

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

Earners versus Collectors.

In admitting in a St. Louis speech on Washington's birthday that a man might earn 500 million dollars in a life time, William J. Bryan explained that these men have been so busy earning it that they haven't had time to collect, while those who collected hadn't had the time to earn it. The figures run pretty high, but the relation of collecting to earning has the sound of a true saying.

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Regulating Monopolies.

"All monopolies must come under regulation" is getting to be a more and more popular phrase. And the right thought is in it. But wouldn't it be better to demand that all monopolies be abolished? There is no oppressive monopoly which does not depend for its power on some governmental grant of a special privilege, and why attempt to regulate the use of special privileges? Why not abolish them? As a matter of tactics, it may indeed be desirable to begin with regulations; but why deceive ourselves with the notion that regulation will work—that anything short of abolition of privilege will remedy the ills of monopoly?

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Bourne on Taft.

Senator Bourne is reported as having delivered in the Senate on the 27th a scathing speech on President Taft as a spoilsman. Quoting Mr.

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Taft's notorious confession, his Norton letter (vol. xiii, pp. 889, 895, 1185), in which the President admitted using official patronage before the fall primaries to help get votes for "Standpat" Republicans against progressive Republicans, but, finding that it didn't pay, promised not to do so any more, was quoted by Senator Bourne, who denounced this use of patronage as essentially bribery. "This is a charge," he said, "which no citizen can discuss without regret; yet the whole subject is of such vital importance in the preservation of representative government that I would feel remiss in my duty if I failed to call it to the attention of the country and place in available form such information relating thereto as may come to my attention." After enlarging upon the spoilsman policy of the President, the Oregon Senator closed with a plea for an extension of the Oregon plan of people's power, which would make Presidents directly accountable to party and general electorates. Mr. Bourne's closing words are a gem in political philosophy. "The composite citizen," he said, "knows more and acts from higher motives than any single individual, however great, experienced, or well developed;" for "in the composite citizen selfishness is minimized, while in the individual it is usually dominant."

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Democratic Achievement.

The National Democratic League of Clubs announces, in celebration of Jefferson's 168th birthday, a "Democratic Achievement Banquet" at Indianapolis on the 13th of April. The achievements noted are: "The overthrow of Cannonism and the restoration of representative government, publicity of campaign funds, an income tax amendment to the Constitution, election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, railroad regulation, tariff reform, opposition to private monopolies, the promise of Philippine independence, and other reforms which the Democratic party have demanded." Some splendid democratic names are attached to the call, and we suppose that the projectors of the banquet cannot be responsible for those that are tarnished; but it is certain that the name of Gov. Colquitt of Texas can lend no luster, after the news of a recent veto of his gets around. The democracy of a Democratic Governor who vetoes a commission government form of charter on the ground that the Initiative, Referendum and Recall reserved in it to the people are a "dream of theoretic politicians" and "repugnant to the principles of liberty and law, the freedom of speech and every other guarantee

sacred to an American," is open to question. If such as he might happen to give tone to the proposed banquet, it were well for democratic Democrats to pause prudently for further information.

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People's Power.

If all political power originally resides in the electorate, and is derived from it, it is evident that the departments of government—legislative, executive and judicial—exist and operate by virtue of the electoral franchise exercised by citizen voters, and are directly responsible to the electorate for the performance of their functions. Not only are government officials directly and indirectly responsible to their constituencies, but they are so responsible at all times; and their constituencies should be able at any time to summon them to account for and to discharge them for failure to perform satisfactorily the duties of their office.

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The electorate in a democracy is the "people"; and government of the people, by the people, and for the people is *not* a government by the court, or a caucus, or a convention, or Congress. It is government by or under the control of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall; that is to say, by direct legislation. As long ago as 1780, the men of Massachusetts embodied this principle of fundamental democracy in their Constitution. They said: "Article Five. All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them." This was seven years before the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, the proceedings of which, as reported by James Madison, now show that the members of that body framed the Constitution for a "more perfect Union" in order to counteract the tendencies of a "turbulent democracy," represented by Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson—patriotic men of the Revolution who, it must be remembered, were not in that famous body.

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A Typical "Representative."

President Taft's appointment of Representative Duncan E. McKinlay, of California, to be Surveyor of the Port of San Francisco, is another illustration of a pernicious Presidential habit. Mr. McKinlay has for several years misrepresented a California district in Congress, being kept in his

seat mainly by the support of the Southern Pacific political machine. Finally, last year, his "stand-pattism" had become so "raw" and Insurgency in California had become so strong, that he was defeated by William Kent (vol. xiii, p. 1192) for the Republican nomination, and Kent was elected in November. That was a distinct victory for the progressive element in the Republican party, and an equally distinct defeat for the Cannon element. As a rebuke to the progressive element in California, and as a consolation to the Cannon element, President Taft gave to the repudiated McKinlay a political position, lucrative and generally supposed to be honorable. Thus the President rewards a man who has spent most of his official "representative" career in misrepresenting his constituents. "Put none but misrepresentatives on guard" seems to be one of the great commandments in the White House. Every one who knows anything of politics knows that as surveyor of the port of California Mr. McKinlay will throw most of his official work upon his subordinates, and will devote his time and energies towards saving the Southern Pacific political machine from destruction by the progressive element now in control in California. Yet we are told by President Taft that he is much concerned about the preservation of the "representative" system of government. Of course the way to preserve the "representative" system is to keep on putting the government into the hands of misrepresentatives.

* *

The Courts in Politics.

"Take the courts out of politics," was Judge Mack's advice upon leaving the Chicago bench for his place in the new Court of Commerce; and the Chicago Bar Association has instituted measures with the object of doing this—in a way. Neither Judge Mack nor the Bar Association had in view the most dangerous meddling of courts with politics or relations of judges to politics. The Bar Association aims at making the election of judges non-partisan. This is highly desirable, of course, with political machines and their products as we have them now; but the worst in this kind of association of courts with politics is better than the best of the kind that has arisen through the usurpation by the courts of censorship of legislation. The bench has had quite as high an average of good judges under political nomination and election as under appointment. The political caucus, bad as it is, has turned out as high an average of good judges as bar association conferences have. And the bad decisions of

political judges are usually quite limited and ephemeral in effect. The influence of politics in this superficial way is of course to be got rid of if possible; but let not the really dangerous kind of politico-judicial affiliation be overlooked. So long as the courts may make and unmake law, may hold legislatures and Congress and even the people as a whole at bay in respect of law-making, they hold a kind and degree of political power of the most menacing character. With this power vested in the courts, the judiciary is polluted with politics at its source, regardless of how judges are chosen or who they are.

* *

Another Gibe at the Scot.

The Scot will tell you that the English, though they have many gibing jokes about Scotland folk, have built them all upon two, one of which is the "chestnut" of the Scottish traveler returned from his first journey, who said it was so expensive in London that he hadn't been there half a day before "bang went saxpence." To this parentage, then, goes the joke on Carnegie which "Success" reports. He asked at a public dinner, "Why do the British continue their coinage of farthings?" and an auditor answered: "To enable the Scotch to practice benevolence, Mr. Carnegie."

* * *

EDWARD M. SHEPARD.

In the withdrawal from his candidacy for United States Senator before the legislature of New York (page 206), Edward M. Shepard denounces the Democratic caucus which nominated Wm. F. Sheehan, as having been controlled by Tammany Hall, which in turn is controlled by Charles F. Murphy. The situation is indeed as Mr. Shepard describes it, a pooling of their votes by "representatives" in a trust, to be cast by one voting trustee.

It is also true, as Mr. Shepard adds, that the Democrats can never succeed in New York State while it is generally believed that Tammany is in control. To this it should be added further that the Democrats will not succeed and ought not to succeed, in New York or anywhere else, not only so long as their leaders tolerate the unholy power of Tammany Hall, but also as long as they complain of it without vigorously identifying their leadership with people's power reforms to stamp it out.

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Our confidence in the democratic purposes and integrity of Edward M. Shepard has been fre-

quently expressed (vol. iii, p. 306; iv, 433, 450, 469, 578; v, 594, 746, 785, 802; vi, 571, 803; x, 866, 1043; xi, 627, 628; xiii, 938, 1182; xiv, 51, 58), and we have nothing in that respect to take back. He is a democrat by instinct, by cultivation, by reflection; and he is capable of leadership, of great democratic leadership.

There is no abler man in American public, professional or business life than he. Were he once to occupy conspicuously responsible public office, to be an official adviser of the people and their representative in their common affairs, so that he might prove himself to all as he already appears to the genuine democrats who know him, the highest office in the gift of American citizenship would probably be, not offered him, but thrust upon him.

So known to the people of his State two months ago, Mr. Shepard would today be United States Senator-elect, instead of a candidate driven out of the field by a corporation henchman and political spoilsman like Sheehan.

So known to the people of his State last fall, he instead of Dix would now be Governor.

And either as Governor or as Senator, he would have made a record of administrative and legislative efficiency, coupled with progressive democracy, that would in all likelihood have swept him into the White House at the elections of 1912.

With the people for his client, a lawyer of Mr. Shepard's abilities and his qualities of manhood and citizenship, would climb to higher levels of democratic statesmanship than any yet recorded in American history.

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But all that great possibility has passed away, and nothing short of a miracle can restore it.

Mr. Shepard flourishes as a lawyer at a period when the prizes of the bar are won in the service of special privilege corporations, of public utility corporations, with powerful incentives to dominate politics as well as business. We do not allude to money prizes. There is no reason to suppose that these are more attractive to Mr. Shepard than pelts to hunters of ferocious beasts or scalps to savage warriors. The professional prizes we allude to are the intellectual ones of combat—the joy of the struggle with equals in battles of giants.

There are no longer such prizes at the bar, except with great corporations for clients. Nor are the prizes won any more in forensic encounters. The clash of mind with mind at the bar in these days is in legal administration, legal adaptation, and legal creation, rather than legal controversy

in the courts. To such work, then, must the lawyer turn, if he has the ambition to enjoy and the ability to engage in battles with the mighty of his profession. And to such work Mr. Shepard has turned.

That he has held aloof from the dark and devious ways of corporation lawyers, those who know him fully believe. That in his work for the Pennsylvania Railroad corporation in connection with its entrance into New York, their contention that he has guided it along policies no less beneficial to the public, under all the institutional circumstances, than to the corporation, and because he believes that what is for the public interest is also for the best interest of his client, may well be accepted as true.

But the facts remain that corporations are at war with public rights, that corporation lawyers are employed to conserve the interests of their corporation clients rather than those of the public, and that Mr. Shepard is a corporation lawyer.

Though his service to his corporation be free of all impurity, though his own conscience be clear, though he have the confidence of all genuine democrats who know him, the fact that he is a corporation lawyer disqualifies him for popular acceptance as a democratic leader at a time when plutocracy is militant in corporate form.

The people as a mass cannot draw fine distinctions between the lawyers of a plutocratic corporation who do, and those who do not, give their client aid and comfort in its efforts to gain corporate privileges and corporate power in politics, at the expense of public rights and people's power. Like armies in the field, the people distinguish an enemy by the uniform he wears.

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Another element of political weakness in Mr. Shepard is his reserve regarding people's rights and people's rule.

He is a free trader, and on this question he has spoken as bluntly as the most radical man of his temperament and training could. He has a leaning toward equality of economic rights, and on occasion declares himself as definitely as a political leader in this country at the present stage ought to, if he expects to be of any use as a political leader. He is understood to lean strongly toward public ownership of public utilities, but his position in this respect has not been made very emphatic. He is sympathetic with wage workers in their struggle; but so far as he has spoken it is only a vague sympathy that he offers, unfortified by the clear and strong intellectual support he

might so easily bring to their cause. He is understood to favor the establishment of powers of direct legislation as a check upon the disloyalty of representatives to their constituents; but he has not distinguished himself as an advocate of this reform, which has come to be a veritable touchstone of democracy.

So much reserve on the live issues of democracy, though easily accounted for as the temperamental qualities of a modest statesman of transcendent abilities and profound democratic sentiments, discourage every hope of Mr. Shepard's being accepted generally as a democratic leader.

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In conjunction with that reserve on the issues of democracy, Mr. Shepard's place on the legal staff of the Pennsylvania Railroad appears to have made him impossible as a leader on the democratic fighting line. We are not stating our wishes, but the fact.

So far as he is known outside the circle of his friends, Mr. Shepard is distrusted by the Interests because they know something of his democracy, and by the masses because they know something of his corporate connections. Consequently, as a candidate for office, he has been the easiest kind of target for crooked agents of the Interests, those who are what the uninformed suppose Mr. Shepard to be. Corporation tools themselves, shameless ones, they point in scorn at him as "a corporation lawyer," knowing that this cannot hurt them with the corporations, for the corporations can see them wink; but that it will hurt him with the people. And it does. He and his friends cannot deny; they can only explain.

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We have said that a miracle alone can restore the possibility of Mr. Shepard's leadership in democracy, and this we repeat while regretting the fact.

The miracle might take either of two forms. One form would be a public enlightenment so far reaching and intense that Mr. Shepard's democratic enthusiasms would be manifest in spite of his reserve and of his corporate connections; the other, Mr. Shepard's abandonment of his democratic reserve, and his substitution, without waiting for election to office, of the people in place of a public utility corporation as his principal client.

The miracle is not at all likely to take the first form. In the second, an example, not necessarily for imitation but by way of suggestion, may be found in the career of Louis D. Brandeis.

"CALGARY MUNICIPAL."*

San Francisco will soon have a street railway line owned by the people and operated by the people, which is, as you have read, a "dangerous innovation."

No other American city is rushing into that brand of what American street railway monopolists call "socialism." But Calgary, the largest city of Alberta, and Edmonton, the capital of Alberta, have already "rushed" into it—and the people like it.

Yet they are not Socialists. Even the most conservative business men of Calgary and Edmonton see nothing alarming in municipal ownership of street railways, water and electric light and power plants. It seems natural to them, for those cities have never known the thrilling joy of being taxed by private owners of public municipal functions.

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The American monopolists fire rockets, put torpedoes on the track, and swing red lanterns to warn us against the "dangers" of public ownership of public utilities. But in Calgary and Edmonton the street railways, water plants and electric light and power plants, unlike our public utility corporations, own no mayors, no members of city councils, employ no political bosses, play no tricks in politics, hire no lawyers to pollute the public service, have no secret ownership of newspapers. On the other hand the people of the two cities thrive and are happy. They get good service at reasonable rates, and the employes of those publicly owned utilities are not compelled to work more than nine hours a day—and are otherwise treated like real human beings.

But of course the Calgary cars are rickety and the track out of repair, aren't they? No, the cars are just as good as the best I have recently seen in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, St. Louis, Louisville, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul or Minneapolis; and compared with the four-wheel agitators used in Cincinnati they are as a morris chair to a bucking mule. The track is in New York Central shape. There are plenty of cars, and the motormen and conductors are careful and courteous.

It is a maxim of street railway monopolists that "public ownership of street railways doesn't pay," which means, when the sentence is completed, that "public ownership of street railways doesn't pay private monopolists."

*The two words one sees on the publicly owned street cars in the Alberta city, Calgary.

That's one reason the people of Edmonton and Calgary own their street car lines. They seem to have some prejudice against private monopoly; and their experience with public ownership shows that it does pay, not only in money, but in morals. Their public utilities have never spent a dollar to corrupt municipal politics.

You may not believe it, but Calgary and Edmonton don't know what it means to have a street car company delegate in a municipal convention or meeting of any kind—which shows how easily people can get along without the actual necessities of life if they have never had them.



Calgary has 40,000 people. Its first street car was run July 1, 1909, and at the end of the first six months the system showed a surplus of \$6,944.08; not only showed it, but had it.

In the next twelve months, which ended December 31, 1910, the net surplus was \$33,315.28, after the municipal government had put away out of the earnings a reserve of \$9,370.55, paid to the general fund \$22,500, and put into a contingent fund to cover depreciation of plant, etc., \$10,634.07. So you see how the people of Calgary are squandering money on a "fad."

Yet when I asked a conservative business man in Calgary if there were any sentiment in favor of private ownership of the street car system—of selling it to a private corporation—he replied: "Why, no one here would suggest such a thing. We are being gouged by private ownership of the Canadian Pacific, and that's enough."



For its 18 miles of double track, 18 cars and all other things the city of Calgary invested \$516,000 in its street railway plant, and the total earnings to December 31, 1910, were \$214,778.44; that for the first eighteen months, and the earnings went right back to the people. That's the reason public ownership doesn't pay the would-be private monopolist.

"But see how the people are bonded!" a street car monopolist would exclaim. "They are loaded down with a debt of almost \$13 per capita for their 'fad.'" But are not the stocks and bonds of a private monopoly a load upon the people? Do the private monopolists pay the principal and dividends and interest out of their own pockets? And would "private capital"—which in this case means private monopoly—have been content to stock and bond the street car system of Calgary at only \$516,000? Ever hear of street car monopolists capitalizing a first-class system at only \$28,-

667 a mile? Wouldn't they add \$71,333 a mile just to make it "even" and look more business-like, thus "capitalizing" the permit given by the people for the use of the streets? And then wouldn't they say that they shouldn't be taxed on the franchise "because it isn't worth anything"?



The people of Edmonton and Calgary have in operation a plan by which they avoid the payment of something for nothing to private monopolists, and at the same time avoid incessant meddling in municipal politics by professional corruptionists.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CONGRESSMAN GEORGE IN IDAHO.

Boise, Idaho, Feb. 22.

Another step toward the realization of the single tax may be credited to the State of Idaho. The Senate wing of the legislature now in session yesterday unanimously passed a bill to exempt \$200 of improvements from taxation, and the House wing is expected to act similarly. Hon. Dow Dunning, member of the House from Owyhee county, the father of the bill, looks for much single tax progress in the State during the next few years. He counts four out-and-out single taxers in the Republican legislature, and a majority of the members of both branches ready to make advances of some kind. The Democratic Governor, James E. Hawley, is by his own statement to me, "more than ninety per cent a single taxer."



I came to the capital city of Idaho under the lecture management of F. H. Monroe of the Henry George Lecture Association, and have made six addresses. The most important was in the Pinney Theater, and the subject "The Single Tax." The next in importance was in the House chamber at the capitol, before a joint meeting of the two wings of the legislature, the subject there being "Direct Legislation." A large part of the members of House and Senate attended the single tax lecture and, judging from the applause, were not frightened by the most radical sentiment. Mr. Floed, the Governor's secretary, presided, and spoke as one fully in the faith.

The address before the legislature was in support of measures for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, introduced by House Member Dunning. They are with him only means to single tax ends. He calls himself a farmer, and he does work a little Idaho irrigated farm. Among other things, he raises some of the finest apples I ever saw.

When he first went to the legislature two years ago he was regarded as a "fool farmer" and a "crank." He had had little or no public-speaking experience and had stage fright for almost half the session. But at last, driven to desperation by the heresies uttered and the things done on the legislative

door, he forgot his timidity and mixed up in debate. His first attempts to speak were regarded somewhat as jokes, and his statements were challenged; but he was so prompt with proofs that he was mighty soon taken seriously. Then came his turn. With keenest sense of humor, but utmost outward gravity, he'd seek chances to read to the chamber appropriate passages of Adam Smith, John Stewart Mill, "Progress and Poverty," and The Public. He might call himself a farmer, but his quotations and his general stock of information, together with his facility in stating his case, caused him to be regarded as a man who was not to be trifled with, but on the contrary treated with the respect due his ability and transparent sincerity.

In Owyhee County, one of the largest in this large State, Dow Dunning has been farming and ranching for more than thirty years. The railroad, the sheep and the timber interests are strong there, as elsewhere in Idaho; but not strong enough to down Dow Dunning. And he is not a man to be crossed with impunity. The tale is told of him that in his earlier days he encountered a "bad man," who sought a quarrel with the obvious intention of having a pretense for killing him. Dunning was unarmed and realized his danger. Instead of quailing, however, he walked straight up to the bully and said: "I know what you are up to. You want to force me into a quarrel and have an excuse to kill me. Well, you might as well have your excuse at once." And with that, Dunning struck the other in the face. Instead of shooting, the bully backed away—awed by the cool courage of the unarmed man.

Dunning received his single tax education from a fellow farmer, who is also water commissioner, Robert B. Wilson of Emmet; and Wilson received his from G. M. Paulsen, now of Idaho but formerly of the Chicago Single Tax Club. These two men I met with Dunning in Boise. Dunning is a Republican—a Republican of the advanced stripe, as may be judged. In fact it is difficult to tell his politics from that of such an advanced Democrat as Judge K. I. Perky, and there are many here like him; while City Attorney Frank Kinyon, City Magistrate Willard White, and the Rev. H. L. Pickett of the Unitarian Church of Boise (whose wife is the talented Anita Truman Pickett), are among Dunning's intimates.

It should also be recorded that two of the most active workers for this brand of single-tax-Republican-Democracy in Idaho are Curtis F. Pike, a real estate agent in Boise, and Edward Stein, a large land owner in and about Boise.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

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ON THE TRAIL OF THE "BEGGAR KNIGHT."

Topeka, Feb. 26.

There is nothing but the most humiliating news to report regarding the political situation in Kansas. The Senate defeated the direct legislation amendment; the bill to submit it getting only 23 votes. This was two less than we had been confident it would receive. The arguments of Senators on the floor in behalf of submitting it, lacked force and faith, and from this resulted much confidence on the part of the distinguished attorneys who were

opposing it. They blossomed out in a regular flower garden of skilfully worded distrust of the people, and dread of what would result to the temperance and morals of the citizens of Kansas if they were placed in the position which it is fair to presume was the one in the minds of the men who conceived the ideal of American government.

To listen to the effusions of those attorneys, and to note the complete uselessness of logic, was indeed a punishment for a pure democrat. And it was one which is deserved too, I regret to say. What have we done to show the folks in Kansas who labor 10 or 12 hours a day in order to sustain life, the fundamental principle of direct legislation? For another two years privileged business is safe. I hope that the whip this really is to some of us, may urge us to organize to prevent such another fiasco.

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Have you noticed the diplomatic ease with which a child can turn the conversation from a subject that reflects upon his conduct, to one that has an entrancing interest both for himself and his mentor? In this I find that I can pattern my conduct after the example of those eminent professors, those educators unsurpassed, the children.

I have been drunk, blind drunk, and I have been glad of it, too, for the last two days. And the joy of it is that today, instead of the headache customary after such orgies, I am the possessor of a head comforted by a memory that will never die. There is no ache to me; the air is redolent with confident hope, based upon most encouraging facts.

Now the champagne in this case was Mr. Joseph Fels. I used before 1893 to have a very exalted opinion of Pomery Greno (extra sec.); I never have tasted it since then, but when someone else paid for it, it used to seem to me to be a very pretty nectar. Everything becomes pale and insipid, however, if you compare it with this remarkable and unturning man.

Through the very able efforts of a scholar, I have together with others got some sort of picture, right or wrong, of that remarkable Israelitish Prophet Elijah. It is indeed a great scene when Elijah calls to the prophets of Baal: "Cry aloud, for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awakened." It is not a whit the less striking to see this man Fels, mounted upon a soap box, oblivious to everything but the principle of justice, without thought of the consequences,—as that expression is commonly used,—hold up to scorn the idols of personal property taxation, of income and inheritance taxation, of charitable giving, of orthodox religion, as remedies for the brutal poverty of a civilization whose progress in the industrial arts should make want unknown. It is good—even when he hits one—to see what a man can do, if he dare to be completely driven by Jehovah, by the natural laws of God.

I heard him at a supper of a New Era club; I heard him in the Jewish Temple of Kansas City; I heard him before the City Club, and I heard him before a charitable institution for looking after orphans. There was no change in a single item of his conduct. At all those places he recognized Jehovah alone; and in scorn he called upon us, asking

if we single taxers, or we givers of charity, or we orthodox Christians, thought our gods slept.

Single taxers did say to me that Mr. Fels was not explicit enough. To this I replied by asking them had they missed a single word he said, and they were silent. Two socialists said he was absurd, and then began laboriously to combat the stinging remark that "socialism is a state of mind," and to affirm that socialists also see the importance of the land question. Men who did not declare their particular god, said to me that this had been a novel experience for them, and their faces showed that they were going to carry it around for some time to come.

This man Fels turns neither to right nor to left; he begrudges himself the smallest unnecessary expense; the money could be used to help U'Ren in Oregon, or John Z. White in Rhode Island. He neither recognizes fatigue nor convention, but like Elijah has no other thought than the destruction of false gods and their prophets, and the setting up as the sole controller of social destiny, the single tax in its fullness.

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For several years I have been writing to my "Beggar Knight." His photograph up beside Henry George and Tom L. Johnson and "John Z." and Bigelow, looks at me now. I saw and spoke to him for the first time on Friday evening, and behold he had but stepped down from my wall and begun to speak longer letters than he writes, begging us to increase our satisfaction by larger giving.

My brothers, this chain by which we are bound; this Jehovah which we do, or do profess, to worship; this understanding of the natural laws of God which Henry George has left us,—it is a possession like unto no other which I have seen in this world. To understand this Jehovah, is to know Daniel Kiefer before you ever see him. And to see Daniel Kiefer, and to find that this is so, is to add cubits to one's joy in living.

When a man has spent time in the society of Berens of England, of Fels of Philadelphia, or Kiefer of Cincinnati, he has become much older, though unconscious of the fact. Each is as different from the other as well may be. But each knows no God, serves no God, but the great Jehovah; and the life of each is untiring service of the only God.

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Well, and I have a little headache, too. I am convinced that those of us who do recognize Jehovah, have work to do. It makes my head ache trying to plan how I shall do it; that is, what lies in my road. When a man has seen Kiefer and heard Fels, this should stick in his mind. The Fels Fund is the best solution of how to use our energy to hasten the coming of economic justice. I was appalled to learn how little had been raised for the fund from single taxers. I fairly gasped as I saw how great were the needs of the men in Oregon, where our hope is the brightest. I am going to saddle up and follow my "Beggar Knight." I am going to become despotic in soliciting dollars for that "dynamite scatterer" to match withal.

GEORGE HUGHES.

A MONOPOLY-WALLED TOWN.

San Diego, Cal., Feb. 19.

Returning to Los Angeles, a distance of 128 miles, from the Fels-Spreckles 50-year street car franchise fight,* I traveled with a railroad officer whom I overheard defending Mr. Fels' position on the land question. We became interested in each other when he learned that I had been in the "scrimmage" in San Diego. "Along here," he said, "I will show you something." We were skirting the ocean to our left with the Coast Mountains to the east of us.

"Right here," he began, "just north of San Diego, and stretching eastward some thirty-five miles to Temecula, then extending northward to Santa Ana, is about 96 miles of the most beautiful land and climate in the world, owned by six men. These six men sub-let the land to tenants who make all improvements, pay a quarter rental, and the improvements revert to the owner at the expiration of the leases. This which we are passing through is the Santa Marguerita ranch, 268,000 acres, 'owned' by Jerome O'Neil, and sub-let to tenants. It extends from this little town of Oceanside to Temecula—about 35 miles east, and then far enough north to take in the amount."

Farther north he pointed out Irvine's San Joaquin ranch with its 110,000 acres just south of Santa Ana. Scattered between these were some 50,000 acres belonging to Foster and Molten. The rest of the 96 miles belonged to the two other fellows. He did not recall their names—a man down here who only has ten or fifteen thousand acres is hardly worth remembering.

"There," he said, "is Magee's ranch, sub-let to him. He has been there twenty-two years and is no better off than when he first came. He is representative of the great majority of the renters on these big estates."

During the ride I had shown to me the territory where 16,000 acres of beans had been planted and harvested last year. There had been an average of sixteen 100-lb. sacks to the acre,—or 256,000 sacks (25,600,000 pounds), of which one-quarter, or 64,000 sacks (6,400,000 pounds), marketed at 4½ cents per pound, meant \$288,000 that year in rent to the "owners" who, by holding the title, kept the land from slipping into the sea. Holding the title and receiving the rent was all they did!

From the remainder the cost of plowing, planting, cultivating, harvesting and marketing had to be paid before there was anything left for the "farmer who farmed the farm" instead of farming the farmer. This bean affair is only a small part of the great income from these ranches. The hill and mountain side was dotted in many places with cattle, horses, sheep and hogs chewing the rich grass into tons of silver and gold for tribute to the title holders. Hay, grain, town sites and such things also belong to them.

"The rental figures that I have given you," said my informant, "show the returns on this 16,000 acres of bean land to be \$18 per acre per year, or 5 per cent on \$360 per acre for the entire 16,000 acres. I wonder what taxes they pay on this \$2,160,000 of land value which is probably not more than 2 per

*See this volume of The Public, page 180.

cent of the holdings of those six men!" "This," he resumed, "is the condition of the country north and east of San Diego. To the south is Mexico; to the west the Pacific. The city itself, with some 40,000 people, thoroughly monopoly ridden, by a vote of two to one gives a 50-year cinch on its streets and avenues of approach to its chief monopolists, and bottles up its God-built natural harbor and places the cork in the hands of special privilege. Fels and Scripps, the champions of popular liberty, this city turns down just as the Panama canal is about to pour its stream of population and wealth along the coast. I tell you—no capitalist of brains will care to invest there with Vancouver and Los Angeles to the north. Self-respecting workmen will shun it as an Idaho miner does the bull-pen. In its recent action San Diego has sounded the death knell to its progress."

That is the way he put it and that is the way it appears to many of us. But a slumbering giant is in the north, and his awakening bodes good to neither the slothful slave nor the crafty master of monopoly in the near future.

EDMUND NORTON.

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SEATTLE.*

Seattle, February 22.

In March of last year the people of Seattle adopted a charter amendment which provides for a modified form of commission government. Therefore the city's legislative body consisted of four councilmen at large and one from each of the fourteen wards. Under the new amendment the Council is to consist of nine members chosen from the city at large at a non-partisan election.

The first election under this amendment is to occur March 7, and candidates were nominated at a non-partisan primary election held February 21. Eighteen candidates were nominated in the primary election and from these nine are to be elected.

The primary campaign was intensely interesting. Many of the candidates advertised themselves widely through printed circulars and the advertising columns of the newspapers. All manner of clubs and organizations were formed for the purpose of investigating, cross-examining, reporting on or endorsing candidates. Of these probably the most prominent was a Citizen's Committee of 150 personally selected by a few active citizens and consisting chiefly of reputable business men. The Seattle Municipal Ownership League has taken an active though not a conspicuous part in the campaign. A unique and effective organization for testing and determining the qualifications of candidates is the Seattle Quiz Congress. This organization invited all the candidates before it to submit to cross-examination by members of an audience, meetings being open to the general public. Forty of the candidates responded. Questions were passed upon by a referee to determine whether they were proper, fair, clear and courteous. The referee selected was Prof. J. Allen Smith, head of the department of political economy of the University of Washington and author of that very excellent democratic text book, "The Spirit of the American Government." Questions and answers were taken by a stenographer and preserved for future reference.

tions and answers were taken by a stenographer and preserved for future reference.

Despite the fact that the local newspapers completely ignored the existence of this organization it held seven meetings, attracted large crowds and did effective work in disclosing the weak points in the political armor of many of the candidates. At the closing meeting of the congress a straw vote was taken for the purpose of testing the sentiment of those in attendance.

The various political clubs of the city put out advisory ballots, as have also each of the three daily newspapers and many churches and church organizations. Needless to say no two of the ballots were the same, although there was a rough division of the sheep from the goats. The Royal Arch, an organization of liquor dealers, put out a so-called "Taxpayers' Ticket," though the source of its inspiration has been pretty generally exploited.

Mayor Geo. W. Dilling, who was chosen to succeed Hiram Charles Gill in the recall election of February 7 and was inaugurated February 11, has inspired widespread confidence. His first act was to remove Chief of Police C. W. Wappenstein, whose management of his department had brought so much reproach on the Gill administration. In Wappenstein's place Mayor Dilling appointed Claude G. Bannack, a captain in the department, who has won recognition for ability and integrity. Mayor Dilling gave Chief Bannack a blanket order to enforce the law and clean up the town, and the work is being done with vigor and spirit.

The second act of Mayor Dilling was the removal of Superintendent Richard M. Arms of the lighting department, who was under widespread popular suspicion of having administered his department in the interests of a private competing lighting company.

JOE SMITH.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

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

Week ending Tuesday, February 28, 1911.

The Chicago Primaries.

At the direct primaries in Chicago on the 28th (pp. 148, 171), the following vote on Mayoral candidates is reported:

Democratic.	Republican.
Harrison 55,069	Merriam 54,228
Dunne 53,513	Thompson 26,108
Graham 38,541	Smulski 24,167
	Murray 2,823
	Scully 1,210

The nominees for Mayor, therefore, of the Democratic and the Republican parties are Carter H. Harrison and Charles E. Merriam, respectively.

*See The Public, this volume, pages 151, 156.

The Socialist and the Prohibition nominees, both unopposed, are respectively Rodriguez and Brubaker.

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At the meeting of the auditing committee on the 25th, composed of F. G. Hopp (representing the Federation of Labor), Prof. J. H. Wigmore (representing the Municipal Voters' League) and W. H. Roberts, an accountant chosen by the other two, all the contesting candidates submitted their books and vouchers, except Harrison, Scully and Graham. The committee reported the receipts and disbursements in substance as follows:

	Receipts.	Dis- bursements.	Obl- igations.
Dunne	\$10,918	\$10,242.17	\$1,349.70
Merriam	30,767	22,451.63	9,890.00
Thompson	None	16,228.07	None
Smulski	9,445	6,091.85	5,582.00
Murray	None	364.00	1,548.00

The committee say:

We find that the following lists of collections on account of subscriptions to the campaign fund of the several candidates are in accordance with the records presented for our examination by the representatives of these candidates. From the nature of the case, no other evidence available to the committee could be expected. The disbursements shown have been verified in total, and also substantially as regards classification, by reference to check stubs, original checks and invoices, submitted to us. We have no means of determining the correctness of the statements made as to the amount of unpaid bills or other liabilities of the candidates at this time.

When the audit committee had dissolved, Prof. Wigmore said:

The committee has not discussed the propriety of any items of expense nor the refusal of other candidates to submit accounts. Now that the committee has disbanded, I am at liberty to say that the holding back of Candidates Harrison and Graham is open to severe censure and that the public is entitled to infer that the facts of their expenses will not bear disclosure. This is the same rule we all apply in business and in courts of justice. If there has been no expense which was improper there is nothing to conceal. The public is, in my opinion, justified in suspecting that these candidates have something to conceal. Besides, their refusal was unfair in contrast to the straightforward exhibition of accounts by other candidates. These candidates placed themselves in the power of the public to criticise their expenses; the refusal of the other two was thus calculated to give themselves an unfair advantage. This is not a manly way of playing the game.

Mr. Hopp, chairman of the committee, said:

I believe that the public demands and ought to have complete publicity. Candidates who decline to afford it, when every facility is offered, must take the consequences if the public distrusts them.

Tom L. Johnson and Ohio Politics.

Regarding Ohio and Cleveland politics the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 22d reported that—organization Democrats talked fall campaign plans at their meeting last night, when they indorsed Gov. Harmon for President in 1912. Newton D. Baker told the organization that Tom L. Johnson would be the Democratic standard bearer next November. Baker brought word to the ward leaders and precinct committeemen that Johnson is steadily gaining and that indications unquestionably pointed to him as the Democratic nominee for Mayor. In the fact of the City Solicitor's strong declaration the rank and file offered no open contradiction, but nevertheless a majority of the organization are firmly convinced that Johnson will decline the nomination and that then Baker himself will be compelled, much against his personal wish, to accept the burden of leading the party. The indorsement of Gov. Harmon, judged by the amount of argument involved, was the least important question talked over.

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Defeat of the Referendum in Kansas.

After the defeat in the Kansas Senate of the first proposed amendment providing for direct legislation in that State (p. 156), the progressives of both parties in the House adopted another measure. Governor Stubbs, William Allen White of the Emporia Gazette, and George J. King, the last the lecturer of the National Referendum League, were active in securing this measure. But in the Senate it fell 4 votes short of the necessary two-thirds, receiving 23 to 15. Its defeat is charged to the hostility of Standpat Republicans, who thereby repudiated their party platforms. The vote was on the question of submitting the amendment to the people.

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The Tax Question in Maine.

A bill for the separation of site values from improvement values for taxing purposes, is pending in the legislature of Maine (vol. xiii, p. 926), the history of which is reported as follows: Four years ago a commission was appointed to investigate and report regarding the tax code. Among other things they recommended (vol. x, p. 564; vol. xii, pp. 170, 171) that the value of land and buildings be separately recorded by the assessors, and that the State tax be apportioned among the towns and cities according to their land values. The former recommendation failed because there was no support when it came up for a hearing, and the latter through the opposition of the farm and timber land interests. At the last election a number of single taxers were elected to the legislature. As soon thereafter as possible the Maine Tax Reform League was organized, and a bill to provide for the separation of values by the State and local assessors was prepared and introduced. After the

hearing February 16th, the legislative committee unanimously voted to report that the bill "ought to pass." In its final form the bill specifies that the assessors "shall estimate and record separately the value of the land, exclusive of buildings or other improvements, in each parcel of real estate."

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Single Tax Work in Massachusetts.

A conference of the Massachusetts Single Tax League was held in Tremont Temple, Boston, on the 22nd, at which James R. Carret, the president, presided. Prof. Lewis J. Johnson, of Harvard, offered a resolution urging upon the legislature the passage of House bill No. 365 (pp. 52, 74, 179) or its substantial equivalent, providing for the establishment of the Initiative and Referendum in the Commonwealth. He said he believed the House of Representatives would give the necessary two-thirds vote in favor of the proposed Constitutional amendment, but that the matter must come up for a second vote before being submitted to the people and therefore the real struggle would come next year. There was more danger in the Senate, he thought, although only a majority vote is needed in that body. Prof. Johnson felt, as reported by the Boston Globe, that it is of the—

utmost importance and necessity to "play politics" a little by sending men of real power and influence, men who are students of political economy and scholars in the science of true democracy, to the members of the legislature and acquainting them with the facts and urging them to vote for the rights of the people.

Prof. Johnson's resolution was adopted; and soon thereafter a message from Gov. Foss, thanking the League for its stand for the Initiative and Referendum, was received. The secretary, Edwin Thatcher Clark, then offered a resolution commending the Mayor of Boston for recommending to the Governor of the Commonwealth to favor such legislation as may be needed to secure more fully by taxation the large value attaching to land as the direct results of public expenditure, which was adopted. In connection with Mr. Clark's resolution, President Carret advised that the Mayor be assisted and supported by reporting every instance known of property escaping taxation. Canadian reciprocity was endorsed by the adoption of a resolution by Robert B. Capon, substantially quoting the language of Lloyd George, the Liberal leader in the British Parliament, as follows:

We rejoice that the proposed Canadian reciprocity agreement has been negotiated, and heartily trust it will be carried to a successful conclusion. We regard it as a great triumph for common sense, an immense stride in the cause of free trade and an incalculable step toward fraternity and co-operation of the English-speaking family.

C. B. Fillebrown urged the gathering of facts relating to the working of the Single Tax in towns,

cities and countries, and said that this was now being done in the Canadian northwest under the patronage of the railroads. His remarks were in connection with a declaration of the League dated February 14, that it—

wishes to announce to members and friends the revision of the constitution of the League, undertaken for the purpose of making the League an effective organization in the cause of land-value taxation. Events during the past two years indicate a widespread and rapidly growing sentiment in favor of the taxation of land values, and the exemption of industry from tax burdens. The British budget of 1910 embodied a measure of land-value taxation and more is promised. The Canadian cities of Victoria, Vancouver, Prince Rupert, Calgary and Edmonton have adopted the single tax for municipal purposes with the expected satisfactory results. Oregon last November adopted an amendment to her Constitution providing for county option in taxation, and there is good reason to believe several counties will adopt the single tax at the next election. In Massachusetts the time seems ripe for effective work to secure this vital reform. A necessary basis for effective work by the League is a strong active membership. The League plans to open a vigorous educational campaign with the purpose of securing as soon as possible such Constitutional amendments and legislation as may be necessary to set the Single Tax in operation in Massachusetts.

The conference had been opened by the Rev. Daniel Roy Freeman of Braintree with an address on "The Aims and Means of Progress."

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The Fels Single Tax Tour.

Joseph Fels and Daniel Kiefer (p. 180) were at Grand Junction, Colo., on the 19th, where Mr. Fels was met by a large audience whose attention he held to the end, and was greeted by an enthusiastic reception at the close of the meeting. The next stop of importance was Denver, and then Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago and South Bend.

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The Mexican Revolution.

The insurrection in Mexico (p. 181) continues to flourish. According to a dispatch of the 27th from Douglas, Ariz., 200 insurrectos had captured the town of Fronteras, south from Douglas across the border. The town was defended by fifteen civilian soldiers, and five of the revolutionists were killed. Dr. Vasquez Gomez, head of the confidential agency representing the revolutionary party at Washington, announced on the 26th that he had received from the Diaz government indirect peace overtures. Dr. Gomez, who was for a long time the family physician of President Diaz, and who was, in the last election, candidate for the vice-presidency of Mexico on the same ticket as

Francisco I. Madero (vol. xiii, pp. 613, 1114), the candidate for President, declared the provisional government would not "undertake any negotiations of peace except under the condition that the delegates shall be legally and fully authorized with written powers." He added that it was further desired by the revolutionists that the arrangement for peace negotiations "should be published and recognized by the federal government officially." These steps, he explained, were necessary because of the repudiation by the federal government of connection with the peace conference arranged by Governor Sanchez last November.

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Canadian Reciprocity.

In the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa on the 22nd, an amendment to the act approving the reciprocity agreement with the United States (pp. 170, 181), made by F. D. Monk, the leading "French nationalist," accepted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the premier, and adopted without dissent, declared that with a view to dispelling the feeling of unrest created in Canada by comments made in the United States and Canada as to the political consequences of the agreement, the House wished to affirm emphatically its determination to preserve intact the bonds which unite Canada to the British Empire, and the full liberty of Canada to control her fiscal policy and internal autonomy. In speaking on the subject the mover of the resolution explained that in Canada, the United States and Great Britain, some public men and a part of the press had stated that annexation was bound to follow reciprocity; but he believed there was no genuine annexation sentiment in Canada, and that a statement to that effect should be formally made. The Premier said that there was not one man on his side in the House who has ever thought of any such thing as annexation. "But," he added, "if it is necessary in order to strengthen the wavering faith of the honorable gentleman opposite I have no objection to accepting the motion."

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The agreement was reported out of the finance committee of the United States Senate (p. 181) on the 24th without recommendation. The vote in committee was 7 to 6 against a favorable report and 7 to 6 against an unfavorable one. So the measure comes back to the Senate without recommendation. The following members of the committee voted for the measure: Lodge, Penrose, Cullom and Flint, Republicans, and Money and Stone, Democrats; those who voted the other way were Burrows, Hale, McCumber and Smoot, Republicans, and Bailey, Taliaferro and Simmons, Democrats. On a motion to make an adverse report Senator Smoot saved the measure.

The British Parliament.

The measure for the abrogation of the Lords' veto, which Mr. Asquith introduced in the British House of Commons on the 21st with an uncompromising speech (p. 181), provides in substance, as to money bills, that—

if having been passed by the House of Commons, and sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session, the bill is not passed by the House of Lords without amendment within one month after it is so sent up, it shall, unless the House of Commons direct to the contrary, be presented to His Majesty and become an act of Parliament on the Royal assent being signified, notwithstanding that the House of Lords has not consented to the bill.

A money bill is described as one which—

in the opinion of the Speaker of the House of Commons, contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely: the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation; charges on the consolidated fund or the provision of money by Parliament; supply; the appropriation, control or regulation of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof; or matters incidental to those subjects or any of them. No amendment to a money bill which, in the opinion of the Speaker of the House of Commons, prevents the bill retaining such a character will be permitted.

As to other than money bills, the measure provides in substance that—

if it is passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions (whether of the same Parliament or not) and, having been sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session, is rejected by the House of Lords in each of those sessions, that bill shall, on its rejection for the third time by the House of Lords, unless the House of Commons direct to the contrary, be presented to His Majesty and become an act of Parliament on the Royal assent being signified thereto notwithstanding that the House of Lords has not consented to the bill. Two years must elapse, however, between the date of the first introduction of the bill in the Commons and the date on which it passes the House of Commons for the third time. Provision also is made for the amendment of measures during the time they may be pending, and the bill also describes what may be regarded as the rejection of bills by the Lords.

Other clauses of the act provide that—

"nothing in this act shall diminish or qualify the existing rights and privileges of the House of Commons," and that "five years shall be substituted for seven years as the time fixed for the maximum duration of Parliament under the septennial act of 1715."

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After debate the measure passed its first reading in the Commons on the 22nd, by 351 to 227—a majority of 124.

Austen Chamberlain announced his intention of moving, at second reading of the bill, an amendment welcoming the introduction of a bill for the reform of the House of Lords, but declining to sanction a measure placing all legislative authority in the hands of a single chamber; and on the same day in the House of Lords, Lord Lansdowne, the opposition leader in that House, gave notice of a bill for the reform of the House of Lords, but nothing is yet known of the contents of his proposed bill. It is understood, however, that he will propose not only to alter the constitution but the powers of the upper chamber, and that an attempt will be made to send his bill to the House of Commons before or at the same time the House of Commons sends the veto bill to the Lords.

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Debate on second reading of the Asquith bill began in the Commons on the 27th.

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Lord Lansdowne promises to introduce a bill for the reconstitution of the Lords, which will make their chamber representative of national thought. However, unless it offers something less charged with wealth and privilege than have been previous plans emanating from the Lords it is hardly likely to defeat the movement now tending strongly toward what is practically one chamber rule.—Chicago Daily News of February 24, 1911.

Cartoon from Reynolds's Newspaper (London) for November 27, 1910.

FOOLING THE JURY.



The Criminal (to his counsel): "Now, look 'ere, Balfour, I know very well, as you say, I've got no defense—I've been caught red-handed an' convicted so often. So wot we've got to do is to fool the jury somehow! Bluff 'em. Tell 'em if they'll let me off this time I'll reform meself!"

Balfour (the counsel): "Well, it's too funny for words, but still we'll try it!"

The French Ministry Resigns.

The French Premier, Mr. Briand, and his ministry, resigned on the 27th. Aristide Briand became Premier July 24, 1909 (vol. xii, p. 730). He resigned November 2, 1910 (vol. xiii, p. 1071), and at the solicitation of President Fallières immediately formed a new cabinet which was believed to be stronger than the first (vol. xiii, p. 1071). Of socialistic affiliations, Mr. Briand has found it difficult to satisfy the demands of the socialists. The present resignation is due to the smallness of the vote of confidence—a bare majority of 16—received by the government in the Chamber of Deputies on the 24th, following an arraignment of the Premier by Louis Malvy and Paul Meunier, radical socialists, on the charge of not continuing to press the anti-clerical laws, although Mr. Briand was himself the originator of the laws for the separation of the Church from the French state.

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China Makes Conciliatory Response to Russia.

The Russian government announces that China's answer to four out of the six points in the Russian note relative to the treaty of 1881 (p. 181) is satisfactory, and that the remaining two can be adjusted without difficulty; and that consequently the threatened military demonstration against China (p. 181) has been abandoned.

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New Japanese-American Treaty.

A new treaty with Japan was ratified by the Senate on the 24th, President Taft having transmitted it to that body on the 21st. This treaty provides for commercial and personal intercourse, guards the personal rights of the citizens of each country in the other, provides for consular appointments, regulates import duties, deals with corporations, confers certain patent protection, and stipulates for privileges of most favored nation. It supersedes the treaty of 1894, which was not to expire until July, 1912. The provision of the old treaty regarding labor immigration from Japan is omitted from the new one. Washington dispatches enumerate advantages to the United States as follows:

1. The United States will secure the perpetuation of the passport arrangement of 1907 through diplomatic notes and feels able therefore to dispense with that stipulation in the treaty of 1894 regarding immigration which expressed a potential right that never was exercised. This stipulation, it was pointed out to-day, will not impair the inherent and sovereign rights of the United States to legislate on the subject of immigration should it so desire.

2. The industrial and artistic as well as property rights of Americans will be protected. The diplomatic exchange in recent years covering the rights of American patents and copyrights are embodied now in a treaty.

3. The United States will continue to receive "favored nation" treatment in whatever revision of the tariff Japan may undertake in the future.

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The day before ratification the California Senate unanimously adopted a resolution urging that the treaty be not ratified without assurance that "Japan will enforce regulations restricting emigration to the United States of such subjects as are inimical to our Western civilization," for "less than this will inflame the public mind all along the Pacific coast and may lead to a condition that will be deplored by those desirous of preserving amity and good will between the United States and Japan."

NEWS NOTES

—Ex-President Roosevelt made eight speeches in Chicago on Washington's birthday.

—William Jennings Bryan made three speeches at St. Louis on Washington's birthday.

—A woman suffrage amendment in Iowa came within 7 votes of adoption in the House on the 23rd, after adoption by the Senate.

—Edward M. Shepard withdrew his candidacy from the New York contest for United States Senator (pp. 51, 58) in a letter of the 26th to Montgomery Hare.

—The special "outer harbor" committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce decided on the 27th to report "that there should be an outer harbor," and "that the harbor should be publicly, not privately owned."

—The Dominion government of Canada decided on the 24th to stop immigration of Negroes from the United States. At the boundary near Manitoba a party which intended to go to western Canada was detained on that day.

—Revolution is in progress in Paraguay. Mr. Gondra, who was forced out of the presidency in January (p. 86) by Colonel Jara, minister of war, is leading the movement against Mr. Ortiz, who was made president by Colonel Jara.

—The preliminary appropriation for the fortification of the Panama Canal (p. 61), advocated by President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt and William Randolph Hearst, was carried in the lower House of Congress on the 25th by 123 to 81.

—A suit was begun by the United States on the 27th in the Federal court at Denver to recover coal land holdings of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in Las Animas County, Colorado—about 5,800 acres—as having been obtained by fraud, deceit and conspiracy.

—Two thousand women, including advocates and opponents of woman suffrage, marched up Beacon Hill to the Statehouse, Boston, on the 23rd for a hearing on votes for women before a legislative committee. John Weaver Sherman conducted the hearing for the suffragists; the opposition was led

by Charles R. Saunders and Professor William T. Sedgwick.

—The treatment of military prisoners by the government of Haiti, in connection with the current revolutionary movement (p. 157), has been made the subject of protest to the Haitian government by Great Britain and the United States.

—In a most sweeping decision ever made in the history of the Interstate Commerce Commission, that body on the 23rd denied even the slightest advance in any of the rates which the railroads have been contending before it would be necessary to their continued prosperity.

—Sam Walter Foss, author of the popular poem, "The Calf Path" (vol. xii, p. 524), died at Somerville, Mass., on the 26th, in his 53d year. Mr. Foss had done much editorial writing and other literary work, and since 1898 had been librarian of the Somerville public library. He published "Songs of the Average Man" and several other books of poems.

—The government of the Commonwealth of Australia announced its determination on the 27th of taking drastic action against trusts, whether conducted directly or indirectly. The Minister of Trade and Customs is reported to be consulting with the Attorney General with a view to bringing the full force of the present law into operation, and if necessary obtaining further legislation.

—Gov. Carroll of Iowa vetoed the Senatorial primary bill (pp. 107, 157) on the 21st as unconstitutional, on the ground that it was "an attempt to accomplish indirectly, something that cannot be done directly," being an evasion of the Constitution of the United States. The bill was like the Oregon plan (vol. xii, pp. 82, 98), and had passed the Senate by 32 to 16 and the House by 82 to 18.

—"The Adventures of a Bad Egg" is suggested as the title of a report which the United States Department of Agriculture is preparing. Investigators have pursued eggs from birth, to burial in the packing house, with the object of determining the factors causing deterioration. The number of bad eggs is reported to have been materially reduced as the result of a year's work of the Department.

—Two hours of debate resulted on the 23rd in the overwhelming adoption by the State miners' convention at Springfield, Ill., of five resolutions from various locals in the State, condemning the action of the national convention of the United Mine Workers of America (p. 134), by which John Mitchell was given the choice of resigning from the Civic Federation or being ousted from the United Mine Workers of America.

—By a vote of 50 to 37 the Sutherland amendment to the Constitutional amendment resolution for election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people (p. 62) was agreed to in the Senate on the 24th. The Sutherland amendment provides that Congress shall prescribe the qualifications of voters for Senators. On the 28th the amendment came to a vote in the Senate. It received 54 to 33—a majority of 21, but 4 less than the necessary two-thirds.

—A special railway train from Chicago to Springfield will be run on the 7th for the purpose of carrying woman suffragists to a hearing on the Brown

equal suffrage bill before the Illinois legislature. The House committee on elections by a vote of 13 to 7, ordered the Tice woman-suffrage bill to be reported to the House without recommendation. It is identical with the Brown bill in the Senate, which has been reported favorably (p. 156) by the Senate elections committee.

—A hearing on woman suffrage was given on the 22nd by the judiciary committees of both houses of the New York legislature sitting jointly. The speakers opposed to the measure were Margaret Doane Gardiner, Margaret C. Cummings, Richard Barry, Alice Hill Chittenden, and Mrs. William L. Scott; those favoring the measure were Mrs. W. W. Penfield, Leonora O'Reilly, Minnie Reynolds, Harriet Stanton Blatch; Mrs. Vladimir Slinkhovitch, George Creel and Anna Howard Shaw.

—The college women of Chicago have joined the working women in their effort to have at this session of the legislature the "ten-hour law" (vol. xiii, p. 393) extended in its application to many more occupations. At the instigation of Mrs. Benjamin E. Page there was held February 23, a mass meeting of college women, presided over by Mrs. J. S. Blackwelder, and addressed by Mrs. Raymond Robins, Mrs. Frances Squire Potter, Miss Marion McShea, Miss S. P. Breckinridge and Miss Katherine Coman.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (vol. xiii, p. 1233) for January, 1911, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash	85,466,829.00

Total	\$235,466,829.00
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1910	250,490,783.99

Decrease	\$ 15,023,954.99
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—The future lecture dates of Henry George, Jr., (p. 157) so far announced are as follows: March 4, Great Falls, Mont.; March 5, Great Falls, Mont.; March 7, Kalispell, Mont.; March 8, Whitefish, Mont.; March 9, Pullman, Wash.; March 10, Sandpoint, Ida.; March 11, Nelson, B. C.; March 12, Nelson, B. C.; March 13, Spokane, Wash.; March 14, Ellensburg, Wash.; March 15, Seattle, Wash.; March 16, Olympia, Wash.; March 17, Tacoma, Wash.; March 18, Portland, Ore.; March 19, Portland, Ore.; March 20, Everett, Wash.; March 21, Vancouver, B. C.; March 22, Victoria, B. C.; March 23, New Westminster, B. C.; March 24, Bellingham, Wash.; March 25, Bellingham, Wash.; March 26, Bellingham, Wash.; and March 27, Anacortes, Wash.

—The House of Representatives of Congress adopted on the 27th a joint resolution looking to an investigation of the match trust. The resolution authorizes the President to ascertain present conditions of manufacture as affecting the health of employees; what substitutes for white phosphorous (p. 109) if any can be found by which dangers can be minimized, and whether these substitutes are free from patent control. The President is directed to report whether this industry is controlled by any combination or trust.

—At the direct primary for Councilmen in Seattle on the 7th (p. 201), the newly enfranchised women

voters (p. 134) are reported by the news despatches to have worked a revolution in politics by defeating all but three candidates who were accused of being on intimate terms with the late Gill administration. These three were nominated by so narrow a margin that it is regarded as almost certain that they will not be among the nine elected next week. The proportion of women voting at the primary was larger compared with the total registration than the proportion of men. At the head of the primary poll was Oliver T. Erickson, a single tax business man of Seattle, formerly of Minneapolis; and Joe Smith is another nominee.

—The Monthly Treasury report of receipts and disbursements of the Federal government (vol. xiii, p. 1233), for January, shows the following thus far for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911:

Receipts	\$393,203,052.34
Disbursements	398,082,122.91

	\$ 4,879,070.57
Repayment of unexpended balances.....	741,846.13

Ordinary deficit	\$ 4,137,224.44
Panama Canal deficit.....	22,745,900.88

	\$ 26,883,125.32
Public debt surplus.....	5,455,278.65

Grand deficit	\$ 21,427,846.67
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PRESS OPINIONS

A Hint or Two from Bryan.

The Commoner (dem. Dem.), Feb. 24.—A formidable array of Republicans have attached their names to the declaration of principles issued by the Progressive Republican League. Read these names carefully. This declaration of war recalls the fight commenced in the Democratic party in 1895—sixteen years ago. Will the progressives succeed in obtaining control of the Republican party? We shall see. They have an Administration to fight, just as the progressive Democrats had; they have the special interests to fight, just as the progressive Democrats had; they have the big newspapers against them, just as the progressive Democrats had. Let us hope that the progressives will control both parties and give the people a chance to win, no matter which party succeeds. The men who ate and drank and celebrated at Baltimore should give special attention to the Progressive Republican League. If they (the Baltimore crowd) succeed in nominating a Wall Street Democrat and the progressives put up a real progressive Republican, the Democratic ticket will come out worse than it did in 1904. Keep your eye on the progressive Republican League; and, by the way, is it not about time for the progressive Democrats to get to work?

+ +

Farmers and Direct Legislation.

Farm and Fireside (agricultural), Feb. 25.—As a rising tide, grows the demand for new laws framed to the end that the people shall rule. Among these new measures are direct legislation through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. Farmers should

study these. We believe that nothing can be done in the way of giving farmers that proper weight in the government of the nation to which they are entitled, but which they have never exercised, so effective as the enactment of direct legislation laws. . . . In Switzerland there is only one State which has a political boss. That State is the only one which has failed to adopt the Initiative and Referendum. When every State in our Union has adopted these tools of democracy there will no longer be bosses and machines in America.

+ +

Some of the Meat in the Cocanut.

Collier's (Ind.), Feb. 25.—Previous to 1901, whenever the steel business was dull, whenever a situation corresponding to the present existed, the price of rails, in obedience to the immemorial law of supply and demand, automatically fell to \$24, to \$22, even as late as 1898, to \$17. The difference lies, of course, in the fact that today the steel business is a trust; ten years ago there was competition. If the price of steel rails were lowered to \$24 a ton, if the ancient law of supply and demand were permitted to operate, the railroads would profit more than they can by the increase of freight rates they now demand. They would need no increase and would ask for none; indeed, it is more likely they would be reducing freight rates. The influence which maintains the price of steel rails at \$28, and the influence which demands increased freight rates, are one and the same. The man whose ipse dixit keeps rails at \$28 a ton is J. P. Morgan; the man who demands higher freight rates is J. P. Morgan.

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Suppression of Truth-telling Magazines.

Farm and Fireside (agricultural), Feb. 25.—There are sinister influences working to keep from us the parcels post. There are sinister influences working to ruin the truth-telling, fearless magazines by raising their postal rates. There are sinister influences looking with greedy eyes on water-power, coal and phosphate lands. Influences like those that said in the days of the prophet, "My hand hath found as a nest the riches of the people; and as one that gathereth eggs that are forsaken have I gathered all the earth; and there was none that moved the wing, or that opened the mouth, or chirped!" The only way to balk these sinister influences is to put ourselves in the way effectively to move the wing and open the mouth and chirp against them that seek the riches of the people "as one gathereth eggs that are forsaken." Get behind the People's Power movement, and work for it. Work for popular elections of United States Senators. Work for the initiative, the referendum and recall. Work for direct primaries. Help the cities to get the commission form of government. Work for the parcels post. Work against the muzzling of the magazines.

+ + +

Diana was a huntress,
She early got the habit;
But she never shot a godlet
Thinking he might be a rabbit.
—Chicago Record-Herald.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A RECESSIONAL.

This poem, written by John W. Bengough of Toronto, and published locally, was called out by what he calls the absurd and persistent campaign in Canada against Reciprocity, on the ground that the tendency of freer trade would be toward annexation.

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God of our fathers, in this day
Of swift-winged word and wide debate,
O make us rational, we pray,
In what we write, and print, and say,
Through Thy compassion great.

The wild and poisoned word restrain,
Make powerless the unbridled lie;
In mercy keep Thy people sane,
That frenzied vaporings may be vain,
And harmlessly pass by.

Forbid it, Lord, that we should lose
Our sense of humor; let us smile
At narrow and distempered views;
May fatuous nonsense but amuse,
And serve no end of guile.

Let pity move us more than hate,
For every false, misguided pen
That bans with blame infuriate
A wholesome policy of state
That means the weal of men.

Let truth and reason still prevail,
Though argument be tense,
Though selfish interest rant and rail,
May fallacy and falsehood fail,
Lord, save our common sense!

For vicious jibe and rancorous thrust,
To shame when passion cools;
For sneers unneighborly, unjust,
That harm the Nations' mutual trust,
Good Lord, forgive the fools!

+ + +

THE GREAT UNREST.

For The Public.

Humanity is revolutionary at heart. Very few injustices or oppressions remain in existence long at a time. Sooner or later the fermentation and agitation ever at work in the deep consciousness of a large part of the people expresses itself, and the injustice is toppled off its pedestal.

The great spiritual unrest of the present age has its source in the gigantic economic wrongs under which the masses are toiling. Humanity simply cannot achieve its true spiritual grandeur while its body is burdened by a galling yoke. Men cannot arise to their full mental height while op-

pressed by an uneven struggle for bread and butter and the commonest comforts of life.

If the church would interest itself in righting the social and economic evils of the world it would have removed the greatest obstacle in the path of church growth and spiritual unfoldment. It would open the pathway to the golden era of mentality and spirituality.

Humanity looks to the church and the priesthood for solace. When humanity goes to this common source for solace today, it finds the leading churchgoers and priests allied with those who are piling up economic wrongs upon the galled shoulders of the masses. When a homeless man or a hungry family applies to the modern church for sympathy and spiritual help, it finds that church, in nine cases out of ten, in the ranks of the oppressors of the common man. It finds that those who are responsible for the gigantic economic wrongs of the age, for landlordism, for favoritism, for special privileged classes, are also allied with and lead the churches.

So the church sits upon the backs of the poor and homeless alongside the great financial interests. The one great source of solace and spiritual help at which humanity drinks is polluted, like a poisoned spring in the desert, with the virus of economic prejudice. The great spiritual unrest of the age, instead of being stilled by the influence of the church, is only embittered by it, because of the alliance of the church with the powerful interests which have created and which seek to perpetuate the present one-sided economic condition.

If the economic wrongs of the age were righted, the spiritual unrest would suddenly cease. If men could feed and clothe their families in decency and comfort from their labor; if homes were to be had on any reasonable conditions by the homeless; if families of workingmen were provided with the common comforts of life and environed with a few of the ordinary luxuries; if the brute struggle for bread would give place to a happier economic condition, mankind would soon "get right" spiritually.

If the church would busy itself first with covering the defenseless heads and providing homes and equal opportunity for the poor and would see that every man had a square deal and a common start in life, its pews would be filled to overflowing. It would solve the problem of spiritual unrest.

As long as there is economic injustice in the land, there will be skepticism, unbelief, infidelity, atheism. The mind of the masses will not submit to an aristocracy of spirituality. There must be justice in the creed of the church—there must be a just and symmetrical correspondence between the creed of the church and the works of the church—before people will surrender their spiritual welfare into its keeping.

And as the economic unrest grows deeper and

farther flung, so will the great drifting away from the altars of the church be strong and deep and permanent. If men cannot arise to their full mental and spiritual height under the influence and with the aid of the Christian religion, they will drift away from it and found a newer creed which offers them emancipation from economic injustices. They will establish a new faith which will vote right first, and pray afterward.

BERT HUFFMAN.

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SOCIAL LIFE INSURANCE.

For The Public.

We learn by degrees. Modern nations are coming to understand that if they would persist and dominate, they must write two life insurance policies: the first, a Child Labor Law to protect children from premature toil; the second, a compulsory Education Law to guarantee a minimum of education to every growing citizen.

A nation which writes these two insurance policies has thrown a strong safeguard around its future life.

SCOTT NEARING.

+ + +

SENSATIONS OF AN AVIATOR.

Part of J. Armstrong Drexel's Story of a Thrilling Experience in the Upper Air. Published Under Copyright by Henry M. Neeley's Syndicate.

The machine must have looked like a great gull or a buzzard floating on the breeze, and I suppose I might have been sound asleep in her for all the spectators on the ground could have seen of motion or of effort on my part.

Then came the clouds and I worked my way up through them, hoping that they would not be thick nor last long, for above the clouds in the sunlight are the wickedest gusts and it means fight—fight—fight all the time.

The hand of the aneroid barometer in front of me kept creeping round and round as I mounted; the first 2,000 feet were told off quickly and then more and more slowly the indicator went as I entered the thin strata of the upper air and began the struggle to pass the thousand marks. Three, four, five, six thousand I passed, each one taking an increasing length of time and requiring more of physical effort and mental and nervous strain. . . . I felt sure that I must be near the top. It seemed ages since I had started and the terrible cold was beginning to penetrate even the thick, fur lined clothing that I had had made particularly for this flight. My hands were beginning to get numb and I felt that my ears would burst with the pressure from inside my head, or, rather, with the lessening of the pressure outside. My nerves and my muscles, too, began to give warning that they had

been pushed almost to the utmost and I felt that I was near the end of my powers.

But one sight of the barograph made me grit my teeth and shove the nose of the Bleriot a good deal higher than wisdom warranted. Instead of being near the coveted 10,000 mark, I was barely passing the 8,000 line.

No words of mine can express the disappointment and the discouragement of that moment. I was almost "all in," yet I had still the two hardest stages of my journey to cover—the bitter fight of jumping and falling, jumping and falling during the final 500 feet, and, last, but most awful of all, the horrors of that descent where the chances were 100 to 1 against me in my pitifully weakened condition. . . . So I doggedly fixed my mind upon the magic figures "10,000" and mounted again. Below me there was nothing but space. The filmy clouds formed a haze which completely shut the earth from my view and I seemed like an impudent little fly buzzing around importantly in the vastness of infinitude. The thought struck me as being rather droll and I laughed aloud. . . . The sound of my laughter had something uncanny in it and I suddenly awoke to a realization of the fact that I had been laughing in this way for fully ten minutes and that there was nothing to laugh at after all. "Crazy," I thought, and as the thought flashed across my mind with all the horrible possibilities of a loss of mentality and mental balance nearly two miles above the earth—with the slightest mismovement spelling awful death—I pulled myself together again and made a final desperate effort to cross the 10,000 mark. . . . I have no words to describe that descent. It would sound like the veriest drivell if I should try, for only a man trained to repression of superlatives could give an idea of its horrors without making it seem like silly exaggeration.

Every reader has probably gone down fifteen or twenty floors in an express elevator. Do you remember how dizzy and sick at the stomach it made you?

My descent was made at the rate of a vertical mile in about two minutes while I was traveling horizontally at the rate of seventy or seventy-five miles an hour. In other words, my vertical speed downward was about four times as fast as that of the fastest elevator and I had the added strain of the tremendous horizontal momentum.

The effect of this rapid descent is almost paralyzing. . . . In coming down from 9,897 feet at my tremendous rate of speed, my ears felt that they would burst and the top of my head felt as though it would fly off at any moment. Added to this came the feeling of nausea, which grew and grew until my head swam and, just for one moment, I am sure, I lost consciousness. This occurred, I should say, at a height of between 7,000 and 8,000 feet.

Again, I had to bring all my self-control to my

rescue, but my nervous energy was ebbing fast and I remember wondering how much longer I should be able to fight back the utter collapse that I knew was coming soon.

You must remember that all this was occurring when I had only an approximate idea of how high above the earth I was and when I had absolutely no idea of my geographical position. After I had passed through the upper strata of clouds at a height of some 4,000 feet I had not again seen the earth except for little drifting patches of indistinct drab as I flew over the rifts in the vapor, and I did not know whether I was one mile or a hundred from Philadelphia. And now, I was descending so fast and was so nearly helpless, both physically and mentally, that I could do nothing except keep the Bleriot on the proper slant to give the best descent with the least possible strain.

Into the clouds again I went, circling now, with some vague idea that I had managed somehow to keep over the Point Breeze field from which I had started. . . . But my first sight of the earth as I dropped from the lower fringes of the clouds showed me that I was doomed to another disappointment. Not a sign of a city was in sight. Not a single landmark that I had been told to look out for was to be seen. Instead, there were farm land and forest, plowed fields and orchards. . . . Fortunately for me, I made a perfect landing. It was, probably, the instinct that comes of long practice that kept me from smashing up on coming to the ground, for I know that my brain was no longer working and my muscles were incapable of obeying a mental command.

I must have sat there helplessly in the machine for fully five minutes after I landed. I could not seem to get my brain into working order again and I simply sat there staring vacantly ahead of me and mumbling meaningless things to myself.

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IN MEMORIAM OF WALT WHITMAN.

He laughed at Life's Sunset-Gates
With vanishing breath,
Glad soul, who went with the sun
To the Sunrise of death.

—William Sharp.

BOOKS

THE NEW WINE.

The Essence of Religion. By Borden Parker Bowne, Boston and New York. Houghton Mifflin Co. Price, \$1.50.

The author of these sermons on various vital topics might claim brotherhood with the most radical religious thinker in his strenuous advocacy of the life test in all professions of right-

eousness. The inner realities and not the outer forms constitute the essentials of Christianity in the judgment of this dignified representative of the old theology which is tinged with the light of the new morning.

"When one is summoned to the religious life," it is remarked, "he is not called to anything mysterious and unintelligible, but to something level to every mind. He is called to live a life of justice and mercy among men. . . . If, then, one would locate himself with reference to God's kingdom, let him not ask himself whether he has religion. That is a question of no importance. It is no matter whether he has religion or not. Neither let him ask himself concerning his religious emotions. That is equally an irrelevant question. Emotions are no guide whatever to character. . . . But let the inquirer ask himself whether he is seeking to please God by doing justly, loving mercy and walking humbly before Him. . . . This question goes to the root of the matter, cutting through all illusions and hypocrisies, locating every one as a worker of righteousness, or a worker of iniquity." The teaching is equally explicit as to the church. It counts only so far as it promotes righteousness of life:

"The Good Samaritan was a member of the kingdom. He knew nothing of Christ, but Christ knew something of him. And with equal certainty the priest and the Levite were not members of the kingdom. . . . One must be debauched by a mechanical theology who can doubt that the Samaritan belonged to the kingdom and the others did not. . . . It is the glory of Christianity that its spirit is transcending its own formal institutions. The Lord Jesus Christ has many an unrecognized and unconscious disciple in lodges, in labor organizations, in industrial and social brotherhoods, in philanthropic and reform societies. . . . Thus the leaven, according to promise, is leavening the lump."

A. L. M.

* * *

BLACK AND WHITE.

"The Nigger." By Edward Sheldon. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1910.

"An American Play," the author calls it on his title page. Place: The South. Time: Now. The curtain discloses the Southerners alone in the midst of their own—and their nation's problem.

The brilliant son of a proud old Georgian family becomes Governor, only suddenly to discover that he has in him Negro blood. In his agony, without explaining the reason, he talks over the Negro problem with an old friend of the Negroes, prominent too in politics. The young Governor has always "been good to his niggahs" but has felt that "when you come right down to it, the niggah's not a man, he's an animal." Yet justice, rather than ambition and love, has determined his action in

two previous crises of his life, and now, with great effort he sees the race question in the light of abstract justice, and with shocks of recoiling emotion, thrusts himself into the black man's place, as he listens:

"All you've got t' do, son, is fall in line. Theah's no good tryin' t' stop a big ocean wave, you know, an' you might jus' as well do that as stan' up against democracy an' humanity an' civilization—an' a lot of othah good things with long names. . . . Ev'y niggah's a man. You and me have had mo' time t' push ahead—that's the only difference between us! We're all men an' we're all doin' the same thing—stumblin' an' fallin' t'gethah, on our jou'ney t' God. So theah's no use sayin' the las' ranks ain't got no business t' go wheah the fist are leadin' 'em. I reckon, suh, that ain't square play! . . . Try an' like like the niggahs. That don't mean sayin' they 'ah's good as you—it's one to a million they ain't! But hatin's the ol' way o' gettin' roun' the folks that bothah ye—likin's up-to-date! So crack a smile, sonny, an' stick out yo' han's, an' all pull t'gethah—top an' bottom—rich an' po'—black an' white!"

A few hours later the Governor about to resign his office, proclaim his descent, and give up his still faithful fiancée, has drawn hope from despair:

"Heah is our American people an' they've done a big, wrong thing—stealin' the niggahs from Africa an' bringin' 'em ovah heah fo' theah own selfish use—an' a thing like that couldn't help endin'—as it *has* ended—in bloody to'ment! We're a-sufferin' it now, but d'you think it's goin' t'last? D'you think we're not a-goin' t'rise up from it a strongah an' a wisah an' a kindah people? D'you think it's not wo'th while?—all this? Why, if it weren't,—a thousand times ovah!—what would be the use o'strugglin' an' livin' any longah? Why shouldn't ev'ry one get rid of it all by takin' a headah right into the da'k?"

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Your Forces and How to Use Them. By Christian D. Larson. Published by The Progress Co., Chicago. 1910.

—Optimos. By Horace Traubel. Published by B. W. Huebsch. New York. 1910. Price, \$1.50, postage, 10 cents.

—Truths. Talks with a Boy concerning Himself. By E. B. Lowry. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago, 1911. Price, 50 cents.

—The Home: Its Work and Influence. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Second Edition. Published by the Charlton Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Neglected Neighbors. Stories of Life in the Alleys, Tenements and Shanties of the National Capital. By Charles Frederick Weller. Published by the

John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia. 1909. Price \$1.50 net.

—For God and the People. Prayers of the Social Awakening. By Walter Rauschenbusch. Published by the Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Report on the Pittsburgh Transportation Problem to Mayor McGee of Pittsburgh. By Bion J. Arnold. Published at Pittsburgh, Pa. December, 1910.

—Reminiscences of the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration. 1872. The Alabama Claims. By Frank Warren Hackett. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston & New York. 1911. Price, \$2.00 net.

—Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor. 1909. Workmen's Insurance and Compensation System in Europe. Volume I.—Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany. Printed at the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1911.

PERIODICALS

The American.

There has been much speculation on the significance of the transfer of the American to a publishing house in which a partner of J. Pierpont Morgan is financially interested, but as the same publishing house has long owned Farm and Fireside, of which Herbert Quick is editor, we see no reason for expecting any immediate change for the worse in the American.

Besides, it is hardly thinkable that Mr. Morgan could buy the well known editors of the American—Baker and White and Tarbell and Dunne and Phillips, along with the title page of the magazine. It is interesting, however, to note the closing remark of Dunne in the "Interpreter's House" for March, where he makes Mr. Worldly Wiseman hold out rich prospects to magazine writers, asking, "Do you catch my meaning?" "I do," said the Poet. "Now if you will show me my gilded cage, I will hop into it." The March issue has a peculiar tone, like and yet unlike the old one. This may be an illusion, as when the birds sing sweeter and the trees are greener if you are happy, but everything looks as if seen through smoked glass if you are sad; but there is a queer shadowlike something or other about it all, which even Albert Jay Nock's fourth article in his tax series does not wholly escape. Perhaps it is the atmosphere of that wonderful leading article on "The Gospel of Efficiency," by Frederick W. Taylor, who is introduced by Ray Stannard Baker as a "scientist in business management." Whoever recalls Louis D. Brandeis's challenge to the railroads, that they are wasting money by the millions in unscientific management, will begin to get an inkling in this Taylor article of what Mr. Brandeis meant. One peculiarity about Mr. Taylor's article is his apparent recognition of the fact that while scientific management would vastly increase labor power, it would not increase wages permanently. That it does not increase them even in the beginning, as a proportion of product, stands out boldly in the illustrative example of handling pig iron—12½ tons a day for \$1.15 under unscientific

Novelty System of Heating and Ventilating

$$\frac{12,000 \times 2 \times 5}{160} = 750$$

There is one house built each year, in the United States, for each 160 of population.

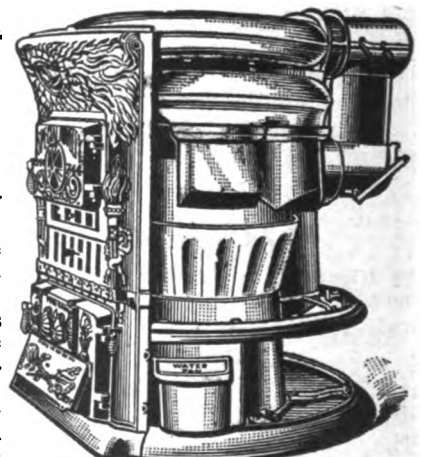
It follows that at the present hour about 750 readers of The Public are thinking and scheming and planning over the features and details of the houses they will build for themselves during 1911.

We desire each one of these 750 Public readers to send us his name and address so that we may show him how his new house can be healthfully ventilated and perfectly heated at no extra cost over that of direct-radiation heating *without* ventilation. Delay not but write us immediately upon reading these words.

The information we will give you about the heating and ventilating of houses will surely be interesting to you even though you may afterward allow your wise and perspicacious local advisers to persuade you that ventilating a house is merely a theoretical fad unworthy the attention of a practical man.

■ We say ventilation is the most practical and vital thing in the entire construction of your house. In the progress of hygienic civilization it will soon be considered a structural crime to build a residence without formal and systematic provision for furnishing the occupants with warmed pure air.

Without ventilation your house will be a "back number" the day you move into it.



NOVELTY HEATER AND VENTILATOR
unworthy the attention of a practical man.

AMERICAN & DAUPHIN STS.
PHILADELPHIA

ABRAM COX STOVE CO.

431 WEST LAKE STREET
CHICAGO

management, and 48 tons a day for \$1.85 under scientific management—nearly 200 per cent more product, but only 60 per cent more pay. But this discovery of scientific management is one of the most valuable of inventions. Mr. Taylor's story of it is thoroughly interesting, and altogether it is suggestive of much more than industrial economy, as thoughtful readers may see for themselves.

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House Agent's Clerk: "The reason we're asking such a large premium for the house, madam, is that

it's right on the railway, and you cannot possibly be shut in by new, and possibly unsightly, buildings.—Punch.

+ + +

Nothing would give us greater pleasure than to dash through the air in a flying machine at an altitude of about six inches.—Puck.

+ + +

"At our church," said little Kitty to the caller "the women are just as polite as the men. The

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value.

It is also an editorial paper, according to the principles of fundamental democracy, expressing itself fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without regard to any considerations of personal or business advantage.

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

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

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