

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Justice Harlan's Dissenting Opinion.

Since the decision in the Standard Oil case, when he expressed oral dissent to the argument of Chief Justice White, Justice Harlan has put his dissenting opinion into written form as one of the records of the Court. It is a document of the highest importance, historically and judicially. If in choosing the Chief Justice, President Taft passed over Justice Harlan, of his own party and the senior member of the Court, in order to appoint a Democrat of the old anti-Lincoln type,—if in this choice he was governed by any notion that Justice White was the abler jurist, he must know now that he was mistaken. Chief Justice White's opinion, representing the majority, is manifestly inferior to Justice Harlan's dissenting opinion.

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Other reasons for Mr. Taft's preference are hinted at broadly by Mr. Bryan in the Commoner of the 26th, and not with over emphasis under the circumstances. In enumerating what the decision explains, this Commoner editorial says:

First, it explains why Justice White was made Chief Justice instead of Justice Harlan. Second, it explains why Governor Hughes was made a Justice of the Supreme Court. Third, it explains the discriminating care exercised by the President in selecting Democrats who would help the Republicans out of a hole by making the Democratic party bear some of the odium of a decision that builds a bulwark around the predatory corporations. And, fourth, it

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explains why Wall street went over to Mr. Taft in March or April of 1908 and then coerced their employes and the business public into the support of the Republican candidate in November. "Who will appoint the judges?" was the question raised toward the close of the campaign, and Mr. Bryan was given an opportunity to decline to make any pledges. The people will learn after a while, what the corporations have long known, namely, that the power to appoint United States judges is a far-reaching power. The people agitate and Congress legislates to little effect so long as the highest court in the land is in sympathy with those who exploit the public.

It is of course very wicked of Mr. Bryan to write in that way about judges, especially about Wall street judges; but the truth ought to be told once in a while even about judges, and there does seem to be an interesting coincidence between the magical conversion of Wall street to Candidate Taft in 1908 and President Taft's Supreme Court appointments in 1910. But culpable as Mr. Bryan may be, his indictment rests solidly upon Justice Harlan's dissenting opinion.



"Why was it necessary," asks Justice Harlan, "to make an elaborate argument, as is done in the opinion, to show that according to the 'rule of reason' the [anti-trust] act as passed by Congress should be interpreted as if it contained the word 'unreasonable' or the word 'undue,' restraint of interstate commerce? Sure enough, why *was* it necessary? Since the court was "unanimous in holding," to quote Justice Harlan further, "that the particular things done by the Standard Oil Company and its subsidiary companies in this case were illegal under the anti-trust act, whether those things were in reasonable or unreasonable restraint of interstate commerce," why did Chief Justice White write, and all his associates except Justice Harlan acquiesce in an opinion which not only interprets the anti-trust act in favor of trusts but in doing so flies into the face of all previous interpretations by the same court?"



If Justice Harlan's dissenting opinion does not answer that question, at least it suggests the answer in quite forceful fashion. In the first place, it shows historically that Congress could not have intended to discriminate between conspiracies in restraint of interstate commerce in any such manner as to leave questions of reasonable or unreasonable conspiracies open to dispute. In the second place, this dissenting opinion shows that in 1896 the Supreme Court interpreted the anti-trust act flatly against Chief Justice White's present interpretation, and that the Supreme Court

has held to its original interpretation in every case in which the question was involved. In the third place, this dissenting opinion shows that when Big Business found that the courts were against them on this point, they tried to get the act amended in Congress and failed. In the fourth place, Justice Harlan shows that when the court settled the question against the interpretation now put upon the anti-trust act by "obiter dicta," the present Chief Justice wrote a dissenting opinion to the same effect as his present prevailing opinion. Justice Harlan does not say, as Mr. Bryan pretty plainly does say, that President Taft may have packed the Supreme Court so as to secure what Congress refuses, a reversal of its prior interpretation of the act in favor of "reasonable" conspiracies in restraint of trade; but what he does say leaves little room for escape from that inference. What Chief Justice White has tried in the past to have the court do, what in all previous cases the court has refused to do, what Congress also has steadily refused to do, what the court could not do in this case because the point of "reasonableness" or not wasn't involved,—this is precisely what Chief Justice White and his majority announce that the court will do if a case involving the point comes before them. Was President Taft innocent of this outcome when he made his Supreme Court appointments? Was Big Business uninformed when it became reconciled to Mr. Roosevelt's candidate for President? Did Big Business fish for pledges on judicial appointments unsuccessfully with Candidate Bryan but satisfactorily with Candidate Taft?

Much has been said about the quieting effect upon "the business of the country" which the Supreme Court's advertisement of its intention will have. Justice Harlan answers all that when he says:

On the contrary, I have a strong conviction that it will throw the business of the country into confusion and invite widely extended and harassing litigation, the injurious effects of which will be felt for many years to come. When Congress prohibited every contract, combination or monopoly in restraint of commerce, it prescribed a simple, definite rule that all could understand, and which could be easily applied by every one wishing to obey the law, and not to conduct their business in violation of law. But now, it is to be feared, we are to have, in cases without number, the constantly recurring inquiry—difficult to solve by proof—whether the particular contract, combination or trust involved in each case is or is not an "unreasonable" or "undue" restraint of trade. Congress, in effect, said that there should be no restraint of trade, in any form, and this Court solemnly adjudged many years ago that Congress meant what it thus said in clear and explicit words,

and that it could not add to the words of the act. But those who condemn the action of Congress are now, in effect, informed that the courts will allow such restraints of interstate commerce as are shown not to be unreasonable or undue.

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Of greater importance still are Justice Harlan's comments upon the proposal of the Supreme Court as now constituted to embark upon the open sea of judicial legislation. "This court, let me repeat," he proceeds, "solemnly adjudged many years ago that it could not, except by 'judicial legislation,' read words into the anti-trust act not put there by Congress, and which, being inserted, gives it a meaning which the words of the act, as passed, if properly interpreted, would not justify. The Court has decided that it could not thus change a public policy formulated and declared by Congress; that Congress has paramount authority to regulate interstate commerce, and that it alone can change a policy once inaugurated by legislation. The courts have nothing to do with the wisdom or policy of an act of Congress. Their duty is to ascertain the will of Congress, and if the statute embodying the expression of that will is Constitutional, the courts must respect it. They have no function to declare a public policy nor to amend legislative enactments. . . . To overreach the action of Congress merely by judicial construction, that is, by indirection, is a blow at the integrity of our governmental system, and in the end will prove most dangerous to all." Truly there are worse things in a republic than denouncing judges for judicial legislation. One of them is legislation by judges; another is appointments of judges to legislate.

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Elizabeth Smith Miller.

How many were there who, upon reading of the death of Elizabeth Smith Miller last week, associated her with one of the great figures of one of the great epochs of American history? She was the daughter of Gerrit Smith, a man whose name was on everybody's tongue somewhat more than half a century ago—with undeserved execration by most, with honor by some. The reason why may be read in volume viii, of *The Public*, at pages 540 and 546.* Gerrit Smith was an abolitionist who believed in his cause, which he served faithfully and courageously during one term in Congress and for many years besides. He was a pioneer, too, in the doctrine of "the land for the people." Slavery through man-ownership was

*Published in pamphlet form by The Public Publishing Co., price, ten cents.

hardly more offensive to his conscience than servitude through land-monopoly. Although he had not worked out the economic relationship of man to the land as Henry George did a quarter of a century after him, he stands out in our history quite distinctly in a way as the Henry George of his earlier time. Born in 1822, his daughter was old enough to share with him the feelings and thoughts and sacrifices of his public experience, and during all the years of her surviving him his faith and spirit were also hers. In the woman suffrage movement she won a reputation of her own. She died May 24, near Geneva, New York, at the age of 89.

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Proving Its Worth by its Enemies.

When Congressman Thomas M. Bell asked the editor of *The National Democrat*, published at Washington, D. C., to cancel his endorsement of the *Democrat* because it favors the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, the editor proved by his reply the worthiness of *The Democrat* as a truly democratic newspaper. "It is only through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall," he reminded Congressman Bell, "that the people of this country can hope to regain control of the government," and informed him that he is not in harmony with his own party when he opposes those principles, and that his doing so makes his disapproval of the paper preferable to his approval.

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Industrial Efficiency.

It is to be regretted that there is a tendency in labor organizations to discredit unreservedly the movement for securing industrial efficiency. This movement seems to us to raise precisely the same question that labor saving machinery raises.

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Labor saving machinery does not proportionately improve the economic condition of the hired class, as a class, nor very much even absolutely. This is a fairly obvious fact already; and at the last the hired class will probably not be benefited at all by labor-saving machinery, and may be positively harmed. But none of this is the fault of labor-saving machinery. It is the fault of those social regulations, both institutional and statutory, under which much of the higher earnings of labor from its use of labor-saving machinery is automatically diverted from earners to parasites. What is true in this respect of labor-saving machinery is true also of labor-saving methods.

Now the industrial efficiency of which much is being said and written at the present time, is a labor-saving method. "Pacemaking" by employers, which has contributed largely if not wholly to systematic "soldiering" among their workmen, may be called "efficiency"; and in so far as "efficiency" and "pacemaking" are identical, labor organizations are in the right, morally and economically, in denouncing it, in discouraging it, and in putting it under the ban of labor unionism. But the particular industrial "efficiency" to which Louis D. Brandeis has recently directed general attention is not "pacemaking"; and, as we understand its explanations, it cannot be profitably used for "pacemaking." On the contrary, its general use would tend to do away with "pacemaking" completely until its benefits had brought in other economic factors. For "pacemaking" consists in tempting the stronger and more enduring workers in an establishment to raise the standards of strength and endurance. But a high expenditure of strength and endurance is not necessarily high efficiency.

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Contrary to that brutal method, the "efficiency" method we are considering seems to realize the highest efficiency in production not at higher but at lower points of strength and endurance. It is somewhat, for instance, as if a standard unit for daily running were to be set. Some persons would be unfit for running; these would be weeded out. Others might be fit for running, but more fit for something else; these too, would probably be weeded out later on. Of those who were adapted for running, tests would be made to ascertain the standard unit, which would be not at the longest distance under a strain for a short time, but at the longest distance under only such strain as would permit continuous exertion without loss of power.

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But why isn't that "pacemaking" so far as the under-fit are concerned? If they have to resort to that employment from scarcity of opportunities for employment, it is "pacemaking." But in behalf of the efficiency idea it is argued that there are other and fit working opportunities for workmen weeded out anywhere as unfit. Were this true, continuously and without limitation, the argument would be good. In that case all kinds of work would increasingly rise in efficiency, producing larger results with the same or diminishing effort; and with every advance in efficiency in one kind of work, the demand for more labor

in most or all other kinds would prevent an excess of work relatively to working opportunities.

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But we have no more reason to suppose that under existing industrial circumstances, labor-saving efficiency in method would have any different result from labor-saving machinery. Instead of more jobs than men, there might come more men than jobs; and the later effect of that upon efficiency would be to turn it into "pacemaking," and thereby to make it contribute to the exploitation of labor, just as improved machinery has done. In this view of the matter, is it not natural that labor unionists should instinctively discredit the "efficiency" movement? Natural, yes; but not reasonable. The reasonable thing to do is to demand of those who are exploiting the "efficiency" idea, that they use their influence concurrently in ridding modern industry of the ancient shackles which force poor laborers to yield to rich idlers the greater product that results from greater efficiency. An increase of 50 per cent in wages for several hundred per cent increase in productiveness, cannot be very attractive to workmen conscious of the certain decline in wages after "efficiency" has established higher levels of productiveness with lower levels of labor force. Nevertheless, if the efficiency movement is what it seems to be, there is no recourse for organized workmen but to swallow their objections, as they have had to do regarding improved machinery, and concentrate their energies upon securing for labor the benefits of both.

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A SUGGESTION FOR THE STUDY OF TIPS.

"Tips are bad, but you can never get rid of the custom." The second part of this common remark need not come true. The custom is so undemocratic that in time it is sure to be abolished, and we may hope that each discussion of the subject will help to bring the end a little nearer. Hardly a year passes without some attempt somewhere to undo it, and each attempt will suggest another.

An attempt was once reported from Yale University. The reports did not give details, but enough was said to indicate that the attempt was to be serious. This academic movement has brought a suggestion. The professors of sociology in that university might set the subject as a theme for post-graduate investigation. Nearly every subject of a social nature has been set for investigation in our graduate schools except the tipping sys-

tem, and this would make an excellent subject for original research. The student might compare foreign and domestic tips, and tell us how much more burdensome the custom is in this country than abroad. One might guess that tips are about five times heavier over here than in Europe, but a scientific investigation would be necessary to establish the exact facts, and such an investigation would be valuable. Perhaps the Pullman company, or the Association of New York Restaurant Keepers, or the recently discovered contractors for tipping privileges, might be induced to offer a prize for the best monograph on the subject.

Some of the restaurants in London have a system which I have not seen in this country. You may not see the individual waiter, but at the cashier's stand there is a little box, like the boxes one sees in some places for the Salvation Army or the Children's Hospital, and over this little box is the invitation to contribute to the waiters. From one point of view this is a decided improvement. It emphasizes the ultimate effect, and the invitation should be made to read very plainly, "Help us to pay our help." All such departures as this from the usual custom, and there may be others, should form a part of the sociological student's scientific investigation.

Furthermore, the investigation should establish the facts as to the grades of tips, according to cities and location in cities, according to length of time on Pullmans, and according to wealth and station of tippers. There is a tradition that Mr. J. P. Morgan never tips with less than a five-dollar note and that Mr. J. D. Rockefeller never tips at all. These facts should be known. And who knows what differences may prevail between New York and Chicago, or between Sherry's and the Hotel Astor? In fact there is no subject on which people are more in the dark, and it is strange that it has so long escaped the ubiquitous search for new subjects of research in our graduate schools.

One evening on an ocean steamer, at one of the customary entertainments, a Philadelphia school-teacher was called on to give advice and information on the subject of tips to his fellow-tourists. It is hard to say why a school-teacher should have been called on, but he did himself great credit by saying that he knew nothing to say. Here then is a subject of interest to the thousands of travelers in all countries, and yet as to definite information all of us are as much in the dark as that Philadelphia teacher. Surely in this age of scientific investigation a subject of such general interest should not be longer neglected.

If the investigator is of a democratic turn of mind

he might be induced to carry his investigation into a consideration of the effect of tips on the character of the recipients, with some discussion of the degrading and undemocratic tendency of the custom. But this is more than can be reasonably expected of the University investigator, and all we ask at present is a study of the facts.

J. H. DILLARD.

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PUBLIC SANITATION AND ITS REVENUES.

The following editorial appeared in a recent issue of "American Medicine":

"The unearned increment does not seem to have the slightest relation to medical matters, but as it is a subject of intense interest to publicists, sanitarians must learn the arguments now being worked out to justify society in taking what is said to belong to it and not to the individual. It has always been accepted as an axiom that no rapidly growing community can possibly tax itself sufficiently to provide those sanitary necessities which cities of slower growth obtain only after decades of effort. It is now claimed that increased real estate values really belong to the people who created them and not to the man who was lucky enough to own the property and who did absolutely nothing to add to those values. It is therefore said that the unearned increments of valuation should yearly be taken to construct water and sewer systems, to pave streets, and to use in removing wastes and combatting disease. The idea is so revolutionary and borders so closely on the propositions of certain radical socialists, that there has been a great outcry against it, particularly from the English bankers who represent the people possessing this unearned wealth. Nevertheless the proposition is being seriously discussed by statesmen and has been taken up in America by conservative men who cannot possibly be accused of ill considered radicalism. The subject is thus brought into the sphere of practical sanitation and the medical profession must study the arguments, pro and con, to determine whether they are not justified in joining in the movement to put an end to preventable disease by methods never tried because money was never available.

"The ownership of increased valuation is the question in dispute. It is now openly claimed that if New York City should tax itself fifty millions to build subways which would add fifty millions to the property value of the regions served, the increase belongs to the community, who can take it

ethically by special taxation. A few noblemen, whose ancestors happened to own a part of London, are now drawing millions in yearly rentals from the very people who made the land valuable, and the Government has announced the policy of partial confiscation to use in preserving the health and lives of these people. The men whose ownership has never before been questioned are saying that this is a revolution, and the statesmen are calmly replying that it is only one of the long series of revolutions which the progress of civilization has forced upon the nation peacefully or forcefully, and are proceeding with the plans. Owners of New York are squandering millions in Europe, and owners of London, millions in all parts of the world, while in each city disease and death are present for the want of just such money for sanitation. These are the facts which are directing the serious attention of statesmen to the practical problem of shaping legislation which will enable them to use this property value in defense of the people who created it. Public health is bound to be enhanced if these ideas are spread to a practical application, and the medical profession is more vitally interested than any other.

"The congestion of population of the last few decades has caused enormous changes in medical practice and there is no reason to doubt that the ideas of a few dreamers are bound to make still further revolutions. . . ."

"The tremendous modern concentration of populations is responsible for those remarkable unearned increases of wealth, and it is not at all unlikely that the proposed new taxation, if it is ever levied, will be used to pay physicians for curing the diseases the sanitarians fail to prevent. It all depends upon whether or not it is decided that society owns what it creates."

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The sound ethical and fiscal common sense shown in that editorial makes one wonder if the writer is quite ignorant of the genesis and development of the proposed system of taxation. Probably it is needless to point out to him that "radical socialists" are not responsible for it, and that it is not the idea "of a few dreamers" alone. But it is worth while to emphasize the justice of his view, that for the medical profession in particular this scheme of taxation is vitally important. Not merely in furnishing the means to enable the physicians of a great city to cope more successfully with disease and death among a crowded population, but to do away with this very crowd-

ing, with the greater depths of poverty which breed disease in all great centers.*

It will not be so necessary to furnish money for fighting disease under a just system of taxation. For an economic system which gives more equality of opportunity to every one has no place for conditions which above all are now the chief reasons for preventable disease and death. It must indeed be discouraging to a band of men who give of their mental and physical strength, of all their powers and even their very lives, as do our physicians in the effort to stem the tide of disease, and then to see it daily and hourly grow afresh in our tenement districts. Like the dwellers in the slums, our brave doctors themselves are often the actual victims of wrong conditions, and many a life the country can ill spare has been sacrificed, among the medical profession, to an economic system which permits the few to take what is earned by the many and should be used for the benefit of the many.

The medical profession, first of all, are interested in just taxation, and if the physicians of our country could see this and join the ranks of those who are fighting openly for economic justice, they would prove of inestimable assistance. Many of them are now spending their lives and their strength in a splendid effort to stamp out the White Plague, a splendid fight indeed but one sadly futile, for tuberculosis is not to be eradicated while slums exist, while hundreds of thousands of men, women and children live and work amid unsanitary conditions, ill-nourished, ill-clothed. And such conditions must exist while there exists the blatant economic injustice that puts a double burden on the earning power of the individual, to pour into the pockets of a few riches that the thrift of all has produced.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

*It is for the purpose of coping with this question in this way that the Fels Fund has been organized. Endowed by Joseph Fels, it is managed by a Commission consisting of Daniel Kiefer, chairman (530 Walnut St., Cincinnati), Lincoln Steffens, Frederic C. Howe, Jackson H. Ralston and Geo. A. Briggs.—Editors of The Public.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE TACOMA SITUATION.*

Seattle, May 22.

In saying in my previous letter that only one public utility function was reserved by the people of Tacoma, I overlooked the fact that the city owns also its own water system, a circumstance so universal in this State that we have almost ceased to classify

*See The Public, current volume, page 488.

it among those utilities for which we have to wage constant warfare. And instead of saying that Fawcett "is" ambitious to be Governor, I should have said "was," inasmuch as he is down and out as a result of the recall.

As the second or final elections in the effort to recall all the other members of the commission were held Tuesday, May 17, the last two paragraphs of my letter should have been as follows: "When the opponents of Mayor Fawcett began the agitation for his recall they received a certain amount of encouragement from two members of the Commission with whom he had worked rather at cross purposes, the two members who appear to have been the most amenable to Big Business discipline. This stirred the Fawcett supporters to action and a Recall movement against those two Commissioners was started. It soon developed a counter movement to recall all four of the Commissioners, a movement which caught enough of the popular fancy to make easy the task of procuring the necessary petitions. In the first Recall elections for new Commissioners all four were renominated, but none received the majority vote necessary to elect. Consequently a second election was necessary under the terms of the charter.

The second election, which occurred Tuesday, May 17, resulted in the recall of the two commissioners against whom the Recall was originally directed, but the re-election of the two who were dragged in by the counter movement.

The net result of this series of recall elections has been the replacement of a reactionary though personally independent Mayor, by another reactionary who appears to be less independent, and the substitution of more promising men for the two less progressive or more subservient members of the Council. Whether this is a net improvement and to what extent depends largely upon whether the more progressive Council is strong enough in its confidence of popular support to drag along with it the new reactionary Mayor. In the former combination the reactionary Mayor appeared sufficiently strong to block progressive action in the Council for measures other than those inaugurated by himself.

JOE SMITH.

† † †

THE SINGLE TAX IN CANADA.

Toronto, Ontario.

During the past century tax legislation in Ontario has made steady progress toward the single tax ideal. By the first assessment act, which came into force in 1819, vacant land in cities and towns was assessed either at 4s an acre as wild land or 20s as meadow land. A lot with a building on it was assessed £50. All buildings, improvements, and personal property, were assessed. In 1837 the assessment act was revised, and the assessment on vacant land, towns and cities increased to £10 an acre. Assessment on personal property was reduced almost one half. Inspired partly no doubt by the writings of Henry George, a movement was inaugurated in the eighties which resulted in the abolition in 1888 of all taxation of farm stock.

In 1904 the personal property tax was abolished entirely, and a system of business assessment based on the value of the premises occupied was substituted. In the same year the practice of entering

the value of land and improvement separately in the assessment roll was adopted for the Province. For many years previously this practice had prevailed in the city of Toronto.

In constructing the government railway through northern Ontario in 1906, the government adopted the policy of holding the town sites until after the railway was constructed, and selling then at auction, so as to secure the increased value given by the railway.

In 1910 a clause of the assessment act allowing the under assessment of lands in cities as farm land was abolished. The exemption on incomes was increased to \$900 for non-householders and \$1,200 for householders.

In 1911, the last session of the Legislature, the city of Toronto was given the right to expropriate two hundred feet on either side of proposed street extension and improvements in order to secure the increased value caused by public works.

At the past sessions of the legislature of 1910 and 1911, a bill was introduced providing that municipalities have the right to reduce taxes on buildings and improvements, and increase taxes on land values. The bill will be introduced again at the next session and indications are that it will carry.

Organized single tax propaganda work in Canada dates from the visits of Henry George between 1885 and 1890. Back in 1887, I believe it was, the Toronto Single Tax Association was first organized, and it has carried on a steady and vigorous educational campaign ever since. For the first ten years of its existence this association carried on a strong campaign in the way of public meetings, bringing to the city of Toronto, and to other cities in Ontario, such men as Henry George, Father McGlynn, Tom L. Johnson, John S. Crosby, Bishop Williams and others. At first the newspapers of the Province were very friendly, and gave a great deal of space to the movement. By reports of meetings and by a systematic letter writing campaign our organization succeeded in keeping the question of single tax very prominently before the people.

During the late nineties the Conservative forces in the Province seemed to become alarmed, and for the next ten years it was almost impossible to secure the publication of anything relating to single tax in the leading newspapers. This change in the attitude of the press necessitated a change in the plan of campaign of the association, and from that time on the Association adopted the policy of bringing forward moderate concrete proposals that involved the principle of the taxation of land values.

While the agitations from 1887 to 1900 bore little fruit in actual legislation in Ontario, they had an immense effect on the general public, and the legislation in western Canada and especially in Manitoba, where in about 1892 the principle of exempting entirely all farm improvements was adopted, and in British Columbia, where about 1894 a law was passed allowing municipalities complete local autonomy in taxation. This advanced tax legislation in the Canadian west was brought about by the influence of men who had become single taxers in Ontario as a result of the Association's campaign here.

The lawyer who drew up the Charter of the city of Edmonton in 1904, by which that city was allowed

to exempt buildings and improvements entirely from taxation, was a single taxer, converted in Ontario.

In the western part of the Dominion, the Single Tax has made rapid advance. In British Columbia a number of smaller municipalities now raise all their local revenue from a tax on land values, while Vancouver, a city of over one hundred thousand people, enjoys the distinction of being the first large city to entirely exempt building and improvements from taxation. In no municipality in British Columbia are improvements assessed at more than 50% of their value, while land is assessed at its full value, and wild lands outside of organized municipalities have to pay a tax of 4% on their capital value.

During the last year the legislature of Saskatchewan adopted a measure allowing municipalities the right to reduce the assessment of buildings and improvements at the rate of 25% a year, so as to adopt the tax plan in four years. The city of Winnipeg a little over a year ago reduced the assessment on buildings and improvements by one-third while assessing land at its full value.

Meanwhile an active educational campaign has been continued in Ontario, although, owing to this being an older province and bound down by Conservative traditions, little actual legislation has resulted, or at least not as much as in the west. In 1890 the Toronto association was instrumental in the organization of a Direct Legislation League, which carried on a campaign pledging candidates for the City Council to submit to the people any measures asked for by a petition signed by each eight per cent of the voters and to carry out the will of the people as expressed in any vote taken. Shortly before legislation had been secured enabling the city to take a vote on any question at the will of the Council. For two years running a majority of the members of the Council had been pledged in this way. The Single Tax Association, taking advantage of the popular clamor aroused by the rapid increase of house rent for the past few years, brought forward a petition asking that the Council submit to the voters a proposal looking to the exemption of \$700 on the assessed value of every house. The proposal was submitted, and carried by a vote of 15,897 to 8,219. In spite of this emphatic expression of opinion, however, the members of the City Council repudiated their pledges and refused to apply to the legislature for the necessary power. The following year another petition was brought forward, but this time the Council refused to submit the question. The Single Tax Association succeeded, however, in defeating at the polls one or two of the most vigorous opponents of the measure.

Dropping the \$700 exemption proposition, the Single Tax Association returned to their former proposal for municipal autonomy in taxation. Petitions asking that municipalities be allowed to tax buildings and improvements at a lower rate than land values were sent to all the municipal councils in the Province, and a large number signed them. For a long time the legislature refused to take any notice of the movement, but the movement for the taxation of land values in Britain was gradually attracting attention, and our work got more favorable consideration.

In April, 1909, Mr. Joseph Fels of Philadelphia came

to us with a proposal to duplicate dollar for dollar all that we should raise for the movement here. About the same time, or a little earlier, Messrs. W. M. Southam and H. S. Southam, the proprietors of the Ottawa Citizen, one of the strongest Conservative newspapers in Ontario, became interested in the works of Henry George and are still enthusiastic single taxers. Mr. Fels' assistance, together with the support of the Southams, has made possible a new line of campaign. The Association brought from Oregon Mr. F. E. Coulter, a tried campaigner of that democratic state of the American West, who traveled around the Province addressing public meetings in the interest of our proposal. Petitions were also sent to all the labor organizations, municipal councils and newspapers, with the result that practically all the labor organizations and nearly two hundred newspapers and two hundred and fifty municipal councils signed the petition asking the legislature to grant municipalities the right to untax improvements.

At the last two sessions of the Legislature a bill embodying this proposal was introduced by Mr. A. E. Fripp, the Conservative member for Ottawa, but was withdrawn at the request of the Premier. At the last session, however, the bill received the hearty support of the Liberal leader but the indications at present are that at the next session of the legislature the Premier will not withdraw his opposition. When this bill does become law it will not be long before a considerable number of municipalities in Ontario will cease taxing improvements. Meanwhile, the possibility of the question becoming a party issue, would be rather embarrassing to the present government, as a considerable number of the Conservative members are favorable to the proposal, and practically the whole of the Conservative press of the Province has emphatically endorsed it.

As a result of the work of Mr. F. E. Coulter throughout the Province, local committees were formed in the various towns; and about a year ago a league of these local organizations was formed under the name of the Tax Reform League. Of this league the Toronto Single Tax Association is the most active member. Meanwhile a vigorous educational campaign is being carried on. Our press bureau keeps the newspapers of Ontario supplied with items month by month relating to the movement, and articles on the question of taxation. And pamphlets, articles, etc., are sent every little while to all the members of the legislature, so that when the next session begins no member can plead ignorance of the subject.

The eastern Provinces of the Dominion—Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island—are even more Conservative than Ontario, but there are indications there of an awakening. The dual language problem in Quebec has retarded popular education there. Nevertheless there are a few active single taxers in the city of Montreal, and also in the city of Quebec. Mr. S. Derochers, edi or of La Vigie, Quebec city, has been publishing many articles during the past year on the subject of single tax, and recently on a motion of Mr. Odillon Lacroix the Quebec City Council appointed a committee to investigate the system.

In Moncton, N. B., the editor of the Eastern Labor News is an active and well posted single taxer. In

the city of St. John, N. B., the Mayor, Mr. Frink, and Ald. Potts have been advocating the single tax system in the Council, and Mr. A. M. Belding, editor of the Daily Telegraph, is a thoroughly posted single taxer. In Nova Scotia Mr. Robert Magregor, member of the Legislative Assembly for Pictou County, will introduce a bill during the coming year similar to the Fripp bill in Ontario.

There is no doubt whatever that the people of Ontario are better informed on the principles of the single tax than those of any other part of the Dominion, but owing to peculiar local conditions it is impossible to say exactly where the next advance will be made. Less than a year before Vancouver removed the final 25% assessment on improvements, a man from that city wrote quite hopelessly of the lack of interest there, and the unlikelihood of any further progress being made. This Dominion is a big place, and there are many workers working in a quiet way.

A. B. FARMER.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

SUNSHINE VALUES IN LOS ANGELES.

Los Angeles.

California rejoices in "eternal sunshine," which its real estate speculators seldom fail to mention, especially in Los Angeles.

Here is an associate fact not generally known: Broadway, Spring, and Main streets are the aristocratic, middle-class and plebeian streets of the city respectively. For probably a mile they run parallel to each other through the heart of the business section, nearly (but not quite) north and south, flanked on both sides by the tallest buildings in the city, except for spots held "for a rise," with one and two-story buildings on them to keep taxes down.

Ordinarily mornings here are cool, or even chilly; but the afternoons are warm or hot. Before the brick canons were erected it was six of one and half-dozen of the other as to which side of Broadway was warmer or cooler during the day. But when the high walls began to rise it made a great difference. In the chill of the morning, the eastern sunshine mildly tempered the western side of this artistocratic thoroughfare. Then, in the afternoon, during the heat of the day, the declining sun cast its hot rays on the east side of the street, driving the people over to the west side for the shade of the buildings. Thus the combinations of buildings and sun accentuated the chill of the morning and intensified the heat of the afternoon on the east side of this main artery of commerce; while on the west side it modified and equalized the "climate" and made it the more attractive. Consequence: More people travel on the west side during the day than on the east side. Super-consequence: Much higher land-value on the west side than on the east side.

I am told on good authority that from First to Eighth streets, there is a virtual agreement among the "land-owning" class to not rent anything on the ground floor of the east side of Broadway for less than \$25 per front foot; while on the west side it is \$30 per front foot—20 per cent more for the difference in sunshine on the two sides of the street. The

managers of the "Trustee Company," a large real estate holding corporation, tell me that a scientific analysis of land-values, which form the basis of their investments, takes into consideration this sunshine-value in all their calculations.

The principle that operates on Broadway, also operates on the middle-class Spring street and on plebeian Main street. One little place on the east side of Broadway near Fifth street pays \$800 per month for about 14 feet front and 40 feet deep. This is approximately 5 per cent on \$16,000 per month (or, \$192,000 per annum) for one sixty-fifth of an acre; or, 5 per cent per annum on \$1,235,000 per acre—and this in Los Angeles. Who said anything about "rack-renting in Ireland"?

EDMUND NORTON.

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THE FULL-POWER BALLOT.

Warren, Pa.

On the one hand the ballot may have little power to voice the will of the voter. It can do nothing at all except say "Yes" to what has already been done by a despot or an oligarchy, and so be shrewdly designed to increase the power of monarch or aristocracy. But on the other hand, the ballot may take sovereignty from monarchs and power from ruling classes, and give it to its rightful owners, the people. The greater the power of the ballot, the nearer the rule of the people. A full-power ballot would give the greatest possible opportunity to wise and unselfish leaders, and make the unscrupulous no longer dangerous.

He who honestly fears the full-power ballot fears the people, and is more monarchist than democrat. He has never looked deeply enough into the principles of popular government to perceive the rock on which it rests. It is easy for him to point to corrupt electorates, himself ignorant of what has made them so. It is easy for him to draw conclusions from what he sees on the surface, knowing little and considering less of what is beneath. Such men are not qualified to distinguish effects from causes.

But the real enemy of the race is he who dishonestly fears the full-power ballot; for he fears government by the people because he does not want government for the people. In his heart he opposes government by consent and will uphold government by force, whenever opportunity lets him dare to do it. He would be a despot if he could, and he will be an oligarch when he can. With chance and ability he becomes a usurper. Until born again, such as he stand for government by a ruling class, government that feeds and fattens on the governed, government in which they are or hope to be of the few that are privileged to plunder.

ASHER GEO. BEECHER.

✦ ✦ ✦

Here is an explanation of the famous initiative, referendum, and recall about which we are hearing so much these days. Mr. Man goes home and announces that he is going down town after supper to meet a man. That's the initiative. The lady of the house says: "Are you?" in that ascending voice, which seems to walk over the tops of his nerves. That's the referendum. Then Mr. Man sits down and reads his paper. That's the recall.—Rockford (Ill.) Star.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, May 30, 1911.

President Diaz of Mexico Resigns His Office.

A new cabinet for the incoming temporary government of Mexico was officially announced on the 23d, for all positions except that of minister of justice, as follows: Finance, Ernesto Madero; Interior, Emilio Vasquez Gomez; Instructions, Dr. Francisco Vasquez Gomez; Fomento, Manuel Calero; War, Gen. Eugenio Rascon; Communications, Manuel Bonilla; Foreign Relations, Bartolome Carbajal y Rosas.

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Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico since 1876, and at last in his eighth term, has resigned the Presidency in the following letter which was read to the Chamber of Deputies on the afternoon of the 25th, by the President of the Chamber:

Sir: The Mexican people, who generously have covered me with honors, who proclaimed me as their leader during the international war, who patriotically assisted me in all works undertaken to develop industry and the commerce of the republic, establish its credit, gain for it the respect of the world and obtain for it an honorable position in the concert of nations; that same people, sir, has revolted in armed military bands, stating that my presence in the exercise of the supreme executive power is the cause of this insurrection.

I do not know of any fact imputable to me which could have caused this social phenomena; but, permitting, though not admitting, that I may be unwittingly culpable, such a possibility makes me the least able to reason out and decide my own culpability. Therefore, respecting, as I have always respected, the will of the people, and in accordance with article 82 of the Federal Constitution, I come before the supreme representatives of the nation in order to resign, unreservedly, the office of constitutional President of the Republic, with which the national vote honored me, which I do with all the more reason since, in order to continue in office, it would be necessary to shed Mexican blood, endangering the credit of the country, dissipating its wealth, exhausting its resources and exposing its policy to international complications.

I hope, gentlemen, that when the passions which are inherent to all revolutions have been calmed, a more conscientious and just study will bring out in the national mind a correct judgment, which when I die I may carry engraven on my soul as a just estimate of the life which I have devoted and will devote to my countrymen.

With all respect,

PORFIRIO DIAZ.

The reading of the letter was followed by a dead

silence, instead of the expected tumult. On motion to accept the resignation 167 deputies voted aye, while two—Benito Juarez, a descendant of President Juarez, and Concepcion del Valle—did not express themselves. The resignation of Vice-President Ramon Corral, dated Paris, May 4, was also accepted by the Chamber. Francisco Leon de la Barra, late Ambassador to the United States, was then chosen Provisional President. Madero's personal representative at the City of Mexico, Alfredo Robles Dominguez, duly accredited to Mr. de la Barra last week, received assurances that the Federal garrison was under orders to make no move without his approval. Mr. Dominguez stated that he could bring 5,000 organized insurrecto troops into the city within three hours, but that they would not be brought unless needed. The news of the resignation was received with wild shouting by the enormous crowds which blocked the streets in the vicinity of the Chamber of Deputies, but few disorders resulted, though the excited mobs had been parading the streets for twenty-four hours. At two o'clock in the morning following his resignation, the late President left the palace with great secrecy and took train for Vera Cruz, where the next afternoon he boarded a steamer of the Hamburg-American line.

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On the same day, the 26th, with simple ceremony, Mr. de la Barra was inaugurated as Provisional President, and Francisco I. Madero, Jr., resigned his still more tentative provisional presidency, calling upon all Mexicans to support Mr. de la Barra. The new Provisional President has announced that under no circumstances will he accept the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency at the coming elections to be arranged for. September 24 has been suggested for the primary elections, October 8 for election day, and November 2 or 3 as the date for the new President to take office. President de la Barra proposes to dissolve at once the revolutionary forces, using a portion of them to augment the ranks of the rurales, that picturesque body of troops organized by President Diaz many years ago out of the country's bandits. The remainder will be given every assistance to get employment or to return to their homes in the various States, and will be paid off as though having been mustered out of the regular army.

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Dissolution of the Tobacco Trust.

The Supreme Court of the United States decided on the 29th, unanimously, that the American Tobacco Company is an unlawful conspiracy in restraint of trade within the meaning of the Sherman anti-trust law, and—overruling the lower court in this—that all its associates, corporate and

individual, are guilty with it, regardless of the legality of their own acts. The lower court is, therefore, ordered to hear all parties, and within six or eight months to prescribe a plan for dissolving the trust and reorganizing its elements "in harmony with and not repugnant to the law." In default of this the trust is to be enjoined from doing business and a receiver is to be appointed. Justice Harlan dissented orally for the same reasons as in the Standard Oil case, and also as to the judgment allowing reorganization. On the latter point he said:

I have found nothing in the record which makes me at all anxious to perpetuate any new combination among these companies which the Court concedes had at all times exhibited a conscious wrongdoing.

Justice Harlan announced his intention of filing a written opinion later. [See vol. xiii, p. 350.]

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Investigating the Steel Trust.

Testimony by John W. Gates was given before the Steel Trust investigating committee of the lower house of Congress on the 27th, in the course of which Mr. Gates told of the midnight conference at which the Steel Corporation was organized, and the inside facts concerning its absorption of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. His testimony was to the effect that Andrew Carnegie sold an option on the Carnegie Steel Works at \$160,000,000, but soon afterward turned the plant into the United States Steel Corporation, then in process of organization by Morgan and his allies, for \$320,000,000; that Carnegie got \$10,000,000 more for the National Steel Company than it was worth; that W. H. Moore and H. C. Frick lost \$1,000,000 to Carnegie in 1897 through the forfeiture of an option on the Carnegie Steel Works; and that the sale of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company was a forced sale. [See vol. xi, pp. 651, 678, 679, 866, 913; vol. xii, pp. 51, 59, 193, 194, 208, 209, 227, 252; vol. xiii, pp. 267, 588, 589; current volume, p. 443.]

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The Lorimer Case.

Senator La Follette concluded on the 27th a four days' speech in the United States Senate in advocacy of a re-opening of the inquiry into the title of William Lorimer to the seat he holds as Senator from Illinois. A split among the Democratic Senators has been reported, like that of the Republican split, and on the 29th the Democrats in caucus voted 14 to 11 to rescind the Martin resolution, which directed the inquiry to be made by the committee on privileges and elections which acquitted Senator Lorimer at the previous inquiry. The La Follette resolution proposes a special committee. [See current volume, p. 490.]

The McNamara Case.

After argument by Clarence S. Darrow in their behalf at Los Angeles on the 27th, the time for the McNamara brothers to enter pleas to the indictments against them was extended by the court until July 5.

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At a hearing under the Berger resolution the Congressional Committee on rules brought out testimony on the 27th to the effect that Detective William J. Burns had sent a false and misleading telegram to the Governor of California in order to obtain extradition papers for John J. McNamara. This testimony was given by Leo N. Rappaport, who stated that Burns in his telegram to Governor Johnson had informed the Governor that McNamara was in custody at Indianapolis one week before McNamara was under arrest.

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Union labor men to the number of 25,000 are reported to have participated in a demonstration on the 27th at Pittsburgh against the kidnaping of the McNamara brothers. The parade formed at the Labor Temple and traversed the principal streets of the city. In the line were thousands of strikers from the Pennsylvania Railroad shops and workmen from the mills in towns within a radius of fifty miles of Pittsburgh. Following the parade there was a mass meeting in the North Side Park addressed by prominent labor leaders. [See current volume, pp. 491, 493.]

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Arizona and New Mexico.

While the resolution for admitting Arizona and New Mexico to Statehood was before the lower house of Congress on the 23d, a test vote was taken on a motion to recommit. The motion was defeated by 214 to 57. Voting with the Democrats in the affirmative were 31 Republicans. As then adopted without roll call, the resolution requires Arizona to vote on an amendment removing from her proposed Constitution the Recall provision, as it applies to judges, and New Mexico to vote on an amendment making her Constitution more easily amendable. Neither State is required to adopt the amendments proposed by Congress. The resolution had been formulated by the Democratic majority of the committee on Territories. [See current volume, pp. 225, 269, 442.]

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Singletax Program in Maine.

In the Maine legislature which has recently adjourned, there were eight Singletaxers in the lower house at the beginning, and before the session closed a large number of sympathizers were in evidence in both Houses. Herbert S. Bigelow's lecture in Representatives' hall in February, is

credited with having greatly strengthened the Singletax idea among the members. Actual legislative work in the direction of the Singletax was accomplished, although some of it was frustrated.

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An appropriation of \$5,000 per year for the survey of wild lands passed both houses, but upon false representations to the Governor by wild-land monopolists, the appropriation was at his request recalled by the Senate and referred to the next legislature. Upon learning the facts, however, the Governor expressed his willingness to approve the appropriation, and it was again passed; but in the closing days of the session it "got lost in the shuffle" and does not appear among the resolutions the Governor has signed.

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Certain amendments to the revenue law, more important in a Singletax sense than the lost wild-lands appropriation, were enacted. They appear in Chapter 174 of the Laws of Maine for 1911. One of them amends the assessment law so as to require township assessors to include in their reports to the State assessors, information as to "the land value, exclusive of buildings and all other improvements" in their respective townships. Another amends the tax law so as to include in taxable real estate "the water power, shore privileges and rights," and "forest and mineral deposits appertaining" to all lands in the State. A third of these amendments requires the assessors to "ascertain as nearly as may be, the nature, amount and value of the estate, real and personal, for which in their judgment the owner is liable to be taxed," and to "estimate and record separately the land value exclusive of buildings, of each parcel of real estate." The amendments are to take effect at the beginning of the year 1912. [See current volume, page 202.]

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Woman Suffrage in Wisconsin.

The woman suffrage amendment to the Wisconsin Constitution passed the State Senate on the 26th, and goes to the people for adoption at the next election. [See current volume, page 324.]

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Three-Cent Fares in Cleveland.

Orders were given on the 23d to the Cleveland Railway Company, by G. M. Dahl, street railway commissioner, to stop charging passengers for transfers. The company may still take one cent in addition to the regular 3-cent fare, upon issuing a transfer, but when the transfer is used by the passenger the cent must be returned to him. This has the effect of making the 3-cent fare system in Cleveland complete. The order was given under the terms of the traction ordinance which re-

quires that whenever the balance in the interest fund, less proportionate accrued payments to be made therefrom, shall be more than \$500,000 by the amount of \$200,000, fares shall be reduced from the existing rate to the next lower rate provided for by the ordinance. Commissioner Dahl's order was resisted by the Company, but on the 29th the City Council adopted a resolution compelling it to comply. [See vol. xiii, p. 181; current volume, page 444.]

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Henry George in Public Libraries.

The first installation in a public library of Richard F. George's bust of Henry George, together with a complete set of Henry George's works and his biography by Congressman George, was made on the 25th at Youngstown, Ohio, to the Reuben McMillan Free Library. Dr. J. B. Grossman made the presentation speech in behalf of the local Henry George Association, and the response was by James P. Wilson, who was followed by Herbert S. Bigelow. The Henry George Library Bureau of 96 Fulton street, New York, purposes putting this bust and set of books in every public library in the United States.

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In the British Parliament.

The second reading stage of the Lords' veto bill was passed in the House of Lords on the 29th without division. Lord Morley announced in behalf of the Ministry that it would accept no amendments. [See current volume, page 492.]

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Second reading of the Lloyd George labor insurance bill was passed in the House of Commons on the 29th. [See current volume, page 440.]

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The Republic of Portugal.

A protest against the law decreeing separation between church and state in Portugal was issued on the 24th, over the signatures of the Patriarch of Lisbon, three archbishops and seven bishops. [See current volume, page 443.]

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Monarchist plots for restoring Portugal to the deposed King Manuel, now in England, have been rumored especially of late, perhaps with the purpose of affecting adversely the approaching elections. The Republican government has taken precautions, especially massing troops in the northern provinces, where disaffection has been most rife, and where the influence of the church is strong. [See current volume, page 109.]

Elections for the promised constituent Assembly, to make the formal preparations for a constitutional republic, were held throughout Portugal on the 28th and 29th, without disorder. The dispatches state that in 30 out of 51 constituencies the seats were contested by candidates of the Regular Republicans, the Independent Republicans, and the Socialists. In the other constituencies the Regular Republicans were unopposed. The polling was heavy, and the first indications were that a majority of the deputies would be Regular Republicans. The Royalists abstained from putting up candidates, declaring that the elections presented no guarantees of liberty or sincerity. One woman, Dr. Beatrice Angelo, enfranchised unwittingly by the authorities, recorded her vote amid thunders of applause. It is announced that the discussions of the constituent Assembly will be confined, first, to a law defining the political powers of the Republic; second, to organic laws relating to each of these powers, including an electoral law; third, to acts of dictatorship on the part of the provisional government, and fourth, to the budget. [See vol. xiii, p. 1214.]

NEWS NOTES

—President Taft recorded on the 24th formal refusal of pardon to John R. Walsh. [See current volume, page 301.]

—Edward W. Bemis has been employed by the city of Chicago to investigate the question of gas prices. [See current volume, page 492.]

—Ireland has a population of 4,381,951, according to British census returns made public on the 26th. This is a decrease of 76,824 since the census of 1901.

—The annual memorial meeting of Typographical Union No. 16, held at Garrick Theater, Chicago, on Sunday, the 28th, was addressed by John W. Hastie, president of The Chicago Employing Printers' Association. Fifty deaths were reported for the year, a light for each in a cluster on the stage being extinguished one by one as the names were called. George R. O'Brien, president of the union, presided.

—Under the auspices of the Western Economic Society (L. C. Marshall of the University of Chicago, Secretary) there will be a conference on Canadian reciprocity, June 3, at Fullerton Hall, Art Institute, Chicago, at 10 a. m. and at 2:30 p. m.; and at 8 in the evening at Orchestra Hall addresses will be made by Shailer Mathews, president of the Society, and J. Lawrence Laughlin, Harry A. Wheeler and President Taft.

—Announcement of the plan and scope of the Carnegie \$10,000,000 endowment for international peace was made on the 24th at the Lake Mohonk Conference by Nicholas Murray Butler. The work will be in the charge of three men as heads of divisions: James Brown Scott for the division of International law; John Bates Clark for the division of economics and history, and a person yet to be chosen for the

division of intercourse and education. [See current volume, page 255.]

—Governor Wilson of New Jersey, who passed through Chicago on the 27th, returning from his speaking trip to the Pacific Coast, had spoken at Kansas City, Denver, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Minneapolis and St. Paul, and was a guest at William J. Bryan's at Lincoln on the 26th. [See current volume, p. 443.]

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department for April, 1911, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911 [see current volume, p. 351]:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	85,705,902.16
Total	\$235,705,902.16
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1910	250,490,783.99
Decrease	\$ 14,784,881.83
Receipts	\$553,151,002.08
Disbursements	553,422,360.76
	\$ 271,358.68
Repayment of unexpended balances.....	1,823,183.20
Ordinary excess	\$ 1,551,824.52
Panama Canal deficit.....	31,078,974.18
	\$ 29,527,149.66
Public debt surplus.....	8,338,376.15
Grand deficit	\$ 21,158,773.51

—Provisional figures published by the census officers at London on the 25th give the population of England and Wales as 36,075,269. They were 32,527,843 in 1901. While most of the cities and counties show an increase, there are many cases, particularly in Wales, where there has been an actual decrease. Greater London's population has increased to 7,252,963, from 6,581,402 in 1901. This increase is entirely in what is known as the outer ring, showing that the people are moving from the more crowded centers. Many of the old metropolitan boroughs and the city of London proper have lost their population to the suburbs. The county of London, including the city of London and the boroughs immediately about it, shows a decrease from 4,536,267 in 1901 to 4,522,961 in 1911.

—A National Council for Arbitration and Peace was appointed at the Mohonk Conference on the 24th, as follows: Nicholas Murray Butler, Senator Theodore E. Burton, Dr. Samuel T. Dutton, Hamilton Holt, Theodore Marburg, William J. Bryan, Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Edwin D. Mead, Senator Elihu Root, Daniel Smiley, Dr. James Brown Scott, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, E. D. Warfield, Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Fanny Fern Andrews. The purpose of the Council "is to promote a more effective organization and direction of all agencies in the United States working for international peace and good will, and to conduce in every proper way to secure co-operation and concentration of effort on the part of the peace workers of the country."

—Governor Deneen of Illinois having signed the

occupational disease bill passed by the Illinois legislature at its recent session, employers in Illinois are now required by law to provide reasonable and approved devices for the prevention of diseases peculiar to occupations in which workmen come in contact with poisonous minerals, chemicals, gases and dust; to provide proper working clothing for such workmen, and to provide respirators, to be maintained without cost to the employe; and all employes who come in contact with poisonous agencies or injurious processes must be examined at regular intervals by competent physicians to determine whether occupational diseases exist, the physicians to report to the State board of health. There are numerous other requirements designed to protect employes from occupational dangers.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Good Amendment.

(Oak Park, Ill.) Oak Leaves (ind.), May 13.—Removal of the limit now placed upon the number of articles of the Constitution that can be amended at one time, would do more for the Constitutional progress of the State than would a Constitutional convention, and would have none of its disadvantages. It would enable the next Legislature to submit several amendments to the people and would open the way once for all to a new era in the civic life of Illinois. The Constitution would then become a growing instrument easily adapted to the needs of the time instead of being as now a governmental strait-jacket to cramp and throttle and deform the body politic.

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The Standard Oil Case.

New York Daily Tribune (Rep.), May 27.—Mr. Albert H. Walker, of the New York bar, an authority on the Sherman law and author of a capable history of it, has issued a monograph designed to show that Chief Justice White's language to the effect that the Sherman act applies only to undue restraint of trade is only obiter dictum, and therefore of no force and effect, and that there are good reasons for believing that a majority of the Justices of the Supreme Court do not agree with the Chief Justice. As to the nature of the Chief Justice's utterance in regard to the meaning of the Sherman act there is no room for debate. It is clearly dictum. The decision of the Standard Oil case did not turn upon it. As Mr. Walker points out, the declaration of the Chief Justice might be reversed without altering the decision against the Standard Oil Company. Whether or not this dictum is of great importance depends upon whether a majority of the court do or do not hold the view which it expresses. . . . The reasons for thinking that the dictum of the Chief Justice is accepted by the Court are much stronger than those presented by Mr. Walker in support of the opposite belief. He says that it is not customary for Justices concurring in a decision to dissent from the dicta contained in it. Doubtless that is true, for dicta not being binding, and often being of no great importance, Justices do not think it worth while to give formal expression to their dissent. . . . Justice

Harlan's dissenting opinion shows, as does also the attention devoted to the subject in Chief Justice White's opinion, how important the expression of the view that the law applied only to undue restraint of trade was felt by the Court to be, and how ardently the subject was debated. This was no mere individual view which the other Justices did not feel it worth while to controvert. Moreover, the issue of concurring in or dissenting from the dictum was raised by Justice Harlan's emphatic dissenting opinion. It is hard to believe that his associates ignored the opportunity of expressing their disagreement with the view of the law's meaning held by the Chief Justice merely because a dictum is not binding.

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There Are Others, Too.

(James H. Collins in) The (Philadelphia) Saturday Evening Post, May 20.—Let a member of Parliament rise and insist that two and two make four. Immediately all the members turn their backs upon him and ignore him as a mere preacher; but by putting the same proposition in a more complicated form he can get Parliament's respectful attention. "On no account, gentlemen," he may say, "shall I ever be persuaded to pin faith upon or consent to such a radical and dangerous proposition as that two and two might, by any conceivable means, be made to produce the wholly illogical result—nay, I may say the monstrous result!—of five. Against that proposition we can safely pledge our widespread empire." "Ah, a profound reasoner!" agree the members. "This is the sort of man for us!"

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Farmers and Land Monopoly.

The (Lincoln) Nebraska Farmer (agricultural), March 15.—But here is the point. The investment one must make in buying a farm in eastern Nebraska is almost staggering, and the load must all be assumed at one fell stroke. We haven't credit associations to help our young men out in this country, either, as they have in many European countries. Consequently, the young renter who accumulates a few thousand dollars strikes for regions of cheaper lands. We sometimes call him a chump for going, but did you ever stop to think where land prices here would go did not these men pick up and hike for distant States? Those who go make it easier for landless men who stay to gain a foothold. Advertising the resources of the State will not keep these emigrants from going, for do they not know the productivity of Nebraska lands, warmed by Nebraska sunshine and moistened by Nebraska dews and rains? They are going because these things have made Nebraska land too high priced for them to buy.

+ + +

"Aunt Mary, this is my friend, Mr. Spiffkins."

"I'm sorry, I didn't quite catch the name."

"Mr. Spiffkins."

"I'm really very deaf; would you mind repeating it?"

"Mr. Spiffkins."

"I'm afraid I must give it up—it sounds to me just like 'Spiffkins.'"—Punch (London).

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

SONG FOR A DRIFTING SHIP.

(Pennsylvania.)

Dedicated to the Keystone Party.
For the Public.

Little they care for thee, O Ship,
The pelf-mad pirate crew,
Whose black flag flutters from thy peak
Where once Truth's ensign flew;
Little they care for thee, O Ship,
Or if thy course be true.

Thy voyage is by uncharted coasts
Where white-fanged breakers reel;
The barnacles of fifty years
Have fouled thy rotting keel;
A blind man from the fore-chains peers,
A knave is at the wheel.

Rag-rent thy sails by warring gales,
Thy cordage frayed and old;
On deck the drunken buccaneers
Are dicing for thy gold;
But they whose hope thou art, O Ship,
Lie shackled in the hold.

About thee clings the reek of death,
Thy planks are slimed with shame,
And from thy battered hatches come
The groans of want and pain,
Thy people clamoring for light
And liberty again.

Great men were they who wrought in faith
To make thee staunch and free;
Strong men and true the sturdy crew,
That took thee out to sea;
But now thou driftest derelict,
The pawn of piracy.

A storm wind charges from the west
Across the snarling shoals,
And portendwise across the skies
The angry thunder rolls;
Say, canst thou breast the gale, O Ship,
And save thy shackled souls?

God send his pilot from the shore
To guide thee in from sea;
God send his flame-winged messenger
To set thy people free;
God make thee strong to seek, O Ship,
Thy mightier destiny.

GEORGE M. P. BAIRD.

* * *

THE RULE OF THE DEAD.

From an Address By Herbert S. Bigelow, People's
Church, Cincinnati, May 27, 1911.

Ninety millions of people are ruled by nine old gentlemen.

Not in Germany or Russia, but in America and under the stars and stripes.

This is the greatest hoax in history.

A Constitution, practically impossible of amendment, was adopted before anyone had ever heard of the theory that the Supreme Court and not Congress was to interpret the Constitution.

Then straightway this theory was set up, and by assuming to interpret a document that the people cannot change, nine old gentlemen, or five of the nine, exercise a degree of sovereignty which has not been equaled among Anglo Saxon people since the days of the Tudors.

Behold our kings, our nine nice old kings!

What about them?

Some say, Make this office elective; elect the judges. Others say, Recall them; make them subject to immediate dismissal.

But why not recall their decisions? Why not apply the popular Initiative to amendments of the Federal Constitution. Why not let the ninety million people decide whether that judge was right when he went to bed, or when he got up,—that judge who changed over night his vote on the income tax and thereby overruled a unanimous Congress and a united people.

Suppose five of these nice aged persons should decide in the case now before them that the Initiative and Referendum in the States is unconstitutional? Would it not be handy to be able to start a petition for a popular vote on that decision?

Let the stage-coach, sail-boat, hand-cradle statesmen arise now and tell us why not. They will shed many tears about the sanctity of the past, and they will urge many arguments, but they will have but one reason. Their reason will be that they are royalists at heart, and like an irresponsible court and a rigid Constitution because they fear the people.

We have the Initiative and Referendum in ten States of the Union. We have it in over a hundred cities. In cumbersome form we are to have it now in every city in Ohio. Has not the time come to demand the application of this principle to Federal affairs? The popular Initiative on amendments to the Federal Constitution is respectfully suggested as our means of deliverance from the Rule of the Dead.

* * *

THOUGHTS FOR FARMERS.

Synopsis of an Able and Brilliant Address on Land
Value Taxation Delivered at the Manitoba
Farmers' Convention at Brandon, Prov-
ince of Manitoba, Canada, January
24, 1911, by F. J. Dixon.

You farmers are deeply interested in the question of taxation. The recent delegation to Ottawa to protest against our protective tariff is sufficient evidence that you are alive to the injustice of taxing labor and the products of labor. Those among

us who have watched and waited were glad to see that in presenting your demands you stated that you were prepared to adopt the taxation of land values as an alternative to the tariff.

Land value taxation is the only logical alternative to the tariff. Protection is a great wrong. It is a system of organized greed which robs the toilers and enriches the spoilers. Land monopoly is a greater evil than protection, and is the cause of far more poverty and hardship than the tariff.

The protected manufacturers chastise us with whips; but the land speculators chastise us with scorpions.

Land value taxation is the true system of free trade finance. Richard Cobden recognized this as long ago as 1841 when he stated that the repeal of the corn laws and the decreased taxation of the food of the people should be accompanied by a revaluation of the land of England and increased taxation of the landlords' rents.

The British chancellor, David Lloyd George, has made his name immortal by introducing the principle of land value taxation into his famous Budget of 1909.

Land value taxation will eventually destroy both the tariff and land monopoly.



Farmers should be under no delusion about the land question. You toil and sweat in the heat of summer, and endure the cold and hardships of the winter, to earn a scanty living, while the land speculator is living upon Easy Street and having a good time at your expense. He is able to do this because your labor adds to the value of his land.

All wealth is produced by labor upon land; and under our present system of land tenure, the land owner levies toll upon the workers for the opportunity to produce wealth.

Millions of acres of fertile land are being held idle by the railroad corporations and the land speculators.

Vast fortunes are being accumulated by the shareholders and the speculators at the expense of the workers.

This is a crime against humanity.

The unequal distribution of wealth is the main cause of the economic and social ills which afflict humanity.

If some men grow rich without working, others must work without getting rich.

If some men get something for nothing, others must get nothing for something.

When a man buys a piece of vacant land, and after holding it idle for a few years, sells it at an increased price, he is getting something for nothing. He is reaping when he has not sown. He is appropriating a value which is not due to his own efforts, but is due to the industry of the

members of the community in which his property is located.

Millions of dollars worth of wealth are annually being filched from the toilers in this country by the great land owning corporations and speculators.



When the Canadian Pacific Railway obtained its charter in 1873, it received, in addition to \$62,000,000 in cash and construction, 25 million acres of land. It is estimated that the company has realized \$100,000,000 by land sales up to date, and still holds 13 million acres which are valued at \$150,000,000. The average price per acre in 1896 was \$3, which in 1909 had risen to \$13 per acre. The Canadian Northern Railway, and its allies, has received over five million acres in public land grants from various sources.

According to an eastern paper the Grand Trunk Pacific is starting in with a vim. A subsidiary company has been formed which is known as the Grand Trunk Pacific Development Co., with a capital of \$1,000. This company owns 81 town-sites, making a total area of 78,640 acres, and a three-quarter interest in the Prince Rupert town-site. Mr. C. M. Hayes is one of the five shareholders in this company, each of whom owns two shares of \$100 each. The enormous amount of money they will make out of this can be better imagined than described.

The Hudson Bay Company realized \$1,508,953 from its land sales in twelve years—1898 to 1909—and it still has on hand some 5,500,000 acres of the most fertile land in this country. This company paid a dividend of 42½ per cent in 1908, and 30 per cent in 1909.

Again we note the increase in the value per acre of land sold.

In 1898 the average price was \$4 per acre, and in 1909 the price was \$11 per acre.

Is it any cause for wonder that the directors of the company in their report to the shareholders, announced that their policy in the future would be to hold the land for higher prices?

Jefferson Levy, one of the largest shareholders in the H. B. C., estimated that the company's holdings in the city of Edmonton are worth \$16,000,000.

In addition to these notorious corporations, there are many other companies and individuals speculating in Canadian land. Coal land, oil land, timber land, agricultural land, and city land, all are the legitimate prey of the speculator.

With these many and various parasitical interests draining away the wealth of the nation, the cost of living is unnaturally high. Rent and taxes are the cause of the high cost of living.



Corporations and speculators are becoming dan-

gerously wealthy by means of the rent they collect from the workers of Canada for the use of our natural opportunities. For rent is wealth or service received for the use of land, and when men buy land they simply pay the rent in advance.

As land increases in value, rents rise higher and higher, and wages, the share of wealth which is the reward of labor, sink lower and lower.

Meanwhile, governments must be maintained, and taxes are the food of governments.

Since our government fails to secure its revenues from the natural source, the rent of the land, it has to raise its revenue by taxing commodities, the food, clothing, homes, and implements of the workers.

This system of raising revenue is inimical to the national welfare.

It is unjust because it places a heavy burden of taxes upon the industrious members of the community, to the great benefit of the speculators and monopolists, thus encouraging idleness and greed, and discouraging honesty, thrift and industry.

It enables speculators to hold millions of acres of the best land in Canada idle.

Thus the price of land is artificially raised.

This makes it harder and harder for the workers to get land to cultivate, or build upon. Idle land means idle men. No crops are ever reaped, no homes are ever built, on land held out of use by speculators.

In the country, land monopoly forces people to live too far apart; thus preventing them from enjoying that social intercourse which is essential to human happiness. Farmers' children are partially or wholly deprived of educational facilities.

Farmers and their wives and families often suffer preventable pain during sickness, and sometimes die, from the lack of medical attention.

Homesteaders are forced to endure unnecessary hardships, privation and melancholy, and sometimes starvation and insanity and death, because of land speculation.

There are in Canada millions of idle acres of fertile soil, near the towns and railroads, which would support a happier and more prosperous population but for this demon land monopoly.

In our towns and cities we already have our slum districts, where poverty appears in its most hideous forms.

Unemployment, drunkenness, prostitution, disease, crime, insanity and suicide, are the results of unjust social conditions, chiefly caused by land monopoly fostered by an iniquitous system of taxation.

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Not only is our system of taxation unjust and iniquitous, but, from the standpoint of national economy, it is foolish.

In spite of the heavy burden of taxation now imposed upon the workers, our public debts are

constantly increasing—notwithstanding the fanciful surpluses brought forward annually by crafty politicians. These debts are largely incurred to provide public improvements, railways, canals, bridges, schools, etc.

Every expenditure of the public money in this direction increases the value of land. As Thorold Rogers says:

Every permanent improvement of the soil, every railway and road, every bettering of the general condition of society, every facility given for production, every stimulus supplied to consumption, raises [ground] rent. The landowner sleeps, but thrives.

It is to this source that our governments should look to replenish their treasuries and replace in them the money that has been expended upon public improvements.

We would abolish all taxes upon improvements farming implements and stock, buildings of every description, business, machinery, tools, food, clothing, etc., etc., and raise all governmental revenues (municipal, Provincial, and federal) by the taxation of land values.

+

The most important point for the public in general, and farmers in particular, to grasp, is the fact that we propose to tax land according to its *site value*, exclusive of all improvements in or upon it.

We do not propose to tax land according to its area.

Mr. T. A. Russell, chairman of the Tariff Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, thinks the farmers are ill advised because they advocate a direct tax on land, and they are large land owners.

This is an old bogey always brought forward to scare the farmers away from land value taxation. There is a great difference between a tax on land and a tax on land values.

The land which the farmer uses is of low value.

The gentlemen who ride in the automobiles, manufactured by the company of which Mr. Russell is a member, are the owners of the valuable land, town sites, coal mines, timber limits, etc.

One acre of land in the heart of the city of Winnipeg is valued at \$2,000,000, which equals in value 100,000 acres of farm land at \$20 per acre.

This will give an idea where the tax on land values will fall.

The bare land on which the city of Winnipeg stands is assessed at \$108,000,000 and shows an increase of about \$100,000,000 in ten years, or \$10,000,000 per year.

The farmers of Manitoba have helped to create this value.

Only by the adoption of a system of land value taxation can they hope to obtain their just share of the value which they have created.

The principle of land value taxation is making great progress in different parts of the world, notably in Germany, Denmark, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

Last year the city of Vancouver adopted the single tax system of raising its civic revenues, and the results have been good in every way.

We have only to extend a principle already recognized and we shall evolve a system of taxation which will be just to all members of the community and which will bring undreamed of blessings in its train.

BOOKS

PRAGMATISM.*

Pragmatism and Its Critics. By Addison Webster Moore, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Asked by a subscriber "to define pragmatism in words of one syllable," the *New York Independent* did its little best in this fashion:

The only way to find out if a thing is true is to try it and see how it works. If it works well for a long time and for all folks, it must have some truth in it. If it works wrong it is false, at least in part. If there is no way to test it, then it has no sense. It means naught to us if we cannot tell what odds it makes if we hold to it or not. A creed is just a guide to life. We must live to learn. If a man would know what is right he must try to do what is right. Then he can find out. Prove all things and hold fast to that which is good. The will to have faith in a thing oft makes the faith come true. So it can be said in a way that we make truth for our own use. What we think, must be of use to us in some way; else why should we think it? The truth is what is good for us, what helps us, what gives us joy and peace, what shows us how to act, what ties up, fact to fact, so the chain will hold, what makes us see all things clear and straight and what keeps us from stray paths that turn out wrong in the end.

That certainly has the look and sound of pragmatism, save the short words; but we doubt if Professor Moore would accept it as a definition. He might welcome it, however, as a sample of what the critics of pragmatism are trying to say. A definition of pragmatism seems indeed to be impossible. As may be gathered from an observation at page 129 of this book, pragmatism is incomplete except in its denial of absolutism. Like Senator Ingalls's conception of a Kansas day, perhaps it is "something that cannot be described, but once seen can never be forgotten."

We haven't the space for a review of this collection of scholarly essays, as from a scholar in phil-

osophy; and though we had the space, the scholarship would be lacking. But the more familiar pragmatism becomes, if one may presume to think of pragmatism as familiar to anybody even in degree, the stronger there grows an impression of the subject which has a pleasing prospect. Possibly the pragmatists are trying either to drive common sense into technical philosophy, or to find common sense there if there is any. Were we sure we might do so without giving offense where none is intended, we should be inclined to say that technical philosophy, having been a good deal of an ass all down the centuries, is beginning to find it out, and that pragmatism is making a cryptic record of the fact.

In Professor Moore's book, pragmatism appears to stand out so frequently as the antithesis of absolutism that the technical controversy between pragmatists and absolutists takes on the color of age. It suggests that old "shindy" of the Greek philosophers, which confronts and bothers students of technical philosophy at their first plunge—the quarrel over the question of "being" or "becoming" as the principle of the universe. Is the universe fixed or in flux? Is it perennially changing or forever unchangeable? Is it absolute from everlasting unto everlasting, or do we pragmatize it as we go along?

In one phrase or another this has always been the issue in technical philosophy, always the substance of the elementary quarrels of the schools. At least it would seem so to unscholarly observers of the battle fields of professional philosophers. Whether the universe is in perpetual flux or not, there would seem to have been, in the issues of philosophical warfare, much constancy except as to terms. Terms have been as elusive in the history of technical philosophy as the three cards of a monte man at a county fair. And now, unless we are still very much at sea about the matter, the battles of the ancient Greek philosophers are again raging in newest environments and with newest terms.

Through the lenses of Professor Moore's book, at any rate, things look very much as if the static doctrine of "being" were again in collision with the dynamic doctrine of "becoming," in a struggle between absolutists and pragmatists. But there does seem to be a hopeful difference. Possibly pragmatism is not setting up the doctrine of "becoming" in irreconcilable opposition to the doctrine of "being"—the dynamic against the static—but is making itself the ligament of thought necessary to unite the two in the ultimate relationship of Siamese twins. Instead of an enemy with banners, pragmatism may be bearing a flag of truce to absolutism, with rough notes for a permanent treaty of peace in this age-old war of the schools.

With whatever set of names the votaries of phil-

*See review of William James's "Pragmatism" in *The Public*, volume x, page 1650.

osophy seem, from time to time, to have quarreled over the issue of "being" or "becoming," they might have come to a better understanding by considering the principle of "being" and "becoming." This solution was put forth by Emanuel Swedenborg a hundred and fifty years ago, but as he gave it a theological and mystical environment, instead of launching another school of technical philosophy, the professional philosophers have ignored his solution. It is to his "esse" and "existere" as essential qualities of the Creator that we allude, "esse" being unchanging principle and "existere" its ever-changing manifestations. Translating "esse" into the "being" of the old philosophers, and "existere" into "becoming," "being" would be the vital principle of the universe from which "becoming" proceeds and by which it is maintained. Translating them into terms of the present philosophical controversy, absolutism would be belief in unchangeable principle, and the opposite of absolutism would be belief in ever changing experience. To deny either belief without reservation, is to get lost in a dialectical maze. It is very much as in another field of thought it would be to deny either induction or deduction without reserve, or in the field of physical science to argue unreservedly against either centrifugal or centripetal tendencies. But to recognize "being" and "becoming," "esse" and "existere," the "absolute" and the "experiential," as two inseparable qualities of the universe, is to find the key to a real and useful philosophy.

We strongly suspect Professor Moore of having caught a glimpse at least of that key. It may be that this suspicion is slanderous or flattering according to the point of view, but he certainly seems to have a notion of a rational evolution which derives its impulse from a rational absolutism. He must not be lightly understood as implying that there are no *laws* of evolution, no *principles* of growth, no dependable regularity, no something or other that governs the processes whereby means are adapted to ends and a universe works. To argue for a dynamic universe is not necessarily to deny *principles* of motion; to argue that we ourselves make the universe, does not necessarily imply that there are no constant *laws* governing the making process; to show that phenomena are ceaseless in change and infinite in variety, is not to prove that there are no impulses, or that these are irregular; to exhibit a flying machine in action is not to disprove the constant force we call "the law of gravitation," but rather is it to confirm the fact and character of that force. And so of moral force, our vague and altering apprehensions of which we call ethics. Thinking otherwise would come pretty close to ruling out reason. How could experience be a guide for progressive conduct, if there were no dependable principles of progress?

PERIODICALS

Brand Whitlock's Detective Story.

How Alderman Byrnes was tempted and fell, is the latest, and one of the best of Brand Whitlock's short stories. It is timely, too; and significant. The Saturday Evening Post of May 27th prints it.

✦ ✦

Railway Favors to Trusts.

If anybody tells you that trusts are not anchored somewhere in special privilege, refer him to Richard Washburn Child's article in Everybody's for June, entitled "The Open Bung-hole in the Railway Barrel." And having posted yourself on that point you will find it worth while to read in the same Everybody's "The Passing of the War God" and Professor Ross's story of "Young China at School."

✦ ✦

Farming by Special Train.

The Outlook for April 22, tells how popular and effective among the farmers are the agricultural colleges on wheels. Through Iowa Professor Holden runs his seed-corn special, teaching to the crowds at every way station the value and method of testing their seed corn before planting. After him come the oat and hog and domestic science specials, and farmer and railroad and wealth computer all enthusiastically say "it pays."

A. L. G.

✦ ✦

"Life and Labor."

This organ of the Women's Trade Union League, published at Chicago under the editorship of Alice Henry, contains in the June number an explanation of Insurgency by Frederic C. Howe, an appreciation of Tom L. Johnson by Louis F. Post, an account of the woman suffrage party by May Gray Peck, a story by Octavia Roberts and an interesting variety of other matter. Margaret Dreier Robins begins an especially valuable series on parliamentary procedure, in common sense style, and under the common sense title of "How to Take Part in Meetings."

✦ ✦

Catching the Spirit.

Previous numbers of Life and Labor have been deepening the conviction that it is a true spokesman for the Women's Trade Union movement—the May issue for example. The horrible Triangle Shop Fire in New York had to be told of, and the sickening conditions in the pearl-button industry lockout in Iowa; yet the reader was left with a share of that alert hope always animating the Women's Trade Union League and its leaders. Perhaps it was Alice Henry's sketch of Mrs. Winifred O'Reilly to whose strength and goodness the portrait drawn by Charlotte O. Schetter bore further witness. Perhaps it was Andersen's sweet old story of "The Ugly Duckling" reprinted and illustrated. Whatever it may be the magazine is never dull nor disheartening, but youthfully vigorous like its sponsors.

A. L. G.

McClure's for June.

Sydney Brooks confesses in his splendid paper in McClure's on "Some English Statesmen," that he does not know Mr. Asquith and has never exchanged a word with him; but from long observation of Asquith's career, from hearing him speak and from the estimates of others, he pictures this great Prime Minister most convincingly. And so of Lansdowne, Balfour and Lloyd George. John Burns, too, except that Burns' dominant characteristic is minimized. The article as a whole gives an exceptionally faithful view of British leadership and in a way to hold the interest of American readers. Also in this number of McClure's appears a delightful bit of private biography with a public purpose, from the pen of the President Emeritus of Harvard. Moody and Turner's serial on the masters of capital accounts for Wall

street as the money center of America in a vivid story of Morgan's financial dictatorship, wherein the fact thrusts itself upon thoughtful readers at every angle that financial power is nothing in the world but capitalization of natural resources—the modern form of feudal landlordism.

✦ ✦ ✦

Little Bessie: "Mamma, how'll I know when I'm naughty?"

Mother: "Your conscience will tell you, dear."

Little Bessie: "I don't care about what it tells me—will it tell you?"—Harper's Weekly.

✦ ✦ ✦

"You have never written a book, you have never written a play and you have never written a poem, yet you have the supreme audacity to set yourself up as a judge of such things. You have called my poems piffle—yes, I hurl the word back in your teeth—piffle! Will you kindly tell me, sir, how you can presume to know that a book is good or bad if you can't write books yourself? How do you

Gerrit Smith on Land Monopoly

with Introduction by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, the younger.

May we not regard the age as not distant when land monopoly, which numbers far more victims than any other evil, and which is, moreover, the most prolific parent of evil, shall disappear from the whole earth, and shall leave the whole earth to illustrate, as it never can whilst under the curse of land monopoly, the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man?



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MEMORIAL of the Testimonial Dinner to TOM L. JOHNSON

in New York, May 30, 1910.

on which occasion Mr. Johnson was presented with a large bronze medallion, made by Richard F. George, commemorative of his public service under the influence of the spirit that animated Henry George. (See Public of May 27, page 490; of June 3, page 515; and of June 10, page 537.)

THIS Memorial contains seventy-one pages, set in old style type, and is printed on natural tint Strathmore Japan paper with deckle edges. It includes an Introduction; the Addresses delivered at the Dinner; a list of the persons present at the Dinner; a list of the contributors to the Medallion; and Portraits of Henry George and Tom L. Johnson.

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know that a play or a poem is sublime or ridiculous if you have never written a play or poem?"

For a moment the critic considered the matter. Then he innocently asked:

"Have you ever made a day?"

"Ever made a day? Of course I have never made a day."

"But you claim to be able to decide whether a day is a fine day or otherwise, do you not?"

Then the poet went away, convinced that it was a waste of time to argue with a "fool."—Chicago Record-Herald.



Stranger (at Frozen Dog Tavern)—"Queer thing, Wild-Eyed Pete shooting himself. Suicide, wasn't it?"

Barkeeper—"Suicide nuthin'. Wild-Eyed Pete

caught hisself cheatin' in a game of patience, that's all."



An Eastern Bishop decided to take up golf, and as he wished to begin his practice where he was unknown he sought a public links instead of one of the many clubs which would have been joyously opened to him. He provided himself with an outfit and a book of rules, hired a caddie at the links and proceeded to set up his ball for the first stroke. After the usual feinting and limbering process he gave a mighty lunge at the ball and went wildly over the top of it, leaving it reposing on the tee in imperishable celluloid majesty.

"Tut! tut! tut!" exclaimed the Bishop in mild, clerical dismay. "Tut! tut! tut!"

Then he tried again, with yet more earnest and

Addresses at the Funeral of Henry George

Delivered by

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D. D.

DR. GUSTAV GOTTHEIL

REV. EDWARD McGLYNN, D. D.

JOHN SHERWIN CROSBY

Compiled by EDMUND YARDLEY

"Seldom have funeral orations been of the vital quality of those which electrified that remarkable gathering at the Grand Central Palace in New York, Sunday, Oct. 31, 1897. They came straight from the hearts of the several orators and they went straight to the hearts of that vast multitude which had come to do honor to the hero who had fallen in the midst of the battle. . . . As one reads these remarkable addresses ten years after the event one does not wonder that they were marked by demonstrations of an inspiring character. The great crowd could not restrain its feeling. Burst after burst of applause interrupted the impassioned speeches. In no other way was it possible for the followers of the dead man to express their sympathy with and approval of the sentiments that were given utterance; and when it was all over the Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton said: 'At first I was shocked by the applause: but as I reflected, it seemed to me impossible that the audience should not applaud. This was not a funeral; it was a resurrection.'"—From the *Johnstown Democrat* of Sept. 9, 1907.

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vigorous swings, and that time he plowed a hole in the ground ten inches away from the ball. "Tut! tut! tut!" he reiterated. "Tut! tut! tut!"

"Say, mister," warned the caddie nonchalantly, without shifting his gum, "you'll never loin to play golf wid dem woids."—New York Press.

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She: "Why, these things must be 200 years old.

He: "More like 2,000."

She: "Oh, go on, Jim! We're only in 1911 now."—The Tatler.

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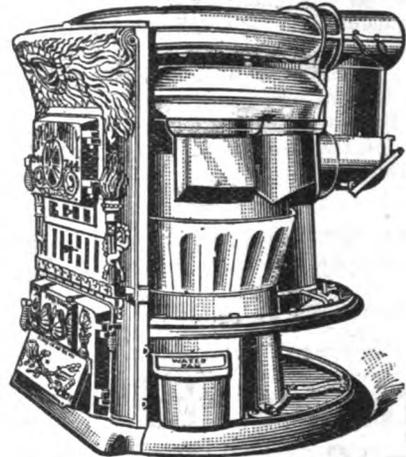


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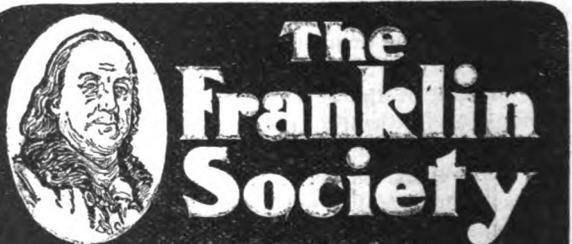
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