

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

National Elections.

Isn't it unpleasantly significant to democratic minds, that a highly important Constitutional change must be governed, not by considerations of democratic government, but by the conveniences of aristocratic pageantry? Highly desirable as is the democratic necessity for bringing national elections and the beginning of new official terms closer together, pleasant weather for inaugurations is treated as the controlling factor in the change. Early November is unquestionably a better time than early April for Presidential elections, and the summer and early fall for campaigns than the winter and early spring. Unquestionably also Presidents and Congressmen should come into office immediately after election instead of four months after for Presidents, and from four to thirteen months for Congressmen. What, then, ought the change to be? Manifestly one that would leave the election date where it is, and make official terms begin with December or January. But the weather is likely to be bad in December and January, to the great disturbance of the laminated aristocracies of Washington life; wherefore, elections must be dragged over into the spring, and campaigns be thrust upon the people in the slush and snow and ice and mud of midwinter and March. Nevertheless, if must be, must. Let us bring the elections and the beginning of official terms closer together, even if in order to do so we have to provide good weather for inaugural pageants at the

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expense of having to endure bad weather for elections.

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"Representative" Government.

Are the people of Ohio still in doubt about the Initiative and Referendum? Are they still willing to give weight to the objections of lobbyists who live by influencing legislators, and to the interests that lobbyists serve? Hasn't the grand jury at Columbus made them realize that representative government without the Initiative and Referendum does not represent the people?

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For People's Power.

It is agreeably significant that at a citizens' meeting at Cincinnati last week, called to consider the legislative bribery, all the speakers emphasized the necessity for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall. These speakers included John Fry, editor of the Iron Molders' Journal, Jerome B. Howard, manager of the Phonographic Institute, Herbert S. Bigelow and J. Chandler Harper. Mr. Howard countered briskly on the warnings of obsolescent politicians that People's Power would subject us to "gusts of popular passion." The real danger to democracy, he argued, is not from popular passion but from popular lassitude; and, reminding the people of Cincinnati of judges going to a boss, hats in hand, for instructions, he said that in such cases "gusts of popular passion" would have their value.

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One of the Tricks.

An exposure of another of the slick Big Business tricks is made in a recent Collier's by Jerome G. Beatty. The trick was attempted in New Hampshire, and its exposure is almost a liberal education in Big Business politics. "When the tax bill passed," writes Mr. Beatty, "Governor Bass's secretary rushed to him with the news. The bill was one of the most important progressive measures, but he didn't turn flip-flops of joy as the secretary expected. He asked to see the amendments. They were brought to him. 'There's a joker in here somewhere,' he said. 'The Senate wouldn't have passed it so readily if there wasn't.' Governor Bass called in his friends, and they stayed up most of the night looking for the laugh. They found it. In the original bill, section 11 read that every utility company should be taxed on 'the actual value of its property and estate.' An unimportant amendment had been added to section 11, and in adding it 'and estate' had been dropped. To the ordinary ob-

server that looked to be a most laudable attempt to eliminate unnecessary legal verbiage. But Louis E. Wyman, an attorney, dug into the Supreme Court decisions and found that the court had once decided that *franchises* were not property, but that they were part of the estate. When the trick was exposed there was a panic in the State House."

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Defeat of Direct Legislation in Illinois.

Only nine votes were lacking in the lower House of the Illinois Legislature to submit the direct legislation amendment to the people of this State for their approval or rejection. If this particular nine had voted right, however, very likely another nine would have "played the goat" in their place. Coaxed on or whipped on by Big Business, the standpat Republicans and the reactionary Democrats were determined to defeat submission of the measure to the people, notwithstanding the platform pledges of both parties, and notwithstanding the popular vote of 447,908 in its favor last fall to only 128,398 against it.

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It is evident that those House members who voted against submission, or were silent or absent, and gave as their reason that a *majority* of the people had not voted for the amendment last fall, were guilty of bad faith. The proposition before the House was not adoption of the Initiative and Referendum; it was only whether the question of its adoption should be submitted to the people. Must a majority of all the voters ask for such submissions before "representatives", bound to it by party pledges, are politically obliged to vote for submission—for bare submission? No honest man who believes in Lincoln's doctrine of government by the people can say so.

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How many voters, then, must ask for submission of an amendment before a party pledge for the amendment becomes binding upon their "representatives"? In this instance the popular vote asking for submission, 447,908, was not only three times the vote against submission, but it was 71 per cent. of the vote of two years before, which gave the electoral vote of Illinois to Taft for President. Isn't 71 per cent. of a deciding vote for President enough to oblige a representative, if he is a representative, to submit a proposed amendment to the people? The excuse of those "representatives" is a transparent subterfuge, and every one of them should be marked for defeat at the next election—not only those who had the treacherous courage to

vote against submission, but also those whose cowardice prompted them to pass their vote or stay away.



The action of the "representatives" of both parties who defeated submission of the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the people of Illinois, is in itself a powerful argument against absoluteness of representative power. Here was a formal demand for submission of a proposed Constitutional amendment—a demand by 447,908 voters of the State—nearly 40 per cent. of the total vote of all parties for President two years before, and over 70 per cent. of the vote that then gave Illinois to Taft,—and yet the people's "representatives" decide that the vote was too light to warrant their submitting the proposed amendment! If that is within rifle shot of *representation*, pray how far off is *misrepresentation*?



There need be no discouragement, however, on the part of Illinois advocates of the Initiative and Referendum. The idea itself is daily gaining strength, and the *misrepresentatives* at Springfield have furnished it a new and powerful argument. Public opinion may be so far advanced during the next two years, that an amendment more potent than the defeated one can be adopted. It might extend to amending the Constitution itself. The present legislature has demonstrated the necessity of holding constitutional as well as legislative power continually within popular control. Nothing less can be effective against the dominion which Big Business obtains, by hook or by crook, over "representatives" with power to misrepresent.



Judges and the Recall.

Governor Osborn of Michigan furnishes further argument in support of the Recall for judges. The Michigan legislature recently passed a bill repealing a requirement that the Supreme Court judges of that State reside at the capital, and Governor Osborn vetoed the bill because the judges had previously agreed, in consideration of an increase in their salaries, that they would reside there. In his veto message he said: "This bill has been lobbied for actively by members of the Supreme Court, actuated by selfish purposes. While this may be their privilege, it indicates the finite character of our courts, and proves to my mind that any Recall law that might be enacted should apply to the judiciary with equal force as to other officers of the government."

Democratic Leadership.

The name of Andrew M. Lawrence, whose totem pole is William Randolph Hearst and his political partner the present Mayor of Chicago, seems to be up for Illinois member of the Democratic national committee. This is the edict, at any rate, that came from the banquet in Mr. Lawrence's special honor last week at Chicago; and if his opponent is to be Roger C. Sullivan, the present incumbent, "Hobson's choice" was in comparison a marvel of variety. That several of Mr. Bryan's friends were conspicuous at the banquet, while Mr. Bryan himself though conspicuously in the city was not at the banquet at all, has naturally surcharged the political ether with interrogation points. There is also an esoteric significance about that banquet which transcends in political importance the possibility of a contest for committeeman between the new firm of Lawrence and Harrison and the senior member of the former firm of Sullivan and Lawrence. We allude to the Presidential plans of Mr. Hearst. With due allowance for the possibility of his seizure of the Democratic nomination for himself should a favorable snatching opportunity occur, Mr. Hearst is apparently engineering the Harmon candidacy; and this makes a pretty game, well worth watching from every corner of the country.



Innocence is Innocence.

The labor union officials who have been whisked from their homes across the continent by private detectives in the pay of a private corporation, for trial in a distant place, and in such manner as to prevent their appealing to the courts of their own State for lawful protection, are entitled to the presumption of innocence. And Innocence is Innocence, even if "Murder is Murder." But Mr. Roosevelt does not seem to think so. It was he, by the way, who threw the weight of Presidential influence into the scale to create public opinion against those Colorado labor leaders who were similarly kidnapped by private detectives employed by private corporations, and who upon trial were afterwards acquitted. In the same spirit as before, Mr. Roosevelt now denounces labor unions for coming to the defense of McNamara. In a signed editorial in The Outlook under the sinister title of "Murder is Murder," reproduced broadcast over the country as part of the campaign for creating public opinion against the presumption of innocence in McNamara's case, Mr. Roosevelt anticipates the trial with his own verdict of guilty; for this is the spirit and effect of his one-sided editorial. The

idea of creating a public opinion in favor of the prisoners horrifies him; but he contemplates with angelic calm the nation-wide campaign for creating public opinion against them. To demand of labor leaders that they denounce in the abstract the crimes with which these friends of theirs are charged is an insult. No one approves crime by defending unconvicted men. Perhaps these men are guilty. We don't know, and Mr. Roosevelt says he doesn't. But we do know, what he ignores, that under our laws the presumption of their innocence should hold good until their guilt is proved to the satisfaction of a fair jury at a fair trial. The friends of the accused men, who know them, and from their knowledge of them believe them innocent, have a better right to try to impress public opinion with that confidence, thereby preventing the presumption of innocence from having all vital meaning squeezed out of it, than Mr. Roosevelt or anyone else has to foster public opinion in support of a presumption of guilt.



In contrast with such editorials as Mr. Roosevelt's in *The Outlook*, consider the following from the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, the labor union paper of San Francisco:

The newspaper stories are complete in their details of the hunt and arrest of the alleged dynamiters. If the innocence or guilt of the accused were to be determined upon the basis of newspaper reports, nothing would now remain but to pass sentence. Even this formality might be left to the press, to be attended to without any loss of time. It happens, however, that trials can not be conducted exclusively by the press, and that the courts must have something to say before sentence is passed. It happens, also, that court procedure differs from that of the press in one important respect, namely, that in the former tribunal the accused is entitled to certain rights, which rights the newspapers may, and quite commonly do entirely ignore. The trial of the accused men, so far as it has progressed in the newspapers, makes their case look bad; everything seems to be against them; the evidence of their guilt is damning, indeed conclusive. After a careful perusal of the newspapers we feel that there is just one thing to be said, and that is: We know nothing at all about the case; that is, nothing more than the fact that certain men have been arrested and charged with a certain crime. We know what the detectives have said, and they have said a good deal, but until we know what the accused have said or will say, we will know absolutely nothing. Accordingly, we will say nothing concerning the guilt or innocence of the accused. We will believe them innocent until they are proved guilty. Despite the circumstantiality of the newspaper reports, the case against the accused is no stronger than were many other cases which have crumbled to dust in a fair trial. On the other hand, the present case contains

many of the elements of weakness which characterize such proceedings. It is quite possible, and in fact probable, that the evidence, now seemingly so strong, will fall to the ground when the accused are given their day in court, as has happened in other cases equally strong in appearance. The strength or weakness of the evidence must await the test of the "other side of the story." We do not feel called upon to declaim against the crimes of which these men are accused. Two reasons deter us from such a course. First, the position of the labor movement in such matters is well known; secondly, to declaim against crime in these circumstances would be to declaim against the men who are accused of a particular crime.

The labor movement is secure enough in its position, it is strong enough in the consciousness of integrity, to withstand the clamor of its enemies and of the thoughtless among the public. In a word, the labor movement is strong enough to stand by men who are accused of crime, even though in so doing it may lay itself open to suspicion in certain quarters. The labor movement will not abandon these men to whatever fate may await them at the hands of the enemies of labor; it will not join in the hue and cry raised by the man-hunters of press and police. On the contrary, the labor movement will do everything in its power to insure that these men be given a fair trial and a just verdict. Until then the labor movement will act upon the presumption of innocence, a presumption that is warranted not only upon grounds of judicial theory but also upon grounds of experience in numerous similar cases.

That editorial of a leading organ of organized labor is in the true spirit of American citizenship. It bears the unmistakeable stamp of genuine respect for law and order—not the kind of law a domineering class controls, nor the kind of order that reigned in Warsaw, but the law that is no respecter of person or class, and the order that depends less upon physical power than upon a lively sense of social righteousness. Does Mr. Roosevelt's editorial in *The Outlook* bear that interpretation?



The Milwaukee Socialists

Our Socialist friends of Milwaukee are disturbed by the false reports the newspapers circulate regarding their administration there. They talk and write about it as if Socialists were the peculiar and exclusive victims of "capitalist class" misrepresentation. But in that respect they are quite mistaken. Big Business will persistently misrepresent any municipal government which scares it and keeps up the scare; and the newspapers of the country are the channels of misrepresentation which, through one influence and another, it is able to use for the purpose. Misrepresentation of the Milwaukee Socialists since they came into power there, has been fulsome flattery, almost, in comparison with the misrepresentations of Dunne's administration

in Chicago and Tom L. Johnson's in Cleveland. The facts are, as they come to us from other than Socialist sources, that Mayor Seidel and his associates in the Socialist management of Milwaukee, are giving the city an extraordinarily efficient and honest administration; and that the effect of this upon local public opinion is such that, although their party vote is less than a third of the total vote of the city, they would be almost certain of election three years hence, even if they fail of re-election next spring. The opposition they encounter and the misrepresentations they endure, have a political, an ecclesiastical and a journalistic, rather than a capitalistic fragrance—except as "capitalistic" is made to include all phases of opposition to socialist parties. The characteristic odor of Big Business hostility seems to be missing in Milwaukee.

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THE DEAD HAND.

The common people of English traditions have been in revolt against the power of the Dead Hand for seven hundred years or more. But the Dead Hand still holds sway. And a deadly sway it is, for the common people.

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In its technical legal sense, the Dead Hand—"mortmain," in the law-latin of the period when opposition to it took root in English thought—alludes to ownership of land without power of alienation. This tying up of titles in perpetuity, so that folk of special birth should own all the land forever, came to be felt as a grievous wrong by the thrifty business classes. As these grew in wealth they reached out for the broad acres of thriftless feudal lords, and encountering this Dead Hand of non-alienation they argued that everybody has a right to land if he can pay for it. They were willing to pay; so they cried, "Mortmain! mortmain!"

Echoing down the centuries, that cry has fairly well disposed of the Dead Hand, in so far as it has any influence over powers of land alienation. In the United States, for instance, restraints upon alienation, except in a very limited way, are strictly forbidden, and the law in this respect is firmly supported by public opinion. Only as corporations become land owners, and are laxly allowed to fix their corporate life at long terms, or to extend short terms at will as they expire, or to turn over their land to new corporations as their own corporate life approaches its end—can the Dead Hand be effective in this country in so far as restraints upon the alienation of land are concerned. Even

with corporations, soulless but immortal, non-alienation would probably be impractical; for titles to land could hardly be so tied up as absolutely to bar purchasers possessed of the price.

This is not enough, however, to prevent land monopoly. It is not enough to bury the Dead Hand completely. So long as any one inherits land—city or town land, mineral deposits or water power, highway rights, or forest or farming land—while any one else is denied a like inheritance, so long will the Dead Hand rule and with reviving and cumulative power.

We speak of land and not of houses nor implements nor other ephemeral products of human labor. To inherit these, is to inherit what living and working hands have brought into the world. If the inheritance is from dead earners, it is just; if not, the injustice can last but a little while, for the object perishes. But to inherit land, simply land, not surviving products of labor but the natural sources of future products and the sites for using products—this is to inherit that which no man has made, and which can be inherited by some to the exclusion of others only under the Dead Hand's sway. Shall generations buried and turned to dust determine for living generations how they shall apportion the earth?

Were the apportionment just, it would nevertheless be that of the Dead Hand, and therefore open to question by a people who believe that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living. But it is unjust. Every thoughtful person knows it is unjust. Who is there that can rise up and in the name of Justice argue that babies in the Astor line shall own the backbone of Manhattan Island, while the children of men whose work keeps Manhattan covered with buildings have no right to live there except upon terms imposed by owners of Dead Hand titles?

◆

Against this sway of the Dead Hand, so common throughout our Republic that men have come to be as indifferent to it as a butcher is to blood, much more can be urged than its injustice. Its influence directly and indirectly in fostering a class of impoverished workers and a corresponding class of rich idlers, with the social maladjustments and misery this causes and implies, can be maintained against all comers—all but such as like to profit by it, or hope to profit by it, or are prejudiced in favor of the Dead Hand. But it is enough, primarily, that the thing is grossly unjust. He who will not give this moral thought lodgment in his brain may be passed by for the present. But what of those who do recognize the

rank injustice of this institution of the Dead Hand? Do they wish to end it?

There is one rich man who does, who wishes it mightily, who wishes it to the extent of his income, which happens to be large, an income from the very source, too, that he is trying to dry up in the spending of it. Joseph Fels, who makes most of his money from land monopoly, is spending most of it to destroy land monopoly.

To end that institutional injustice in the United States, Mr. Fels is doubling every dollar that others give for the purpose. He has named five men as trustees, every one of whom is in earnest, every one of whom knows this country and its people from ocean to ocean and from north to south, every one of whom has won a responsible and recognized place in his own calling. The chairman of those trustees is Daniel Kiefer, from whom detailed information may be got.* He gives to the work half his time, nominally, and more actually, and he refuses pay. His work is his contribution, in addition to the money he contributes. The other trustees are Lincoln Steffens, Frederic C. Howe, Jackson H. Ralston and George A. Briggs. To magazine readers, the names of Steffens and Howe are familiar and justly respected; wherever the personnel of independent telephone manufacturers is known, Mr. Briggs can be vouched for; and Jackson H. Ralston, at the forefront of the Washington bar, is also among the leaders, professionally and sympathetically, in international arbitration. To those trustees Mr. Fels has not only pledged to double every dollar that others give, but has in fact already contributed to the work thousands of dollars more than has yet come from other sources.

The trustees are doing work for the object Mr. Fels has in view—the abolition of land monopoly in the United States. Good work, as we believe; effective work; in its main features, the best possible work. He who reads this, may doubt if their work is the best, and the doubter may be right. But let him find out about it first, and then think twice, for it is he that may be wrong. At any rate, if work is to be done at all, somebody must decide what it shall be and how it shall be done; and we question if there are five other men in the United States as well qualified in all respects for such a work as those five.

Not only have they the qualities of personal probity and thorough sympathy with their object, which could doubtless be duplicated again and again, but they also have the searer qualities of acquaintance with the whole country and its peo-

ple in the respects which are most important for passing judgment upon the merits of methods and plans. Large amounts of money are not especially solicited by the trustees, although no large sums would be rejected we suppose; but every dollar counts, not only in the doubling but also in the uses of the fund.

We commend those trustees and their work to the confidence of all persons who, being desirous of abolishing land monopoly, not by merely wishing it away but by practical and progressive methods, are willing to assist financially in proportion to the extent of their means and the intensity of their desire for the result aimed at.

There will be no lack of financial support for the opposition work of maintaining land monopoly. There should be no lack of support for this the most hopeful attack upon land monopoly in the United States since Henry George pointed the way. What Henry George advised as the first practical step for the abolition of land monopoly, the Fels Fund Commission is trying to do.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

TAXATION OF THE UNEARNED INCREMENT OF LAND IN GERMANY.*

Berlin.

The increment taxation bill, which passed the Reichstag and the Federal Council, after protracted debate, was carried by the votes of the Conservatives, the Centre, National Liberals, and Radicals, against the votes of the Socialists and some Radicals. Hardly anyone is satisfied with it. It represents a compromise in the worst sense of the word. Very little of the bill as originally submitted remains, and it must have required great faith on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury not to have thrown it over at its final reading. The land reformers also are sadly disappointed.

Hot discussions on principles were caused by section 1, which originally provided for the taxation of the unearned increment in general, but was ultimately confined in terms to such as is not caused by the property owner; and by alterations of section 16, owners of agricultural lands are practically exempt.

Passing over the details, which cannot be stated briefly and might not be understood very readily in another country, let me try to generalize. In order to find the taxable increment, the cost price (modified in an intricate manner) is deducted from the selling price after deduction of expenses of sale and other allowances. In cases where the purchaser undertakes to pay the increment tax, its amount is added to the selling price. If the taxable increment so ascertained amounts to 10 per cent of the modi-

*Daniel Kiefer, Chairman Fels Fund Commission, 530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

*See current volume, page 132.

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fied cost price, the tax is 10 per cent of this increment. If the increment amounts to 30 per cent of the modified cost price, the rate is 11 per cent of the increment. For every 20 per cent increase of increment on the modified cost price, the rate rises by 1 per cent of the increment until it reaches 30 per cent of the increment. There are further complications, but this resume indicates the character of the bill.

The following example is often quoted here for illustration:

Take a piece of land measuring 2,000 square metres, bought January 1, 1885, for 200,000 marks,* suppose that in 1903 the sum of 30,000 marks was contributed for making roads and sewers, that in 1905 400,000 marks was expended for buildings, and that the property was sold January 1, 1911, for 1,000,000 marks. Here, then, is the calculation for imposing the unearned increment tax:

Selling price	M. 1,000,000
Less selling expenses estimated	
at	M. 20,000
3% loss of interest on M. 208,-	
00 for 15 years before build-	
ing	93,600
	113,600
Modified selling price.....	M. 886,400
Purchase price	M. 200,000
Expenses connected with purchase....	8,000
Contributions to making of roads and	
sewers	30,000
Interest on latter.....	18,000
Buildings erected	400,000
5% added (15% in case of builders	
engaged in the trade).....	20,000
2½% addition on M. 2,000 for 25 years	1,250
1½% annual addition for 25 years on	
M. 206,000	77,250
1½% annual addition for 5 years on	
M. 420,000	31,500
Modified purchase price	786,000

Taxable increment

M. 100,400

On the face of the table, then, the taxable increment, M. 100,400, would be about 13 per cent of the modified purchase price, and the rate of taxation 11 per cent. But in this case the rate would be reduced 37½ per cent, so that the amount of tax would be M. 6,902.50.

Exemptions include land owned by the Empire, the States, municipalities, certain associations for public utility, and reigning princes and princesses; also vacant land with a selling value of less than M. 5,000, and improved land of less than M. 20,000, provided the seller and his wife have within the last year had an income of less than M. 2,000 and are not engaged in real estate operations. There is no tax upon increments of land transferred by right of inheritance.

Of these taxes when collected, 50 per cent goes to the Empire, 10 per cent to the States, and 40 per cent to the municipalities. Municipalities which adopted increment taxation prior to April 1, 1909 (or later, but with effect prior to that date), are guaranteed for five subsequent years the average yield previously collected, provided the taxes collected in each of them respectively amount to that sum; and the municipality may levy an additional increment tax up to 100 per cent of its quota.

WILHELM SCHRAMEIER.

*The mark is equal to about twenty-four cents.

JOHNSON MEMORIAL IN PITTSBURGH.

Pittsburgh, Pa., May 7.

Whenever orators of Pittsburgh have wished in recent years to impress upon their audiences the need of a better and greater city, they have almost invariably pointed to Cleveland's progress under Tom L. Johnson as an example of what can be accomplished when the civic conscience of a city is once aroused. With this appreciation of Cleveland, the memorial service held here this afternoon in honor of the Mayor who "left Cleveland with a civic mind," seemed peculiarly fitting.

Ex-Mayor Guthrie, who has helped so much to make Pittsburgh a better city, presided over the meeting, which was held in the Kenyon Theater, and told of how Johnson's work as Mayor of Cleveland had served as an inspiration to him when Mayor of Pittsburgh in fighting corruption and privilege. He explained how Johnson had changed the custom of making public office an object of private gain for the few instead of a means to better the condition of the many. Mr. M. McNeal read Edmund Vance Cooke's poem, "A Man Is Passing"; and Julian Kennedy portrayed Johnson as one whose dominant characteristic was honesty—not merely the honesty that restrains a man from picking the pockets of his neighbor, but also the honesty that makes it abhorrent to take what belongs to another even though it be legalized. The Rev. Harris R. Cooley of Cleveland, the principal speaker of the occasion, told of the life and work of Mayor Johnson. An inspiring story beautifully told and easy to understand, it pictured a man who had not only seen a vision, but was guided by it. Few of us were personally acquainted with Tom L. Johnson, but as Mr. Cooley spoke we felt that we knew him well and loved him more. "The body of this great man," said Mr. Cooley, "is in a cemetery by the sea, but his spirit is in Cleveland"; and the question must have been in every heart: Who would say that it is not in all the cities of our land, a beacon for those who are striving to make their city, as he strove to make his, a better place in which to live?

BERNARD B. McGINNIS.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

THE ALDRICH DEBT FACTORY.

Chicago.

Senator Aldrich, of the United States Monetary Commission, has announced a plan which is likely to become the basis of the Commission's report to Congress. This plan is espoused in banking circles generally, and a campaign of education is being instituted to tell the people all about it.

Besides many details which these educators should be called upon to explain, there is a fundamental error. The kind of money or currency proposed is similar to the present national bank note, and it is to be created and loaned into circulation at interest. So it has a greater debt-making than debt-paying quality.

If the bankers create and loan into circulation \$1,000 of this currency for one year at 5 per cent,

the currency they lend has a debt-making quality of \$1,050, but a debt-paying quality of only \$1,000. Do you get this important but simple fact? If not, read the statement over until it is perfectly clear, and then try to find out where the extra \$50 in money is to come from—for it is money that the lenders will demand of borrowers.

Look the Aldrich proposition over and you find that it makes no suggestion as to how to get out of debt. This, I presume, is regarded as the debtor's business. And it is the debtor's business. For what the people and the debtor class need, must have, and may have whenever they demand it, is a dollar that will at least pay the debt it creates when it goes into circulation.

WM. W. CLAY.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Tuesday, May 9, 1911.

In the British Parliament.

Clause 2, the most important part of the measure under discussion in the House of Commons for restraining the veto power of the House of Lords, was adopted on the 2d in the Commons by 299 to 195. It provides that all bills except money bills, if passed by the House of Commons in three successive Parliamentary sessions and rejected by the House of Lords at each of those sessions, shall become an act of Parliament upon being signed by the King. Also by a large majority and on the same day a clause providing that the regular duration of Parliaments shall be five years instead of seven was adopted. On the 3d the entire measure passed committee stage in the Commons. A diversion occurred over the preamble, the Labor party refusing to vote for it because it approves two-chamber government, and the Tories declining for the same reason to vote against it. The vote on the preamble stood therefore at 218 to 47. On the motion, made on the 3d, that the measure as amended be reported by committee of the whole to the House, the vote stood 265 to 147. A New York World dispatch of the 6th from London is to the effect that the Lords will adopt the measure with an amendment excluding home rule from its operation; that when the bill goes back to the Commons with that amendment, the Commons will strike out the amendment and return the bill in its original shape to the Lords with an intimation that if it is not passed the King will create a sufficient number of peers to force it through; and that then the Lords will pass the bill under protest, and start a great anti-home rule agitation. Meanwhile Lord Lansdowne has introduced in the House of Lords his bill for reforming that body. It proposes a

membership of 350 peers, 100 elected by the peerage, 120 by a committee of the House of Commons, 100 appointees of the King, and the remainder to consist of princes of the royal blood, law lords, and churchmen. The bill passed first reading on the 8th. Viscount Morley, representing the Ministry, announced that the Ministry would not accept the measure. [See current volume, p. 418.]



Following the virtual adoption of the Lords' veto measure in the Commons on the 4th, Lloyd-George introduced a Ministerial bill for state insurance against unemployment and sickness among the working classes. In explaining the measure Mr. George divided the proposition into two parts, one dealing with sickness and the other with unemployment. Every worker whose annual earnings fall below the income-tax level of \$800 will be compulsorily insured against illness, so as to assure him the receipt of \$1.20 per week during his incapacity. Toward this compulsory insurance fund the workers must contribute about one-half, deducted from their wages, while the balance is paid jointly by employers and the state. The weekly assessment would be 8 cents in the case of a man and 6 cents for a woman, representing, as Chancellor George put it, "two pints of ale or one ounce of tobacco." Every one in the class mentioned between the ages of 16 and 65 is included in the plan.



One other important proceeding took place in the House of Commons last week. A Liberal member from Manchester introduced a bill giving votes to women having the household qualification, provided that married women shall not vote in the same constituencies with their husbands. This would exclude the wives of workingmen. A petition against votes for women, signed with 53,000 signatures, of which 31,000 are of women, was presented when the bill was introduced. The bill passed second reading by 255 to 88, and being a private bill—non-ministerial—its further progress depends upon the acquiescence of the Ministry. Another "votes for women" bill was introduced on the 7th. Its principal feature as reported gives the vote to every married woman occupying jointly with her husband premises which entitle him to vote. This would allow the wives of working men to vote in all cases in which the men themselves may vote. [See vol. xiii, p. 1140.]



In Congress.

After full debate, the farmers' free list tariff bill was adopted by the lower house on the 8th. It had been stubbornly fought by the regular Republicans under the leadership of Mann of Illinois; but it was carried by 236 to 109. The Democrats voted for it, without a negative; and they were

reinforced by the vote of Berger (Socialist), and Madison, Murdock, Kent, Lenroot, Norris (Republicans) and 19 other Republicans.



A Constitutional amendment introduced in the lower House of Congress by Congressman Henry of Texas, and reported to be fairly certain of submission, would change the date of holding national elections from early November to early April, and the beginning of new terms for Congressmen and President from March 4th to the last Thursday of April.



Democratic Leadership in Illinois.

A banquet at the Auditorium, Chicago, on the 4th, in honor of Andrew M. Lawrence, who represents William Randolph Hearst in Illinois, was attended by about 700 Democrats from different parts of the State. The meeting was described in Mr. Hearst's Chicago Examiner of the 4th as having "been devised to singularly honor the man whose influence was paramount in the Democratic victories of November 8 and April 4." The speeches were made by Judge Owen P. Thompson of Jacksonville, State Senator Burton of Carlinville, Congressman Sabath of Chicago, Howard S. Taylor of Chicago, G. W. English of Vienna, and Andrew M. Lawrence, the guest of honor. Mayor Harrison presided.



It is reported that the principal object of the meeting was to make Mr. Lawrence the national Democratic committeeman from Illinois in place of Roger C. Sullivan. Resolutions were adopted supporting the Initiative, Referendum and Recall; election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people; the direct election of delegates to national conventions, with opportunity for the voter to express his choice for President and Vice-President; public ownership of all public utilities as fast as this can be obtained under existing conditions; a corrupt practices act; the abolition of the fees system in public office; a reorganization of the taxing system of the State, to insure just and equitable taxation to the poor as well as the rich; civil service laws for city, county and State, and opposition to the acceptance of gratuities for public service corporations.



Describing the gathering as one of "Progressive Democracy," the meeting authorized the appointment of "a committee of fifteen whose duty it shall be to meet and organize for the purpose of directing the forces within the party in this State toward re-establishing those principles of representative government and toward forestalling the influence of special privilege, to the end that a government

of the people, for the people and by the people shall again attain in this great commonwealth."



Direct Legislation in Illinois.

The direct legislation amendment to the Constitution of Illinois, which had passed the Illinois Senate, was defeated in the House on the 4th. Although the vote was 93 for it and 29 against it, an affirmative majority of 64, it lacked 9 votes of the necessary two-thirds. [See current volume, page 275.]



The Lorimer Case.

After argument on the Tilden et al habeas corpus proceedings—intended to prevent the examination by the State Senate of bank vouchers showing an alleged distribution by Tilden of bribe money contributed by the lumber trust, the beef trust, and other business organizations, for the election of Senator Lorimer—Judge Petit of Chicago decided on the 6th to sustain the writs of habeas corpus and to discharge Mr. Tilden and his associates. Judge Petit holds that the entire investigation by the State Senate is without legality. Bias on Judge Petit's part is suggested by the Chicago Tribune, which quotes him as having in a public dinner speech on the 24th of April said:

Now, just before I came up to this dinner I was talking with a certain gentleman whom certain interests have been trying to oust from the United States Senate. They have not been successful and will keep on trying for some time.

[See current volume, p. 416.]



A report was agreed upon on the 3d, by the committee on contingent expenses of the United States Senate, authorizing the expense of a further inquiry, in accordance with the La Follette resolution, into the circumstances of Senator Lorimer's election. The report came into the Senate on the 4th and was allowed to lie over for the week. [See current volume, p. 419.]



People's Power.

The West Virginia legislature has been called in special session for the purpose of enacting a direct primary law, and efforts will be made by the National Progressive Republican League to have it adopt the Oregon law providing for direct nomination and election of United States Senators.



In the Pennsylvania legislature the judiciary committees of both Houses have reported favorably upon resolutions providing for the submission of an Initiative and Referendum amendment practically in the Oregon form. When this subject was

taken up in the Pennsylvania legislature two months ago, there was no hope of any favorable action; but the progressives, under the leadership of State Grange officers and leaders of the Keystone party, worked vigorously for adoption of the resolution; and the National Progressive Republican League sent Senator Clapp, one of its members, to address the judiciary committees, while the Democratic Federation sent Senator Owen for similar service. Largely through the efforts of these two men, much of the opposition was overcome and the favorable report secured. [See current volume, page 318.]



In the Florida legislature now in session, the Initiative and Referendum is one of the principal issues.



Progressives in both Houses of Congress are reported by the National Progressive Republican League as confident of favorable action on the admission of Arizona as a State, notwithstanding the People's Power features of its proposed Constitution. Most of the opposition, except that which is directed against the provision for the recall of judges, has subsided. Even this opposition has been materially weakened by an endorsement of the Oregon system signed by four of the five Supreme Court judges of that State. The Oregon recall applies to judges as well as to other officers, and no complaint has ever been made that it has exerted an improper influence upon the judiciary. [See current volume, page 269.]



The Anti-Imperialist League Honors David Stroud Burson.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League held in Boston, May 4, the following vote was passed, to be placed upon the records of the Committee and communicated to the family of Mr. Burson:

The Executive Committee records with deep regret the death of their venerable associate, Mr. David Stroud Burson of Richmond, Ind., probably the oldest member of the League, of which he has been long a Vice President. Age, however, had not chilled his enthusiasm for the right nor his hatred for wrong-doing. In former years an active propagandist of the cause of Philippine independence, to the last he was ready to champion it with an eager and pungent pen. Mr. Burson was a man of rare type, inasmuch as he united high scholarly attainment with the ardent spirit of the reformer. His services, as they were therefore unusually effective, will be grievously missed by the League.

The Committee desires to extend its sincere condolence and sympathy to the family and friends of Mr. Burson.

MOORFIELD STOREY, President.

ERVING WINSLOW, Secretary.

The Button Workers of Muscatine.

The button workers' lockout in Muscatine, Iowa, has been ended by an agreement between the manufacturers and the employes. It provides that there shall be no union nor non-union discrimination as to employment, that both men and women employes shall be permitted to witness the weighing and counting of blanks and buttons, and that wages shall be the same as before the lockout. Encouraged by the success of their fellow workers at Muscatine, workers at La Crosse, Wis., are also organizing. [See current volume, p. 371.]



The Mexican Revolution.

Formal peace negotiations were opened at El Paso, Texas, on the 3rd between Francisco I. Madero, leader of the revolution, and Judge Francisco Carbajal, official peace commissioner from the Mexican government. General Madero made on the 4th the following proposition:

In order to assure the immediate pacification of Mexico and to furnish to the world an example which will increase the prestige of our country, both contending leaders, General Porfirio Diaz, as well as myself as provisional president, and the vice-president of the republic, Ramon Corral, shall resign, and in the interim the minister of foreign relations, Senor Francisco de la Barra, shall be president, calling a general election according to the constitution.

Judge Carbajal, after communicating by wire with Mexico City, notified the revolutionist commissioners on the 6th that it was impossible for him to continue the peace negotiations on the basis tendered. This declaration closed the operation of the armistice. In spite of his refusal to continue negotiations on the basis of his resignation, President Diaz on the 7th issued a manifesto declaring his intention of resigning the presidency as soon as peace is restored, reserving the right to be himself the judge of the restoration of peace, saying that it will be "when according to the dictates of my conscience, I am sure that my resignation will not be followed by anarchy." On learning of this announcement General Madero, who had started at the head of his army for Mexico City, halted, and declared himself in favor of a renewal of the armistice and the peace negotiations. In spite of his attitude in the matter, however, and contrary to his orders, revolutionary troops in the neighborhood of the city of Juarez, just across the Rio Grande from El Paso, made a fierce attack upon the former city on the 8th, and continued the battle on the 9th, with large slaughter. On the 8th five persons on the American side of the international line were killed by flying bullets from the battle, and about sixteen were wounded during the two days.

China.

The Anti-Manchu uprising reported last week from Canton and Kwang Tung province, appears to have received a check, but it is by no means certain that it has been permanently suppressed. [See current volume, page 418.]



An English-Chinese agreement for the immediate reduction and final extinction of the exportation of Indian opium to China was signed on the 8th, according to cable dispatches from Peking. The agreement is to become operative immediately. It provides that China shall annually diminish its production of opium proportionately with the Indian export until its extinction, in 1917. Great Britain agrees that the importation of Indian opium into China shall cease earlier, if the native production in that country ceases. Great Britain is to be granted facilities for investigating this diminution, and China is to have similar facilities with reference to the sales and packing of opium in India. The Indian exports to China shall not exceed 30,600 chests in 1911, and they will be reduced 5,100 chests annually. [See current volume, pages 273, 318, 323, 363.]



Another step toward constitutionalism has been taken by the Chinese government. A constitutional cabinet of ten members has been substituted for the Grand Council. The membership of this first cabinet, as announced, includes the present grand councillors. Prince Ching becomes premier and minister of foreign affairs. The dispatches state that the change is entirely in line with the recent demands of the National Assembly for a constitutional cabinet responsible to this nascent parliament, instead of to the throne; but to what degree this change of responsibility is effected has not yet been promulgated. [See current volume, pages 61, 271, 295, 318.]

NEWS NOTES

—The income tax amendment to the Federal Constitution was rejected by Massachusetts in the State Senate on the 3rd, the vote being 10 for to 11 against. [See current volume, p. 85.]

—In an official opinion to President Taft, Attorney-General Wickersham, advises against the "Rockefeller Foundation" bill now pending in Congress. [See vol. xiii, pp. 222, 255, 267, 316.]

—An investigation of the steel trust by a Congressional committee was decided upon by the House committee on rules on the 3rd, and of the sugar trust on the 8th. [See vol. xiii, p. 1141; current volume, p. 419.]

—Mrs. Barney Williams, one of the most famous actors of the Civil War period, when "Mr. and Mrs.

Barney Williams" were familiar names on posters and playbills, died in New York on the 6th at the age of 85 years.

—A Japanese baseball team from the Waseda University of Tokio has come to the United States to play some of the American universities. But recently arrived, the little Japanese athletes played the University of Chicago on the 6th, and lost by a score of 4 to 6.

—Charles Frederick Adams's itinerary, after the 17th at Strathcona, Alberta, will be as follows: Kamloops, B. C., May 21st and 22nd; New Westminster, May 23rd, 24th and 27th; Vancouver, B. C., May 25th, 26th, 28th, 29th and 30th; and Victoria, B. C., May 31st and June 1st.

—The 2-cent passenger fare law and the reduced freight rates inaugurated by the State railroad commission of Arkansas were virtually declared void on the 3rd when Judge Trieber, in the Federal court, made permanent an injunction obtained by the railroads. [See vol. xi, pp. 567, 613.]

—Ex-Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, chairman of the National Monetary Commission, explained and urged the adoption of the "Aldrich plan," at the first annual banquet, held in New York (at the Waldorf-Astoria), of the trust section of the American Bankers' Association. [See current volume, p. 419.]

—Gov. Wilson of New Jersey spoke at Kansas City on the 5th, and at Denver on the 6th and 7th. His further itinerary is as follows: May 12, Los Angeles; May 15, San Francisco; May 16, Berkeley; May 18, Portland, Oregon; May 20, Seattle; May 24, Minneapolis and St. Paul; May 26, Lincoln, Neb.; May 28, Chicago.

—About 3,000 women and 100 men, advocates of votes for women, were cheered by thousands on the sidewalks as they marched down Fifth Avenue, New York, on the 6th from 57th Street to Union Square. The parade was under the auspices of the Women's Political Union, and one of the cheering spectators was the venerable John Bigelow.

—By adjourning sine die on the 6th the joint assembly of the Colorado legislature leaves Colorado with only one representative in the United States Senate, a deadlock having lasted since January. The final ballot stood: Speer, 32; Adams, 28; McCue, 3; Shafrroth, 1; Martin, 1; Maupin, 1; Vaile (Republican), 34. [See current volume, p. 62.]

—John H. Vanderpoel, an instructor for more than thirty years at the Art Institute, Chicago, died on the 2nd. Not only was he an extraordinarily efficient and interesting platform teacher, but his standing as an artist was high and he was renowned as one of the best mural decorators in the United States. Mr. Vanderpoel was born in Holland in 1857.

—The Aldrich monetary scheme was unanimously approved on the 2nd by the executive council of the American Bankers' Association, in session at Nashville, as "thoroughly practical, fundamentally sound and comprehensive" and "if enacted into law," as capable of correcting "all the principal defects of our present banking and currency system." [See current volume, p. 419.]

—The Catholic bishops of Portugal have decided that the arrangements for the separation of Church

and State, recently decreed by the provisional republican government, constitute an attack upon the dignity of the Church and the fundamental principles of the Catholic religion. They have therefore determined to refuse the pensions offered the clergy. [See current volume, p. 395.]

—Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Abolitionist, soldier, minister and writer, died at his home at Cambridge, Mass., May 9, at the age of 87 years. Colonel Higginson served in the Civil War as captain in the 51st Massachusetts Volunteers, and later as colonel of the 1st South Carolina Volunteers—a Negro regiment which afterwards became the 33rd U. S. Colored Troops.

—George A. Schilling was appointed by Mayor Harrison on the 1st, as a member of the board of local improvements of Chicago, and on the 2nd he was elected president of the board. Mr. Schilling was a member of this board in Mayor Harrison's last administration, and held the office throughout the administration of Mayor Dunne, being president part of that time. He was displaced by Mayor Busse.

—The Ohio grand jury at Columbus has refused to indict the Burns detectives for offering bribes to legislators, but on the 3rd it indicted the following persons for soliciting bribes: Senator Isaac E. Huffman, Senator La Forrest R. Andrews, Senator George K. Cetone, Senate Sergeant-at-arms Rodney J. Diegle, Representative George B. Nye and Representative A. C. Lowry. [See current volume, p. 416.]

—Cleveland traction stock, which has been quoted in the low 90s notwithstanding that it has paid a 6 per cent. dividend regularly, was quoted by the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 4th at 96½ bid and 97 asked. A report of a committee of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce made public on the 3rd advises retention of 3 cent fares for the city, but opposes reducing the fare to 3 cents for the suburbs. [See current volume, p. 228.]

—The carpenters' strike in St. Louis begun April 1 for an increase of wages and the 8-hour day, is still on and the Carpenters' Council there issued an address on the 4th in which they say: "The employers are sending out misleading and deceptive statements and advertisements in the papers of the large cities throughout the country promising good pay and saying nothing about the strike being in progress here. To save all mechanics from meeting disappointment through those lying advertisements of the bosses you are urged to make the truth known about our strike in St. Louis."

—The third National Peace Congress met in Baltimore from May 3 to May 6. Among the speakers at the opening session were President Taft; Hamilton Holt, president of the Congress; Cardinal Gibbons, and Andrew Carnegie. On the second day the relations of finance to war and peace received consideration at the hands of Huntington Wilson, United States Assistant Secretary of State, and James Speyer, the New York banker. According to the Chicago Inter Ocean's report, Mr. Wilson gave his interpretation of what has been called "dollar diplomacy," the newly coined phrase applied to the expansion of business interests through the efforts of the State Department of the United States. The term, according to Mr. Wilson, means "the substitu-

tion of dollars for bullets," "the creation of a prosperity which will be preferred to predatory strife," and "a practical mode of pursuing the ideal of world's peace." Mr. Speyer said that we find today in Europe that in times of peace certain governments will not allow their bankers to place foreign loans in the home market unless the purposes for which the loan is to be used are known and approved, and at least part of the proceeds are used by the borrowing nation for expenditures in such home markets for the benefit of the leading nation. "Now," said Mr. Speyer, "if such supervision and control of the bankers already exists in time of peace, it does not seem a wide flight of imagination to suggest that the great powers might agree to exercise such control in times of war between third parties, and to maintain in future what, for want of a better term, might be called 'financial neutrality.'" [See current volume, p. 371.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Recall for Judges.

Puck (ind.), May 3.—The President's disapproval of the Recall for judges indicates that bench occupants are free from the pressure of political machines. Doubtless the fact that the exposure of every big boss includes a statement that he "owned the courts" in his vicinity is irrelevant and immaterial.

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Where the Opposition Comes From.

Peoria Star (ind.), May 2.—Initiative, Referendum and Recall! When you hear a pretended jurist or statesman snivelling around about the dangers to representative government through entrusting these things to "the mob" you can make up your mind that that fellow has his snout in the trough or is trying to get it there.

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Tom L. Johnson and Cleveland Carfares.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind. Dem.), May 2.—Comment concerning Tom L. Johnson for years before he died "quite generally assumed" a variety of facts that were not facts at all. It is, accordingly, not strange that the misrepresentation should continue after his death. Know all by these presents, then, that 3-cent fare exists in Cleveland, by virtue almost solely of Tom Johnson's long fight for it. The only particular in which the long familiar Johnson slogan has failed in practice is that car riders who use transfers must pay 1 cent each for them. And, as affairs are now developing under the Tayler ordinance, even this charge for transfers may eventually be eliminated. It is well to have this truth fixed once for all. Tom L. Johnson did not lose his fight for low fare. The cause triumphed, though he sapped his strength and lost his life in the struggle.

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The Essence of the Question.

The (Los Angeles and San Francisco) California Outlook (ind.), March 4.—The public debate over the application of the Recall to the judiciary has

done one important service: it has given us a somewhat clearer view of the function of the judge and his relation to the general body politic. Because most of us come in contact with the court when it is serving as an arbitrator between persons or interests in dispute, we are likely to overlook the great part it plays in the actual administration of the government. The man who objects to the Recall principle as applied anywhere in our scheme of government is entirely consistent when he objects to the Recall of judges; but the man who accepts the Recall idea as applied to legislators and executives, but objects to its application to judges, can scarcely appreciate, it would seem, the broad legislative and executive powers that rest with the courts under our present system.

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Land Exploitation in the Philippines.

Collier's (Ind.), April 29.—By the treaty with Spain, concluded in December, 1898, the United States acquired the public domain of the Philippine Islands. Of the privately owned lands, some four hundred thousand acres were known as the Friar lands. Sugar and tobacco were their principal products. To settle a bitter controversy over these Friar lands, the United States authorized the Philippine Commission to buy them. President Taft himself negotiated their purchase. The organic act passed by Congress, which gave the Filipinos their present Government, limited the sale of all public lands in the islands to forty acres to any individual and to twenty-five hundred acres to any corporation or association of persons. On August 5, 1909, President Taft signed the tariff act, which placed Philippine sugar on the free list. This gave great advantage over our beet-sugar industry and over other sugar-growing countries. One month after this act was signed John Henry Hammond of the law firm of Strong & Cadwalader of New York City, representing Horace Havemeyer, Charles Senff, and Charles J. Welch, sought the consummation, through the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington, of the purchase of the San Jose Friar estate of fifty-six thousand acres. Havemeyer was at the time a director of the American Sugar Refining Company. Senff was a stockholder in the Sugar Trust, had been vice-president and a director, and was then under indictment for Custom-House frauds. Welch was a sugar commission merchant. The right of these persons to so large an amount of land was questioned. The matter was referred to Attorney-General Wickersham. Henry W. Taft is a member of the firm of Strong & Cadwalader, and Mr. Wickersham was a member of the same firm at the time of his appointment as Attorney-General. That the way was clear in the opinion of Havemeyer and his associates is indicated by the fact that the purchasers had, long before the close of the deal and long before the favorable opinion of the Attorney-General was made public, improved the estate on a large scale and prepared it for cultivation. The minority report of a Congressional investigating committee decides against Attorney-General Wickersham's legal conclusions. The majority report upholds them, but recommends the amendment of the law so as to prevent further sales. To Representative John A. Martin of Colorado is due the credit for bringing

these facts to light. The San Jose estate is gone, but Martin's persistent efforts have probably defeated a general policy of land exploitation in the Philippines.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

BY THE OPEN WINDOW.

For The Public.

When the sweet songs of poets fill my soul
And twilight deepens in the quiet room,
A waft from lilacs in an emerald bowl,
I breathe the furtive zephyr's faint perfume;
And in the mystery of dusk I dream
A little dream of life. Before my eyes
A train of visions drift, and drifting seem
Future and past to blend into a wise
And perfect scheme. How rashly we aspire
To shape our ends, when at the best we gather
What secrets of the Universal Plan,
Enough to mount each step a little higher,
Bravely, sincerely, to progress; the rather
To justify to God the ways of man.

GERTRUDE COLLES.

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THE LEGISLATIVE TRAGEDY IN OHIO.

Herbert S. Bigelow at People's Church, Cincinnati,
May 7, 1911.

"The end of the first inning, and the score is four to two in favor of the House." This was the comment of the Republican leader of the Ohio House of Representatives as we pored over the paper, wet from the press, giving the news of the indictment of members of the General Assembly. Three members and one employee of the Senate had been named by the grand jury, and two members of the House.

So men joked, or tried to joke, about what seems to be the greatest legislative scandal in the history of Ohio.

There are weeping women in the State today, and children who will carry to their graves dis-honored names.

Men who four months ago organized the Ohio Legislature and captured the best places on the committees, and who from that vantage ground have controlled the legislative machinery of the State, are shunned today as though they already wore the convict's stripes.

To be in the atmosphere of that Assembly, to see the men upon whom the blow of the prosecutor has fallen and the men who are hourly expecting that they will be next, is to feel the awful tragedy that is being enacted at Ohio's capitol. There is much apparent hilarity over the plight of the men whose treachery had long enraged the

people of the State. But beneath the levity there is a profound sadness to see men reaping the bitter fruits of their wretched treason.

Moreover, the strength of the temptation must be remembered. If these men were ready to sell, that was their fault. But men are always ready to buy, and that is our fault.

Mark Hanna once said of himself and Foraker: "I buy and Foraker sells." Usually it is the seller who is punished and not the buyer, though the man who yields to the temptation to sell his vote is surely less criminal than they who employ lobbyists to lead men into temptation that they may buy them.

How the lobbyists have swarmed at the capitol all the year! Veterans at the business mostly, old and familiar faces, representing traction, gas, telephone, railroads—they are the Hessians of the Republic, and the public service corporation is their master.

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We have delegated to these private companies the sovereign power to enjoy monopolies and to tax the people for their private gain. This sovereignty has, of course, organized itself into a second legislature. We call it the lobby. It is a hateful thing. It is that part of the government which we have allowed to fall into private hands, running that part of the government which we still retain in public hands.

And why shouldn't the lobby run the legislature? It is bigger than the legislature. It represents more property than the State has. It represents more economic power. But it has come from the State, and the State may take it back.

The government should perform all governmental services; it should own and control all monopolies, and, through the initiative and referendum, the people should own and control the government.

Our political corruption is more institutional than personal, and must be remedied, not by prosecutions, but by a new order of things.

The first thing is for men to gain the power to make and unmake their own laws by direct vote at the polls, and then to address themselves to new economic problems that the age of steam and electricity has brought upon us.

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THE JOKER IN THE BILL.

As Observed by Old Man Harder.

Yes! I had to laugh at Tomkins. Couldn't help it. Felt sorry for him too.

You see, while he's takin' train orders an' checkin' baggage over to the depot where I go for my evenin' paper, he does a lot o' farmin'—in his mind. So he feels in duty bound to look out for my interests while I'm sowin' oats.

But he's got such a squint in his mind about free trade an' protection that he sees things upside down half the time, an' scares us farmers half to death about nothin'.

He believes the tariff is made to protect everybody, an' if it don't it's because it ain't high enough.

He believes the tariff ain't a tax.

He believes it is a tax that the foreigner pays.

He believes that it don't increase the price of goods.

He believes that it makes higher prices for the maker of goods.

He believes that it makes lower prices for the consumer of goods.

He believes that the higher the price of goods the cheaper the consumer gets them.

He believes the tariff makes wages high at the same time it is makin' cheap goods, an' that men strike for higher wages because they want more money to spend in the saloons.

He believes that the farmer gets higher prices for his products an' lower prices for the products he has to buy, on account of the tariff, because it compels the farmer to trade with the home manufacturer when he wants to buy anything, an' makes him take the price fixed in the markets of the whole world when he wants to sell anything.

That's what makes me laugh. It's funny to see how Tomkins enjoys himself believin' in so many contradictory things.

Yes! I had to laugh at him when I went for my paper yesterday.

He was takin' down some train orders with one hand an' writin' a letter to Taft with the other. What's that? Purty smart feller! Sure! He is mighty smart about some things an' not so much smart about others. He can write with both hands at the same time all right, but his thinker has obstructions in it.

So I had to laugh agin when he ses: "Did you see what them Democrats an' Insurgents in Congress is goin' to put over you farmers in the Reshiprocity matter?"

"I don't see's they can put anything worse over us than they have already," ses I. "They might put on a good size window tax, or raise the rate on tobacco. They might put some more tariff on barbed wire so's we could git it cheaper, or hit it a little higher on raw sugar so the trust would take off a cent on a pound."

"This is nothin' to laugh about," ses Tomkins. "It's a serious thing for you farmers. Them Democrats are goin' to make free trade in all kinds o' meats, fresh an' cured, an' in all kinds o' cattle too. Don't you see that the beef trust will go to Australia an' New Zealand an' South America an' buy up all the cattle an' slaughter 'em an' put 'em on the market here so's you farmers can't make a cent raisin' stock?"

"Well!" ses I. "What we goin' to do about it?"

"Remonstrate," ses Tomkins. "Send a hundred carloads o' angry farmers to Washington with banners inscribed, '*No Free Trade in Meat. Let the People Eat Cake. Give Us Our Share o' Protection.*' Scare the Democrats so they won't sleep for a month."

"All right, Tompy," ses I. "I'll subscribe to that if they'll label the banners, '*Give Us Our Share o' the Plunder.*' An' then I'll ask them that's carryin' the banners, 'What's the matter of our live stock market now? Why have prices dropped off two dollars a hundred in the last year? Why don't your blame protection work regular like, an' not balk in the harness whenever the weather is propitious for good crops an' we have something to sell? Why don't your blame protective tariff keep prices up all the time, an' not let us down about the time we get a good lot o' stuff on hand we want to cash in?' Yes, sir! Them's some o' the things I want to ask the fellers that carry the banners. An' then I'll whisper in the ears o' them Democrats, 'Give us a little more o' that free trade. Try it on the wool an' sugar. Maybe we won't be so worse off after all.'"

Then I laughed at Tomkins agin.

GEO. V. WELLS.



KENT OF CALIFORNIA.*

First Speech in Congress of William Kent, Republican. Made in the Debate on the Farmers' Free List Bill, April 28, as Reported in the Congressional Record, pages 698-700.

Mr. Underwood. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Kent].

The Chairman. The gentleman from California [Mr. Kent] is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. Kent. Mr. Chairman, we novices in the art or profession of manufacturing Federal law, subject, of course, to revision by the Senate, the President, the Supreme Court, and the powers above, have eagerly absorbed what has been said and have learned much that can not possibly be true. How could it all be true when judged by the votes on the reciprocity treaty and by the explanations given for those votes? There is no consensus of opinion on either side of the House, even amongst the most experienced and tutored, as to the causes or probable effects of that measure.

In so far as the discussion relates to the protective tariff theory, there is, however, some unanimity on one point, at least a partial agreement that the protective tariff should be regarded as a "local issue." That this particular national policy must be wrought out of the clash of class, section, district, and other special interests, and settled by a sort of mutual give-and-take, less euphemistic-

ally known as log-rolling. This makes of the tariff a sort of a grab bag, and we may reasonably expect that the more powerful get the first, last and biggest grabs.

I am a Republican, or what used to be a Republican [applause on the Republican side], because I believe in the protection of infant industries that stand some eventual chance of becoming self-sustaining. That many of these industries, once fostered by protection, are now self-sustaining and do not need a protective tariff is abundantly shown and notoriously confessed as to the great steel industry by Mr. Andrew Carnegie. Many industries, having outgrown the cradle, have not been required to hustle for their livelihood, but have been carried bodily to a ward in the hospital where our standpat friends advocate keeping them during all eternity, to be doctored, nursed, and nourished at the public expense.

It is argued that by taxing one industry for the benefit of another industry, and vice versa, we create a home market that is productive of wealth. This brings to mind a story told by David Starr Jordan concerning the eagle and the blue-tailed lizard. It seems that the eagle one day swooped down upon the lizard and bit off and ate the lizard's tail; whereupon the eagle acquired sufficient energy to lay an egg. The lizard climbed the tree, sucked the egg, and, through the encouragement thus afforded, grew a new tail. This process continued through many years, apparently, without much profit to either party save as it added to the interest of existence. [Laughter.]

A tale of similar import, but more profitable sequence, was related of a man who lived near the Petaluma marshes and started to raise carp. He was doing fairly well selling carp from his pond, when he suddenly conceived the idea of raising a side line of cats for the fur. He discovered that he could feed the carp to the cats and the cats to the carp, so that he increased mightily in his output of cats and carp and became wealthy. [Laughter.]

I have learned, Mr. Chairman, that it is customary to decorate the oratory of this floor with fruits, with flowers, with flags, and with farmers in various states of happiness and misery. [Laughter.] I respectfully submit a poem produced by a laureate of my district and which concerned itself with the tariff speeches of my esteemed opponent at the primaries:

I read these tariff speeches o'er—the more I read of them the more I do not know, but then I can rely upon our Congressman. Upon the very slightest hint he puts a red-hot speech in print, and when he prints that speech, you see, he has it mailed out here to me.

Mac makes it very clear just how if I pay more than I do now for socks and gloves and baby's dress—while I pay more they cost me less. And then he shows me where I lose by paying somewhat less

*See The Public of December 16, 1910, p. 1192.

for shoes, for though I pay less than before, my shoes they really cost me more.

He makes it clear to me that what I lose I gain, you see; and on such things as clothes and shoes I seem to gain but really lose. Thus, if I buy my socks too low, they'll still be higher—Dunc says so—and shoes I thought were high last fall were really low shoes after all.

[Laughter.]

Mac says if I pay less for shoes or hats, the maker has to lose. And if he loses, then, you see, he charges up the loss to me. Now, when I have to pay him more, he reckons profits to his store, and Duncan finds a share for me in all of this prosperity.

The speeches shed a radiant light upon the theme and make it bright; I merely read them o'er and o'er to find more's less and less is more. In buying hat, or coat, or vest, dear's cheap, and cheap is dear at best. High's low, low's high, far's near, near's far, white's black, black's white—and there you are.

We live in topsy-turvy land when McKinlay waves his magic wand.

[Laughter.]

Concerning the change and evolution that has come over the early Republican protective doctrine, designed to foster infant industries, I would further submit the following:

Mary had a little lamb,
Its fleece was white as snow;
It followed her to Pittsburg,
And now you ought to see the darned thing.

[Laughter and applause.]

The old idea of encouraging new industries is being destroyed by the present system, for in so far as trusts and monopolies are being encouraged, individual enterprise and individual initiative are being suppressed. A monopoly need not confine its charges to a high percentage of profit on the product, but it can charge up to the public all the graft and mismanagement that may go to make up its costs. It is not compelled to be efficient. It can afford to dispense with improvements in machinery and methods. It can put valuable patents in cold storage. Thus the tariff, in so far as it aids the trusts, throttles progress instead of fostering industry.

In song and oratory we are properly reminded of the gratitude we owe to the Providence that placed us in this land of liberty and plenty. Is there not shown a lack of appreciation when we hear the solemn assertions made by some of the gentlemen that our prosperity is not due to the natural bounties of our country, not to the genius and efficiency of our people, but to a system of taxing ourselves. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Whenever protest is made against the existing protective tariff an argument promptly adduced in its favor is one which was best phrased by the Hon. "Bathhouse" Coughlin in the city hall of Chicago. He asked a fellow alderman how he could advocate the creation of prohibition territory and consequent loss of revenue from saloon

licenses, when, as he stated it, "we are all of us heartily in need of funds." If either the Government or any interest happens to be "heartily in need of funds," there is always a means of raising revenue by boosting the tariff. I do not believe that it helps matters much to hold that we ought to lower the wall to such a point as to provide only for the higher wages of American labor plus a profit to the manufacturer or producer. This amendment still justifies the establishment in our country of industries that do not belong here. It would justify the raising of cocoanuts in hot-houses. It would justify a tremendous tax upon tea in order that the laborer engaged in tea culture could be recompensed at upward of a dollar a day, while he is now receiving probably less than 10 cents a day on the other side of the ocean. I am unpatriotic enough to be grateful to the heathens who in their blindness are picking tea for us at that rate of wages, and I would not advocate forcing them to adopt our standard of living by the wearing of American clothes, or even the drinking of Missouri champagne, Mr. Speaker, for I fear they might be brought to feel the necessity of charging us more for doing us this service.

No one has ever shown any fund from which can be drawn the tax levied by the tariff and paid out in subsidies to the protected interests except the fund that resides in the pockets of the people. Those who assume that the tariff is a means of creating prosperity or of creating wealth are much better at juggling and at picking coins out of the air than was Herrmann, the magician. If we can tax ourselves rich, we can prove poker to be a productive industry. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] Equally, an individual may become opulent by shifting coins from one pocket to another, and the Nation can acquire wealth, if not merit, by unanimously consenting to the reciprocal picking of pockets by all the people.

Economists would doubtless urge that this universal and fairly distributed pocket-picking system would be unproductive, but we have had too much of doctrinaire teachings to listen to any more of it.

It might be surmised that should the pocket-picking system become thoroughly established it would not be equally enjoyable to all the people. There would be some more adept than others. There would probably be coteries formed in the profession that would band together in "strong-arm" or "hold-up" work, and when, if perchance through popular clamor, because of over activity, the practice were put into partial disrepute, and there arose the question of proper limitation, it would be found that the least skilled and the unorganized would first be deprived of the privilege of picking pockets. [Laughter.]

Through many of us newly elected Members the people are protesting, not against the wealth of the country, but against the present system of dis-

tribution, which fully deserves the bitter resentment it has incurred. The evils of distribution are caused by special privileges and the protective tariff creates and licenses privilege. It would not interest the men described in the Pittsburgh Survey, who are worked to death and thrown on the junk pile, to figure out and to ascertain how many wives per annum a Pittsburgh millionaire could afford out of the dividends of the Steel Trust. [Laughter.] Rather would he be interested in supporting one wife and some few children with less work and more pay. There would be little satisfaction to a cash girl working for the Marshall Field Co. at a weekly wage of \$3 to know that she and that corporation were jointly worth over \$50,000,000. [Laughter.] The people are not satisfied with statistics of national wealth, they want better conditions for themselves.

But after all, the greatest sin that can be laid at the door of the protective tariff is the economic waste which it encourages. The fortunes piled up by the richest men of the country amount to nothing when set against the annual loss caused by the employment of men in unjustifiable occupations.

A subsidy which supports those occupations must come from other occupations which belong on our soil and in our country, and the men engaged in either the wrong thing or the right thing in the wrong place form an army which we might call the "army of the mal-employed." They have to be supported by the well employed, just as much as every standing army is a charge upon industry.

Some day I expect to hear our standpat Republican friends making the old confession, "We have caused to be done those things that ought not to be done; we have left undone those things that ought to be done, and there is no health in us." [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.]

The [Congressional] Record, with its vast compilation of statistics, shows a mathematical ability engaged in proving out what is logically absurd. The accuracy of the almanac does not prove the value of the nostrum it advertises, nor can questions of ethics be determined by the use of logarithms. One is rather inclined to doubt the efficacy of such figures when they are used to prove views diametrically opposed. We certainly get into "topsy-turvy land" when we try to follow the statistics. You must remember the old rhyme—

**Down here below two and two make four;
Perhaps up in heaven they make six or seven.**

The statement was made on this floor that the dividends paid on the stocks of the great corporations were the proof of the wealth of the country and meant prosperity. There might properly be query made as to whether dividends represent the fruit of production or extortion, whether they were produced by the use of plow and ax or spindle and loom, or whether they were "produced" at

the point of a revolver or searched for in the pockets of victims rendered unconscious by sandbag or lead pipe.

As a freshman in this course of education, I can not understand how a country can get rich by sharing its natural resources with all who choose to come, dividing our patrimony, as it were, and at the same time keeping out all possible things that can be excluded that would go to increase the size of our hoard. Privilege clamors for cheap labor and immediate development of everything. Statesmanship calls for readjustment of opportunity for ourselves and our children.

The balance of trade argument is not entirely convincing to some of us. Whenever China or Russia improve their balance of trade by exporting foodstuffs in time of famine, there seems to be something the matter with the mathematical self-sufficiency of this theory. If a freezing tramp should sell his clothes, he certainly would improve his balance of trade, although not his condition. [Laughter and applause.]

Anyone who has lived on the Pacific coast can not fail to entertain profound respect for the self-helping ability of the Japanese. They are the most remarkable self Helpers in all the world, and no one need ever again invite them to help themselves. Some two years ago, in the islands of Hawaii, just at a time when the cane-grinding season was at hand, the Japanese engaged in that industry unanimously struck. They did not appear to be satisfied with their wages nor disposed to recognize the contract they had made with the planters, which procedure was not entirely original on their part. In the course of the dispute they wrote a series of resolutions to the planters to the effect "that it was the duty of the planters, in accordance with the true American principle of protection, to get an increase in the sugar duty and thereby raise the value of sugar, and then out of the added profit they should divide with the laborers." Strange that this simple and excellent and wholly American plan was not at once adopted. [Laughter.]

Let us consider some more phases of Hawaiian sugar. The business was built up first under subsidy and then under a protective tariff. The sugar land is nearly all of it in the hands of the great corporations. These corporations are paying large dividends on inflated values. This is the upper crust of the pie. Next there comes a filling of upward of 400,000 tons of sugar, for which, together with all other sugar, imported and domestic, the American people are paying heavy taxes. The lower crust consists of oriental labor. The yellow man is everywhere displacing the white man, even in the skilled occupations. The white man of small means has little or no chance to inhabit the "Paradise of the Pacific." It is today a country of corporations and yellow men. The white men are so greatly outnumbered that there

seems danger that the pie may be turned over, to the obvious benefit of the under crust, but to the destruction of the upper crust. To prevent such an unfortunate occurrence and to protect the protected-sugar industry we are taxed for an increase in our navy. To protect the navy, which must protect the protected-sugar industry, we must be taxed to fortify Pearl Harbor. To protect Pearl Harbor, to protect the navy, to protect the protected-sugar industry, we must keep near Pearl Harbor a considerable army of men, and these must be supported out of public taxation.

This is an illustration of the "American doctrine," and the American consumer can realize as he pays his grocery bills that he is not only patriotically encouraging an American industry for the benefit of corporations and yellow labor, but that he is encouraging an indefinite increase in our navy and a probable increase in our army, always with the possibility that the navy and the army aforesaid may have to be actively used to further protect the protected-sugar industry, with all the waste of life and of property incident to war, and at a very rough estimate with four hundred and eighteen thousand millions of dollars of pensions to pay in the years to come. [Laughter.]

I can not agree with those gentlemen on the majority side who believe in a tariff for revenue. There is doubtless justification for a high tariff on certain luxuries, but there is no fairness in a revenue tariff laid upon necessities. The burden is not upon the proper shoulders. Mr. Rockefeller probably pays less Government revenue on the food he consumes than does the average hod carrier. He would doubtless like to pay as much, but he can not without eating as much. For the present we must look to the tariff for revenue. Eventually we shall provide for Government funds from income tax, from heavy taxation of community-created land values, from rentals of the public domain, all of them direct and comprehensible. We shall have internal revenue taxation on articles not necessities.

I have discussed theory without any idea that we could afford or should make any sweeping changes at once. Too many people inhabit the rickety structure to permit of its immediate demolition. A revision downward, schedule by schedule, is the beginning of the work, and a notice to make preparations to vacate. [Applause on the Democratic side.] At some time or other these patients, the "invalid industries," must leave the hospital, whether to turn their steps to self-support or to the cemetery. [Laughter.] They can not forever remain parasitic. The tariff has been too often revised upward by its friends. The people have commissioned its enemies to revise it downward. That we may have a more just system of distribution and a more equitable system of taxation, we must study the sources of our

wealth and the means whereby this wealth may be saved and increased for the benefit of the many.

There is great hope in the growing ideals and the clearing outlines of the great policies of State and National conservation. By saving the common wealth for all our people and by wiping out the great special privileges in land and other natural resources, by breaking down the extortions of monopoly and by regulation of our public utilities, we shall make this country better for the average man, and no worse for any man. [Prolonged applause on the Democratic side.]



"USTLER JOE."

For The Public.

There is an old man named Fels,
Who skips the world over and tells
 All the good folk he meets
 On the highways and streets,
That "Rent's like the Game of the Shells."
He's a dandy old chap, is this Joe.
He's the friend of "The Man with the Hoe,"
 And unlike all the rest,
 He is doing his best
To abolish the cause of most woe.
He's a chap who is "flush" with the "change,"
And he spends it in manner quite strange.
 He perused Henry George,
 Now he wants to disgorge,
And the business of life rearrange.
"Tax naught save Land Values," says he;
"Twill abolish all Mon-op-o-ly,
 And the sadness of earth
 Will give way to sweet mirth,"
Says "The Old Man from over the Sea."
Joe's not canny like wee Andy C.
Joe's not "oily" like saintly John D.
 He is "only a Jew,"
 But he's white through and through,
And a lover of "real liberty."
So off with your "lids," boys, to Fels,
From Yukon to the old Dardanelles.
 Give three cheers and a smile,
 From the Lakes to the Nile,
And make the earth ring with your yells.

ROYD EASTWOOD MORRISON.

BOOKS

THE GRAND OLD WOMAN OF AUSTRALIA.

Catharine Helen Spence. An Autobiography, Edited by Jeanne F. Young. Published by W. K. Thomas, Adelaide, South Australia.

Every library of any size in the United States should place on its shelves this modest autobiography of Catherine Helen Spence, the Grand Old Woman of Australia, for the reason that in those

lines of thought in which she was a master and a teacher she has left her mark upon American thought. In 1893 she came to this country, a woman of sixty-eight, knowing only two persons in the flesh and two more by correspondence, and in eleven months she had delivered over a hundred lectures, and come into personal touch with hundreds of leaders and thinkers and workers in reform movements. Through her writings and correspondence she kept in touch with these up to the day last year when she was called away.* No one else has ever done such world-wide propaganda for a truly representative method for the election of legislators, and everywhere she made disciples. Her most notable convert on this continent was Mr. Robert Tyson of Toronto, who for many years was secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, and is now again.

In the world of child-saving she told over and over again of the principles on which such work is conducted in Australia, principles which are more and more coming into favor here.

The note of sadness, of dissatisfaction, is so common in the biographies of the world's great leaders, that we are conscious of a refreshing change when we read the intimate life-story of this woman who grew ever happier as she grew older, to whom life was a joy and a satisfaction, and who was able to respond wholesomely and whole-heartedly to the demands that life made upon her whether in the home as daughter and as sister or in the community as the public mother of the neglected child and a leader of thought in the young country that she loved so much.

ALICE HENRY.

* * *

CHILD-WASTE.

The Solution of the Child Labor Problem. By Scott Nearing. Published by Moffat, Yard & Co., New York, 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

Play and school, argues Mr. Nearing, are the chief business of childhood. Through them the child prepares for skillful and intelligent work in his adult years. Child labor—and the working of any immature youth, be he thirteen or eighteen, is child-labor—is always at fearful cost to the child himself, to his family, to society, to his very employer.

The causes of this sacrifice? "Personal causes—greed, ignorance, and indifference of manufacturer, parent and child—are insignificant factors," Mr. Nearing holds. "The average child-laborer goes to work because his family needs the income, or because he 'hates school,'" often both. The family is poor because the man's wages are too low and the cost of living too high. The schools are "hateful" because they are moneyless.

Up to this point the author reasons well. But his announcement of a solution comes with the

*See vol. xiii, pp. 322, 341.

sickening thud of utter inadequacy: (1) The minimum wage; (2) compulsory insurance; (3) school feeding. The minimum wage would at its best crawl up just a little slower than the cost of living. Compulsory insurance ranks among the rest of the post-mortem curatives. School-feeding should begin with the mothers.

The author has discovered poverty as the cause of child-labor. Poverty is lack of wealth. Why in the name of simple logic does he not next look for wealth? Is there any? Who has it? Why? How?

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

* * *

WORLD WITHIN WORLD.

The Great Morning. By Clarence Lathbury. The Nunc Licet Press, Minneapolis. Price 75c. Postage, 5 cts.

A message of hope and comfort to those who mistakenly regard death as a terror or as a bereavement. To such the dainty white volume with its golden suggestion of sunrise will be a gracious gift. In the three chapters—"Sunset," "The Great Morning," "And Beyond," the author gives his successive views of the one life which in all its phases is eternal.

"Immortality," he says, "is no special greatness, no removal to other places; it is the harmony of the whole life of man with the divine order. It is not the everlasting for which we so much long, as the beautiful, the symmetrical, the serene, and the perfect. The other life is not a future life nor even another life. There can be no actual futures for eternal beings. Eternity is an eternally endless present."

In his eloquent way Mr. Lathbury seeks to impart the enthusiasm of his faith to those who, without the same cheering light would walk in comfortless darkness, "The Great Morning" is one of those unpretentious essays that appeal directly to the affections while meeting the exactions of an intellectual faith. Daintily bound and boxed, the volume makes an appropriate and pleasing gift to those who have need of its happy philosophy.

A. L. M.

PAMPHLETS

The Smoke Nuisance.

"There should be a complete understanding of the scientific fact that visible black smoke is made up almost entirely of unconsumed particles of combustible carbon, or coal, wasted into the atmosphere through imperfect combustion. It is economic waste, in itself; and its emission creates additional waste.

. . . In every case, smoke is a preventable nuisance, and every smoking plant or locomotive is a sign of wastefulness and of disregard for the rights of the public." Brief papers on the doing away with

this nuisance are contained in the new edition of its Smoke Bulletin published by the American Civic Association (Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.) Enclosed therein comes besides a picturesque and instructive folder on "Furnishing the Streets in Suburban Communities."

A. L. G.

PERIODICALS

The Review of Reviews.

In this magazine for May there is an excellent appreciation of Tom L. Johnson as a municipal executive, from the pen of E. W. Bemis. It tells what Mayor Johnson did, rather than what he was or what he thought.

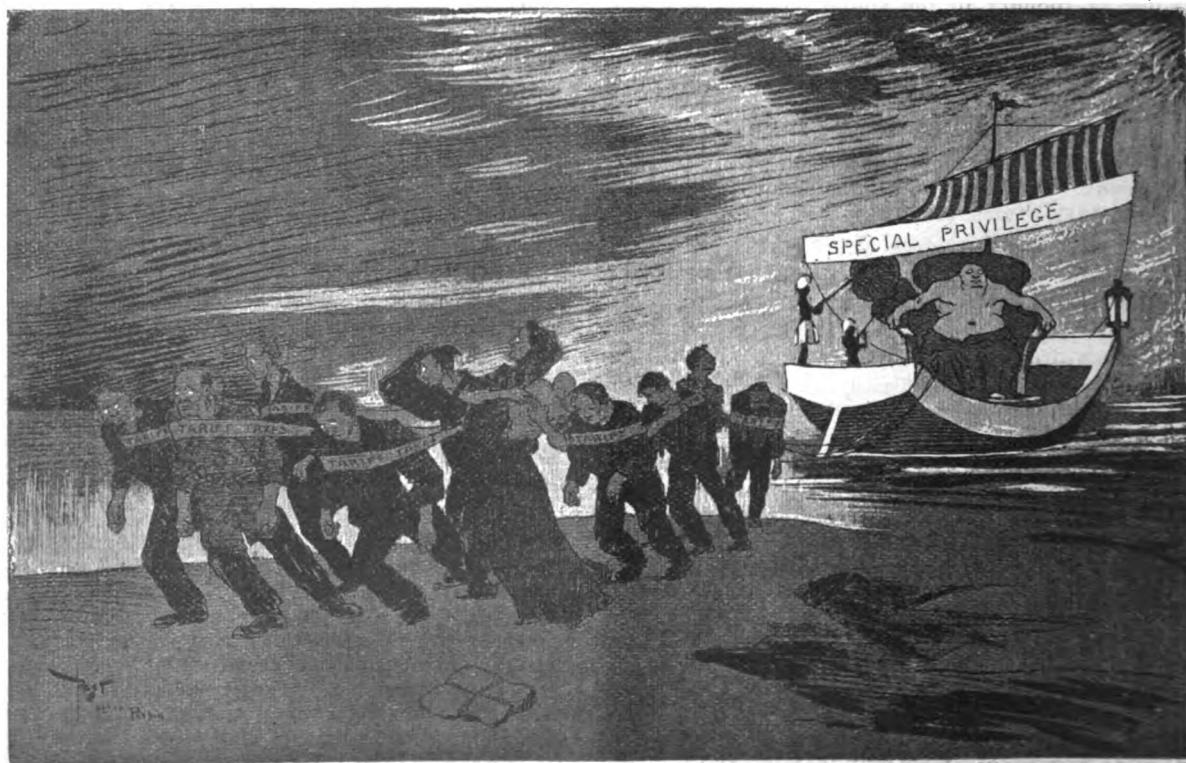
+ +

Socialism in California.

The Appeal to Reason, of Girard, Kansas, begins in its issue of May 6th an appeal to the labor class to "Carry California for Socialism," in order to "elect Socialists to the California Supreme Bench," so that they may review the McNamara "case in accordance with the facts and the real evidence." This appeal is based upon the declared expectation that the prisoners will be convicted upon "an unbelievable mass of trumped-up evidence" for the exposure of which the friends of the accused will be given no time.

THE ISSUE NOW BEFORE CONGRESS.

Drawn for The Public by Charles Johnson Post.



Landlordless Lands.

In the magazine section of the New York Herald for April 30, Bolton Hall writes of Arden (Delaware), Fairhope (Alabama), West Brook (Maine), Harvard Village (Massachusetts), and Free Acres (New Jersey), communities with the Henry George idea back of their plans, and of which Fairhope was the pioneer. This interesting article loses nothing by its illustrations, one of which is a portrait of Frank Stephens on the Quaker warpath.

+ +

The Conservator.

edited and published monthly by Horace Traubel (1631 Chestnut St., Philadelphia), is one of our freest advocates and supporters of human rights, founded on the real and legitimate grounds of human equality. The general character of the journal is exceptionally high and inspiring. Each number includes one of the editor's suggestive "Chants" which have the merit of awakening thought to the real uses and meanings of life, while the "Collects" and unique criticisms form an interesting study.

A. L. M.

+ + +

Radical Guest: "By the way, Duchess, if we abolish the lords this session, won't the duke be awfully upset?"

Duchess: "Oh, I expect he would; but I shan't let him know, you know!"—Punch.

The Public

THE PILGRIMAGE.

I made a pilgrimage to find the God:
I listened for his voice at holy tombs,
Searched for the print of his immortal feet
In dust of broken altars; yet turned back
With empty heart. But on the homeward road,
A great light came upon me, and I heard
The God's voice singing in a nesting lark;
Felt his sweet wonder in a swaying rose;
Received his blessing from a wayside well;
Looked on his beauty in a lover's face;
Saw his bright hand send signal from the sun.

—Edwin Markham in the *Nautilus* (Holyoke, Mass.).

MR. AND MRS. DANIEL KIEFER

desire to thank their friends everywhere
for the many very kind telegrams and
letters they have recently received—far
too many for them to make individual
acknowledgment.

Cincinnati, May 6, 1911.

"A Senator, Pa——?"

"A Senator, my son, is very often a man who has
risen from obscurity to something worse."—Life.

+ + +

"I see they have discovered evidences of bribery
in the Ohio legislature also."

"Why do you use the word 'also'?—O, I remem-
ber!"—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

"If you are looking for bargains," said the broker
"I can suit you. I can offer you some stocks at ten
cents a share."

"But why are they so cheap?" demanded the lady
shopper.

"You see, they have been slightly damaged by
water."—Pittsburg Post.

+ + +

One of these autograph fiends wrote to Edmund
Vance Cooke last week, asking for an autograph.
Edmund wrote, in reply, "Did you buy my latest
book of verse?"

"No," answered the fiend. "But I expect to sell

Our Small Books and Pamphlets.

The Crime of Poverty.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Price, postpaid, 10c.

A Great Iniquity.

By LEO TOLSTOY.

With portraits. Price, postpaid, 10c.

Gerrit Smith on Land Monopoly.

With Introduction by WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Cover portrait. Price, postpaid, 10c.

Moses.

By HENRY GEORGE.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

"Thy Kingdom Come."

By HENRY GEORGE.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

"Thou Shalt Not Steal."

By HENRY GEORGE.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Story of My Dictatorship.

By LEWIS H. BERENS and IGNATIUS SINGER.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Case Plainly Stated.

By H. F. RING.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Single Tax—What It Is and What It Will Accomplish.

By JUDSON GRENELL.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

A 1911 Single Tax Catechism.

By C. B. FILLEBROWN.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Open Shop and the Closed Shop.

By LOUIS F. POST.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Success in Life.

By LOUIS F. POST.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Smaller Profits, Reduced Salaries and Lower Wages—The Condition, the Cause, the Cure.

By GEORGE L. RUSBY.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

How to Get Rich Without Working.

By EDWARD HOMER BAILEY.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Direct Legislation—The Initiative and the Referendum.

By JOHN Z. WHITE.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

National Decay Caused by Political Corruption; and the Remedy.

By WILLIAM PRESTON HILL.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Franklin and Freedom.

By JOSEPH FELS.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Thomas Jefferson.

By STERLING E. EDMUNDS.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

The Mission of a Liberal Church.

By HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

Marriage as a Present Day Problem.

By ALICE THACHER POST.

Price, postpaid, 5c; per dozen, 50c.

ADDRESS

THE PUBLIC, BOOK DEPT., Ellsworth Bldg., Chicago

our autograph for enough to buy a copy. And that's all I am after."

Edmund wrote him.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.



Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the well known writer and lecturer, in an address in New York on woman suffrage, said:

"A famous New York editor was arguing with me the other day.

"But," he said, "women can't pretend to be men's

"I am awfully stuck on this binder. I strung up all this year's PUBLICS, and as it was new I got all the holes about the same distance from the top and the side. I was very much surprised that the little prod supplied with the binder would really pierce the enlightened PUBLIC quite through, unaided. Usually such prods do not do this, they just sit up and show what they ought to do.

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equals. Take war, for instance. Suppose a war arose between us and England or us and Germany, or us and Japan, what would you do then, madam?"

"I'd do the same as you would," I answered promptly. "I'd sit at my desk and write articles urging other people to go and fight."—Washington Star.



"Fine old inn, sir," commented the host. "Everything in this house has its story."

"I don't doubt it," remarked the grouchy tourist.

Profits

"The term 'profits' is a business term. It includes some kinds of earnings and some kinds of business 'rake-offs.' For mere business purposes, where no distinction is made, or intended to be made, or necessary to be made, between what is earned and what is only a legal appropriation, the word serves well enough; but in economic analysis, or in the forum of morals, or in connection with legal or political reform, the two kinds of things which the word 'profits' interchangeably includes and messily confuses, must be clearly distinguished. We must separate so much of 'profit' as is truly earnings for service, from so much as is merely 'rake-off.' Of course you can't put into the same category, in economic analysis, two things so different as earnings and 'rake-offs' and then expect to reach sane conclusions. The hunter may talk of 'wild game' but that won't do for the naturalist; so the business man may talk of 'profits,' but the economist and the economic reformer must be more precise."—From page 173 of "Social Service," by Louis F. Post.

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"And is there any legend connected with this old piece of cheese?"—Kansas City Journal.

* * *

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France may have danced the minuet in glittering Versailles. Perhaps the vestal virgins marched to its stirring rhythms in the feasts of Lupercalia. Ha, it bears an abrasion—perhaps a touch of fire. Why, this may have been the very fiddle on which Nero played when Rome burned."

"Thirty cents," said a red-nosed man in the front row.

"It's yours!" cried the auctioneer, cheerfully. "What next?"—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

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