits, they must create deposits in order to create credits.

The process is thus described at page 110 of "The Currency Trust Conspiracy": "Very few people appear to be aware that it is possible for banks, with a given sum of money, used as an initial deposit, by loans, redeposits and re-loans, to have their deposits increased by an amount on which the total per cent of cash reserve held against such increase will be equal to the initial deposits, and at the same time have their loans and discounts increased by an amount equal to the increased deposits less the initial deposits." That is, the New York banks, with a deposit of \$100,000, and without another dollar, can increase their deposits \$400,000 and their loans and discounts \$300,000. When this has been accomplished, the initial deposit will have become the required cash reserve. This will add \$400,000 to both resources and liabilities. In the statement of resources there will be \$100,000 cash, and \$300,000 of loans and discounts; and of liabilities there will be \$400,000 in deposits. On each side of the statement there will appear \$300,000 of manufactured credits.

After such inflation of deposits and loans, *suppose the process should in some way be reversed*, and the manufactured credits be cancelled. There would then be left \$100,000 of cash resources and \$100,000 of deposit liabilities. This, however, is a suggestion only, as to what may have occurred in the 39 New York national banks, between November 10, 1910, and January 7, 1911.

But no withdrawal of money is necessary to explain the situation.

The banks were caught in a position *that reversed the process*, and a few manufactured credits that might well be called fictitious were destroyed.

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Of course, the process has been mixed with and modified by a number of contemporaneous and incidental occurrences of the every day transactions

in our methods of banking. Any attempt to follow all these in detail would make this article long; but whoever refers to pages 5 of "Abstracts" 71 and 72, and makes the calculation from the columns headed "Classification of Deposits," will find that the items of which the individual deposits were composed were decreased as follows between the two dates:

Individual deposits subject to check.....	\$ 61,277,954.78
Demand certificates of deposit.....	1,493,732.62
Certified checks	86,981,242.15
Cashiers' checks	8,932,207.98

Total decrease	\$158,685,137.53
Time certificates of deposit—Increase.....	372,287.78

Net decrease

\$158,312,849.75

Those are the classes of deposits from which the *net* decrease disappeared.

Treasury officials may be puzzled, but New York bankers could explain it if they would. The "payment of dividends" and "weak spots among State banks and trust companies" have had very little to do with it. It was *not* withdrawal of money from the New York banks, but *destruction* of fictitious resources by cancellation.

If Bank A holds a check against Bank B, and Bank B holds a check against Bank A for the same amount at the close of a day's business, the amount of the checks will appear in the resources and liabilities of both banks, although one will balance the other. Cancellation of those checks would not require one dollar of money. But it would decrease, by so much, the *stated* resources of each bank.

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Examine pages 3 of the two "Abstracts," and observe that on November 10, 1910, the New York national banks reported "exchanges for the Clearing House" at \$288,322,141.34, and on January 7, 1911, at \$80,736,737.85, making a decrease in this item of resources alone of \$147,585,403.49. Any one who knows anything about banking will know that not much money was required to adjust those exchanges in the Clearing House. Probably fifteen per cent was sufficient. It is quite certain, then, that \$120,000,000 or more of this so-called resource was destroyed in the Clearing House adjustment.

The actual decrease of resources of the 39 national banks, between the two dates, is shown by the reports to have been \$114,840,003, or \$43,472,846.02 less than the decrease of individual deposits. The disappearance of individual deposits was, as a resource no doubt replaced in part by about \$50,000,000 received from other national banks, from State banks and from bankers and Trust Companies, which would appear in the

banks' statements as resources, but not appear in the item of individual deposits. The cash thus received from other banking institutions outside of New York City, and the decrease of loans and discounts that changed \$7,577,327 of this resource into cash, will explain why the banks did not show a decrease of cash but did show an increase.

It also indicates that a very much larger amount of manufactured and fictitious credits were destroyed by cancellation than the amount stated above. But for this there would have been much less shrinkage in the aggregate of resources than was shown between the two dates.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE RECALL IN SEATTLE.

Seattle, Wash., Feb. 8.

The first exercise of the recall power by the citizens of Seattle occurred yesterday when Mayor Hiram C. Gill was removed from office and George W. Dilling elected to fill out the unexpired term.

Mayor Gill is a typical big business machine politician of the Busse type. His removal from office under the circumstances amounts to a revolution in Seattle politics.

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Prior to his election Seattle had been for ten years engaged in an effort to put an end to open privileged law-breaking of the kind permitted in so many American cities. The first time this effort was successful at an election was in 1904 when Richard A. Ballinger, now Secretary of the Interior, was elected mayor. But Mr. Ballinger proved too amenable to Big Business influences to carry into effect the law-enforcement policies he had promised, while his subservience on the economic side aroused a revolt against franchise-grabbing which in 1906 brought on a municipal ownership campaign that swept Wm. Hickman Moore into the office of mayor on a closed-town and municipal ownership platform. Moore's administration was successful on the law-enforcement side, but a disappointment on the economic side. The issue of a municipal street car system was submitted to the people and defeated with the aid of a big corporation "slush fund."

Moore was succeeded in 1908 by John F. Miller, who like Gill was a machine politician, although elected under pledges of strict law-enforcement. Like Ballinger, Miller failed on the law-enforcement side through his subservience to the business interests, and a year ago the tide turned again and Gill was elected on a semi-wide-open platform.

Immediately word went forth to the sporting world that Seattle was to be wide open, and hundreds of undesirable characters flocked here for "easy pickings" under protected lawlessness. For several months last year Seattle reverted to the lawless conditions existing during the Klondike days of unpleasant memory.

Late last summer conditions grew so bad that a committee of the City Council instituted an investigation which exposed the police department as both lawless and inefficient. Law-breaking privileges were farmed out to certain persons, and the sporting world was alive with rumors of graft paid for police protection.

The people of Seattle five years before had submitted by petition and adopted under a State statute a charter amendment reserving the recall power. Until now this had lain dormant on the statute books. But when the Council committee began its investigation the Public Welfare League was organized under the patronage of Lawrence W. Colman, a young millionaire, which organization, after exhausting other available remedies, started a recall petition against the Mayor.

The Seattle charter provision requires a 25 per cent petition to invoke a recall election. The experience of this organization indicates that this percentage is too high rather than too low. Despite the fact that the city was aroused to a high pitch of indignation, much volunteer effort, several weeks time, and the expenditure of some \$3,000 was necessary in the effort to get up a petition. Some 8,000 signatures were required.

This petition was filed just before Christmas, and on December 28 the Council designated February 7 as the date for the election. About the same time Mr. Dilling was agreed upon as the opposition candidate and the campaign for his election inaugurated.

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Mayor Gill and his supporters first appealed to the courts to stay the proceedings. The State courts declined to interfere, but Judge C. H. Hanford, an ultra reactionary Federal district judge, issued an injunction against the proposed election on the application of a cousin of the mayor's private secretary. The cousin claimed to be a resident of Illinois and charged that his taxes would be increased by the expense of the election. Calculation made by volunteer investigators disclosed that his possible loss from increased taxation would have been nine-tenths of one cent. On appeal Circuit Judge Gilbert of Portland promptly dissolved the injunction and the case was dismissed.

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In the campaign the moral issue was paramount, though almost equal importance was given to an economic question.

The city owns its own electric light and power plant, and has as a competitor the Seattle Electric Company, a factor of the national water power trust. Immediately upon taking office Mayor Gill had appointed an employe of the Seattle Electric Company superintendent of the city lighting department, one Richard M. Arms. Arms abandoned extensions of the plant into Seattle Electric territory, turned down much profitable business and reduced the margin of profit from the plant's operations to one of loss, all in less than three months. These facts, also, were all disclosed by the Council's investigation.

Mr. Dilling is a vigorous young real estate man, has shown marked independence in politics, and has held but one public office. As a member of the State legislature in 1903 he voted for such pro-

gressive measures as a railroad commission law, an anti-pass law, an anti-child labor law, an eight hour law for public work, a factory act, an anti-trust law, a direct primary law and other measures which either were not enacted years later or have not yet been enacted at all. While both Gill and Dilling are Republicans, party politics did not figure. A charter amendment adopted a year ago forbids the injection of national party politics into municipal campaigns.

The active part of the campaign lasted but two weeks. Mayor Gill was supplied by the corporation and law-breaking interests with a large campaign fund, estimated at \$40,000; the Dilling campaign cost about \$4,000, and was conducted chiefly by volunteer workers, except for checking fraudulent registration which was unusually heavy. Much of the fraudulent registration was prevented from voting.

The canvass of votes showed that the women voters marked their ballots with a higher average intelligence than was customary when men alone voted, and the independence of the women is disclosed in scores of instances privately reported. The returns, however, do not indicate whether they were a material element in the Dilling victory or not.

A gratifying feature of the returns is the figures from the Tenth ward in which is located the Washington State University. This ward gave Gill 880 and Dilling 2,944. The second precinct, which includes the university buildings, dormitories and fraternity houses as well as the homes of many professors and resident students, gave Gill 136 and Dilling 460. All of the saloon and water-front wards gave Gill majorities, some of them as high as 20 to 1. The restricted district precinct gave Gill 369 and Dilling but 19.

JOE SMITH.

JUDGE LINDSEY IN NEBRASKA.

Lincoln, Feb. 11.

Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver, the "kids' judge," has addressed the two houses of the legislature in joint session on their invitation. He spoke in a manner peculiarly his own, and peculiarly effective. Beginning by talking of the juvenile court, he related many stories, both interesting and instructive. They were told in such splendid spirit that he won the entire audience and was frequently interrupted by bursts of spontaneous applause.

To show how boys are bad as a result of environment he told of a certain man who had an orchard from which he seldom got any fruit. "The boys swiped all of it." He built a high barbed wire fence, but they climbed it. He got a great big dog, but in three days that dog was out playing with the boys. Then he got a bull pup. For a while the boys were baffled, but one day the pup was found dead—poisoned. The story was interestingly told, but no one saw any moral.

Then Judge Lindsey told another. A certain teacher left her pocketbook on her desk one evening after school and it was stolen. In a little time the boy who stole it was found. With him were implicated two others, "a goody-goody Willie boy" and a big bully. These two knew of the theft. Willie's silence had been bought for a dime. The bully was not so cheap; he got half the "swag" as the price of his silence. "Now," said Lindsey, "that

school teacher represents the people, who are leading bad little boys into temptation. For the people, too, are leaving their pocketbook—or their orchard if you will—lying around loose, in the shape of unearned increment, franchises and special privileges of all kinds. Little Willie is sometimes the president of a college, or maybe he preaches sometimes, and he is bought off by the dime of donations to his college or church. The big bully is the public press. The high fence is the various statutes placed upon our law books but evaded by the bad boys who represent special interests. The unfaithful watch dog is the legislatures and city councils which too frequently are found playing with the bad boys. The initiative and referendum is the vigilant bull pup. But we must be careful that this faithful watch dog is not poisoned by nugatory provisions in the law."*

During the first of his speech the applause was practically unanimous, but as Judge Lindsey began to draw his moral it was noticed that several members of the legislature were less enthusiastic.

The applause from this faction was completely a minus quantity when Judge Lindsey told how the special interests tried to thwart the people's will in Colorado. The Democrats there had declared for the initiative and referendum and were elected on that platform. But a good many were too willing to play with the bad little boys, and some were honestly fooled. The bill forced upon the Democratic caucus was a farce. The petition had to be signed by 15 per cent of the total electorate, while measures under the initiative or referendum required 51 per cent of the vote cast at that election to be operative. How a real measure was passed was another story.

Judge Lindsey laid the lash on hard, while the Nebraska reactionaries squirmed in their seats. Yet you could never have known from the way the Judge spoke that the initiative and referendum was an issue at all in Nebraska.* He talked always of Colorado or of the public in general, but so plainly that the most stupid saw his point. He finished with a severe castigation of special interests in politics and the most earnest of pleas for political purity.

The friends of real direct legislation had struck one of the luckiest accidents known to occur in Nebraska politics in several years. Nebraska has her 15 and 51 percenters too, and they are not few. But Judge Lindsey has put it squarely up to them, whether they will be watch-dogs, faithful to the people their master, or like the dog of the story, make friends with bad boy thieves.

HORACE B. ENGLISH.

*See The Public this volume page 130.

A Baltimore man tells of an address made to some school children in that city by a member of the Board of Trustees. "My young friends," said the speaker, "let me urge upon you the necessity of not only reading good books, but also of owning them, so that you may have access to them at all times. Why, when I was a young man, I used frequently to work all night to earn money to buy books, and then get up before daylight to read them."—Success.

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 14, 1911.

Conservation of Alaska Coal.

Gifford Pinchot, as president of the National Conservation Association (p. 12), made a public statement on the 5th regarding the Alaska coal fields, which appears to have received such scant attention from the newspapers as to make its publication in full in these columns desirable. Mr. Pinchot said:

The National Conservation Association is now and has steadily been a vigorous advocate of the immediate opening of the Alaska coal fields to development under a system of leasing by the Federal government. But any bill for the purpose of developing Alaskan coal under lease should be fair to the people of Alaska and the Pacific coast, and free from "jokers" favorable to the special interests.

The Nelson Coal Leasing Bill (Senate Bill 9955), reported with amendments on January 30, is unduly favorable to the special interests both in its open and its concealed provisions, and leaves the consumer of coal wholly without the protection against extortion which it pretends to give him.

If the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate should succeed, directly or indirectly, in leasing the coal lands covered by the Cunningham claims under the royalty fixed in this bill, the net profit to the syndicate above what it would have made out of its bargain with the Cunningham claimants would be from \$18,000,000 to more than \$35,000,000, according to whether the whole or only half of the coal was included.

By the official estimate of the Land Office expert, there are more than 80,000,000 tons of available coal in the Cunningham claims. By the agreement of July 20, 1907, between the Cunningham claimants and the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate, the syndicate undertook to pay merely the cost of mining, as estimated by the syndicate's expert, or \$1.75 per ton, for all coal used by its railroad, and to pay \$2.25 per ton for all coal to be sold to the public. In other words, the syndicate was to get fuel for its railroad at cost, while it was to pay a profit or royalty of 50 cents per ton on all coal intended for the market. As against this royalty of 50 cents per ton, established by actual bargain, the Nelson bill proposes to lease the coal at a royalty of 5 cents per ton. This price is not to be increased during the period of the lease, which is for 30 years. The advantage to lessees under the bill, as compared with the Cunningham-Guggenheim bargain, is therefore 45 cents

per ton, or more than \$35,000,000 for the available coal in the 33 Cunningham claims.

The bill provides that the price at which coal may be sold shall be controlled by the Interstate Commerce Commission, but such control covers only sales made by the lessee. This clause contains a "joker," and leaves the consumer entirely unprotected. All that would be necessary to defeat it would be for a leasing syndicate to organize a selling company, which company, being beyond the jurisdiction of the Commission, could charge the consumer whatever his necessities would compel him to pay.

The clause purporting to prevent transportation companies and their stockholders from being interested in any lease is made futile by the absence of any provision for its enforcement or penalty for breaking the law.

The bill does not provide for the classification and disposal of coal in Alaska according to its value, as is now provided by law for government coal in the United States. And it limits for 20 years in advance the maximum royalty the people of the United States can receive, and fixes it at a fraction of its true value.

Other provisions of the bill are undesirable, but these are sufficient to show that it must be radically amended before its passage would be safe. As it stands, the bill is a most unfortunate example of the legislation so common in the past, under which at every critical point the people get the worst of it.

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The American Single Tax Tour of Joseph Fels.

Accompanied by Daniel Kiefer, chairman of the Fels Fund Commission (vol. xiii, p. 761,1145) and part of the time by W. G. Eggleston of Oregon and Robert L. Scott of Winnipeg, Joseph Fels (vol. xiii, pp. 1087, 1099; vol. xiv, p. 42) has been making a tour of the United States (p. 12) with a view to promoting favorable sentiment and action along the lines of land value taxation as advocated by Henry George. His tour began early in January at Cleveland, where he spoke to a large and enthusiastic audience over which Tom L. Johnson presided. With intermediate stops, he has addressed audiences in Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, Champaign (at the State University of Illinois), Milwaukee, Madison, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver, Victoria, Seattle, Tacoma, Portland and San Francisco.

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At Vancouver Mr. Fels was entertained at a public luncheon by the Mayor, L. D. Taylor, which was attended by nearly 200 representatives of this object-lesson city of Canada. Among the guests were Joseph Martin, formerly premier of British Columbia and now a member of the British Parliament. The principal subject of discussion here was the fact that Vancouver has carried land value taxation to the point of taxing nothing else, as Mr. Fels explains, except liquor

(which is a Dominion tax) and dogs, "because Vancouver doesn't like too many dogs."

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At Portland the principal subject of discussion was the campaign already begun for the adoption of exclusive land value taxation by the counties, which is made possible by the Constitutional amendment adopted by Initiative (vol. xiii, p. 1233) at the election last fall. As reported by the Oregon Journal of January 30th, Mr. Fels said this at Portland on that subject:

If Oregon is as sensible as British Columbia, tax reform will surely come. Other western Canada Provinces are also in line. The tax there is on land, not personal property or buildings, or improvements. The wiping out of all tax on personal property and buildings in Oregon would put the State to the very front in prosperity and increased business. It would wipe out the problem of the unemployed, which you surely have, no matter how prosperous you may pride yourself on being. It will set building and every other industry of the State in irresistible motion. Tax reform, single tax in Oregon, will draw to the State a tide of immigration from other States less blessed with all these good things. With the advantages you have already initiated for setting in motion freedom of opportunity for every man, there should be no difficulty in putting into operation in large measure the single tax at the very next election. The Oregon system of government is all right, and will so continue if it safeguards, as it now does, the rights of the people. The single tax movement in Canada is more advanced than in the United States because it is more concentrated. But 18 months' progress in the United States has been almost past belief. I believe if Oregon adopts the measure of land value tax along the line contemplated at the next election, it will have the result of forcing every other State into doing the same thing, just as the example of western Canada is forcing the State of Washington and the City of Seattle in competition with Vancouver into line. The reform in government already accomplished in Oregon will make it easy to go the full distance in tax reform. I predict that in Oregon Henry George will come first into his own.

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While at San Francisco Mr. Fels spoke at the University of California in Berkeley, before an audience of 3,000. The president, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, in introducing Mr. Fels said:

Henry George may have been visionary, and those who have accepted his doctrine of the single tax may be visionary, but this must be said: From the teachings of Henry George there flows a stream of idealism that seldom has been equaled. Wherever you find single taxers you will find men and women who are interested in what is going on in the world for reasons other than personal reward. They are earnestly seeking the good for its own sake, and for what they believe to be the good of the country. Their doctrine is simple, yet it is far-reaching. It is far-reaching because it is fundamental. This doctrine

is generally opposed by the entrenched interests; and for myself, I confess that I have a lurking desire to be on that side which is opposed by those interests. About thirty years ago Henry George delivered his message to the world, and, speaking from the very spot on which we stand today, gave the reasons for the faith within him. I am glad to be able to introduce an earnest man who is a devoted champion of that message and that faith, embodied in the philosophy of the single tax as enunciated by Henry George.

Mr. Fels is reported to have made a happy address, dealing with the advance of the single tax doctrine and practice with special reference to western Canada in general and the city of Vancouver in particular. He showed that Vancouver, by the exemption of buildings and all property created by the hand of man, had outstripped its rivals so rapidly that Victoria, which was nearly half a century older than Vancouver, has been compelled to adopt the single tax plan in order to save its fame as the metropolis of British Columbia.

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At a dinner at the "Old Poodle Dog" restaurant, San Francisco, on the 4th, where James H. Barry presided and James G. Maguire, Richard I. Whalen, Joseph Leggett, P. J. Healey and Fremont Older were among the speakers, Mr. Fels gave this account of one of his "adventures in philanthropy":

One day while making a business visit to my home in Philadelphia a real estate agent named Yokum called and said he could get 11½ acres of land in West Philadelphia for \$37,500, and wanted to know if I wished to invest. It happened that I had seen the land, so I said that such horrible red clay land couldn't tempt me very much. But Yokum pointed out that this land would soon 'come in,' as the real estate men would say. That is, the city was about to move out that way. So I bought it. Then, all at once, I resolved to go into the business of being a truly good and charitable person at the expense of my neighbors. I wanted to get into the class of benevolent and beneficent individuals. So I sent for the agent of the single tax club that is composed of men and women who are pretending to do something for the relief of the poor by encouraging them to grow garden truck on vacant lots, but who in reality are seeking to draw attention to the land question and its bearing on the problem of making a living. When I told this representative of the single taxers that he could have the use of 11 acres of my land absolutely free of charge, he almost fell off his chair, and was about to hasten away to tell the joyful tidings. But I halted him with the warning that this offer had a string to it; that there was something he would have to do in order to get my land. The poor fellow immediately looked as woe begone as if all his best friends had died. "All you have to do," I continued, "is to go to the newspapers and give them a column article telling what a benevolent man I am, and all that, and get my picture in the paper, and praise me as one of the truly good and charitable men of the country." Then he was radiant again.

That was easy, and soon my fame was noised abroad as a philanthropist. You see, I insisted on this because it was part of my little joke that I intended to spring when I got ready.

After 44 men were put to work on my land planting vegetables I resolved to do another charitable thing, so I sent for the secretary of a young ladies' association which was formed to provide vacations for deserving working girls, and told her that her society could have the use of the old mansion on my land free of charge; all they would have to do was to paint it up, paper it and furnish it at their own expense, and in addition tell the reporters, so that I could get another blast from the trumpet of fame as one of the truly good. All this was done as before, and the churches were after me to fill their pulpits and tell the people how it feels to be a philanthropist. But I declined. I was not ready to spring that joke.

Men are still planting vegetables on that land free of charge, and the old mansion is filled with happy young women who, if they had not this opportunity, would be deprived of recreation and rest; and all the time the people are praising me for my generosity.

Now I am ready to spring that joke. I was offered \$50,000 for the land, then \$75,000, then \$100,000, and finally \$125,000; but I am still holding, and will continue to hold until I get a profit of at least \$90,000, and this I will devote to a special fund for the propagation of the single tax philosophy. Yokum's judgment proved sound. The land "came in" even sooner than I expected. The reason is that a street railway has been run past it, and nearly 3,000 new homes have been built in the neighborhood by thrifty and desirable citizens. This unearned increment, in justice and right, belongs not to me, but to the community. I have done nothing to make that value. My part has been to hold the land out of best use. Yet the profit is mine legally, and I have some consolation from the thought that I intend to expend it in such a way that conditions may be changed, to the end that neither I nor any other man shall have the power to make money out of the work and sweat of others. I shall do my part in this work by devoting money and efforts to disseminating the truth concerning what some of our opponents speak of slightly as "the single tax," which some refer to lovingly as the economic philosophy enunciated by Henry George, and which I call plain justice.

With the help of that Great Power to which all must bow, I want to have it said when I leave my work here below that I have done something for my fellow men. I want to have it said that I earned the right to live and work, and that I earned the right to rest. I want to do my duty by myself and my fellow men by helping to bring about conditions better than now exist. I would have it so that little children would no longer starve, and mothers weep and fathers groan under the burdens caused by land monopoly. Now, who will help me?

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Before leaving San Francisco for southern California and then eastward, Mr. Fels and Mr. Kiefer issued the following address under date of February 10:

In Vancouver, B. C., we have seen the evidence

that industry thrives and disemployment decreases, as industry is untaxed and all public revenue is derived from a tax on land values.

In Victoria, B. C., a referendum held January 12, 1911, on the question of abolishing all taxes on buildings and other improvements, was carried by a vote of five to one. That is, 80 per cent of the voters are in favor of the single tax.

The Hon. Richard McBride, leader of the Conservative party and Premier of British Columbia, says he is heartily in favor of the single tax for municipal purposes.

There is no tax on personal property anywhere in the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia.

In the Canadian Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta the majority of the business men and farmers favor the single tax as the only way to economic freedom. In these Provinces there are no taxes on farm buildings and other improvements. American farmers are pouring into these Provinces—at the rate of more than 140,000 a year—to get cheaper land and to avoid the American taxes upon industry.

Those who desire further information upon this subject should address Joseph Fels, Philadelphia, or Daniel Kiefer, chairman of the Fels Fund Commission, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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Work of Progressive Republicans.

The Progressive Republican League (pp. 79, 129) is emphasizing that part of its program which relates to popular nominations of President and Vice President through the Oregon plan. Its adoption by as many legislatures as possible is to be urged immediately, so that it may be widely operative in the next Presidential year. Since the only objection thus far offered to the Oregon plan in this respect is that every State will endorse "a favorite son," an amendment is in preparation providing for a second choice, so that the people of each State may name the "favorite son" as first choice, and someone else as second. The Oregon law enables the voters of a party at the direct primary to express Presidential and Vice Presidential preferences, and requires delegates to national conventions to respect the preferences of their party constituents.

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Statehood for Arizona.

The people of Arizona voted on their Statehood Constitution (vol. xiii, p. 1212) on the 9th. It is reported to have been adopted by an affirmative vote of 3 to 1, but the exact figures are not yet at hand. Despatches of the 10th from Washington state that "United States Senators Bourne, Bristow, Brown, Clapp, Cummins, Dixon and La Follette have given assurances that in so far as their voices and votes may tend to prevent, 'Arizona will not be deprived of Statehood because of the Constitutional popular government features, particularly the Initiative and Referendum and Recall.'" Digitized by Google

The Initiative and Referendum.

Kansans who have been confident of the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum in that State (vol. xiii, p. 39), since both the Republican and the Democratic parties were pledged to it in their platforms, were surprised at the rejection of the proposed amendment on the 9th by the State Senate. The vote in that body was 18 for the amendment and 21 against it, 27 in the affirmative being necessary. The bill had been loaded down with bad amendments, one of which required majorities equal to majority of all voters at an election instead of all voting on a measure in order to carry a measure at the polls.

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The Recall in Seattle.

George W. Dilling, elected Mayor of Seattle on the 7th to displace Mayor Gill (p. 134), took office on the 11th. His plurality was 6,231. Out of 71,000 registered voters, 62,266 voted. The Socialist candidate, Edwin C. Brown, received 4,698, about 7½ per cent of the whole.

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The success of the recall (the story of which is told in our Editorial Correspondence) has been credited to the enfranchisement of women in the State of Washington at last fall's election (vol. xiii, p. 1094). In reporting a campaign meeting of women held on the 31st, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of the 1st said:

The rally of women voters for George W. Dilling, which filled two big theaters and overflowed into the street, surpassed in interest and enthusiasm any other political gathering held in Seattle in many years. Nowhere else has there been such an assemblage of women voters. The meetings, which were managed entirely by women and at which women speakers were in the majority, were history-making events in Washington. The Dilling rally for men, held Monday noon, was unusual in any city; the women's rally yesterday surpassed it in attendance and sustained interest. There was no hurrahing and cheering, in which respect it was different from the assemblage of men on Monday. However, the rapt attention with which the big audience listened to the speakers, the storm of hand-clapping which gave approval to the sentiment expressed in the addresses, indicated that while the women were less demonstrative in a noisy way, they were the better listeners.

The political spirit of the meeting was fairly phrased in this extract from the speech of Mrs. S. A. Sears:

We are Americans. Ours is a government of the people. The Mayor is not the ruler of the city, but the servant of the public, its executive officer, commissioned to enforce laws enacted by the people themselves through their representatives. The Mayor has no power to repeal or annul existing ordinances, his paramount obligation being to enforce them just as they stand—without mutilation.

Extensions of Woman Suffrage.

An equal suffrage amendment to the Kansas Constitution was adopted by the Kansas House on the 7th and by the Senate on the 8th, and goes now to the people of the State for final adoption. It gives votes to women at elections of United States Senators and Congressmen and all State officials. For municipal officials women already have voting rights in Kansas. Their right to vote for President and Vice President, withheld in the adopted amendment, is still pending in the legislature in the form of a separate amendment.

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In Illinois on the 9th the Brown bill giving non-Constitutional suffrage to women was reported upon favorably by the Senate committee on elections. It grants to women over 21 years of age the right to vote for members of the State Board of Equalization, members of the Board of Assessors, and the Board of Review, trustees of the Sanitary District of Chicago, and for all officers of cities, villages, and towns, except police magistrates, and upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the people.

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A Constitutional amendment enfranchising the women of Oregon (vol. xiii, p. 1094) was adopted by the legislature on the 11th for submission to the voters of the State.

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Reciprocity With Canada.

Led by Austen Chamberlain (British protectionist) the British House of Commons has been debating the American-Canadian reciprocity agreement (p. 134), in connection with the address in reply to the speech from the Throne (p. 132). He moved a protection amendment to the address. The agreement has been under discussion also in the Dominion parliament of Canada, and in the Senate of the United States. A notable speech in the latter body was made on the 9th by Senator Beveridge of Indiana in favor of the agreement. By a vote of 12 to 7 the Ways and Means Committee of the lower House adopted it on the 11th, and it was adopted by the House on the 14th by 221 to 92.

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At Springfield, where he had gone to participate in a Lincoln birthday celebration, President Taft made an address on the 11th before a joint session of the Illinois legislature, in which he is reported to have warned his party that if they defeat the reciprocity agreement, persisting "in retaining in these times of high prices and gradually exhausting food supply a tariff not based solely upon the difference in cost of production at home and abroad with a reasonable profit to the

American producer, an opposition will be aroused that will know no moderation and will wipe from the statute books the last trace of a protective tariff."

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A letter from Speaker Cannon to State Senator Bailey, given to the newspapers while President Taft was making that speech, denounces Canadian reciprocity as free trade in disguise and advises the members of the General Assembly of Illinois to halt before placing themselves upon record as favoring the measure which the President had just outlined as most necessary to a continuation of protection in any form.

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Civil War in Mexico.

A skirmish between revolutionary troops under Gen. Orozco and troops of Diaz under Gen. Rago (p. 132) occurred on the 7th at Juarez, Mexico, opposite El Paso, Texas, on the Rio Grande. The Diaz general, Navarro, took possession of Juarez on the 14th without resistance.

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Another battle was reported from San Diego, California, on the 8th, as having been fought at Picachio canon on the 7th, in which the Diaz troops had advantage of position and the others were put to flight.

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Fiercer fighting was reported on the 10th by way of Presidio, Texas, the American town nearest to Mulati, where the fighting occurred. According to this report the rebels lost two men and Diaz many, and the troops of the latter were retreating.

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Rebellion in Haiti.

The military leader of revolutionary forces in Haiti, Gen. Millionard, was shot on the 7th, along with five of his generals, by order of President Simon (vol. xi, p. 921). Two others, Gen. Chapuset and Gen. Codio, were captured and shot on the 11th.

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Revolutionary Victory in Honduras.

The official gazette of the Honduran revolutionists (p. 133), received at New Orleans on the 7th, announces that Gen. Manuel Bonilla, the revolutionary leader, has secured control of more than half of the republic and is prepared to move an army of several thousand trained soldiers against Tegucigalpa, the capital. It contains also official proclamations of the municipalities of Ceiba, Tela, Alanchito, Truxillo and Aguan acclaiming Bonilla "Constitutional President" of the Republic. Confirmation came by wireless on the 8th, to the effect that the American and British naval officers in charge of Puerto Cortez

since evacuation by President Davila, had withdrawn and that peace negotiations were to begin on board the American cruiser "Tacoma."

NEWS NOTES

—Pekin, Ill., adopted the commission form of government on the 7th, by a majority of 198.

—The Indiana recall bill for cities was defeated in the Indiana Senate on the 13th by 23 to 17.

—In Galesburg, Ill., on the 7th, commission government (p. 108) was defeated by a vote of 586 to 2,193.

—The Oklahoma Supreme Court decided on the 9th that Oklahoma City and not Guthrie (vol. xiii, p. 1141) is the permanent capital of Oklahoma.

—San Antonio, Texas, rejected the Des Moines plan of commission government on the 4th by a vote of 7,230 to 7,070. The victory of the administration element is charged to fraud, and an investigation is planned.

—A citizen's committee of twenty-five named to settle the difficulties between Des Moines and the street car company (vol. xiii, p. 108), is reported to have rejected the company's proposed franchise and asked that it submit a proposition looking toward the purchase of the property by the municipality.

—The convention of the Saskatchewan (Canada) grain growers (p. 127), in convention on the 11th at Regina, passed a resolution endorsing Direct Legislation; and in addition they passed the following with regard to taxation: "Be it resolved, that the financial needs of the country be met by a direct tax on land values."

—The Oregon plan for the election of United States Senators by popular vote (vol. xiii, p. 616) was adopted by the lower house of the Iowa legislature on the 7th, by a vote of 82 to 18. In the Senate a substitute of a special primary to fill the Dolliver vacancy (p. 107) was defeated, and on the 14th the Oregon plan was adopted by 31 to 16.

—Mrs. Roberta Menges Corwin Hill, convicted of smuggling and sentenced by Judge Martin of the Federal court at New York to imprisonment from 6 o'clock at night on the 11th to 8 o'clock in the morning of the 13th, was discharged from the Tombs prison at the termination of her sentence. This is said to be the first instance in the United States of the imprisonment of a woman for smuggling.

—The present House of Representatives in Congress decided on the 9th, 171 to 131, that the number of Representatives to be elected in 1912 shall be 433, in addition to those from New Mexico and Arizona, instead of 391, the present number, which the Republican caucus had decided to retain. Republicans to the number of 22 repudiated the caucus action and voted with the Democrats for the increase.

—Henry George, Jr., addresses "Knife and Fork Club," Kansas City, February 16; "New Era Club," February 17; "The Winter Night Club," Colorado Springs (Colo.), February 18; and the legislature of Idaho at Boise City, February 21. He speaks in Spokane (Washington) February 24, 25, 26, and then

fills appointments at Bozeman, Helena, Butte, Great Falls, Fort Benton and Whitefish (Montana), reaching Seattle about March 8th.

—The Manitoba Federation for Direct Legislation are submitting a request to the Provincial government asking them to introduce a bill establishing the Initiative and Referendum during the present session of the legislature, and further requesting that this bill be submitted to a referendum of the people, and, in the event of its securing a majority, be passed into law. The delegation, comprising representatives of the Royal Templars of Temperance, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council and the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, as well as the Federation for Direct Legislation, waited upon the Provincial government by appointment on the 14th to present the case.

—At the meeting of the Pan American Commercial Congress at Washington on the 13th, Congressman Champ Clark said: "I am for reciprocity not only with Canada but with all South and Central American republics. In fact, I'm in favor of reciprocity with all nations of the earth. My principle is that honest trade never hurt any nation yet." Referring to this, President Taft said: "The last speaker—and the next Speaker—and I have got together on one plank of a platform. We are both rather heavy, but I hope it will support us. It is a great pleasure to be with him in the promotion of trade in any part of the world. He is in favor of reciprocity agreements with all parts of the world and so am I."

—The Patriot Association of America announced, on the 10th, that letters, contracts and other documents had been found which prove that Theodore R. Timby, a native of New York, invented the revolving turret first used by the Monitor in its battle with the Merrimac in the Civil War, and as a result revolutionized warship construction throughout the world. The Association has consequently issued a call for a mass meeting in the Brooklyn Academy of Music March 16th, to rescue the body of the hitherto unrecognized inventor from a potter's field and provide for burial with honors in Washington. Among those who have signed the call are the Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, and Chester Griswold, a steel manufacturer of New York and Troy, grandson of John A. Griswold, whose firm furnished the armor plate for the Monitor, and who was Republican candidate for Governor of New York in the '60's.

PRESS OPINIONS

Women and the Seattle Recall.

The (Seattle) Town Crier, Feb. 11.—For the first time in history the city of Seattle has recalled one of its servants and set another in his place. . . . This change has been brought about by women. All wards wherein the women cast a heavy vote gave majorities for Mr. Dilling. Had the question been left to the decision of men there is no reason to doubt that Mayor Gill would have been re-elected by a plurality quite as large as that given him in the election of 1910. . . . Mayor Dilling goes into office with instructions that are not to be misinterpreted. So far as

administrative details be concerned, he may have, as he says he has, an absolutely free hand. But in certain respects the people have spoken plainly and are not to be denied of their will. The new Mayor has a large and difficult task before him. Toward its accomplishment he should have the aid and encouragement of every good citizen.

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Woman Suffrage.

The New Haven (daily) Union (dem. Dem.), Jan. 30.—We cannot see why one hundred intelligent women if they desire the suffrage should not have it, even if 100,000 other less up-to-date women do not care whether they vote or not. . . . An intelligent woman, a mother if you please, is either entitled to the right to vote on an equality with a man, a father if you please, or she is not; and the indifference of an overwhelming majority of her sisters as to this right cannot fairly be decisive in this matter of suffrage so far as that woman is concerned.

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The Land Tax and Prosperity.

The (London) Daily News (Lib.), Jan. 9.—The trade returns now available for the whole year 1910 confirm in a striking way the lesson taught by them month by month. Never has the country enjoyed a fuller tide of commercial prosperity. It began with the introduction of Mr. Lloyd-George's Budget in 1909.

† †

The Supreme Court in Politics.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat, (dem. Dem.), Feb. 2.—Whether a State which has the Initiative and Referendum is under a republican form of government must be decided by the Supreme Court in an action entitled "The Pacific States Telephone and Telegraph Co. vs. the State of Oregon." The case involves the Constitutionality of laws enacted by the Initiative. If the Supreme Court decides in favor of the corporation it will be a hard blow to popular government. . . . Progressives of both of the great parties are interested. They are not worrying themselves sick, however. They say that if the Constitution will not bend it will have to break.

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The Boston (daily) Journal (ind. Rep.), Feb. 2.—It is characteristic of the curious and illogical development of institutions that this country is just coming to face a final decision as to what is "republicanism" and what is "democracy. . . . The Constitution guarantees a "republican" form of government to all the States. Oregon is going to find out, from the Supreme Court, whether in adopting the Initiative and Referendum it has overstepped the definition of "republican." . . . The Initiative and Referendum movement is making progress whose like is difficult to recall in our history. If the Supreme Court should declare that the whole plan is unconstitutional, it would certainly precipitate a crisis whose ultimate significance few would dare to conjecture.

† †

School Houses as Centers.

The Boston Common (Ind.), Feb. 4.—The movement for the larger use of school houses has made

very rapid growth in the last few years, and conservative Massachusetts shows a strong inclination to abandon the old position that school buildings should be for schools only.

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Corruption the Child of Privilege.

Minneapolis Morning Tribune (pro. Rep.), Jan. 27.—If the tariff is the mother of the trusts, corruption is the child of special privilege. This is a historical truth, though the status of the corruption has gradually shifted with the decay of personal and increase of popular government. So much the worse for the nations, because the corruption that used to be limited to rulers and their satellites now spreads through the whole body of the people. In olden times kings sold monopolies and spent the money in war and luxury. The people suffered the oppression of monopolies, but escaped the corruption of receiving back in bribes a fraction of what they paid in tribute. Under popular government special privileges are still bought and sold, through which all the people are oppressed with monopoly prices to enrich the few. They are so much worse off than the former subjects of irresponsible despots that just enough of the price of their betrayal is returned to them in the form of bribes to undermine their manhood and taint their citizenship. The whole tariff deal is a dicker in the artificial prices of domestic monopoly by which the common people think they are getting an advantage in prices and wages at the expense of foreigners, while the enjoyers of special privilege know that they are getting an unjust benefit at the expense of all the people. This continual debasement of moral standards cannot go on without corrupting all the people in their business and political relations. Business and political graft are the fruit of education in the school of special privilege.

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X-Rays for the Supreme Court.

The Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen (dem. Dem.), Dec. 17.—The Supreme Court of the United States finds itself the subject of that fierce scrutiny from which it has always shrunk, and against which it has always defended itself by impenetrable reserve and portentous dignity. . . . It means that the march of progress has at last halted before the huge mysterious sphinx, the riddle of which has ever since the time of John Marshall been the overarching problem of our institutions, to men who have really thought. It means that democracy has at last challenged the greatest anomaly in a democratic government—a court with supreme powers, itself uncontrolled and unelected. . . . The existence of a court with the power of annulling legislation, with power to rule and overrule the President and Congress, itself responsible to no one, is an anomaly, and cannot be defended. The recent battle over the appointment of new judges for the first time brings the Supreme Court into politics. And once in, it must sooner or later find itself aligned with democracy. That is, it must become an elective body or there must be taken from it the power to rule Congress and the Executive.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE CINCINNATUS OF THE WEST.

For The Public.

The patriot, with dignity sublime,
Refused a throne; he loved his country best,
Not Self—this Cincinnatus of the West;
He wears a crown of glory for all time!

The first in peace his noble valor won;
The first in war that made a nation free;
The first in hearts that owe him liberty;—
The Father of his Country—Washington!

HENRY COYLE.

+ + +

A SHOE THAT FITS BOTH FEET.

For The Public.

A famous leader of the Russian Revolution addressed a large and enthusiastic American audience. The invitations to the address read: "Full dress is requested."

The meeting was a success. Men and women representing millions of dollars attended and applauded the revolutionary arguments of the speaker. They also melted with sympathy when he told them of the wrongs of his people.

The Pessimist and the Socialist were discussing the incident. Said the Pessimist:

"The man's plea was directed against Special Privilege, but his special privilege audience applauded wildly because he was directing his attacks against Russian conditions. In America we hate Special Privilege in Russia, but we love free passes. This country differs from Russia only in the kind of Special Privilege which it permits."

"That's true enough," answered the Socialist, "I could stand on my feet and tell stories of wrong and oppression, both political and industrial, which would be just as pitiful as those told by our Russian friend, but they would be stories of our own city, not of Russia,—but the people would scarcely applaud my sentiments for these very wrongs are at the root of their Special Privilege."

The Pessimist smiled. "You might indeed tell such things, but five minutes after you started you would have no audience."

"You are wrong there," answered the Socialist, "for while I would doubtless lose most of the dress suits and low neck gowns, that loss would be more than made up by my gains in detectives and policemen."

They said no more for both were thinking of the meeting held in Philadelphia a few months before, which was broken up by the police because the speaker took the name of Roosevelt in vain.

MAX WORTIL.

THOMAS JEFFERSON ON THE LAND QUESTION.

From a Letter Written by Thomas Jefferson to Rev. James Madison, as Reported in Paul Leicester Ford's "Works of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. vii, p. 33.

Fontainebleau, Oct. 28, 1795.*

Dear Sir: Seven o'clock, and retired to my fireside, I have determined to enter into conversation with you. This is a village of about 5,000 inhabitants when the court is not here and 20,000 when they are, occupying a valley thro' which runs a brook and on each side of it a ridge of small mountains most of which are naked rock. The King comes here, in the fall always, to hunt. His court attend him, as do also the foreign diplomatic corps. But as this is not indispensably required and my finances do not admit the expense of a continued residence here, I propose to come occasionally to attend the King's levees, returning again to Paris, distant 40 miles. This being the first trip I set out yesterday morning to take a view of the place. For this purpose I shaped my course towards the highest of the mountains in sight, to the top of which was about a league. As soon as I got clear of the town I fell in with a poor woman walking at the same rate with myself and going the same course. Wishing to know the condition of the laboring poor I entered into conversation with her, which I began by inquiries for the path which would lead me into the mountain; and thence proceeded to inquiries into her vocation, condition and circumstances. She told me she was a day laborer, at 8 sous or 4d sterling the day; that she had two children to maintain, and to pay rent of 30 livres for her house (which would consume the hire of 75 days); that often she could get no employment, and of course was without bread. As we had walked together near a mile and she had so far served me as a guide, I gave her, on parting, 24 sous. She burst into tears of a gratitude which I could perceive was unfeigned because she was unable to utter a word. She had probably never before received so great an aid. This little *attendrissement*, with the solitude of my walk led me into a train of reflections on that unequal division of property which occasions the numberless instances of wretchedness which I had observed in this country and is to be observed all over Europe. The property of this country is absolutely concentrated in a very few hands, having revenues of from half a million of guineas a year downwards. These employ the flower of the country as servants, some of them having as many as 200 domestics, not laboring. They employ also a great number of manufacturers, and tradesmen, and lastly the class of laboring husbandmen. But

*Mr. Ford says in regard to this date: "The true date of this letter is ten years previous to this, Jefferson having written 1795 in place of 1785."

after all there comes the most numerous of all classes, that is, the poor who cannot find work. I asked myself what could be the reason that so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work, in a country where there is a very considerable proportion of uncultivated lands? These lands are undisturbed only for the sake of game. It should seem then that it must be because of the enormous wealth of the proprietors which places them above attention to the increase of their revenues by permitting these lands to be labored. I am conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable. But the consequences of this enormous inequality producing so much misery to the bulk of mankind, legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind. The descent of property of every kind therefore to all the children, or to all the brothers and sisters, or other relations in equal degree is a politic measure, and a practicable one. Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise. Whenever there is in any country, uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for man to labor and live on. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed. It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment but who can find uncultivated land shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small land holders are the most precious part of a state.

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SUFFRAGE QUESTIONS ANSWERED

From the Seattle "Votes for Women."

What is equal suffrage?

It is the right of both men and women to have a voice in the laws that govern them.

Where in the United States do women vote?

In Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming and Utah. [Washington also, now.]

Do the women of these States vote for President?

Yes, for President, Vice-President and Congressmen.

What women vote in the suffrage States?

The mothers and the taxpayers.

What women do not vote?

A few of the society women and the women of the "underworld."

Do not women stay away from the polls?

In Colorado women are only 42 per cent of the population, but they cast 45 per cent of the vote.

Why do women vote more faithfully than men?

Because they are at home on election day.

Do not the "objectionable" women vote?

In Idaho they are forbidden to register. At the last election in Denver women cast 55 per cent of the vote in the best residence district, and only 4 per cent of the vote in the "slum" ward.

Does woman suffrage decrease marriage?

No. It increases it. In Wyoming and Idaho a larger percentage of women are married than in any other State of the Union.

Does woman suffrage increase divorce?

No. It decreases it. Where women have voted the longest, divorce is only one-eighth as frequent as in similar States where they do not vote. In New Zealand divorce has decreased 77 per cent since women began to vote.

Are women compelled to vote in the suffrage States?

No; nor are men. In 1904 7,000,000 qualified voters in the United States failed to vote for President.

If women vote, are they compelled to serve on jury?

No. In Utah jury duty is optional, but any defendant may ask that women be summoned on the jury.

Are men compelled to serve on jury?

In Washington the following men are exempt: Lawyers, ministers and priests, physicians, teachers, locomotive engineers, members of the fire department, civil and judicial officers of the State, civil officers of the United States, and men over sixty years of age. Anyone may be excused if it be shown that his interests or the interests of the public will be injured by his attendance.

Who will take care of the baby while the mother votes?

In Denver the candidates do. Generally the same person who takes care of the baby when she goes to church or goes shopping or goes to pay her taxes.

Will women who vote come in contact with "objectionable" women?

Only one person is allowed in a booth at a time.

Will the voting woman come in contact with "objectionable" men?

Not so much as she does in crowded street cars.

Do voting women show an inclination to inform themselves politically?

In Colorado, in the first eight months after women were enfranchised, more books on political

economy and civics were sold than in the whole twenty years before.

Are women compelled to be policemen and sheriffs where they vote?

No.

Does crime increase where women vote?

No. It decreases. In New Zealand, 55 per cent.

How much time does it take to vote?

About an hour a year does all the voting that is allowed.

Why do women wish to vote?

For the same reason men do.

* * *

JOHN FITZPATRICK.

A Leader of Organized Labor in the West as Described by Raymond Robins in "Life and Labor," for February, 1911.

John Fitzpatrick's rise to leadership among the men of labor has been a steady climb from the



ranks. He was vice-president, treasurer, president and business agent of Local No. 4, Journeymen Horseshoers' International Union, holding the last office for five years. Declining reelection to office he again went to work at his trade.

In 1894 the old Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly having fallen into disrepute, a new body known as the Labor Congress was formed. Into this new central federation Fitzpatrick came as a delegate from his old Local No. 4.

After a stormy conflict between them, these two

central bodies were amalgamated, and the Chicago Federation of Labor was chartered by the A. F. of L. in 1896. Of this united federation of organized labor in Chicago, Fitzpatrick was elected president in 1899. He served two terms and then declined a renomination.

From 1902 to 1904 he was organizer for the Chicago Federation and official representative in Chicago for the American Federation of Labor. In 1904 he again consented to be a candidate for the office of president of the Chicago Federation, was elected and has been re-elected continuously ever since. He has sat as a delegate from Local No. 4 in several national conventions of his craft, as well as in the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

A veteran of many industrial wars, his first active service was in the great Pullman-American Railway Union strike. He was at the front in the Chicago building trades lockout and has served in battles at the stock yards and in the garment workers' and teamsters' strikes. For over twenty years he has been on the firing line in local industrial struggles. In this period he has risen from a private in the ranks to one of the most experienced and trusted among the field marshals of organized labor.

Fitzpatrick's capacity for leadership in industrial war was never better tested than in the great garment workers' strike in Chicago. The heroic struggle of these unorganized thousands of both sexes, speaking many languages and believing diverse creeds, with an empty war chest and destitute of efficient leadership—many of them recent immigrants and all members of a "sweated" trade—presented one of the most splendid demonstrations of the possible courage, endurance and fraternity in the human heart that was ever witnessed on the battle fields of American industry. To the aid and support of this motley host without resources and in desperate need, Fitzpatrick rallied the entire strength of organized labor in Chicago. Finding it impossible to maintain cash benefits for the destitute strikers, he directed the organization and equipment of four co-operative commissary supply stores, from which the needy strikers obtained supplies of food bought at wholesale rates and distributed through volunteer help. Carefully checked supply cards were given out by the shop chairman which were verified and canceled when honored at the commissary stations. This system resulted in a maximum of relief at a minimum cost, and it is not too much to say that the success of this method of direct relief entitles it to become a permanent addition to the commissary methods in organized labor's manual of war.

John Fitzpatrick belongs to the new type of labor leaders, the type from which will come the labor statesmen of the future. He is an indus-

trial organizer and a labor executive, constructive and progressive in the best sense of both terms. In common with Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison, John Mitchell and many others among the leaders of the men of labor, he believes that union organization is the heart of the labor movement. To develop and maintain among the workers on the industrial field unity and co-operation, the sense of a common need, a common power, and a common destiny, which can only be achieved by union organization and the education of each in the common service of all—this is the abiding purpose in the heart of John Fitzpatrick.

A genuine progressive, he believes in labor legislation and the direct political action of the workers. "This latter," says Fitzpatrick, "is purely a question of education and the slow working out of a common political purpose upon which all union men can unite. Organized workers have already overcome the two greatest obstacles to social unity and co-operation, viz: race prejudice and religious prejudice. Having done this much we are sure to do more. We will also overcome political prejudice and then the workers will get together for political action in a practical way."

In the increasingly important matter of the organization of women workers, Fitzpatrick also takes an advanced and enlightened stand. He has studied the "woman's invasion" of industrial occupations and understands both its economic and political significance and the inevitable character of the social forces that operate to drive women into competition with men on the industrial field. Vigorously aiding in the organization of women into unions, he also advocates their political enfranchisement. He knows that unorganized and disfranchised working women are a potent club to beat down union wages and conditions for working men, and that such women underbidding in the labor market will put working mothers in the sweatshops and working fathers on the tramp. Having tested the courage, self-sacrifice and faithfulness to organized labor of which women are capable when they have been converted to the union gospel, Fitzpatrick is an able advocate and generous friend of all efforts toward their industrial organization and political citizenship.

What of the man himself? Physically, he is big, broad-shouldered, square of jaw and built for the war. Steady hand and clear eye, the grip and the look of him suggests the thought: "An able seaman this, fit pilot for the worst of storms." I do not know a better way to help you sense the human mettle of this man or understand the quality of his brotherhood than to tell this story of his winning method of reform. The young Fitzpatrick liked his nip, and the convivial glass was nothing strange to his hand and lips. Some nine years ago he came to a realizing sense that drinking liquor was for some of his friends a heavy

drain upon their purse and a dangerous temptation. Thereupon he quietly stopped drinking liquor in any form, and later in a cheerful and kindly way persuaded these friends to do likewise. He has been a total abstainer ever since and finds it good for himself and his fellowmen.

Who were his Heroes? Whence came his Vision and his Dream? What High Voices called to him as he worked a mere lad in the killing pens at the Yards, and led him forth upon the eternal quest for human justice and the brotherhood of man? Fitzpatrick does not know many books. He is not widely read nor has he known many of the great and mighty of the earth. He has only one hero—Abraham Lincoln. Among living men he most admired and loved John P. Altgeld. Lincoln's speeches, and Ward's "Lives of the Lowly" are his best read books. The secret of his leadership seems to lie in this: Living in an age of graft, Fitzpatrick is doggedly honest; amid a complex and tricky generation, he is as straightforward and as true as the multiplication table. Surrounded by fighting factions, he is fair to all and belongs to none. Being free from guile he is also free from fear.

BOOKS

SPIRITUAL PROGRESS.

A Theory of Spiritual Progress. By William Allen White. Published by The Gazette Press, Emporia, Kansas, 1910.

No one could write as William Allen White has written, without the spiritual impulse; and in this monograph Mr. White not only makes it clear that this is so with him, but he outlines in charming fashion the spiritual theory under the spell of which his best work has been done.

It is no mystical theory. He deals straightforward with those facts of human experience of which everyone has some knowledge. The basis of the theory is scientific, the recognition by modern science of "determinate or purposive change" as characteristic of evolution—a change that has already driven out cruel customs in great degree and replaced them with kindly habits. From this observed fact of "determinate or purposive change," the author infers beneficent direction. He concludes, therefore, that there must be a beneficent director and that the director must have a beneficent prod.

The beneficent prod is human suffering as the consequence of unkindly conduct. A few quotations will indicate both the character of the theory and the quality of Mr. White's presentation of it: "Man as an individual is happy only as he is kind. Of course, it is impossible to say just what man is happy and what man is unhappy. But

approval of one's kind probably is one of the things that make for happiness. Who is surer of public approval than the generous adversary, the chivalrous foe, the kindly competitor? Is the rich man always praised? Does he not often drain a bitter cup? Is the powerful man sure of public acclaim in his mean use of power? Is the proud man encouraged in his pride? It pays to be decent, is a proverb of the people. That means only that the spiritual is dominant in a material world. The man who is ever looking for the main chance is the final loser of the game. Greed poisons itself and dies. The plutocrat is pulling against the current. . . . Whoever would achieve any worthy thing must found it upon the common law of kindness known as righteousness. The world's greatest goods are not set in the ether. Its most permanent rewards are not material. We are all working in clay, and it is our duty to work well; but our pay should be such stuff as dreams are made of. The fool is he who works in clay and takes his pay in clay, for 'the fool hath said in his heart, there is no God.' . . . A man never succeeds in a large sense in working for himself. Only until a man has got out of himself, until his effort is for others, until, in short, he is out of the eternal grind and in the wider spiritual cycle, may a man really achieve. For it is folly to pull against the current—spending strength to no end. Either the fool is right or he is wrong. Either there is a God or there is not. If there is not, whence this 'determinate or purposive change' toward higher things in nature and in man; if there is a God, we cannot fool him. So why treat him as a confederate in our crimes? Why should we expect material rewards for spiritual service? Why envy material success? Why lose faith because the wicked seem to prosper? Why should not those who seek material rewards by selfish methods get them? There is nothing to hinder them. It is none of God's business. They are out of His world. Why do the wicked prosper? asked Job in rebellion. They do not. They get things, and things oppress them. Things curse them. Things corrupt their children. Things drive away their friends. Things keep them awake nights. Things make men cowards and cheats, and bend them to unholy tasks. It is the crown of follies to believe that those insensible persons whom we choose to call 'the wicked,' prosper. For the world of the spirit has its own laws. And these laws do not run counter to gravitation and cohesion and the centripetal forces. Men of flabby faith are jealous of others with goods and chattels. . . . The trash-heaps of history are piled high with nations that were cruel and unfair to those who did the rough work of their times without fair return. The land that cheats the workers, cheats itself. Indeed and in truth does righteousness exalt a nation. It may be men will say that we do not live in primitive times; we have great things to do.

But no great achievement ever came without great vision, and great vision does not come for money or power or fame. . . . Over and over the spark is planted in untold billions of hearts as the ages pass; and slowly as our sensibilities widen, our customs change. So comes progress, and the fire glows larger in our common lives. That divine spark is the realest thing we know in the universe—more real even than the ether. For while we have the mighty round of things upon this globe, from light and air and water and earth up through vegetation to animal life, there comes a place where the narrow material cycle touches a segment of the wider round—where the ether thrills with a human vision. There in that holy of holies, the human consciousness, creation's plan begins anew, and God says, Let there be light! and lo, there is light."

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TALES FROM HINDUSTAN.

In Kali's Country. By Emily T. Sheets. Published by Fleming H. Revell Co., New York and Chicago. 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

About India, where some men worship the frightful Brahman goddess Kali, these twelve short stories are written by an American woman who, while traveling with her husband, had exceptional chances to meet the Christian natives and missionaries and to hear their experiences. The mission point of view is fervently held. The cruelties of superstition and Oriental dogma are relentlessly contrasted with the kindness of Christianity as the only true faith.

More than this, the simply told narratives grant dramatic insight into these strange, intense Eastern lives. Like Kipling's "Kim," the book leaves one with an overwhelming conviction of the vastness and incoherence of the nations of Hindustan.

The illustrations, drawn by Elma M. Childs from photographs taken by the author, somehow enter into the spirit of the stories.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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OUR DISTINGUISHED SHOWMAN.

The Spirit of America. By Henry Van Dyke (Prof. of English in Princeton University), New York. The MacMillan Co. Price, \$1.50.

In this series of conferences given at the University of Paris Mr. Van Dyke makes a generous effort to promote an intelligent sympathy between the Republics of France and the United States. Delivered in English and translated into French these lectures were published under the title of "Le Genie de l'Amerique." Representing as they do in large measure the essential qualities of the American people, the present English edition is welcomed by the friends and admirers of the author who gives to our family portraits the artistic touch of his peculiar genius. On the whole,

the American character seems fairly delineated, though the subject is too vast and the variations too extensive to be covered by the Van Dyke camera, widely directed and skillfully used though it is. But, as is said in the remarks on "Common Order and Co-operation," "The sober soul of the people is neither frivolous nor fanatical. It is earnest, responsive to moral appeal, capable of self-control, and, in times of need, strong for self-sacrifice. It has its hours of illusion, its intervals of indifference and drowsiness. But while there are men and women passionately devoted to the highest ideals and faithful in calling it to its duties, it will not wholly slumber nor be lost in death."

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Open Air. By William E. Watt. Published by The Little Chronicle Co. Chicago. 1910.

—Social Adjustment. By Scott Nearing. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1911. Price \$1.50 net.

—The Least of These. A Fact Story. By Lincoln Steffens. Published by Frederick C. Bursch, The Hillacre Bookhouse, Riverside, Conn. 1910. Price, 50 cents, postage, 4 cents.

PAMPHLETS

Neutralization of the Panama Canal.

In support of neutralization, Congressman Keifer of Ohio publishes his speech in the House of Representatives on the 19th of January last. It is a compendious review of the whole question. Now that our keepers of war-dogs and our manufacturers of war supplies are strenuously demanding that the United States fortify the canal, a copy of Mr. Keifer's speech should be in the hands of every voter. A postal card to him would doubtless bring one. The points considered are the significance of neutralization, its strategic value, the good policy of it, and the obligations of our treaties.

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The following are among the pamphlets we have recently received:

Centenary of Horace Greeley, Feb. 3, 1911.

The Albany Citizen and Year Book of the Civic League of Albany. 1911.

Special Message on Taxation, by Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois.

Our Huge Debt to Europe. The Real Cause of Panics in the United States. By W. H. Allen, Moody's Magazine, New York.

Indiana State Educational, Benevolent and Correctional Institution and Public Buildings, Departments, Boards and Commissions. Report of the Legislative Committee. 1911. Printed by William B. Burford, Indianapolis.

Report on the Taxation and Revenue System of Illinois, prepared for the Special Tax Commission of the

State of Illinois by John A. Fairlie, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois, and Chief Clerk of the Commission.

The American House of Lords: Supreme Court Usurpation. By Morrison I. Swift. Published by The Supreme Court Reform League, Boston.

Commendations of House Bill No. 5, and Senate Bill No. 30, commonly known as the Gilbert Bill, with Discussion and Objections thereto. Printed by Barnard & Miller, Chicago.

PERIODICALS

The Pacific Monthly.

The disturbances in Mexico, which begin to look like a real revolution even to outsiders, give special interest to John Kenneth Turner's account, in the Pacific Monthly (Portland) for February, of "Diaz the Statesman," who is "not a statesman but a soldier who lived three centuries too late," and incidentally of Madero, the millionaire revolutionist.

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Life and Labor.

The second issue of Life and Labor (79 Dearborn St., Chicago), that for February, bears out the promise of the first. Individually the articles are interesting, and the touch of good editorship is evident in the flavor of the whole. Among the contributors are Frances Squire Potter and Martha Bensley Bruere. One of the subjects is Frances Kellor; another is John Fitzpatrick. The frontispiece is a fine portrait, hitherto unpublished, of Mrs. Raymond

Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, chosen by her co-workers and published at their request.

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"Here's a column headed, 'Summary of the News.' What a funny mistake!" said his wife.

The old subscriber glanced at the sensational headlines on the first page of the Morning Garbage Can.

"No," he said; "it may be a typographical blunder, but it's not a mistake."—Chicago Tribune.

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Prominent Lawyer (at home)—Where was I the night before last? How do I know? Do you expect me to remember every little thing I do?

Same Lawyer (in court)—The testimony of the

Conservation.

The other day a man excused himself for not subscribing to The Public by saying that he already had 30 publications coming to his house and place of business.

I told him he was either wasting his time foolishly trying to read so many periodicals, or he didn't read them.

He admitted he didn't read half of them. In fact he hardly read any, and none of them thoroughly. There was too much stuff to wade through.

This man's perplexity is typical. What with much printing, with clubbing offers and premiums the average reading man loads up with "stuff" until he has to call in the aid of a good furnace to help him "absorb" it.

To such men The Public is a godsend. Readers of The Public who know its scope as well as its restrictions know that they get in political, sociological and economic fields, the gist of the world's important news.

When you ask your friends to subscribe, let them realize that The Public does not add to their reading. It saves reading. Saves wading through a mass of "stuff" to get the few kernels of real news that all intelligent men and women ought to know.

The Public is worth a dollar as a time saver. And you don't need a furnace to help absorb it.

EMIL SCHMIED, Manager.

Garrison, the Non-Resistant

By the late Ernest Crosby

Of this Tolstoyan biography the Philadelphia Record said:

Under the title of "Garrison, the Non-Resistant," Mr. Crosby brings forward a little volume of fiery denunciations of imperialism, the capitalists, Wall street methods, the baleful effect of judicial oaths and other favorite themes. . . Mr. Crosby's radicalism is so patently sincere that his writings are certain to cause admiration for the man, if scarcely entire faith either in his creed or in his rash statements. . . The book is rich in quotable passages, and for those who can enjoy a skillful argument waged upon a strictly unconventional point of view it makes uncommonly lively reading. Since the author is always so terribly in earnest, his style is trenchant and vigorous, and "Garrison, the Non-Resistant," is an example of this strenuous peacemaker at his best.

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witness is plainly unreliable. As you see, he cannot recollect where he was on the sixteenth day of October, 1897, between 11:59 a. m. and 12:01 p. m. —Puck.

* * *

There is a lad in Boston, the son of a well-known writer of history, who has evidently profited by such observations as he may have overheard his father utter touching certain phases of British empire-building. At any rate, the boy showed a shrewd notion of

the opinion not infrequently expressed in regard to the righteousness of "British occupation." It was he who handed in the following essay on the making of a British colony:

"Africa is a British colony. I will tell you how England does it. First she gets a missionary; when the missionary has found a specially beautiful and fertile tract of country, he gets all his people around him and says: 'Let us pray,' and when all the eyes are shut, up goes the British flag."—Harper's Magazine.

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

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

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