

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

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That Tricky Tax Amendment.

The attempt in the Illinois legislature to side-track the Initiative and Referendum by passing the proposed tax amendment instead (p. 252), is characteristic of the Interests that are working on it. Here we have the Association of Commerce and the Civic Federation at work obstructing democratic progress; and in order to do so, they are brazenly calling upon legislators to defy a public-policy vote of three to one (vol. xiii, p. 1186; vol. xiv, p. 27), and to break their pre-election pledges and the platform pledges (vol. xiii, pp. 921, 922) of both parties. This is crooked political work and should be treated accordingly. If the Initiative and Referendum amendment is side-tracked by putting the tax amendment ahead of it, then the tax amendment must be defeated at the polls. All the labor organizations, all the direct legislation organizations, and the entire direct legislation sentiment of the State, together with the sentiment that abhors political trickery regardless of its authors or their purposes, must be organized to kill that tax amendment when the voters get their chance—if it is given priority by the legislature over the Initiative and Referendum amendment. Big Business and politicians must be taught that political pledges cannot always be ignored with impunity.

Direct Legislation.

Questions often arise as to the extent and char-

acter of direct legislation powers in the American States. They are answered by the following statement, for which we are indebted to George J. King, a recognized expert on the details of the subject: In 1898, South Dakota adopted direct legislation. In 1900, Utah adopted an amendment, not self-executing, which the legislature has never made effective. In 1902, Oregon adopted an effective self-executing system. In 1905, Nevada adopted a referendum only. In 1906, Montana adopted direct legislation. In 1907, Oklahoma placed the Initiative and Referendum in the new Constitution, and the State was admitted to the Union by Congress and President Roosevelt as having a "representative form of government." In 1908, Maine adopted direct legislation and so did Missouri. In 1910, Colorado and Arkansas adopted it. Arizona's new Constitution has the Initiative and Referendum in good form. In 1911, the legislatures of Illinois, Wisconsin, California, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, Indiana, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio have the subject under consideration in accord with platform pledges of one or both of the great political parties. In local government, cities and towns in many States are operating under the Initiative and Referendum and about 100 cities have them in connection with the commission form of city government.

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A Precedent for Progressive Chicago Democrats.

When Senator Burkett of Nebraska was the Republican candidate for re-election (vol. xiii, p. 801), circumstances called for a statement from Senator La Follette, the leading Progressive Republican of the United States. It was in the midst of the legislative campaign, just before the election at which the Republican organization of Nebraska was backing Burkett. The chairman of the Republican State central committee telegraphed La Follette on the subject of Burkett's candidacy, and La Follette replied at length. In the course of that reply he said: "I assume from the dispatch which you quote, Rogers stated that I do not regard Senator Burkett as a progressive Republican. This is a fact. His record shows him voting quite as often with the special interests as in the public interest. I would not knowingly aid in the election of any man because he happened to be on the Republican ticket, unless his past record and affiliations warrant the belief that he would better serve the people than his opponent." Senator Burkett was defeated, and not im-

probably in consequence of Senator La Follette's testimony. This is what a Republican progressive dared to do when a reactionary Republican sought popular endorsement. Can the Democratic progressives of Chicago do less, when a reactionary Democrat—tied to progressivism of any sort by no stronger tie than a bargain with Andrew Lawrence for the delivery of Hearst delegates at the next Democratic convention—comes forward for Mayor and pleads for the support of progressive Democrats? Progressive Democrats may find a fine example in the precedent La Follette has set. And the occasion calls for it. Alderman Merriam is a progressive Republican like La Follette. That is the reason the reactionary Republicans tried so hard to defeat him at the primary. That is the reason they are lukewarm or hostile now. That is the reason they are doing their utmost to prevent his getting any support from the Republican newspapers. From Taft to Lorimer and from Lorimer down, reactionary Republicans shrink from the vision—shrink from it as from a nightmare—of a Republican of the La Follette type as Mayor of Chicago. Then let the progressive Democrats of Chicago join hands with the progressive Republicans, and elect Merriam with a majority that will ring through the country.

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Merriam and Harrison.

The Chicago Tribune has caught its political breath and begun to point with gratifying decisiveness to the reasons why Mr. Harrison is a good candidate to vote against for Mayor of Chicago. It does not yet emphasize Mr. Merriam's virtues, which are quite as numerous as Mr. Harrison's lack of them; but all this in good time, no doubt. Meanwhile, the Record-Herald is mum. Is that paper in this respect, as well as in reference to the Big Business plan for influencing legislators to violate their Initiative and Referendum pledges to their constituents, the obedient servant of the ring in the Association of Commerce?

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Mayor Harrison and Organized Labor.

Ex-Mayor Harrison makes a begging appeal for the labor vote. "Unjust attacks have been made upon me," he is reported in Mr. Hearst's Examiner of the 17th, "but a better friend of union labor never sat in the Mayor's chair." This is admitted by the "Skinny" Madden gangs of "union labor," whom the Harrison administration kept alive with City Hall patronage; but it is denied by the Fitzpatrick type, who drove the "Skinny" Maddens out and rescued organized

labor in Chicago from the career in which Harrison politics supported it.

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A Questioned Voting Right.

An inquirer in the Chicago Tribune of the 21st wanted to know whether he will be entitled to vote at the municipal election on the 4th of April, explaining that he will not be 21 years old until the 5th; and the Tribune, on the authority of the election officials, informs him that he can not vote on that day. But the answer to his question turns upon the date of his birth, which he does not give. His statement that he will not be 21 years of age until April 5, is what the lawyers call "a conclusion of law" and not "a statement of fact." From a casual remark in his letter of inquiry, however, this young man was probably born on the 5th of April, 1890; for he says he will be 21 at midnight of the 4th. If this guess of ours is right, the young man is certainly entitled to vote at the Chicago election on the 4th. All persons born on the 5th day of April, 1890, began their first year on that day; they therefore began their second year on the 5th day of April, 1891; therefore they will begin their 22d year on the 5th day of April, 1911; therefore they complete their 21st year on the 4th day of April, 1911. By the clock, they would not complete it until midnight; but as the law takes no notice in such matters of fractions of a day, they complete it with the beginning of that day. Wherefore, an American male citizen, born April 5, 1890, is entitled to vote at any moment he pleases while the polls are open on the 4th day of April, 1911. And the courts have so decided.

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Mayor Whitlock and "Tainted News."

The systematic promulgation of "tainted news" in the interest of the Interests, a subject to which we have had occasion heretofore to refer (vol. xiii, pp. 1058, 1227), seems to have about it an odor that trails off in the direction of Columbus, Ohio, whence comes one of the latest specimens. In this instance the squirt was aimed at Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo.

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A State board of examiners which had been at work for three years on the administration of Toledo, reported late on the night of March 3rd, filing its report in Columbus. It was a voluminous affair, this report, comprising eight large volumes of close typewriting; but in less, very much less, than 24 hours, what parported to be a fair condensation had been published broadcast as coming from Columbus. This condensation made it

appear that the official report charged much wickedness to Mayor Whitlock's administration. But in fact the wickedness did not exist, and the official report did not say that it had existed. That news from Columbus was *tainted news*.

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Well may Mayor Whitlock ask:

Must a city, if it would not be slandered and libeled throughout the land, turn over its streets to franchise corporations and provide an administration that with one hand will crush the organizations of labor, and with the other deliver to an already privileged few, those communal values that are the result of labor's toil? It is not less than this that Privilege demands, it is not less than this that partyism is ready to perform in its service. That is the way of Privilege. It will traduce where it can not debauch, it will seize the legal means devised to protect the people and use them to despoil the people. It will commit every crime except those requiring courage. And that is not all Privilege does. It demands most of all of its own servitors; it deprives them of the power of spiritual appreciation, so that they are deprived of the ability to recognize and understand how despicable are the deeds they have to do.

The Ohio cities thus attacked have been Toledo under Whitlock's administration, and Cleveland under Tom L. Johnson's. The motive is plain, but where does all this tainted news come from? Who are the agents of the Interests in sending it on its travels? Is it a mystery that must remain a mystery? Or will some competent investigator run the rascals down?

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An Appeal from Mexican Patriots.

In our news columns this week is an appeal to Samuel Gompers, as president of the American Federation of labor, from an American organization of the Liberal party of Mexico. Essentially it is a strong appeal. It would be a stronger one had it been differently addressed. It assumes that Mr. Gompers has in his official capacity the right and the power to speak out on the subject raised, promptly and decisively. This weakens the appeal, just as any appeal is weakened when addressed to persons officially who are without official authority to respond to it. Such appeals are weak because the common sense of mankind interprets them as less likely to secure the results appealed for than to put the person addressed in the position of either seeming to be unsympathetic or of actually overstepping the official authority reposed in him. As an address to American workmen, however,—and, for the matter of that, to the American people—this address in behalf of the Liberals of Mexico should command the widest and deepest sympathy.

Taxation of Mines.

How to tax mines is an absorbing question just now in Colorado. It is stimulated by a bill pending in the legislature which is a codification of the existing revenue laws of that State. In a thoughtful discussion of the subject, the Denver News of March 12 directs attention to some of the important considerations involved. It notes that while mineral land is limited in capability, as is other particular land, it is unlike most other land in that it can neither be repaired nor rejuvenated when exhausted. No matter how rich, it will sooner or later be worked out. From this the News infers that the total value of a mine is the value of its product, less the expense of production; and therefore that an annual tax on the net output of a mine will in the end be a tax upon its entire value. If there is any important error thus far in the reflections of the News, we fail to detect it. Proceeding then to test the Colorado revenue bill by those considerations, the News states that the bill as first introduced would have taxed mines on the basis of gross output, less only transportation and ore-treatment charges, leaving entirely out of consideration the cost of original development and of raising the ore to the surface. On this basis of fact, the News seems to us to be right in describing the principle of the bill to have been to capitalize mines on the basis of gross output instead of net output. It refers, however, to amendments which it accepts as probably the best to be had at present, and then expresses a wish for "a scientific method of taxing mining property," its own idea of such a method being as follows:

Tax the producing mine on the value of its net output each year, making sure that you learn the real net output. Tax the non-producing mine on the basis of its value for other than mining purposes. Stop there. It is safe to say that the State will last longer than the mine, and that under this simple method, every dollar of real value in that mine will pay its quota to the State. And if a mine never produces, why, it has no mining value; and the only way to tax it is on the value it may possess for other purposes.

This plan hardly sounds scientific, especially the last clause; for it would offer inducements to mineral monopolists to hold out of use, for speculative purposes, mineral deposits that ought to be in use. That possibility, however, is anticipated by the News in a succeeding statement to the effect that cases "in which coal properties were held without working, merely to wait for an increased value of known deposits," could "be dealt with as they come."

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On the whole the position of the News is as far

advanced and as scientific as could be hoped for, with reference to present legislative possibilities. But the difficulties surrounding the question of taxing mines grow out of the custom, apparently accepted by the News as sound and just, of treating natural resources as private property, and imposing taxes as tribute instead of compensation for monopolizing the right to work a common property. There would be no extraordinary difficulty in taxing mining property if mineral deposits were regarded as a common heritage, and taxation as a method for collecting the common dues for common use. The first consideration in those circumstances would be the cost (including profit) of original development and of raising and marketing the ore. For this there would be no tax; and for two reasons: first, that the State does not assist in the expense and therefore has no claim to share in the result, and second, that taxes on processes of production tend to discourage production. The next consideration would be the net value of the natural deposit, the whole of which (with due allowance for uncertainties and for earnings in the form of profit or otherwise) would belong to and should be taken by the State. There might be many ways of arriving at that value under those circumstances. It might be done in the way the News suggests, by deducting cost from market price and treating the remainder annually as mineral value belonging in whole or in part to the State; or by an agreed royalty or scale of royalties; or by estimating the value of the deposit as Henry George, Jr., proposes in his letter in another column (p. 270) of this issue of *The Public* (probably the best method of valuation for the purposes of taxation as now applied); or by stock valuations; or by some better method which might suggest itself if the equities of the matter were once established on the basis of conceding to the miner the value of his product and to the State the value of its natural mineral deposit.

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It would probably be necessary, however, to establish regulations as to the extent and the methods of production, so as to prevent on the one hand thriftless mining with reference to common rights, and on the other the locking up of mining opportunities for private profit. This regulation might be necessary because it is doubtful if economic and equitable utilization of mining opportunities could be automatically regulated by taxation, as the utilization of building lots and farming land would be. What economists call the "margin of cultivation" is less definite in its manifestations with reference to such land as min-

eral deposits, than to building sites and farming opportunities.

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THE RISING TIDE FOR PEOPLE'S POWER.

The Associated Press is supposed to furnish an accurate and impartial report of the proceedings of Congress. It failed, however, to mention the shockingly reactionary harangue delivered by Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, on the last night of the session, in opposition to the People's Power provisions of the Arizona Constitution (p. 225).

Nothing could betray better the hatred that the class for which Heyburn speaks, bears toward any extension of the democratic principle. It is not often, though, that any reactionary throws the bridle off so completely as did the Idaho Senator, or lets his real sentiments shine forth so brightly. The gist of Senator Heyburn's remarks is in the following paragraphs:

I can see no reason whatever for delaying the admission of New Mexico because the people of Arizona came under the influence of this taint of insanity which seems to be abroad in the land. I can see no reason why Arizona should not remain a Territory until she demonstrates by her actions, by her wisdom in the making of a Constitution, that she is capable of self-government.

In my judgment no State is capable of or fit for self-government that does not know better than to adopt a rule of the Recall in its organic law.

I would not vote for the admission of either of these Territories, if they had twice their population and had multiplied their prosperity, if they came here with a proposition in their Constitutions that they might withdraw a judge or a representative of the State in either branch of Congress, or that they might withdraw the executive officers of their State. I would not vote for them in a lifetime if they should come here tainted with such madness, because it is political madness that seems to have taken possession of some people.

The Senate, which had just whitewashed Lorimer and defeated an amendment for the direct election of Senators, evidently concurred in the Heyburn theory of insanity, for the resolution to admit Arizona was voted down. This result, however, was not without its compensating features. One was that corporation-ridden New Mexico was likewise kept out, and the other was the complete co-operation of Progressives of both parties in the Senate in support of the People's Power provisions of Arizona's organic law.

The importance of this last feature cannot be overestimated. It shows not only a willingness of progressive Democrats and progressive Republicans to work together, but to work together on the most important issues now in politics, namely, Direct

Legislation and the Recall. Political co-operation between Progressives of all parties is vitally necessary at this time, and co-operation on these issues more necessary than anything else.

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Significant indeed were the last weeks of Congress in this particular. Some time ago the National Progressive League, composed exclusively of Republicans, put forth a manifesto. They differentiated themselves from the regular Republicans by declaring that the paramount political issues are Direct Legislation, the Recall, direct election of Senators and popular nomination of Presidential candidates.

When, under the brilliant leadership of Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, a test vote was forced in the Senate on these issues, it was found that these issues constituted a dividing line also between progressive and reactionary Democrats.

It is interesting to note that thirteen Republican Senators voted to admit Arizona with her broadly democratic Constitution. They were Beveridge, Borah, Bourne, Bristow, Brown, Burkett, Clapp, Cummins, Dixon, Gronna, Jones, La Follette, and McCumber. Only three Democrats could be mustered against it—Bailey of Standard Oil infame, Overman and Taliaferro.

The Bourbon Senators were able, for the moment, to defeat Arizona's admission. To accomplish that they sacrificed New Mexico, their pet lamb, which adopted a Constitution satisfactory in the last degree to Privilege, drafted by corporation lawyers, and eminently agreeable to the distinguished reactionary in the White House.

Even then it was a victory certain to prove more costly than a defeat. It has brought the People's Power issue squarely before Congress for the first time. Before either State is admitted, the whole question must be debated at length in the hearing of the whole country. Public attention will be focused upon it. The Tory side of the discussion, of course, cannot stand the light of day. It will be as stale, flat and unprofitable as Senator Lodge's scholarly mush against the direct election of United States Senators. Speeches such as Heyburn made are worth more to the cause he antagonizes than a thousand speeches made in its favor.

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It is the history of the English-speaking peoples that reform, once put in motion, ultimately triumphs. The history of the race should serve to reassure those impetuous reformers, who despair often at the snail's pace of their cause. People's Power in its fullest sense, is bound to triumph at

last. The fright into which its barest suggestion throws Vested Wrong, and the debates which the coming session promise to witness, will serve to enlighten public opinion on this subject as it has never been enlightened before.

D. K. L.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

OUT AMONG THE COPPER BUTTES.

Whitefish, Mont., March 10, 1911.

The election of a United States Senator, always interesting, has been a peculiarly interesting struggle at this time in Montana.

One of the chief issues in last fall's campaign was Republican stand-pat Senator Carter. The Democratic opposition was led by the brilliant lawyer, W. T. Walsh, chairman of the Democratic State committee. When the Democrats won a majority in the legislature, they looked about for their best man to take the seat at Washington which Carter would vacate. Walsh seemed to be the natural man for that place.

But the Interests—copper, railroad and timber—were to be reckoned with. They own Montana and usually own its legislature. Anyway they had owned Carter. They preferred the return of their faithful servant. If they could not have him at once, then they designed to deadlock the legislature, prevent any election, and two years hence (when it was hoped a reaction in politics would occur and the Republicans—in this State their party—should get a majority in the legislature), Carter would be elected to the vacant seat; the Democratic governor meanwhile being prevented by a United States Senate decision in a previous Montana Senatorial fight from filling the seat by appointment. The Senate in that case had reasoned that if the legislature had failed to elect when it had the power, the seat could not be regarded as vacant, and so could not be filled by the Governor.

The Interests' first step in this plan was to divide the Democratic vote against Walsh. This they accomplished. They raised up as his chief competitor one Conrad, a banker. He made his money in various ways—chiefly, it is commonly said, by standing in with the Interests. His ambition and vanity have led him to buy personal advertising space for himself in many of the weak and dependent papers of the State. As for brains and democratic-Democrat principles, he has little of either.

There was never any chance of Conrad's election. The Interests did not intend that there should be. But they did intend that he should stop Walsh; and he did.

He also stopped State Senator W. B. George, who is a very active democratic Democrat. Senator George might have been elected had the Democrats been any freer to vote for him than they were to vote for Walsh. But they were not.

Or if either Walsh or George could not quite have reached it, there was ex-Congressman Charles S. Hartman, another of the democratic-Democrat type; and it looked for a time as if he would sweep

it. But the Interests seldom get stampeded; and Hartman, like the others, was kept out by keeping Conrad in the field.

The Interests then made their master stroke.

The Montana Constitution limits the session of a legislature to sixty days, and the balloting had reached the last hours of the last day without an election. The Republicans suddenly made a motion to adjourn the joint session of the two chambers. Three or four Democrats had been induced to vote with them. If the Republicans had stood solid they would have prevented any election and carried out the Interests' plan for Carter. But one Republican—C. P. Higgins—suddenly revolted and voted with the body of Democrats against adjournment. With that defeat, the Interests lost control of their men, who feared the Interests could not protect them against deepening popular resentment at the prospect of no Senatorial election.

At that juncture somebody mentioned Judge Henry L. Myers, a former State Senator from the southwestern part of Montana.

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Judge Myers' name had not been mentioned up to that moment. He was known to have been a strong supporter of Walsh, to stand for the popular election of United States Senators, to oppose a big army and a big navy, to be for real tariff reduction, and to be a Thomas Jefferson democrat.

Moreover, he had been an important witness against "Copper King" Clark, when the latter was charged with buying his way to the United States Senate.

The man and the moment had come.

Myers was elected with a rush. He probably had not dreamed of such a result. In fact, when his election was announced to him over the long-distance telephone, he could with difficulty be made to believe it.

And when we consider the past power of the Interests in the politics of Montana, especially of copper, Judge Myers' election is even now scarcely believable.

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The copper Interest is, of course, centered in Butte, the largest city in the State. The city rests chiefly on a single isolated hill, which, in the language of this part of the country, is a "butte." This particular butte is spoken of as "the richest hill in the world," because of the copper ore in it. It is plastered over with copper claims, and on or near its top is the renowned Anaconda mine, which was one of the first to be worked, and which has now given its name to the most recent copper combination—the Amalgamated with the Clark and Heinze possessions.

While I was in Butte I went down one of the Amalgamated mines—the Leonard, a so-called "dry" mine, but where, with all the pumping, there was roof drip and under-foot slop enough to make me glad that I had exchanged my above-ground clothes for regular mining apparel. The assistant engineer of the mine, directed by the superintendent's office, conducted me.

We sank to the 1,200-foot level. That depth is nothing to boast of, yet it is sufficient for a first

experience. You are invited to get into a very small, iron-clad elevator. Suddenly down you glide with a speed that seems like a mile a minute. Your thoughts are necessarily rapid, too. My predominant one dealt with the bottom—how high we'd bounce when we hit.

But we didn't hit. We came to a gentle stop several hundred feet short of the bottom, and stepped out on the 1,200-foot level, not without speculations, however, as to what we might hit when we should shoot up. Suffice to say that within a couple of hours I was walking on the surface of the earth again without having hit anything, going up or down the mine shaft.

That trip down the copper mine taught me how mines must be assessed when the single tax on ground values, irrespective of improvements, shall be applied, and so get a great revenue into the public treasury while penalizing the holding of valuable natural opportunities out of use.

The usual way of taxing a mine is upon the basis of output. No output, no basis for any tax whatever, as witness the Minnie Healey Mine, notoriously one of the richest mines in Butte, but which, I was told, is, for reasons sufficient unto the combination owners, not at this time being worked. Also witness the piece of copper land for which ex-Senator Clark refused a million dollars, but which he was only nominally working.

Of course this mineral land should be taxed, not upon its output—which makes the tax depend upon the industry applied—but upon its market price.

Public assessors should be mining engineers and should determine the value of the ore land precisely as buyers and sellers determine it. They follow along the ore seams, get the breadth and thickness of such seams, and make frequent assays of the ore. These two things determine quantity and quality of ore. The experienced mining man knows that this is the only way to determine what he is buying. The way he arrives at the value of what he is buying is the way the public assessor must determine the value for assessment.

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The evening of the day I went down the mine I lectured in Butte, under the management of Mr. F. H. Monroe of the Henry George Lecture Association. Following the lecture many came out of the audience to shake hands. Among these were three gentlemen who invited me to go with them to the Butte club. I went, and found them anxious to ask about the application of the single tax. One of them proved to be an important man in the administration of the Butte mines. He questioned and listened with undisguised interest. He was not, however, too communicative about how he thought the single tax would operate, especially upon the copper land not in use. But another of the gentlemen thought such a tax would have a very wholesome effect on a lot covered by a wretched, abandoned and partly fallen stable on a corner opposite the club. The club was anxious to have the lot cleared or properly built upon and used, but the owner refused to allow either unless he got a big price.

The truth is that just as the tax would force the stable lot into a good use, so would it force the

idle copper lands into use. Incidentally it would extract an immense public revenue from all the copper lands, thus breaking the back of the copper combination.

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There can be no doubt of the rapid spread of the single tax ideas through Montana. Discussion of tariff taxation is very general. The Canadian reciprocity proposal has stimulated this discussion greatly. Arguments for free trade are no longer violently antagonized. Discussing free trade raises the question of alternative means of taxation. Hence consideration of the single tax.

One of the most interesting Montana audiences, before which I was invited to lecture on three subjects, was in the northwest at Whitefish, under the auspices of a Catholic young men's association—the Borromeo Club. Three young progressives—David Phelan, James Cavanaugh and Carl Walters—are at the head of it.

The priest of the parish, Rev. Dr. C. M. Van Aken, is the secretary of the club. He is the kind of priest to keep your eye on. He believes that Catholics should be abreast of the times—hear every live question discussed. He was born in Holland, as his name might suggest; had a finished education; and has three or four languages at his command. He developed such remarkable organizing abilities that he was "lent" by the Bishop of Helena, Montana, to the Bishop of Alberta, Canada, for three years, to bring over from Holland and colonize in the Province of Alberta farmers and their families. He brought over eighty such families and established them on 160 and 80-acre farms which the Canadian Pacific is selling—each with a house built, a well dug, the land plowed and the whole enclosed by a fence. I have forgotten about what the price of such farms is, but the impression left on my mind is that as such things go the price asked was reasonable.

Dr. Van Aken located his farmers six or eight miles from Calgary, the largest city in Alberta, and had the honor of having the neighborhood named after him—"Akenstad," meaning Aken City.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

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PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY IN PENNSYLVANIA.*

Pittsburgh, March 17.

The Democratic reorganization committee met at Harrisburg March 14th, and deposed J. M. Guffey as national committeeman and A. G. Dewalt as State chairman, naming Congressman A. Mitchell Palmer and former Mayor George W. Guthrie of Pittsburgh to take their places. This was welcome news to every true Democrat in the State.

For years they had waged battle for a change in leadership, but, the party machinery being in the hands of Republicans masquerading as Democrats, the task was fruitless. Not until the shameful deal of last fall, when it became clear to every Democrat that their leaders had again served Penrose instead of their own party, did the Democrats throughout the State come to a full realization of

*See The Public, volume xlii, p. 1208; volume xlv, p. 102.

this double dealing. They saw their party vote in the State reduced from 400,000 to 129,000. They recalled other results almost as humiliating, and then resolved to oust the leaders in whom they had lost confidence.

This was not accomplished easily. The old leaders fought to the last ditch. They summoned to their aid all the political trickery in which they are so well schooled. They begged for a little time in order to resign "honorably." They used their formerly effective plea for "harmony." But none of their schemes worked. The reorganizers had met to reorganize, and were not disposed to accept any overtures or counsel from men who had time and again proven themselves recreant to their trust.

Reluctantly do the Interests view the birth of a new Democracy in Pennsylvania. The Penrose-Guffey oligarchy had hoped to retain control of what was left of the Democratic machine until after the nomination for President in 1912. Their plans are foiled, and this should be welcome news to Progressives of both parties throughout the nation.

The new leaders, Palmer and Guthrie, are democratic Democrats. They have the respect and confidence of their followers. They are clean leaders. The Democratic party of this State has now the long hoped-for opportunity to redeem the past and establish its future.

It was a happy coincidence that while the reorganization committee were in session at Harrisburg doing this great work, William Jennings Bryan was delivering throughout the State his lecture on "The Passing of Plutocracy."

BERNARD B. MCGINNIS.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

LETTERS FROM CHINA—I.

Peking, January 15, 1911.

An Awakening Country.

I have been in Peking two months. It is the most interesting place in the world, though there is much about it that gives one a feeling of horror—such a great, monstrous, helpless mass of ignorance and poverty and dishonesty—a chief servant and cook receiving four or five dollars a month and providing his own food; a whole neighborhood attributing an epidemic of grip to a bit of decent highway recently constructed; all classes of officials as dishonest as our Tammany. A book concerning Chinese village life, which I have been reading, is enough to break your heart.

Here's a glimpse in a little story. A farmer in China expects to sleep in his field when the wheat is ripening, because otherwise his neighbors will steal it. An American imported a cradle to cut wheat, hoping to induce the natives to substitute it for the sickle. The villagers looked on as it cut the wheat. Then an old man lifted up his voice to say that the implement would do very well so long as you had it yourself, but it would not be safe because if your enemy got it, he could come and cut your wheat in a hurry before you could catch him. This argument was accepted as decisive by all the villagers, and the cradle has been rejected.

And of course also it is true that the work of educating the great mass and raising them even to the level of the United States, will take time. But there is one thing that is most encouraging, or rather these two: first, the country has developed a number of very great men and women, for there has been a possibility, though but a slender one, for a woman to make herself a force in China; and second, here, as nowhere else in the world, the ruling classes have accepted the inevitable and have forwarded the means by which the new era is to be brought in. I do not mean, indeed, to imply that there has been no opposition, for, in fact, it has happened that the ruling powers have found it hard to accept the working out in practice of the new ideas which in principle they accept. Of this I shall give you some illustrations later. The question why the Government of China itself, with so little struggle, appointed the Commission for the Study of Constitutional Government, ordered the meeting of the Provincial Assemblies, and in other respects is steadily working in the same direction,—this is an interesting one, and to my mind suggests that China has immense possibilities and will make rapid progress to catch up with other nations. Possibly the long sleep of China, like the lying fallow of ground, may have left conditions for tremendous efficiency when once the nation awakes. Possibly the exaltation of the scholar, the appointment to office by literary tests, and the rejection of the soldier, have made this change easier.

Irritating Foreigners.

Now to understand what has taken place here, or at any rate to understand my theory of it, you must remember that until recently the whole Chinese people have believed themselves superior to foreign nations and have been quite content to remain ignorant of all their ways.

But foreigners of all nations had been coming in for many years, both as missionaries and on mercantile errands,—and they constantly, when they got into trouble, appealed to their own governments for protection. In the case of missionaries particularly, it was perhaps natural that they should find themselves, and even more, their native converts, becoming objects of suspicion and hatred, that they should sometimes be treated, or believe themselves treated, unjustly by their native neighbors, and that they should appeal to their own governments for protection.

But it is equally natural that the Chinese should be aggrieved at this interference with the control by their authorities of the administration of justice in their own country.

A further and even more serious cause of exasperation arose from the extra-territoriality doctrine and practice of other nations. An illustration of this is found in the position of the legations here. Along the road from my hotel toward the Forbidden City, in which the Emperor lives, is a tract of land nearly three-quarters of a mile square, wholly within the walls of the Tartar city of Peking; and there, within the walls, less than a rifle shot from the Emperor, the authority of his officers is not recognized, and instead each of the foreign nations represented by legations has jurisdiction within its own lines.

The thing which impresses me most about the

legation districts is the impudence of the Europeans and ourselves. They, that is, we, have taken possession of all the city wall (the one separating the Chinese and Tartar cities) for the whole length of the Legation district. In the Boxer days our people found that their convenience would be served by having a gate in the wall at a certain place, so they cut the opening, and it is still there. The legation quarter is a fortification, with walls on every border and walls about every legation. American and European soldiers patrol that part of the city wall adjoining; at the East end the German; at the West end as I walk on the wall, I am likely to meet some Nebraskan farmer's son pacing up and down with a rifle on his shoulder. On the street nearly every day I meet a body of the foreigners marching to and from their barracks; one morning recently the French marines parading through this Chinese town with trumpets. There is a moat at the eastern end, by the German quarters. Across the road from our barracks at the west is a great enclosure, and within it you might see a wide expanse of gilded roofs. This is the "Forbidden City." Behind its successive enclosures—wall beyond wall—seven walls, I believe it is said, each increasing in sanctity, is the little Emperor, aged five years,—in theory, perhaps sometimes in fact, the ruler of this empire. Our soldiers drill in the field separated only by the width of the road from the palace enclosure. A good baseball player might knock a ball to the first of the yellow roofs from the little fortress where we keep our light artillery.

Last night I walked home just before dinner time on the wall. A German with his musket passed along the eastern end. I passed two or three French marines, the familiar Yankee walked farther west. A Chinese soldier wandered along somewhere in the middle. He looked thoughtful and forlorn and lost. He came to attention with emphasis as I approached—as though he took me for a brigadier. Far off to the south I could hear a military band playing in the Chinese City—perhaps two miles away—as some troops of the new Chinese army were marching in from drill back to their barracks. It is said that they drill well.

This is, of course, a somewhat extreme situation, dating from the Boxer War. But in many parts of the Empire similar things are going on, and have been going on, for many years. On the boat coming over, I met a young Chinaman, just graduated from an American college, who told me this little story: In Shanghai, the foreign settlement is independent of the Chinese government. In the public park in that district is a notice forbidding Chinese to enter. Whites of all grades, even the scum of the earth that floats abundantly out of Europe beyond Suez, and all races except Chinese, can come in. Mr. —, a gentleman and a scholar, is shut out of a public place in his own country because it is his own country. He admits that he does not like it. Neither would I.

What would we do if England, for instance, should take possession of the North Side of Chicago, oust our courts, our police, our public officials of all grades and services, and rule as they chose over that district? Then suppose that over the entrances to Lincoln Park they should put the legend, "No American permitted to enter," what would we do? Or suppose

that east from the Capitol at Washington a space of three-quarters of a mile square should be seized by a dozen foreign nations who ruled it as part of their own land, a garrison fortified against us, yet in the center of our Capitol, what would we do? True, these rights were all secured—or at least finally conceded by treaty, but does the fact of a consent secured by show of force or by actual force make the affront less bitter?

Nor must the steady encroachment of other nations on every border of the Empire be forgotten. Japan and Russia are steadily seizing, under cover of extorted treaty rights, all manner of privileges not accorded by any treaty, in constantly widening spheres of action. So France, England, and even several minor European nations in other directions. And it must not be forgotten that England many years ago waged a war to force the Chinese to expose their people to the horrors of the use of opium. The explanation, of course, is that India is a great producer of opium and the English have used their military powers to perpetuate their profits—at the cost of the degradation of the Chinese. A meeting was held a short time since by the Anti-Opium Society,—of Chinamen,—the first public meeting, it is said, at which Chinese women have openly taken part, to ask the Government to seek the consent of the British Government to more rapid prohibition of the use of the drug. I wish I had by me a copy of the Peking Daily News, an English edition of a Chinese paper, that I might copy the words of the memorial—it was remarkable in that it was so apologetic, showed so clearly the anxiety not to offend the Briton.

Thus the Ti Ching Press Association, quoted in the Peking Daily News of Jan. 10, speaks thus: "Everybody is aware of the critical situation in Manchuria, and suggests its opening to foreign trade to save it from absorption by certain nations." But lest this should have a contrary effect, that paper suggests certain rules, among them that all foreigners must submit to Chinese jurisdiction, China promising them protection by a reformed judicature, and others designed to protect Chinese jurisdiction.

A curious note upon this question is contained in the statement by certain papers that the people of India, once disposed to look to Japan as an Asiatic power, for help against European tyrannies, noting her aggressions against China, has in turn grown suspicious of her, and her trade with India has fallen off in consequence.

The National Daily News, Jan. 13, 1911, has a long editorial, urging that if China does not make herself strong enough to resist, she must meet the fate of Korea. The powers, it says, have as to China, two policies, preservation and absorption, and preservation is merely gradual absorption. The facts that the United States returned the balance of the Indemnity Fund paid by impoverished China after the Boxer War, and that its representatives have recently intimated a willingness to abandon extra-territoriality as soon as practicable, have tended to give the Chinese a kindlier feeling toward the United States than toward other nations, though it must be said this is largely comparative and based on a very strong suspicion that the rest are bent on the partition of China, and that the United States is not tempted in that direction.

The Boxer War.

Now picture this state of resentment at past aggression by foreigners, of expectations that it would go on increasingly in the future; consider how it would operate in such a mass as I have hinted at above, and you may appreciate how the Boxer War, with its cry of "China for Chinamen!" to be accomplished by driving out or killing the foreigner, came about.

But some stories, told hereabouts, will give you some further comprehension.

The Viceroy of Shantung (Yuan Shih Kai) received from the Dowager Empress, ten years ago, during the Boxer uprising, "confidential" orders to exterminate the missionaries and other foreigners. As commander of the troops, he had decided in her favor the question of power between her and the Emperor, and was, therefore, in a position of strength approaching independence. He pretended to think that the order was not from the Empress, and sent messengers to enquire. In such ways he gained time. He knew that if there was a general slaughter of whites, the European powers would divide China. I believe there were other viceroys (one or two) who acted in concert with him. It is said that the Empress afterward recognized that he had saved the Empire and rewarded him for his disobedience. She was ready to side with the Boxers, because it was known that they had skill in magic, which protected them against the bullets of the foreign devils. Yuan Shih Kai invited some of the leading Boxers to dine with him. They bragged that no bullets could hurt them. After dinner he insisted on a practical test, putting some of them up as targets for his marksmen, who were armed with European guns. The effect on the Boxers was worse than discouraging. The Dowager also believed in the report that the Boxers could make irresistible soldiers by cutting men out of paper, putting these paper dolls in packing boxes, and taking them out and breathing life into them when the enemy drew near. When her council decided for war against the foreigners on this hope, one man protested feebly, one strongly; the one who protested strongly that the Europeans were superior in wealth, discipline and weapons was the Emperor. When his opinion was overruled, he burst into tears and left the room. He had never been outside of his palace, but he had read all the translations of European books he could find, and he had risen above the superstitions of his people and estimated fairly the strength and superiority of nations whom he had never known by any direct acquaintance. He was a great man, and Yuan Shih Kai is another.

The result of the Boxer War was a great shock. The Boxers did not prove either invulnerable or irresistible; rather their undrilled masses, with their primitive weapons, were swept like chaff before the foreigners, and a few thousand soldiers—twenty-five thousand or thereabouts, if my memory serves me—walked straight into Peking and compelled the payment of indemnity.

+ + +

W. M. E.

A land-tax, levied in proportion to the rent of land, . . . will fall wholly on the landlords.—David Ricardo.

MORE CHINESE CORRESPONDENCE.

From a Private Letter.

Tsingtau,* February 9, 1911.

Handling the Plague.

You are no doubt interested in the plague called here "lungpest."† It sure does make short work of its victims, and seems to be readily communicated. The authorities here have resorted to heroic measures to keep it from Tsingtau. The Board of Health, composed of military and naval doctors with one noted bacteriologist among them, have established regulations and have the co-operation of the army and navy in carrying them out. Tsingtau today has a military cordon all about it, the army protecting the land side, and torpedo boats looking to the sea coast. No junk or sampan is allowed to enter the harbor until quarantined ten days. All boats from the north are held up for the same time. There is but one road of ingress and one of exit from Tsingtau open, and those coming in are questioned and examined. If ailing from any cause, they are put into a detention hospital for ten days, and if in good health, and if they have not come from an infected district, their period of detention is about five days. It is practically impossible for anyone to break through this cordon. They have made great preparations to deal with the plague if it should enter, and have established a sort of pest house in the outskirts.

A Single Tax City.

Tsingtau is living and thriving, and is the jewel of the Far East, under the single tax theory and practice. One argument against the introduction of the single tax anywhere is that it would retard the building of fine houses, etc. That hasn't worked out so here, for, all things considered, the houses in Tsingtau are correspondingly finer than in any other place in China. We have a city here equal in point of comfort, municipal advantages, sanitation, etc., to anything of its size in America. This is the living, breathing example of the possibilities of reforestation or afforestation, for it abounds in growing forests, and its experimental gardens would be a delight to you. This is practically a modern, up-to-date city, and I hope you will run in on us some time and let us show you how they can run a city in China, and on the Henry George idea at that.

M. M. M.

*Tsingtau is a seaport on the coast of Shantung, China, in the German territory of Kiao-chau.

†The "pneumonic plague." See The Public of March 10, page 229.

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MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN CANADA.

Montreal, March 13, 1911.

In the account of the electric light fight at Westmount, Que., in the last issue of your very interesting paper (page 223), your correspondent makes a mistake in speaking of the "new company, the Westmount Electric Plant and Refuse Destructor Company." There is no such company; the refuse destructor and the lighting plant connected with it are both run by the City of Westmount, on the Municipal Ownership plan. I may add that when the

accounts are made up, the proper charges are made for lighting the streets and public buildings, and only the proper heat values are allowed for the refuse destroyed, so that the profits are definite and unimpeachable.

When the "inside influences" attacked the statement of the first year, which showed a profit, and which was worked under the management of the engineers, Messrs. Ross & Holgate, the engineers, to prove their good faith, offered to take over the plant and run it for five years, paying the City the sum of ten thousand dollars a year as rent. The City did not accept this offer, and the first year of the city's operations shows profits of nineteen thousand dollars, or nine thousand more than had been offered by Messrs. Ross & Holgate.

The amalgamated companies referred to by your correspondent have been beaten in Westmount, which has proved once more that municipal ownership, with the proper men in command, is a paying proposition.

H. BRAGG,

Editor The Canadian Municipal Journal.

† † †

PROTECTION FOR WHEAT.

Atlantic, Iowa, March 18.

I wonder why The American Economist * does not compare prices of wheat between Winnipeg and Fargo. One is almost due north of the other. Fargo is on a direct road to Chicago, and much nearer to it than Winnipeg. I would naturally expect the price of wheat to be lower in Winnipeg than in Fargo, but I have always found it higher. And why does not the Economist call attention to the fact that wheat at Fargo is always 10 to 12 cents lower than at Minneapolis? I know of no reason why wheat should be higher in Minneapolis than in Fargo or Winnipeg, except that Minneapolis is nearer to market, and that there are great mills located there which put the wheat in more salable shape at a lower cost than any other mills on this continent if not in the world.

HENRY HEATON.

*See The Public, this volume, page 244.

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, March 21, 1911.

Constitutional Amendments in Illinois.

The Association of Commerce of Chicago has come out in support of the Civic Federation (vol. xiii, pp. 1180, 1186; vol. xiv, pp. 121, 129) in urging priority for the tax amendment proposed by the John P. Wilson Commission of Illinois (pp. 125, 131) over the direct legislation amendment. The

executive committee of the Association of Commerce proposes with reference to the Initiative and Referendum that a commission be appointed to "report at the next session of the General Assembly its conclusions as to the nature and extent of the questions which may be safely and justly determined" by Initiative and Referendum.

†

Opposed on grounds of public honor to the action of the Association of Commerce and the Civic Federation is the City Club of Chicago, which recommends the tax amendment but urges that the amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum has the right of way over any other Constitutional amendment. Interviewed on the subject, the Civic Secretary of the City Club, George E. Hooker, said on the 19th:

After the voters of Illinois have so emphatically stated their wishes in regard to the Initiative and Referendum, no individual or clique influence should make opposition. The City Club adopted a report only last week in regard to this matter. It was not proposed then to make the report public, but now that the Chicago Association of Commerce has declared itself so unmistakably, we want it distinctly understood that the City Club does not take the same position, although we are in favor of the proposed new tax law amendments. There are two questions in this situation. One is as to whether a solemn and decisive vote of the electors of the State on a fundamental political question should be heeded or should be disregarded by the legislature, especially when a majority of its members pledged themselves in advance to abide by that vote. It does not seem to me right or expedient to treat this formal popular verdict in an irresponsible, much less a defiant, manner. Indeed, I cannot but consider it a breach of civic morals for civic bodies to try to induce the official representatives of the State to disregard that verdict and violate their pledges. I regret the powerful pressure which has been and is being brought to bear upon agencies of publicity and upon the representatives at Springfield to constrain their action on this subject. Of course, the common people are only partly aware of the ways in which this pressure is being exercised. The second question involved in the case is as to the merits of the proposed Initiative and Referendum amendment. The present effort to induce the legislature to disregard the 3 to 1 advisory vote of last November rather impresses me as a decisive argument for a mandatory Initiative and Referendum.

†

Resolutions by the Chicago Federation of Labor were adopted on the 19th, protesting against the action of the revenue committee of the House in reporting out the tax amendment in order to defeat the Initiative and Referendum. The resolutions were presented by Margaret A. Haley of the Chicago Teachers' Federation.

† †

Woman Suffrage in Illinois.

The Brown bill granting limited woman suf-

frage (pp. 206,252) when about to pass the Illinois Senate on the 16th, was recalled for second reading, on motion of Senator Beall, in order to attach to it a referendum amendment. Following is the amendment attached:

This act shall be submitted to the voters of the municipality or other political division of the State, as the case may be, in which an election is to be had for the offices as set forth in sections 1 and 2 of this act, and if consented to by a majority of the voters voting on the question then the same shall thereupon take effect.

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The Chicago Mayoralty.

An addition of 77,054 names was made on the 14th to the registered voters eligible for voting at the Chicago mayoralty election (p. 253), making at an unrevised total of 450,623, which a revision on the 20th leaves at 423,529.

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Among the labor leaders who supported Dunne at the primaries and have now declared for Merriam are John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Edward Nockels (the secretary), and John A. Metz (president of the Carpenters' District Council). Clarence S. Darrow is also announced as a supporter of Merriam.

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The Democratic organization for the support of Merriam organized formally on the 14th as the Progressive Democratic Club, with the following officers:

Chairman, J. J. Conroy, president Twenty-ninth Ward Dunne club; vice chairman, Thomas Anderson; secretary, Richard T. Knight, president Thirty-second Ward Dunne club; treasurer, Philip Angsten, former member Board of Education; executive committee: Raymond Robins, George C. Sikes, Dr. John Guerin, Joseph M. Kurtz, David Rosenheim, D. B. Pittsford, Dr. R. E. Graves and Jacob W. Richards, president of the Third Ward Dunne club.

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A challenge of the 16th by Harold Ickes, the Merriam campaign manager, to Mr. Harrison, was rejected on the 17th by Mr. Harrison's manager, Peter Reinberg. It is as follows:

In the belief that the voters of Chicago are entitled to the fullest possible information with reference to the contribution and expenditure of money for campaign purposes, I propose, at the suggestion of Ald. Charles E. Merriam, the Republican nominee for mayor, that you and he agree to submit to the auditing committee, heretofore selected by certain candidates for the Republican and Democratic nominations for mayor, all books, vouchers, and accounts bearing upon the matter of campaign contributions, expenditures, and obligations.

Mr. Ickes proposes that publication of the findings of the committee be made on the Sunday preceding election and that a further and final publica-

tion be made as soon after election as is practicable. Mr. Harrison refuses to arrange for any verified disclosure of his collections or expenditures.

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Chicago Harbor.

At a conference on the 15th between representatives of the Chicago City Council, of the Chicago Association of Commerce and of the Sanitary District, an agreement was reached for a bill to construct and operate Chicago harbors (p. 206). The city is to have power to finance, construct and operate; and if this work is not begun within a year the Sanitary District is to take it up. The following features are to be incorporated:

That the municipal operation of the harbor facilities to be constructed shall be limited to enterprises that shall not compete with legitimate private and corporate interests.

That all leases of harbor facilities for a period longer than five years shall be subject to a public referendum if 20,000 voters in the sanitary district so request.

That there shall be constant regulation of rates by the trustees of the sanitary district whether the harbor facilities are operated by the district or by a lessee corporation.

That the location of the outer harbor, with its docks and accessories, shall be subject to public referendum, and no ordinance fixing its location can become operative for ninety days after passage. During this interval if 20,000 voters of the district file a petition the question of location shall be submitted at the next election for public approval.

That the City of Chicago within one year from date may undertake to build a harbor for itself, and, in this event, by the passage of an ordinance to that effect, the sanitary district will be denied authority to proceed with its harbor plans for six months after the City Council acts.

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The Mexican Revolution.

The Mexican minister of finance, José Yves Limantour, who had been in New York in conference with Mr. de la Barra, Mexican ambassador to the United States, with Mr. Dickinson, United States minister of war, and with representatives of the revolutionary Junta, left New York on the 15th for the City of Mexico, bearing, it has been assumed, propositions for peace and a program of reforms. He reached his destination on the 20th, and entered immediately into conference with President Diaz. In the meantime a report from the City of Mexico, of the 15th, had stated that—

The application of Finance Minister Limantour's suggestion for a division and sale of large estates for the benefit of the people is hinted at in a reply made by President Diaz to a committee from Metz-titan, in the State of Hidalgo, who protested that their property had been seized by an irrigation company. President Diaz is said to have given assurance that after the cessation of the revolution the government had planned to purchase and parcel

among the people at a low price the big estates throughout the Republic.

The *insurrectos* in the field, according to a dispatch of the 16th from El Paso, assert that before any proposals for a termination of the Mexican insurrection will be entered into by the *insurrectos*, Diaz must agree to declare null his election of 1910, and must agree to submit to a new election under the terms for a free ballot allowed by the Constitution of 1857. He must agree to grant all the political reforms demanded. The *insurrectos* must not be required to surrender their arms until peace is assured. Francisco I. Madero, as provisional President of the revolutionary government, and Abraham Gonzales as provisional secretary of state, have issued a decree through their confidential agency at Washington guaranteeing protection to the lives and interests of all foreigners now resident in Mexico.

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The fighting of battles and the beleaguering of cities has continued during the week.

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An Appeal From the Mexican Liberals.

An open letter to Samuel Gompers, as president of the American Federation of Labor, was given out on the 11th from the headquarters of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal party at Los Angeles, in which the party, appealing in behalf of "a cause as just and holy as ever history recorded," says:

It is time that the workingmen of the United States speak out, and it is for you to give the word, promptly and decisively. The slavery against which we are fighting is the slavery your American Federation of Labor was organized to fight. The chains that the money power has fastened on us are the chains against which you fret. Our cause is your cause, but yours in its extremest, most pitiable and, therefore, most irresistible form.

We are in revolt against unspeakably atrocious slavery, forced on us and supported by the American money power. The Standard Oil Co., the Guggenheims, the Southern Pacific Railway, the Sugar Trust—all that Wall Street autocracy against which you and the great masses of your nation are making such vigorous protest—are the powers against which we of Mexico are in revolt. They have dispossessed us of our lands and rendered us homeless by the hundreds of thousands; they have left us the choice of exile or imprisonment in such hells as the Valle National. To support this Wall Street Inferno American soldiers are being called to arms. Already by the tens of thousands they are being sent to our borders, that they may aid in stamping out the last spark of that freedom which is supposed to be the basis of your Republic.

It is time for effective protest, and it is you who can make it most effectively. The issue is clear, unmistakable, beyond evasion. We repeat that our cause is your cause, and we call on you to give it voice—promptly, clearly and decisively.

The appeal is signed in behalf of the Junta by Richard Flores Magon.

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The British Move for Peace.

At a meeting of the progressive members of the British House of Commons, irrespective of party, held on the 15th, resolutions approving Sir Edward Grey's plea for the abolition of war (p. 250) were adopted.

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Russia and China.

Professor Paul Milukoff (vol. x, p. 1091), leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the Russian Douma (vol. xiii, p. 1189), in a brilliant speech in the Douma on the 15th, attacked the ministry for their lack of diplomacy and stability in the management of the foreign relations of Russia. He criticized especially the "jumps" of Russia's attitude toward China (p. 251). The government, he declared, should have avoided the sudden, excessive and insistent demand. China was no longer a mere ethnographic mass, and the Russian attitude toward the new China should be marked with good will and not by haughtiness.

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China's reply to the Russian ultimatum dealing with the treaty of 1881, reported last week (p. 251), was received at St. Petersburg on the 20th. The dispatches state that the reply complies with the demands for the opening of consulates and the establishment of free trade in certain districts, but leaves the limitation of monopolies as a subject for future negotiations. The response is said to be considered on the whole as satisfactory to Russia.

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Russia Changes Her Premier.

Peter A. Stolypin (vol. ix, p. 511; vol. xiii, p. 445), Premier of Russia and minister of the interior, resigned on the 20th. His action is reported as being due to the rejection by the Council of the Empire (the upper house of the Russian parliament) of the Zemstvo bill for self-government in the nine western provinces of Russia. V. N. Kokovsoff, minister of finance in Mr. Stolypin's cabinet, is to be the new Premier.

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College Debates on the Single Tax.

Details of the annual triangular debates (p. 255) between Brown University at Providence (R. I.) and Williams and Dartmouth Colleges at Williamstown (Mass.) and Hanover (N. H.), respectively, which came off on the 2nd and had the single tax for the subject of debate, are now available. The subject was formulated as follows:

Resolved, that in American municipalities a tax on the rental value of land (exclusive of improve-

ments) should be substituted for the general property tax.

It was agreed that the term "municipalities" be restricted in meaning to denote only cities whose population is 25,000 or more, and that all considerations of Constitutionality be waived. Each college was represented by two teams, the home team upholding the affirmative in each case. The question had been selected and framed by Prof. Harvey N. Davis of the physics department of Harvard, a graduate of Brown and a staunch supporter of the single tax.

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At Providence, the affirmative team from Brown University was opposed by the negative team from Dartmouth, and won the debate by the decision of the following judges: Rev. A. P. Fitch, president of Andover Theological Seminary; Prof. A. W. Scott, of the Harvard University Law School; and S. R. Wrightington, of Boston. The debaters were:

Affirmative: P. H. Hood of Fall River, J. Semonof of Providence and A. F. Newell of Boston, with R. C. Dexter of Dorchester as alternate.

Negative: R. B. Barnhardt of Hanover (N. H.), D. B. O'Connor of Taunton and G. M. Morris of Chicago, with H. G. Mosier of Dayton (Ohio) as alternate.

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At Hanover, the affirmative team from Dartmouth was opposed by the negative team from Williams, and won the debate by the decision of the following judges: Charles Dickson, of New York, Prof. J. A. Winans, of Cornell University, and Dr. Charles M. Merriam, of Greenfield (Mass.). The debaters were:

Affirmative: A. K. Lowell of Reading (Mass), K. F. Clark of Brooklyn and C. E. Snow of Rochester (N. H.), with P. E. Martin of Deadwood (S. D.) as alternate.

Negative: W. C. Wright of Brooklyn, F. M. Fallon of Williamstown and R. D. Forbes of New London, with J. B. Angevene of Highland (N. Y.) as alternate.

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At Williamstown the affirmative team from Williams was opposed by the negative team from Brown, and won the debate by the decision of the following judges: Judge A. P. Stone, of Boston; Prof. F. M. Burdick, of Columbia Law School, and Prof. T. N. Carver, of Harvard University. The debaters were:

Affirmative: James Garfield of Williamstown, Allan M. Schauler of Highland Park (Ill.) and Albert P. Mills of Pittsfield, with Frank P. Rand of Worcester as alternate.

Negative: Daniel G. Donovan of Providence, Warren R. Burgess of Providence and Ira L. Letts of Moravia (N. Y.), with John K. Starkweather of Denver as alternate.

NEWS NOTES

—Carl M. Koedt will address the Chicago Single Tax Club, 508 Schiller Bldg., the evening of the 24th, on "The Beginnings of the Single Tax."

—The grand jury at Danville, in Speaker Cannon's district (p. 107), adjourned on the 14th, after presenting 14 vote-fraud indictments. No "men higher up" were indicted.

—Newspaper dispatches of the 18th and 19th from Cleveland reported a crisis in Tom L. Johnson's physical condition, but later reports indicate a favorable reaction (vol. xiii, p. 1072; vol. xiv, p. 202).

—At a banquet in honor of William Jennings Bryan's 51st birthday, at Lincoln on the 20th, there were from 1,200 to 1,500 guests, among them being Champ Clark, Senator Owen, Senator Kern and Senator Hitchcock.

—George E. Bowen, a frequent and always welcome contributor to the columns of *The Public*, has been nominated for Commissioner of Elgin at the first primary under the Illinois law for the Commission form of Government (p. 85) recently adopted in that city. His platform is "the dethronement of the city Boss," and "the people first, their officials second."

—The Commission government of Spokane (p. 251), organized on the 14th by choosing William J. Hindley for mayor, Robert Fairley for commissioner of finance, Zora L. Hayden for commissioner of public safety, Charles M. Fassett for commissioner of public utilities, and David Coates for commissioner of public works. The mayor is a single taxer and the commissioner of public works is a socialist.

—Cambridge, the seat of Harvard University, has passed completely over to Democratic control for the first time in its history. At the municipal election on the 18th the Democrats elected their candidate for Mayor, also the principal assessor, the entire eleven members of the Board of Aldermen, and 12 out of 22 members of the Common Council. J. Edward Barry was elected Mayor by a plurality of 740.

—Governor Johnson, of California, has signed an act of the legislature to go into effect May 13, 1911, which provides that any elective municipal officer in the State can be recalled four months after taking office, if 25 per cent of the voters sign the recall petition, and a majority of the voters vote against him at the recall election. It also provides that municipal legislation can be referred or initiated by a petition of 10 per cent of the registered voters.

—Indictments were found in the Federal Court at Chicago, on the 16th against nine men for conspiracy to obtain title by fraud to 10,000 acres of national coal lands in the heart of the Manuska district, Alaska. They are George M. Seward, receiver for A. C. Frost & Co., Pierre G. Beach, former secretary of the Alaska Central Railroad, former secretary of the Chicago and Milwaukee Electric Company, and at present secretary and treasurer of the A. C. Frost Company; Frank Watson, of Spokane, Wash., who is alleged to have aided "dummy" entrymen in ob-

taining patents to coal claims; George A. Ball, of Muncie, Ind., a financial backer of Frost; Duncan M. Stewart, of Seward, Alaska, former manager of the Southern Bank of Toronto, Canada; Henry C. Osborne, Toronto, Canada, banker and broker; Gwyn L. Francis, Toronto, banker and broker; Francis H. Stewart, Toronto, Canada, who, with Osborne and Francis, are said to have been interested financially in the Frost Alaska enterprises.

right and wrong are appearing, and there is no cutting cross-lots. A new era is dawning. Hail, happy day!

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Where is This Thing Going to Stop?

Puck (humor.), February 22.—It makes us question our ears when a Republican President speaks of "a useless, illogical, and unnecessary tariff wall."

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Direct Legislation.

The American Federationist (Labor), March.—The choice of the initiative and referendum as the direct means of ascertaining what the people may really want and as an agency for reaching reforms, whether called radical or otherwise, which are necessary to establish equality in political power and justice in the field of economics, was a deliberate one on the part of trade union representatives.

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That Contagious Commission Plan.

(J. R. Hornaday in) Uncle Remus's Home Magazine (Atlanta, Ga.) March.—The commission form of government, as it relates to municipalities, was instituted in Galveston, Texas, less than ten years ago. Today, in one form or another, it constitutes the scheme of government under which the people of more than seventy municipalities are living. . . . It has spread all over Texas; is being adopted by town after town in Oklahoma, has made great inroads through the west and northwest; is spreading over the South Atlantic States, and is forcing its way into old and conservative communities in the East. Its progress in the South has been phenomenal. Memphis, the largest Southern city to depart from the aldermanic plan, adopted the new form of government the first of the past year, and Columbia, S. C., adopted it only a few months ago. The citizens of Birmingham voted in favor of it by a majority of eight to one in June, and it is being agitated in Mobile. In an election held September 19, the citizens of Montgomery, Ala., declared in favor of the Commission Plan by a majority of five to one. Asheville, N. C., Chattanooga, Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn., and Pensacola, Fla., are drifting toward it very rapidly, and it is being discussed in a tentative way in Richmond. Baltimore is also the scene of agitation along this line, and it is beginning to attract the attention of graft-ridden Pittsburg. It is rapidly attaining the proportions of a national revolution against gang rule and one cannot follow its remarkable history without reaching the conclusion that the gang is doomed. Behind this movement is a righteous demand for honesty and efficiency in the management of the business of the people. Where it will end no man can foresee. Even now its influence is being felt beyond the confines of the municipality, as shown by the growing demand in some States for the initiative, the referendum and the recall. It is clear that the demand for better government and for the exercise of larger powers by the people is not to end with the smaller political unit, nor is the war on the "boss" to close when his power is broken in the city.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Program of Democracy.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), Mar. 18.—Madero's whole purpose evidently is to prevent Mexico's becoming a monarchy, for the first of his demands is that the re-election of the President be abolished. He would not extend from one term to another the power of any man who gets into office, nor would he give any man the power to re-elect himself an indefinite number of times. That the people elect the governors of States and the mayors of cities, instead of leaving those offices to be filled by an appointive system whose active head is the President, comes next in the platform of this man who insists on a democracy. With the abolition of the appointive system he demands also a free ballot, so that the people may have liberty to exercise the right of election he would obtain for them. And not in the matter of ballots alone does Madero insist all Mexicans shall be alike, for he would have the huge plantations, which run into millions of acres, cut up and sold in as small lots as might be demanded, and to the rights of voting and owning land he would add that of education, for which he speaks by his insistence that the school system be extended. These are the things for which the leader of the insurrectos says he is fighting. If he were to win them he would not thereby upset Mexico.

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The "Indispensable" Bailey.

Peoria (Ill.) Star (ind.), March 9.—In all his public career Bailey has been the reliable servant of the special interests. He has defended political corruption and the consequent usurpation of place and power, in line with the interests' "people be damned" policy. . . . Bailey's rage, in which he hissed in the Senate like a rattlesnake, striking his Senatorial fangs into his own official flesh when carried off his feet by the ground swell of the rapidly rising tide in favor of popular government, will become historic as marking the coming of the new and glorious order of things yet to be.

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Emporia (Kan.) Weekly Gazette (pro. Rep.), March 9.—A man like Bailey is bound to move on. He belongs to the freebooting days of our politics—to the days when a statesman was his own master: when he owed allegiance only to the great forces of commerce that elected him; when a politician regarded his constituents as his prey and his home State as a foraging ground. But the ranges are closing. Civilization is closing in. The section lines of

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE DESERT.

Gertrude King in *Appleton's Magazine*.*

I am the pure proud land that hath hearkened to no man's wooing;
I am the virgin land vowed sole to the service of God;
The silence that broods on my hills is my answer to human suing,
And there is the peace on my plains that marks where the Lord hath trod.

I and my sister the Sea, we fret at your insolent creeping;
She decks with a light foam wreath the place of a strong man's rest,
And the dry skull, bleached to silver, where the sated wolf is sleeping,
Is a trivial gaud scarce worthy to lie on my proud white breast.

Love you your fat, green valleys, the riches of man's long labor?
Love you the foulness of cities, dark with the ages' grime?
Find you your gladness warm in the smile and the grasp of your neighbor?
Bide you there with your kin, the plaything of men and of time.

But when kisses have cooled on your lips and your eyes have grown weary of weeping,
When your pitiful loves slink down to the clasp of the eager earth,
Come you and taste of the peace that the guard of my hills is keeping,
Come and learn you the sweetness of silence, the mother of God's own mirth.

He is throned on my crimson hills in a purple meet for His passion;
The hot bright flame of His patience plays over the leper-white plains.
The wonderful sun is His herald, and speaks Him in kingly fashion,
And the golden splendor of midnight is the veil that His glory deigns.

Leave you the joys of green valleys to faint hearts that wait on their sating.
Here in the sweet fresh air the soul is cleansed from its fears—
Can you bargain with Age the Despoiler—will Time not grow weary of waiting?
But here in the Desert is God, the End and the Crown of the years.

*Reprinted in *The Public* of November 16, 1907, and again reprinted in this *Public* by request.

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The liar's punishment is not in the least that he's not believed, but that he cannot believe anyone else.
—George Bernard Shaw.

COMMISSION GOVERNMENT FOR SPRINGFIELD.

One of the large cities of Illinois to adopt the commission form of government is Springfield (p. 227), the capital of the State, where a Mayor and four Commissioners are to be elected. At the primary on the 28th of February the present Mayor, John S. Schnepf, was nominated by 4,412 votes. His election is contested by Roy M. Seeley, whose vote at the primary came next to Mayor Schnepf's, although it was only 2,813. Mr. Schnepf is a good citizen and has made a good Mayor. The difference in merit between him and his opponent is fairly indicated by their respective votes at the primary—about as 4,412 is to 2,813.

Of the 8 primary candidates for the four Commissionerships, two are men whose personality is of special interest to most readers of *The Public*. They are Willis J. Spaulding and Joseph Farris.



Willis J. Spaulding

is one of that group of progressives in Springfield of which Frank H. Bode and George E. Loe, both of whom are related to him by marriage, are notable members. As superintendent of the Springfield water works in the administration of Mayor Schnepf, Mr. Spaulding has made an excellent record.

He came under the influence of Henry George's teachings as a youth, in consequence of which he has made it the underlying purpose of his life to help destroy privilege and establish democracy by the method which Henry George taught. He was nominated for Commissioner by 1,725 votes, which gave him third place in a primary contest in which 105 candidates were voted for.



Joseph Farris

is the other of the two candidates whose personality especially interests our readers. He was nominated by the eighth largest vote in the same contest. Mr. Farris is now alderman from the second ward—"the little giant from the Second," they call him.

His first experience in politics was as Labor candidate for Mayor of Springfield about 20 years ago, when he polled 700 votes. At that time he was active in the Knights of Labor, and was a national organizer for the moulders' union. He began working in a foundry when 13 years of age, and is now the owner of a foundry in Springfield. He served as a labor appointee in Governor Altgeld's administration; but even before that he had become, as he has ever since remained, a devoted disciple of Henry George, which brought him into co-operation with Bode, Lee, and the rest of the indefatigable "Spaulding group."

Five years ago, when Bode was elected alderman (vol. ix, p. 7), an office in which he distinguished himself in Springfield as a courageous progressive leader, Farris, running as a Democrat in a Republican ward, was defeated by only 50 votes; but two years later he was elected from the same ward by 63 majority (vol. xi, p. 54), and a year ago, after two years of aldermanic service, he was re-elected (vol. xiii, p. 377) by 200 majority.

Born October 22, 1862, Mr. Farris is only eight

years older than Mr. Spaulding, who was born November 21, 1870; and their civic work in Springfield, along with the others of their growing progressive group, has been co-operative and untiring. They nearly elected Bode Mayor (vol. x, p. 8) as an independent candidate in 1907. With all the ability and industry of your politician for personal ends, they are single minded for the promotion of public interests. The principal political policy for which they have stood is public ownership of public utilities.

Besides Spaulding and Farris, there are three out of the eight nominees who may be voted for with confidence in their civic honesty and courage. These are George E. Coe, Frank L. Hatch and H. B. Davidson. Any two of them, with Spaulding and Farris as fellow Commissioners and Schnepf as Mayor, would give Springfield an exemplary commission government.

* * *

HAVE PATIENCE, BROTHER.

For The Public.

An editor of a western Socialist paper notes that there is nearly a billion dollars worth of gold coin locked up in the United States Treasury, and wants to know what good it does.

We can partly enlighten him. While admitting as absurd the possibility that some day all the people will take a sudden notion to demand gold for their greenbacks, yet we must not overlook the recent vast concentration of wealth.

In but a very few more years, Morgan will have all the greenbacks. What better psychological moment than that for him to decide to have the finest mansion that was ever built. What could be finer than a mansion of solid gold with solid gold fences and other things to match. He could take his greenbacks and get the gold, because he would have use for it.

There may be some radicals who would oppose such a conclusion as cataclysmic. For them we offer a few alternative suggestions. Why not put our navy on a gold basis. What a field for new experiments would thus be opened up. We could build gold battleships and try the effect on them of gold bullets fired by sailors in solid gold braid. We could fortify the Panama Canal with gold bricks. We could pass a law providing that hereafter all red tape should be yellow. We could cease the outworn practice of whitewashing our Senators and other political disgraces, and gild them instead. In times of financial stress, we would establish a free gold line for needy millionaires. In times of famine, we could call on the resourceful Burbank to convert this gold into food.

Let not thy heart be troubled. While there is gold there is hope.

BOOKS

AN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE.

What Diantha Did. By Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Charlton Company, New York. Price \$1.00.

She did not write poetry nor book reviews, but struck at once to the center of human needs where she was certain to find a market for her services. Against the protests of her family and the reproaches of her lover, bound by a small business to the support of his lady mother and his four idle grown-up sisters, the resolute Diantha, with a concealed lee in her bonnet, goes to a nearby California city of tourists and enters domestic service.

After six months' satisfactory experience she undertakes the office of housekeeper with a staff of servants to control, thereby acquiring a degree of training which enables her, with the aid of her wealthy employer, to put into modest execution her scheme of service on an extended scale. She opens the Union House, where delectable lunches are served, and where girls are trained for household duties at a price by the day or hour, which would permit them to "keep" themselves, and, in association, to found a self-supporting club with home environments where they could socially gather when their work was faithfully done.

From this success Diantha, still with the support of her enthusiastic patrons, takes a higher step and begins to send out perfectly prepared course meals in asbestos-lined compartments of aluminum cases, holding everything essential and desirable for a hot, well-served dinner.

Still under the auspices of the friend who has money to burn, Diantha's business is promoted to a lovely hotel built on one of the largest blocks in town surrounded by numerous cottages embowered in live oaks and towering eucalyptus trees, and all enclosed by a rose-grey wall of concrete with green boughs and sweet odors floating over it.

By this time all of Diantha's protesting friends are won over to admiration of her success. Even the disapproving though faithful lover is beseeching her to share the coveted good fortune which, by the way, has come to him through the unconscious influence of Diantha herself. He loves her, will marry her at once; but she must give up her work. She loves him devotedly, is ready to marry him, but she will *not* give up her work. "He flings away from her in despair." For Ross Warden appears to be much like his own guinea pigs, upon a group of which he is experimenting to ascertain the scientific certainty of an acquired heredity. It seems probable that several generations of him may be required to eradicate his ancient prejudices and fetch him up to Diantha's

modern pace, but love wins the race at last. The "Center of Housekeeping" goes on in triumph at the "Hotel del las Casas," and the guinea pig experiment brings world-wide fame to Ross Warden.

But "What Diantha Did" is less a novel than a text book in the business of home supplies. It is a sort of Alladdin's lamp to the ambitious seeker of undeveloped industries. With its mathematical accuracy, its carefully compiled tables of profit and loss, it might serve as a key to success with a woman of genius like Diantha, who understands perfectly the art of cooking and the satisfying order of home keeping.

A. L. M.

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INDIVIDUAL INFLUENCE.

Each for All and All for Each. By John Parsons. Published by Sturges & Walton Co., New York. 1909. Price, \$1.50 net.

"The purpose of the present volume," as the introduction states, "is to enforce and illustrate the importance of the individual in the social order. It makes no claim to a position among scientific treatises of sociology." Individual initiative is what moves society, and a man's influence is exerted in six ways, explains the author: by "Dif-fusion, Succession, Divergence, Convergence, Germination and Correlation." His degree of influence depends on his religious, economic and physical situation.

When an author heads and subheads and be-heads his subject so thoroughly as does Mr. Parsons, one wishes he would go a bit further and add to his Anatomy of Influence the fascinating tables of the old-fashioned Burton.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

✦ ✦ ✦

MEMORIES OF CALIFORNIA— 1849 TO 1910.

Lights and Shadows of Life on the Pacific Coast. By S. D. Woods. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York and London. 1910. Price, \$1.20 net.

Gossip, though absorbing to an old neighbor, is often dull to the stranger. Mr. Woods' reminiscences, crowded with the names and praises of men of old California, are evidently addressed to his own generation in the West. His younger eastern reader must feel left out of a very brilliant and buoyant world.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Purchasing Power of Money. By Irving Fisher, assisted by Harry G. Brown. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$3.00 net.

—**Democracy and the Overman.** By Charles Zueblin. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1910. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**The Social Basis of Religion.** By Simon N. Patten. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.25 net.

—**The Common Sense of Socialism.** By John Spargo. Seventh Edition. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, \$1.00.

—**A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.** By Karl Marx. Translated by N. I. Stone. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, \$1.00.

—**The Earning Power of the Railroads.** 1911. Compiled and Edited by Floyd W. Mundy of James H. Oliphant & Co. Moody's Magazine Book Department, Sales Agent, 35 Nassau St., New York. Price, cloth, \$2.50; postage, 12 cents.

PAMPHLETS

Land Values in the British Commons.

Persons interested in the pros and cons of the question of land value taxation, will find interesting debates on the subject in volume 21, Nos. 7 and 8, of Parliamentary Debates, to be had for 3-pence each (plus postage) of Wyman and Sons, Fetter Lane, E. C., and 32 Abingdon st., S. W., London. The numbers are separate pamphlets, bearing date February 13 and 14, 1911, respectively. The debate on land value taxation extends from page 701 to page 819 in No. 7, and from page 894 to page 1006 in No. 8.

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The Fels Fund Report.

Messrs. Baker, Bucklin, Eggleston, Fels, Garvin, George, Johnson, Kiefer, Miller, Post, Ralston, Steffens, U'Ren, White and sixty others met last November in New York and talked over the past and future work of the Fels Fund Commission (vol. xiii, pp. 1110, 1113, 1145). The report of that conference is now being distributed by Mr. Kiefer (230 Walnut St., Cincinnati, O.), and whoever fails to read it, loses a breath of life—a breezy breath of energetic life. An appendix contains a statement of The Public Sustention Fund and of The Business of the Public for 1910, with a comparative table of circulation showing The Public's increase in 1910.

A. L. G.

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School Gardens.

The Willard farm school, a large vegetable garden cultivated by public school children, was one of Cleveland's civic enterprises last year. The Board of Education furnished land and tools; the Home Gardening Association bore the expense of expert supervision. Fifty-six boy and girl volunteers from the sixth and seventh grades each cultivated a plot 20 by 40 feet, and did with the produce as he pleased. The results, described by Starr Cadwallader in the Eleventh Annual Report of the Home Gardening Association, are amazing—so many good vegetables, so much faithful work and proud enthusiasm,

and three times more children asking gardens for this summer.

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

As to Bernard Shaw.

It is most refreshing to read an article so clear and straight-forward as that on Bernard Shaw in the March Forum. The writer, Temple Scott, tells in a plain and most interesting way the truth about Shaw as he sees it, and perhaps it is the way all will see it some day. Mr. Chesterton told an important fact about Shaw when he said that Shaw would not name as white the grapes which are pale green. "Why," asks Mr. Scott, "is Shaw unconventional and unorthodox? He is unconventional and unorthodox because he is a man of virtue, because existing conventions, institutions and dogmas no longer permit men and women to be virtuous." Shaw brushes aside the convention and proclaims the truth. He is intensely, almost painfully, dead-in-earnest.

J. H. D.

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A Spanish Radical Paper.

I have just received a copy of El Pueblo, dated January 25, a weekly radical paper published in Sevilla, Spain, containing a review, signed "William," of Mr. Antonio Albendin's address to the "Centro Republicano" of Instruction on January 12. The writer gives some light on the activities of Mr. Albendin along the line of reform work. From this and other sources I learn that he is a more or less regular contributor to The Public, The Single Tax Review, Land Values, and the Madrid Herald; that he translates into Spanish the works of Henry George, and is organizing a Spanish Single Tax league. I have a copy of his appeal to his countrymen to join this league, stating that in the march to knowledge Spain lags behind all other civilized countries of the world; and that while economic ignorance is universal, that nation presents its evils in the most exaggerated form. The dire poverty of the working class, the rapid disappearance of the middle class, the abandonment of the fields, the concentration of the people in the cities where they are forced to struggle and starve; opposed to this the opulence and barbarous splendor of those "who reap but do not sow;"—this condition foment class hatred and threatens bloody revolution. But Mr. Albendin points to "Progress and Poverty" as showing a way out of these troubles. He mentions the successful work of the English League for the taxation of land values, and implores his countrymen to form a like organization. Then follows an addendum giving quotations from "Social Problems," and extracts from the petition sent to the national House of Representatives by the single taxers of the United States, in 1892.

C. L. LOGAN.

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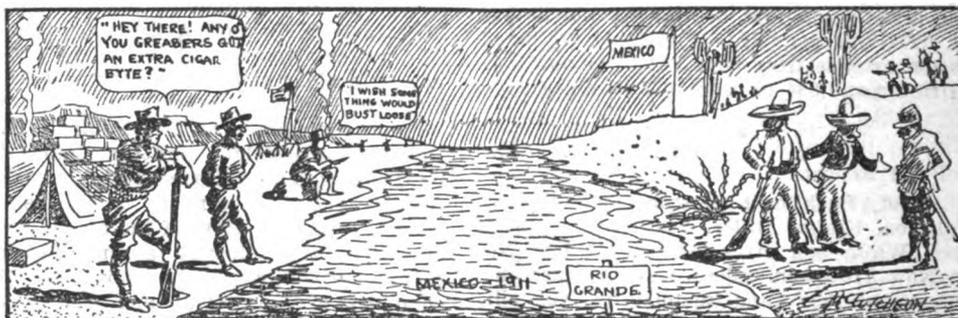
Of course there are two sides to the question. Let us look at the other. We often hear "shopgirls" spoken of. No such persons exist. There are girls



One good way is to send a warship into an unfriendly port.



Another unfailing way is to allow two armed bodies of scrappy soldiers to come together.



7

(John T. McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune of March 16. Reproduced here by especial permission of the Tribune.)

who work in shops. They make their living that way. But why turn their occupation into an adjective? Let us be fair. We do not refer to the girls who live on Fifth avenue as "marriage girls."
—O. Henry.

+ + +

Boy: "Have you got 'Flat Fin Flannery, the Life Saver of Lobster Beach?'"

Librarian: "Oh, dear, no. The Carnegie libraries do not have books about such people."

Boy: "That's funny. Carnegie gives hero medals to such people."—Cleveland Press.

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It was Senator Burton of Ohio who told this one: "Speaking of railroads," he said, "the ultimate word, in my experience, was a 'limited' on which I

traveled in Georgia last summer. At a point where we were making our greatest speed a man stood at the side of the track with a moving picture machine. I leaned out of the window and called to him, 'How are you getting on?'"

"He stopped turning the crank, and spoke with an expression of deep disgust.

"'It don't seem to be no use,' he said. 'Hold your head still, please, I want to get a time exposure.'"
—Everybody's.

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"One curious thing about Borus is that when he tries to make a speech he talks himself out in about two minutes."

"That's some relief, anyhow."

"Not a bit. He keeps right on talking."—Chicago Tribune.

The Public

The Public is a weekly review, giving in concise and plain terms, with full 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 consequence, 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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MEMORIAL

of the

Testimonial Dinner

to

TOM L. JOHNSON

in New York, May 30, 1910.

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

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

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We make a specialty of Single Tax and Reform Literature.

"The Public" is standard. It is an ideal paper in its line. The just and moral, not to say religious, tone all through its pages is something that raises it far above the average newspaper of our times. And as to its teachings on social and political questions, it is spreading the light in dark places as no other paper on this continent. With best wishes for your continued success, I am,

Yours truly,

Nucla, Colo., March 11, '11.

GUNNAR NAUMANN

Spreading the Gospel

Bergquist blew into the office the other day—he has a breezy way about him and is one of the growing army of Public pluggers—and said:

“Say, Mr. S., one thing I haven’t seen in this dope that you hand us out every week. I give my copy of *THE PUBLIC* away every week, but I would also like to keep it for filing. Why don’t you let a man have three subscriptions for two dollars for his own use, as well as for three new subscribers? He could then give away two copies each week and keep one for filing.”

I told Bergquist “Bully for you.” That’s a good suggestion—if you want to do missionary work in that way—quite a number are doing it already—you can have three copies sent to your address for two dollars.

It’s one way of spreading the gospel—especially if you put in a good word while you pass the copies along.

EMIL SCHMIED, Mgr.

A Ground Floor Chance

I want about \$3,000 additional capital to plant and develop a 400 acre apple orchard in Twin Falls, Idaho. I have title to land and nearly enough cash. This proposition will return to us all the money invested within three years, with exceptionally large profit, and with absolutely no risk. Write or call at once for full particulars.

T. GEO. HISLOP
Stock Exchange Bldg., CHICAGO, ILL.

Are you reading Lincoln Steffens’ “It” in Everybody’s?

If so, you want to read as a hand-book to Wall Street, Frederic C. Howe’s “Confessions of a Monopolist,” for Dr. Howe tells you just how the monopolist gets to be a monopolist, and just how his monopoly power grows, and fattens, and devours.

The Confessions of a Monopolist by **Frederic C. Howe**

Here is what William Marion Reedy said of this book in his “Mirror”:

“If you want to catch on to the ‘great game’ of getting rich quick and easy; if you would know the secret of getting things for nothing and having a whole community work for you without pay; if you want to catch the real esoteric inwardness of city politics and ascertain how to boss the bosses, read ‘The Confessions of a Monopolist,’ by Frederic C. Howe. Here are the very guts of success laid bare. . . Mr. Howe does a round unvarnished tale deliver, with no maudlin love motive, no long arm of coincidence, no climaxes. His book is the deadliest text book of practical politics that ever was printed. It is the story of the men of affairs in your own city, ward and precinct, of the successes who simply rob the community by taking toll of its life, its increase, its activities. It murders the fiction that the people govern themselves, for it deals with things that you see, but do not heed, going on around you every day. . . Anyone can understand it. No one can refute it. It should open men’s minds to the infamy of the methods of privilege, with startling light. It is the world of graft in microcosm.”

This clothbound book was at first sold at a dollar. To close out the edition we are now offering it at 65 CENTS. This price includes postage.

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