

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

The Chicago Vice Commission.

A commission to investigate vice in Chicago was organized several months ago, and in due time it made a lengthy report. The descriptive part of this report is valuable for its possible stimulating effect upon minds "with a perfect lack of imagination"; and there is much also about it that points to radical causes. But the remedial recommendations are either childish or evasive.

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Nothing could be plainer, from the descriptive parts of the report, than that prostitution is a phenomenon of industrial maladjustments—one of the results of those man-made laws that foster classes of idle rich by creating classes of working and work-begging poor. Yet this commission, with deliberation it might seem, blinks that obtrusive fact altogether when it comes to recommend remedies. Its ameliorative proposals might be reasonable enough, to be sure, if they were put forth frankly as such. Before success can reward attacks upon deep-seated industrial wrongs, ameliorative methods are necessary for humanity's sake and for decency. But when ameliorations and penalizations and supervisory commissions are proposed, unaccompanied with any suggestion whatever of getting after underlying causes, those proposals look to the man up a tree very like covers or screens for respectable Privilege.

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Far be it from us to hint that the proposals in question really are intended to mask Privilege, which by creating poverty among workers to bestow wealth upon idlers, generates and fosters the social evil; but how can headway be made against this evil while the idle rich are allowed to feel that no responsibility for it rests upon them as stubborn beneficiaries of its underlying cause? Prostitution may be so regulated by laws and commissions that the leisurely rich may not find it offensive. Nevertheless it will flourish. Disinherited classes who earn wealth without getting it, will have their daughters drafted into it as victims so long as privileged classes, getting wealth without earning it, furnish sons to be seducers and brothel patrons. Privilege in power cannot be deprived of its awful toll of women's virtue, any more than of its ghastly toll of human lives. As it is no respecter of "lower class" age nor sex nor infancy in its industries, neither does it respect the virtue of "lower class" women in its play.

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Law-making Judges.

When the North and the South were at white heat over the question of Negro slavery, in that bitter period which culminated in the Civil War, the rights of a slave were brought to a hearing before the Supreme Court of the United States, and irreverent liberty men were often heard to say of the decision that "it gave the law to the North and the nigger to the South." History repeats itself. The same Supreme Court, its dominant members now in friendly touch with plutocracy as those who dominated it some sixty years ago were with slavocracy, has just disposed of two cases involving the plutocratic principle even as that old decision involved the slavery principle; and although it may not be said that in these cases history has repeated itself literally, it seems to have repeated itself in effect as closely as superficial circumstances permit.

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In the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case the Court appears to have decided that those particular Labor officials were wrongly sentenced to imprisonment because in the lower court some technical *i* was undotted, or traditional *l* uncrossed. But the kingly power of the courts to make law to order for the undoing of labor unions seems to have been upheld. Although these particular Labor leaders are saved from present imprisonment—a highly desirable concrete situation on the eve of 1912,—the arbitrary control of the courts over Labor unions in behalf of Big Business unions

seems to be "cinched." Labor gets the judgment, plutocracy gets the law.

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A highly desirable situation, too, for present political emergencies, is the decision outlawing the Standard Oil trust. But while hitting that particular and unpopular combine this body blow, the Court has thrust into the law words which plutocracy has for years vainly tried to get Congress to put there. It has decided that none of the conspiracies in restraint of trade which Congress has made criminal are criminal, unless the courts think they restrain trade unduly. So the oil combine is dissolved, with leave to re-combine *not unduly*. The judgment goes against the oil trust, but the law is spread out invitingly before its greedy members and their skillful lawyers.

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Let it be distinctly understood that in these comments we make no attack of our own upon the Supreme Court. We go no further in suggestive criticism than the oldest and one of the ablest of its members goes in his dissenting opinion. While agreeing with the decision dissolving the oil trust, Justice Harlan does not agree with it in usurping the authority of Congress, and he says so in unmistakable and highly significant terms. What could be more sinister in significance than his indignant phrases, to which Senator La Follette gives this shortened but not altered form: "The court has by judicial construction written into the Sherman anti-trust law language which the great combinations and trusts have been endeavoring to persuade Congress to add to it by way of legislative amendment"?

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Asquith's Speech on the Lords' Veto Bill.

In the course of the passage through the British House of Commons of the Liberal measure for pulling the teeth of the Lords' veto, Mr. Asquith gave special emphasis, speaking as Prime Minister, to two or three important matters of interest in this country as well as in Great Britain. He emphasized the Liberal pledge of immediate home rule for Ireland; he definitely declared the utter deadness of the King's veto, and predicted a like fate for that of the House of Lords; and he denounced the attempt of the Tories to thrust upon the British people irresponsible judicial power, as in the United States.

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Before quoting him on his objection to judicial control, let us reproduce Mr. Asquith's words on

the old hereditary vetoes and the pledge of his party to Ireland. He was giving notice to the Tories in a speech in the Commons, that none of the crippling amendments to the Lords' veto-abolition bill would be allowed by the Liberal-Irish-Labor membership of the Commons. These amendments were designed to leave the Lords their veto in full force on such subjects as home rule, duration of Parliaments, suffrage questions, education, etc., and Mr. Asquith said:

No one, I think, will dispute that this bill was clearly before the electorate. If ever there was anything which approached the nature of a referendum it was the general election of December of last year. But nobody supposed that the Parliament bill was anything but a means to an end. It is not an end in itself. It was never represented as an end in itself. It is an improvement in our Constitutional mechanism. You may say it is not an improvement. At any rate, it is a change in our Constitutional mechanism, and it is a change initiated and advocated with one object and one only—to make the progress of legislation desired by the people as represented here in the House of Commons easier and more facile than it has been in the past.

I take the case of Home Rule as an illustration. I constantly see it represented that the Government is pushing through this bill, and this clause in particular, without any of the amendments now suggested, in order that they may spring a trick upon the electorate of the country. What is the trick? The trick simply consists in this—in having told the electors, as we did tell them in the clearest and most explicit terms, that we wanted to improve the Constitutional machine in order to carry out certain objects of which one was the granting of self-government to Ireland. I never concealed from the country, but I explicitly stated to the country in the clearest possible terms before this election took place, that if the electors gave us a mandate to carry this bill we should use the machinery created in this bill, and use it in this Parliament—[loud cheers]—for the purpose of carrying out—[The end of the sentence was lost in a great outburst of cheering.] To ask us now, as you are asking us by the series of amendments of which I take this one as a sample, to go through the elaborate operation of setting up this improved Constitutional machine, and at the same time to enter into a self-denying ordinance not to apply it to any of the purposes, social and political, on which the hearts of our fellow-countrymen are set, is to ask us to degrade the discussions of Parliament into a sham. That is my general answer to the whole series of amendments which seek to exclude from the operation of this bill particular categories of legislation.

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In alluding in the same speech to the King's veto, Mr. Asquith said that it is "as dead as Queen Anne."

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But it was his comment upon the efforts of the

Tories to give to the British courts the dangerous power over legislation which our courts claim and have used, that gives peculiar interest on this side of the water to that speech by Mr. Asquith. For its full appreciation, readers must recall two things; the fact, first, that our courts, from lowest to highest, may nullify legislation, as they frequently have done, on the ground that it is unconstitutional; and the fact, second, that the Tories were trying by amendment to introduce into the bill restraining the Lords' veto, certain subjects to which the restraints should not apply. "The moment you introduce discrimination," said Mr. Asquith on this point, "and except from the omnipotence of Parliament certain categories of legislation, introduce an outside authority to determine matters—you invoke the courts of law to say not only what is the meaning of an act of Parliament, but whether Parliament has acted within its Constitutional competence—in other words, introducing doubt and difficulty and ambiguity as to whether any particular law is Constitutionally binding." When citizens of the United States object to the Recall for judges, inspired by that sanctity with which the judicial office is clothed in England, whence we get our tradition of judicial sanctity, let them remember that in England judges are not allowed to nullify laws which the people's representatives enact, whereas in this country judges assert that very power. And let them be duly impressed with the further fact that one of the ablest and most democratic of British prime ministers warns his countrymen against the judicial trap their Tories had set and which our Tories have already sprung upon the democracy of the United States.

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A Memorial Number of The Public.

At an early date we purpose issuing a regular but enlarged number of The Public in memory of Tom L. Johnson. It will contain as nearly as practicable all the newspaper and magazine comment, favorable or otherwise, upon Mr. Johnson at the time of his death. We already have several hundred clippings, but will appreciate the courtesy of periodicals favoring us with clippings of their own editorial comments, lest our collection be incomplete. Tom L. Johnson's relations to The Public were especially close. Beginning with the first number, they were intimate and cordial until he died—from personal motives in part, for personal affection was an inextinguishable quality of his character, but not from personal motives alone. Inspired by the same principles of fundamental democracy,

guided by the same general theories of policy, and drawn on by loyalty to the same teaching and leadership, Tom L. Johnson and The Public co-operated in mutual confidence regarding public affairs through all that period which, beginning in the gloom of imperialistic and plutocratic reaction, seems now to have turned toward the dawning of a democratic day. So we shall think of our memorial number, and trust our readers may, as a tribute from all of us to the memory of one of our own band whom the world also has come to know for his exalted vision and his patient service.

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The Welfare of Children.

Prominently upon one of the walls of the playground section at the "Child Welfare Exhibit" in the Chicago Coliseum—which is not to close until May 25th; and everybody can see it, for it is free a good part of the time—there is this inscription:

A Wist: When I die I hope the people will make a playground over my body. I would rather have the children romping over my grave than a hundred monuments.—Tom Johnson.

Those words of Tom L. Johnson, uttered as he was dying, and almost his last—the closing sentence of fourteen words as literal as human memory permits—express the spirit of this exhibit. It began last winter in New York. This spring it was brought to Chicago, where it is under the management largely of social settlement workers and their friends.

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The exhibit has to do mostly with the children of the poor. This is matter of course. Children of the rich are less in need of its suggestions than of those that other kinds of child welfare exhibit might offer. In conception it is very like the congestion exhibit at New York some years ago, at which an impressive visualization of land monopoly as a congestion producer had the effect of demonstrating once more the truth of Tolstoy's aphorism that "the rich will do anything for the poor but get off their backs." Yet there is an effort and an air about this children's welfare exhibit in Chicago which inspire no little confidence in the probability that there are those among the rich who would at least get off the children's backs if they only knew how. Discrimination as to race is lacking, nor is there any as to grades of poverty. What the public school is in those respects, such also is this exhibit. It is a sincere and skillful adventure, in behalf of the welfare of the city-bound child; without reference, however, to the reasons why this class of children are especially in

need of such adventurous undertakings, or even of why they and not others who also come naked into the world are city-bound.

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"The children of the city need more play grounds," said one thoroughly competent explainer at the exhibit, "and to get them we must have play directors, play mechanism, and vacant lots." When asked the hardest to get of those requisites, she replied: "The vacant lots." Yet Chicago is crowded with vacant lots; and they have never cost anybody a penny—not to produce. The very moderate taxes their owners have paid were for the privilege of keeping the lots out of use until they are so badly wanted that users will pay high prices for them. The same significance stares you in the face throughout the exhibit, although not everywhere quite so obtrusive. But when all this is said, and more like it, the fact remains that mothers and fathers, and children themselves, black and white and rich and poor, may learn many things, are learning many things, at this exhibit, of the necessity for child welfare and the unfolding means for promoting it:

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They may learn how to care for themselves and why they should; they may learn how to care for others, and why; they may have their moral imaginations stirred, their minds sharpened, and their civic consciousness and conscience aroused. And with it all, there may come a generation of folk with more love for right things and good things, and less stupidity in estimating their whys, their wherefores and their relative values. Such child-welfare exhibits are both useful and dangerous. Useful because they tend to make the coming generations think; dangerous because—well, for the same reason that they are useful. Old Father Time cannot keep on holding out our common globe for the coming child to take, as Lucy Fitch Perkins has feelingly postured him for this child-welfare exhibit. Some of these days the coming child will take it; and then won't there be fine "stunts" in the way of getting down off of backs.

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David Harrower.

Few of the older followers of Henry George but will sense a familiar sound in David Harrower, the name of a man who in a lifetime of 90 years gave his maturity to the democratic cause. Born in Scotland in June, 1821, Mr. Harrower died at Wakefield, Rhode Island, April 25 last. He was a Chartist, and in that cause became in his youth

and early manhood an effective writer and speaker. For three months in the Chartist agitation he and his partner published the "Democratic Circular" at Glasgow. It was suppressed by a purblind government, which regarded Mr. Harrower as especially dangerous because he opposed the policy of physical force, and advocated policies of persuasion, the effect of which the aristocratic elements feared more than violence. Coming to the United States in 1850, his democracy drew him naturally into the abolition movement, and later into the land movement when Henry George's writings came his way. Among his neighbors he was personally loved, and his influence was democratic wherever it extended. He was a man who modestly united a rugged intellect with a "listening heart."

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The Los Angeles Labor Case.

Last week we copied the editorial of a labor organ, The Coast Seamen's Journal, on the charges of murder made against J. J. McNamara and his brother, the former the secretary of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, now in jail at Los Angeles pending trial. We did so for the purpose of contrasting it with Mr. Roosevelt's denunciation of labor leaders in an Outlook editorial. While silent about the gigantic campaign for making public opinion against the accused, Mr. Roosevelt emptied hogsheads of wrath upon labor leaders for trying to make public opinion in the opposite direction. Yet it seems to be the fact that labor leaders are almost alone in not trying to make public opinion either way. Not only is this the attitude of the Coast Seamen's Journal, but it is also that of the American Federation of Labor, of which Samuel Gompers is president. In its Weekly News Letter of April 29th, that national labor organization made this definite assertion:

No good citizen, be he a member of a labor organization or not, desires crime to go unpunished. If the men charged with this terrible catastrophe be proven guilty then punishment should be inflicted.

But rightly enough that assertion is accompanied with this further expression:

The question of guilt or innocence of the crime charged is not a matter to be determined by detectives or antagonistic employers' associations, but by an impartial jury after both sides have had their day in court.

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Why are those expressions of labor papers and organizations ignored by writers like Mr. Roosevelt and periodicals like The Outlook? Is it explained by these further declarations of the Fed-

eration of Labor which appear in the same article of its Weekly News Letter?

To the minds of labor men experienced in the struggle for the right, there is a conspiracy, interminable in its ramifications, and more dangerous than is generally believed. Organized labor's sphere of influence has rapidly and potentially increased in the past half decade and in this land of dollars the captains of industry realize that the men of labor are becoming an ever increasing force for the amelioration of all forms of abuses against humanity.

Perhaps there is no such conspiracy against labor organizations. Mr. Roosevelt evidently thinks there is none; but he is only an honorary member, and honorary members of trade unions may not have the experience necessary to form a good judgment. If the accusations against the McNamaras are just, why were the forms of law for the protection of innocence so indecently disregarded by the persons making the arrests? If the McNamaras are not victims of some Big Business conspiracy such as labor unionists suspect, why were they treated differently in extradition proceedings from accused persons not pursued by Big Business? If the McNamaras are not victims of a Big Business conspiracy against organized labor, why are its enemies and fairweather friends—horse, foot and dragoons, Blanche, Tray and sweetheart—so busy at making hostile public opinion, and so solicitous that labor leaders hush their noise and let the hanging bee proceed with Big Business decorum?

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Mammon Worship.

A wealthy manufacturer, not a hundred miles from Chicago, recently told contemptuously of an artist who also had lived not a hundred miles from Chicago, and had killed himself because of the absolute misery of his poverty. Was the artist's misery, or the plutocrat's contempt for it, the greater dishonor to our social order?

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THE SLUM.

If the slum of a great city were produced by the people who live in it, its suppression would be a hopeless task. But the slum is a product of social tendencies,—of social pressure operating steadily in one direction; and there is nothing quite so irresistible as a tendency.

You can see the slum on a small scale in almost any country village, though it is not called a slum there. A few poor families, so poor that they live on the very edge of destitution, make the village

slum. Whenever a death or sickness occurs in one of these families, the charitably disposed find "relief work" to do next door. This is charity at its best. As the village grows into a town, the number of its poor increases, their poverty deepens, and the slum begins to take form as a slum; when the town becomes a city, its poverty area widens until there are literally acres of it; and when the city becomes a metropolis, there are square miles of slum, streaked with "tenderloins" and "red light" districts.

For all this there is a competent cause. The cause is economic pressure, scarce opportunity to earn a decent living. Water never knows why it runs down hill. Neither do slum dwellers know why they are so conditioned. They do not reason it out. They cannot explain it. And if the powers of civil government were thrust into their hands on condition that they remedy these defects of a society of which they are part but not as members, they would be helpless to do it. Social regeneration can not come through its worst victims. Nor can it come from charity. When Bolton Hall said that charity is "an institution for relieving the condition and increasing the number of the poor," he stated a solemn truth. Charity scarcely touches the problem. There is no substitute for justice. Nature defies us to find one.

The only practical remedy for the slum is to reverse the tendency that produces it. Repressive legislation will not do. It fails as often as tried, and it has been tried times without number. Purity propagandas and anti-vice crusades are equally futile. Nothing permanent can be accomplished until those social currents which produce the slum are reversed.

It is a push from the outside, not a pull from the inside, that peoples the poverty stricken area of a big city. There is nothing there to pull. Pull is attraction and poverty is not attractive. The push on the outside is caused by an artificial narrowing of opportunities due to monopoly of land. The relation between the two may not be seen at a glance. Deep seated things never are, and this is socially subterranean. But the relation is there and easily demonstrated. Once relieve land monopoly pressure from the outside, and the same force that has made the slum will destroy it. It will do so by a process of elimination.

Every aspect of the slum is ugly; it does not possess a single virtue; it is all vice. The "struggle" against poverty in the slum is a virtue imported from the outside. You will find this struggle not only in the slum but throughout society, discoloring its life as a drop of ink discolors a

clean blotting pad. When once the tendency is reversed the slum will be destroyed in much less time than it takes to create one. The wonderful wealth-creating, and therefore poverty-abolishing, forces of the industrial world will do it.

But in this as in all other things, men exhaust every avenue for doing things wrong before trying to do them right. Our experiments with the slum have been failures to date. The slum persists—larger, more menacing than ever, and more hideous. To scatter the slum is to spread its contagion; to concentrate it is to parade its atrocity and foulness. To deny its existence is to play the ostrich. To abolish it by legal enactment directed against the thing itself, is folly. Scientific treatment alone will suffice.

When science discovered that the mosquito was responsible for the spread of yellow fever, how silly it made an armed posse look, quarantining a town. Shot guns for mosquitos! Yet it is by just such clumsy methods that society handles the slum question. We deal with the slum as we did with yellow fever—killing its victims instead of killing its cause.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

* * *

PAY IN PROPORTION TO SERVICE.

If one could see all the private letters that discuss industrial problems, writer to reader and back again, one might better understand the ebb and flow of public opinion on industrial subjects, which is often surprising in its unexpectedness. Perhaps public sentiment is moved more in this way than by means of printed page or platform speech. Here is an example. We should like to give names, but that might not be safe. Our assurance goes with its publication, however, that the letter is from a railway official of good standing and high responsibilities, to a bank teller who had applied for a railway position, where he supposed that salaries were "advanced in proportion to services rendered." Omitting personal parts and names, the railway official's letter follows:

"If your salary as a bank-teller has not been 'advanced in proportion to services rendered,' your case is not exceptional, nor confined to employes in banks. It is true also of those who work for railroads, merchants, manufacturers and other employers.

"Not long ago the clerical force employed in the general offices of railroad companies was reduced about six per cent, office hours being lengthened six per cent, to make up for the shortage. The same was done by all other employers of labor. Thousands of men and women, able, willing and

anxious to work, were thus thrown out of employment, and wages were reduced 'in proportion to services rendered' in all classes of business and all occupations—except where labor unions were powerful enough to maintain a fixed scale of wages for the few that retained their employment.

"But while the unions have been able, arbitrarily, to prevent a direct reduction in wages, and sometimes to force wages to a higher point, they have never discovered how to arrange it that all who want work at any time or place may find it. We have heard of the necessity for 'emergency currency' for the benefit of banks, but we have never heard of 'emergency work' for people out of employment, even though they are starving.

"The man out of a job must work, borrow, beg or steal—if he continues to live. And as the desire to live, *somehow*, is natural and strong, the man out of a job must finally choose between borrowing, stealing, begging, or working—for just enough to barely live. This is true of all times and places and of all men and races. The condition is only accentuated in times of industrial paralysis. If there are nine jobs and ten men who have no other means of sustaining life, the wages of the nine will finally shrink to the necessities of the one who can not find work.

"This is what reduces wages to lower and lower levels, without regard to the value of services, as population and wealth increase; for as a general rule, unless compelled as I have said by the strength and activity of labor unions, no person, firm or corporation will continue to pay an employe any higher wages or salary than they would have to pay some other person who is out of work and able and anxious to render the same service for just enough to maintain a mere animal existence.

"In Belgium and other portions of densely populated Europe there are 500 or 600 people to the square mile. In the United States there are not over 25 or 30—less than one-twentieth. Both countries have a high protective tariff to make work plentiful and wages high. But the man out of a job is generally present in both places and reduces wages for unskilled labor to the lowest level. The trouble with the common people in both countries is that the most valuable land in and around the cities and other desirable localities, whether agricultural or mineral, is held out of productive use. It does not matter whom the law protects or encourages in holding land which the owners neither occupy nor use themselves, nor allow any one else to use. Other men, women and children are crowded off as the population and

wealth of the community increase and the value of the land consequently rises further and further beyond their reach. Thus driven into the streets, they are compelled to move on and on in search of work, thereby perpetuating that constant oversupply of labor which reduces wages to a minimum, fills the land with tramps and mendicants and thieves, and crowds the asylums, hospitals, poor-houses, jails, penitentiaries and brothels with victims 'more sinned against than sinning'.

"We all resent indignantly the appropriation in a street car or railway train of several seats by one person which he neither uses himself nor permits any one else to use, while others are crowded into the aisles. But that is a mere temporary hardship. Insignificant and unimportant as such actions may appear, however, we universally regard them as indefensible and intolerable. But the Lord has made us dependent upon land for life, liberty and happiness—not for a few moments or an hour, but for life. We have no choice in the matter. We are here and must stay, whether we like the arrangements or not. Yet we tolerate the holding of land out of use, although it deprives the great majority of their inalienable birth-right, robs them of life itself, and reduces the mass of the people everywhere to a condition which grows more and more appalling and alarming as the years go by.

"If the people of your State would secure the adoption of a tax on land values irrespective of use and improvement, so that the vacant but valuable land would pay as much tax as adjoining land of equal value which is in use, and abolish one after another all other taxes for revenue, they would set going a process that would break up land monopoly in that State. They would compel land owners and land speculators to put your natural resources to use or permit some one else to do so, and thereby increase enormously the opportunities for work and the demand for labor, thus raising wages to higher and higher points. This would make yours the best State in the Union in which to live, to earn a living, to own a home or to operate business. None of your people would have to go away from home to secure employment or to find opportunity for a business career.

"Instead of looking for employment outside of your State, suppose you speak to others about this, and try to force the opening up of your own natural resources. Thereby you would produce a multiplication of demands for labor under conditions that would naturally cause wages and salaries to 'advance in proportion to services rendered.'"

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

DEMOCRACY AS AN EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLE.

Detroit, Mich.

Our Ford Republic, situated in Farmington township, Mich., about an hour's ride on the interurban cars from the Detroit City Hall, is a truly democratic institution.

The Republic occupies an 80-acre farm with about \$35,000 worth of improvements on it. Its citizenship consists of about 60 boys, ranging in age from eight years to sixteen years, and on an average about thirteen years old. All the boy citizens are Juvenile Court boys, committed here (though it is not a municipal or State institution, but supported by private subscription) for varying periods, usually for only from three to five months. Some few boys have been with us three or four years. The other citizens are the Superintendent, the Matron, a cook, a farmer, two school teachers and a helper. The Republic is two years old.

Not a law or rule is made on the place that is not made by the citizens. All officers of Republic are elected by the Australian ballot system, after nominations and primaries. The only non-democratic office is that of Supreme Court Judge, who is the Superintendent, appointed by the Board of Trustees. He tries only State officers, and cases where State property is involved. All other cases are tried in the Citizens' Court, which is presided over at present by a twelve-year-old Judge. The officers are: Judge of Citizens' Court, Sheriff, President of Republic, State Banker, Public Works Commissioner, and Health Commissioner. These offices are all filled by the boys. There is no jail, nor are there any guards. Any boy can run away if he chooses.

No one in the Republic has to work, but he will find it to his advantage to work. All citizens look for work. Why? They have to pay their own way. Their board costs \$2.50 per week in Ford Republic money. They must buy their clothing, pay for their washing, pay their taxes, and pay their dues to the athletic association if they would play ball, etc. They are paid for all work at so much per hour—even going to school and keeping their school work up. Our own coinage is good for this, and U. S. money is not. The reason is that fond parents come out and want to help the boys out. We want them to earn their way.

The Judge disposes of as many as fifty cases in an evening's session of court sometimes, and there being no lawyers in the Republic to befog and obscure issues, justice, tempered with mercy in deserving cases, is administered in a very creditable manner. There is no jury, all citizens being present. Frequently they are asked to help decide in difficult cases. Appeal can be taken to the Supreme Court which sits immediately after Citizens' Court, or a referendum can be had, or they can appeal to the City of Detroit Juvenile Judge. Recall in form of impeachment is made use of occasionally. No citizen can punish another citizen (though there are punching contests occasionally between the boys when

some things have to be fought out) without going into court. Even the Superintendent or a school-teacher or the matron or the farmer, if they have a complaint against a boy for negligence or violation of law, must sign and file a written complaint in the Citizens' or in the Supreme Court. The case is disposed of in court, and there only. In the same way the boys can file complaints against the adults, who must then stand trial. If fines are imposed they must be paid in cash—the cash of the Republic. If a boy has no money because he is lazy or indifferent or has been fined a good deal, he becomes a charge on the State and must be supported by the State's tax receipts. This comes directly out of the citizens' pockets; so, of course, they see that the laws are obeyed and that all work as they should. The laws are the same for all citizens, adult or young; so adults are forced to set a good example and be on the square.

Citizens come into court, however, for good acts as well as bad, and, instead of being fined, are rewarded. Emphasis all through is placed on good citizenship, rather than on bad. This plan has stood the test of two years, and we are more than pleased with the way it is working out.

The place is a happy one. Work begins in the morning with "Assembly," when all citizens meet in the school-room, and several go through stunts of one kind or another for the amusement of all. This starts the day out well. The latter idea was borrowed from the Vineland (N. J.) Home for Feeble-minded, and it is a good one.

The average time spent at the Republic is short, for an institution cannot take the place of the family, even though, as here, the institutionalism of the system is minimized. The boys on their return home are formed into an alumni Association, and our Superintendent, Mr. Lane, visits them regularly at their homes. The principles of self-control and self-respect learned at the farm are thus not lost sight of in the city. The real test of any plan for the treatment of juvenile delinquency is really to work out their salvation in the environment they are to live in. And we are firmly of the belief that we are making good citizens out of what was apparently unpromising material.

The plan of the Ford Republic is, I believe, original with Homer T. Lane, the Superintendent, and it differs in many essential particulars from the George Junior, and other Republics—(1) in the age and class of boys we deal with; (2) in the law-making and law-enforcing machinery, there being no jail and no lawyers, as there are at the George Junior Republic.

We aim to conduct an uplifting experiment on truly democratic lines.

R. H. STEVENS.

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THAT DEBT FACTORY.*

Duluth, May 15.

The "important but simple fact" stated in the letter by Mr. Wm. W. Clay on page 439 of your current issue of *The Public*, is a fallacy. The loan of \$1,000 of bank notes does not create a debt of \$1,050; it creates a debt of \$1,000. One thousand dollars will liquidate that loan, if it is paid the same

*See *The Public*, current volume, page 439.

day it is made. What creates the extra \$50 debt is the year's delay in repayment—the time during which the borrower, engaged in production, is assisted by the use of tools of production furnished him by the lender. Of course, if the loan is spent unproductively by the borrower, the situation is different; but that has nothing to do with any currency question.

Moreover, bank notes in any form are not in the least peculiar in this respect. A loan of \$1,000 in gold pieces, or Government greenbacks, or silver certificates, or free silver, if not repaid for a year, will create the same extra \$50 debt. And so, also, on a business basis, will the loan of \$1,000 worth of fertilizer, or groceries, or any other commodity.

Mr. Clay seems to be trying to discuss the currency question; but is he not really attacking the legitimacy of interest, in toto? That is his right, of course; interest may be an immoral exploitation of labor. I do not wish to consume your space in discussing that question at this time; I wish merely to call attention to the fact that that is the real purport of Mr. Clay's thesis.

G. W. C. ROSS.

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 16, 1911.

Dissolution of the Standard Oil Trust.

Among the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States delivered on the 15th, was a notable one, the most sensational in that court for many years, which compels the dissolution of the Standard Oil trust, the official name of which is "The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey." [See vol. xiii, p. 350.]

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This company is what is known as a "holding company," a trustee for the holding and voting of the stock of a large number of operating companies in the oil business. In a suit brought against it by the Federal government for violating the Sherman anti-trust law, the lower court ordered its dissolution within 30 days, and upon appeal to the Supreme Court this decision is now affirmed, except that six months instead of thirty days is allowed the company for winding up its affairs and restoring to the respective owners the stocks it "holds" in trust.

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The decision of the Supreme Court is unanimous in its conclusion, although Justice Harlan dissents as to the line of reasoning adopted by Chief Justice White and acquiesced in by all the other Justices. Under this line of reasoning the

provisions of the Sherman anti-trust statute which make unlawful all contracts or combinations "in restraint of trade or commerce" between the States or with foreign countries, mean, not every such kind of contract or combination, but only those that "unduly restrain inter-state or foreign commerce"; and the question of due or undue restraint is for the courts to determine by "the standard of reason" heretofore accepted by the British and American courts in passing upon combinations calculated "to unduly diminish competition." Holding then that the Standard Oil Company is the center of such a combination, the Court decides that it exists in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law thus interpreted, and must therefore be dissolved.

Justice Harlan's dissenting opinion was to the effect that the company should be dissolved because it is a combination for restraining trade, and not merely for restraining trade unduly. He said in part:

It is true that there has been raised for years the contention that the act of Congress did not restrain reasonable contracts in restraint of trade, but only unreasonable contracts. Counsel in this court have in effect been required to take their seats for arguing in support of this contention. Since the law was enacted attempts have been made practically at every session of Congress since then, to have the law amended so as to give a legislative interpretation in support of this contention. But the fact remains that up until this day Congress has been satisfied with the law as written in this respect, and today the law stands that every contract in restraint of trade is illegal. . . . The important fact is that it never has been amended. There is no man in this country today who does not know it will not be amended. . . . When men of vast interests are concerned, and they cannot get law making power to enact amendments to construe the law as they desire, they spare no effort to get some case before the courts in an effort to have the courts construe the Constitution and the statutes to mean what they want them to mean. . . . In the case of overshadowing combinations of vast wealth and power, which may be a menace to the general business of the country, a law which has bestowed a wholesome rule is to be interpreted in such a way that it will not be necessary for those who have appeared as defendants to go to Congress to have it amended. . . . The opinion today means that the courts may by mere judicial construction amend the Constitution of the United States and amend the statutory laws.

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The Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison Case.

Another notable decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the 15th was its reversal of the imprisonment decree of the District of Columbia Court in proceedings for contempt against Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison, officials of the American Federation of Labor. [See current volume, p. 109.]

The full text of the Court's opinion not having been published in Chicago as *The Public* goes to press, we are as yet unable to define its scope with certainty. From ragged reports, however, it appears to have been decided upon a technicality. "The basis of the Court's opinion," as one of the reports reads, "was that the proceeding brought against the Labor officers was for *civil contempt*, which could be punished only by the imposition of a fine; the sentence of the lower court to imprisonment was the penalty for *criminal contempt*, and in the premises, therefore, it was not a legal punishment." The attorney for the prosecution, Daniel Davenport, is reported as saying that while the Court has set aside all the jail sentences, it settles "every question on account of which the suit named was originally brought," namely:

First it held that the boycott is illegal, and that a party threatened with injury by one has a right to go to a court of equity for protection against it. Second, a court of equity has a right to enjoin all acts done in carrying out such a boycott, which extends to printed, written and oral statements. It holds that the Constitutional right of free speech and free press affords no protection to the boycotter; that it is the duty of all enjoined by a court of equity to obey the injunction, and that for a violation of it they are liable to a fine by way of indemnity to the party injured, commensurate with the pecuniary damage inflicted, and that, further, the party violating the injunction is liable to punishment by way of imprisonment for his contempt of court.

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Decision Against the Beef Trust.

A sweeping decision on demurrers to indictments of the beef trust for criminal violation of the anti-trust law was made at Chicago on the 11th by George A. Carpenter, United States District Judge.

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In his opinion, Judge Carpenter, after brushing aside certain technical points as unfounded and stating that the Constitutionality of the anti-trust law had been settled by the Supreme Court, considered the question of whether the indictments charge facts sufficient to support a conviction. This is an extraordinarily concise and clear statement of the alleged criminal conduct of the beef trust, requiring no special skill to understand, and we quote it almost entire for the information it contains:

The indictment in case No. 4509 charges in substance that there has been carried on from Chicago (and other named cities in different States) an extensive industry involving (1) the purchase of live stock; (2) the slaughter of such stock, and (3) the furnishing of fresh meats to the people in certain named States; that 85 per cent of all fresh meats consumed in the named States has been slaughtered in those cities in designated proportions; that 70 per cent of this 85 per cent "has been

carried on, directed and controlled" by the defendants; that the Armour group had branch houses in 317 different towns and cities in different States; the Swift group 280; and the Morris group 82; that the defendants, divided into three groups representing certain corporations or interests, managed, controlled and directed by them, entered into an agreement, first, that they would not compete in the purchase of live stock and would make uniform bids for animals of like grade; second, that the three groups, by agreement, adopted a uniform system of determining the sale price of dressed beef by adding to the cost of the animal on hoof certain fixed and excessive charges to cover operating expenses, and by deducting certain inadequate allowances for by-products; third, that each group would direct its sales agents to sell at the prices figured, according to the agreement, or, if not at that price, at a certain other price also agreed upon. That by agreeing on the amounts to be paid for the live stock, and upon the amounts to be added for operating charges, and the amounts to be deducted for by-products and in reaching a uniform sale price, they have eliminated all competition in the fresh meat industry between the three groups of defendants. That they were large operators in interstate commerce, and by a combination among themselves they have agreed upon a system which restricted the business of each individual group. The medium through which 111 groups collected information and operated was the National Packing Company, organized, owned and directed by the groups collectively. Its office furnished a common meeting ground and there the total business done by all the defendants, by agreement, would be equalized from time to time, each being permitted to share according to its financial interest. And prices were kept up by increasing or decreasing shipments to particular territories according to market conditions. The whole plan, from its inception, appears plainly to be one to eliminate competition as a factor in fixing prices among the three groups of defendants. Indictments Nos. 4510 and 4511 charge substantially the same facts, (1) resulting from a conspiracy and (2) creating a monopoly. . . . I am of the opinion that the facts stated in the indictments show clearly a plan or scheme organized and put in operation by the defendants, the ultimate purpose of which was to control the production, sale and distribution of fresh meat throughout a large section of this country, and, as incidental to that control, to lower prices to the producer of the raw material, and raise prices to the consumer of the finished product.

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Following are the persons under indictment:

Louis F. Swift, president of Swift & Co.; Edward F. Swift, vice president of Swift & Co.; Charles H. Swift, director of Swift & Co.; Francis A. Fowler, director of Swift & Co.

J. Ogden Armour, president of Armour & Co.; Arthur Meeker, general manager for Armour & Co.; Thomas J. Connors, superintendent of Armour & Co.

Edward Morris, president of Morris & Co.; Louis H. Heyman, manager for Morris & Co.

Edward Tilden, president of the National Packing company.

[See vol. xiii, p. 1213.]

† †

In Congress.

More significant of coming political changes than any other one fact is the Republican situation in the Senate. Two well-defined groups with distinct leadership are believed to have been established by the deadlock over the selection of a President pro tem. of the Senate. Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire was put forward as the regular Republican caucus nominee. But Senators La Follette, Clapp, Bristow, Gronna and Poindexter refused to attend the caucus. Senators Bourne, Cummins and Work also remained away, but they recognized the caucus by pairing against Gallinger. They did not vote, however, when the election came on in the Senate. Senators Borah, Brown, Dixon and Kenyon also recognized the Republican caucus by attending, but they did not vote at the election in the Senate. Senators Bourne, Work and Cummins (against Gallinger) had paired with Senators Kenyon, Borah and Dixon (for Gallinger); and Senator Brown (Republican) had paired with Senator Clarke (Democrat). After several ballots, the Senate is at a deadlock. The first roll call, on the 11th, gave 32 votes for Senator Gallinger (regular Republican), 35 for Senator Bacon (Democrat), 4 for Senator Clapp (Progressive Republican), 1 (Senator Clapp's) for Senator Bristow, and 1 (Senator Bacon's) for Senator Tillman. [See current volume, page 440.]

† †

Republican Progressivism.

Moses E. Clapp, Republican Senator from Minnesota, was the principal speaker at the banquet of some 700 Progressive Republicans at the Auditorium Hotel in Chicago, given on the 13th by the newly formed Progressive Republican League, of which Charles E. Merriam is president. Fletcher Dobyns presided.

†

Senator Clapp declared that—
the underlying and basic law of human progress is that all progress for the rank and file is due to the protest of the many against the oppressions of the few. Leadership must be representative service, not dogmatic power. It is not Republicanism that the party should serve a few special interests. We've met defeat where the reactionaries ruled. Where high purpose has failed it has been because the flag has been transferred from the principle to the individual. The struggle of the hour is to place the party beyond control of the reactionaries. Why not a third party? True, there is an incongruous situation. The names "Republican" and "Democratic" convey no idea of distinction and there are progressives in each party, but there'll be no third party until the people despair of desired

changes in the old parties. The good men in each party ultimately will lift both parties to a higher plane.

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W. Clyde Jones, a State Senator, described the Republican leaders in Illinois as mostly reactionary, while the masses of the party are progressive, and argued that "the time has come for a change." In that connection he sounded this significant warning:

Beware of any among those now professing to be Progressives who are progressive from the lip, but not in the heart. Some will profess to be progressive whose affiliations have been with the reactionary leaders. If they have had a change of heart, well and good; but if they are put forth as the agents of reaction to defeat or lead aside the true Progressive movement they should be shunned as the pestilence.

†

Professor Merriam, the Progressive Republican candidate for Mayor of Chicago at the recent election, declared that there is no personal interest to be served by the Progressive League. He called the movement greater than any man or group of men, and insisted that the fight was not against individuals, but for certain principles and policies. He said:

A party does not rise or fall with the size of the pay roll at its disposal, but as its measures meet the approval of the people. An organization based upon spoils is staggered by defeat, while an organization based upon principle continues the even tenor of its way. We are against the alliance between special interests and political bosses which has characterized our politics for a generation. Special interests have had too much to say about the conduct of our political affairs. They have not been content with governmental noninterference; they have attempted to obtain governmental action in their direct interest. They must be regulated, restricted and restored to their proper and subordinate place in our political system. We do not expect to accomplish results in a single day. One battle, or one campaign, one defeat or one victory, will not settle the issues. The obligations of citizenship remain the same in victory or defeat. We want men who will enlist for the war.

†

Another of the speakers at this banquet was Chester H. Rowell, president of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League of California, who told how the Progressive Republicans of his State had got—a government that is Progressive and honest from top to bottom, honored with the full and enthusiastic confidence of all the people of both parties and all factions.

† †

Tricky Republican Progressivism.

The warning sounded by Senator Jones at the banquet of the Progressive Republican League is supposed to have been an allusion to a pronounce-

ment of Republican State Senators of Illinois published on the 11th. This pronouncement declares that—

the undersigned, Republican members of the Illinois State Senate, agree to associate ourselves together for the purpose of forming an organization to further such progressive Republican principles as we have endeavored to promote throughout the present session, and we invite all who indorse these principles to unite with us, in behalf of the Republican party, and the welfare of the State.

Then there follows a recital of progressive measures supported, including direct primaries, commission government, the corrupt practices act and the Initiative and Referendum. Referring to the pronouncement, and its signers, the Springfield representative of the Inter Ocean, Charles N. Wheeler, said that that this movement is designed to put the—

La Follette-Merriam-Jones insurgent crusade out of business. Governor Charles S. Deneen is understood to be in sympathy with the latest sensational attempt to control the political situation in Illinois next year. Supporters of Senator Lorimer, Senator Cullom and "Uncle Joe" Cannon have joined with the Deneen "holy alliance" leaders in the new movement, which has for its ostensible purpose the reorganizing of the Republican party in Illinois.

Senator Jones himself signed this pronouncement, but it was explained that he had been tricked into it. Another explanation is Mr. Wheeler's in the Inter Ocean.

The wording of the pledge is such that Senator Jones could not consistently refuse to affix his signature, but he did it with the expressed understanding that it was not in any way to bind him or his actions with reference to candidates that will be in the field in Illinois next spring.

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What is regarded as a political play toward the same king row on the larger national checker board, is the retirement on the 12th of Jacob M. Dickinson as Secretary of War from President Taft's cabinet, and the appointment in his place of Henry D. Stimson, Mr. Roosevelt's defeated candidate for Governor of New York. This change recalls the recent appointment of Walter L. Fisher as Secretary of the Interior, which aroused much political curiosity at the time; and on the 14th Washington gossip was running high on the probability that Mr. Taft is in this manner adjusting his political "fences" for 1912. John Callan O'Laughlin, the Chicago Tribune's Washington correspondent, reported on the 14th another move to get Progressives into the Stand-pat camp:

The man most favored for second place on the ticket by those who have Mr. Taft's interests really at heart is either Senator Cummins of Iowa, Gov. Deneen of Illinois, or Gov. Hadley of Missouri.

The British Parliament.

On the 15th the Lords' veto bill passed the House of Commons on third reading. An amendment rejecting the bill was defeated by 363 to 243, and the bill was carried by 362 to 241. [See current volume, p. 440.]

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The Mexican Revolution.

Juarez on the Rio Grande opposite El Paso, regarded as one of the best fortified cities in Mexico, was taken by the revolutionists on the 10th after the bloodiest fighting of the war. General Juan J. Navarro, commander of the Federal troops, surrendered unconditionally. The revolutionists treated their prisoners with consideration. General Madero himself went to the corral where the prisoners were quartered and made an address full of sympathy and encouragement, lauding them for their bravery and assuring them that in his heart as well as in those of his men there was no feeling of enmity, but of uniform friendliness. "You fought for General Diaz," he declared at the conclusion of his speech, according to the dispatches, "because you had to, because you were a part of that system which we are trying to dissolve. In a few days perhaps peace will be restored. You soon will be free. If the war is to be continued you can have your choice of being paroled or joining the army of liberation. In the meantime we shall treat you as brothers, not as foes." According to dispatches of the 11th, the revolutionary army has proved its character and discipline by the absence of looting and intoxication after the fall of Juarez, and by the quickness with which the shattered city was cleared of its dead and wounded. Immediately upon its capture Juarez was made the provisional capital of the revolutionary government. Provisional President Madero named a cabinet for the new government on the 11th, in which Dr. Vasquez Gomez was made minister of foreign relations and Venustiano Carranza minister of war. The provisional government has proceeded rapidly with its work of organization, extending it well into the States of Chihuahua and Sonora, establishing garrisons, installing local officials and opening railroads and telegraph lines. By obtaining possession of the custom house at Juarez the provisional government began to receive on the 12th its first regular income, the United States custom house officials at El Paso having received word from Washington to pass all arms and all classes of articles through to Juarez. The custom house at Agua Prieta was opened by the provisional government on the 14th. The provisional government has also begun to levy taxes. [See current volume, page 442.]

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A clash between the civil and the military leadership of the revolutionary party came on the 13th,

between the Provisional President and General Orozco, in command of the troops at Juarez. Reports have it that Orozco ordered the arrest of Madero and the resignation of his cabinet, but that Madero appealed to the soldiery and received their support, whereupon harmony followed. Among the demands of the military had been the life of their prisoner of war, General Navarro, and after the clash was over, President Madero, fearing for the continued safety of Navarro, himself whisked him away in his motor car to a point on the river bank where the prisoner forded the Rio Grande and took refuge with the American troops on the other side. Navarro is reported to have given his word of honor that he will return to Mexican soil when required to do so by Madero. If the feeling against Navarro among the insurgents because of alleged acts of cruelty in previous battles becomes stronger it may be that a court-martial will be ordered, say the dispatches.

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A new peace conference between Francisco I. Madero and Judge Francisco Carbajal, who brought new propositions, was opened on the 15th. [See current volume, page 442.]

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One of the reforms promised by President Diaz in his message at the opening of the Mexican Congress on April 1, has been given form by the introduction on the 13th in the Chamber of Deputies of a bill providing for a division of the public domain and of private estates, and the distribution of the land in small tracts among the people. The bill was referred to a committee. According to the Chicago Tribune's dispatch, in general terms— it authorizes the division and sale of such national lands as possess the requisite conditions for distribution in small parcels, being either "arable, pastoral, or capable of being brought under irrigation, and situated near some route of communication." It is provided also that "if in places where it is desirable to divide up lands there are no national lands suitable for the purpose, the executive may acquire lands belonging to private individuals, provided there are facilities for irrigation and the owners do not care to subdivide such estates themselves." To assure the productiveness of the tracts so acquired suitable measures will be taken in the way of constructing irrigation, sanitation, and drainage works, and transportation lines conducive to successful cultivation, and agencies and offices for the sale of the tracts will be established.

[See current volume, page 322.]

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Butitaint.

**Sincetheyleadedoutthiscolyum
We'venotnearlyroomenough.
Ifthethingwasprintedsideways
Wecouldcrowdinlotsmorestuff.**

—Independent.

NEWS NOTES

—Sunday afternoon single tax meetings have begun on Boston Common for the summer. They are held from 2 to 4 o'clock.

—Chas. Frederick Adams will lecture at Seattle, Wash, June 4; at Bellingham, Wash., June 8; at Everett, Wash., June 9; again at Seattle, June 10, and at Tacoma, Wash, June 11 and 12.

—The Western Federation of Miners has been granted full affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. News of the issuance of a charter was made public on the 12th. [See current volume, p. 86.]

—The Senate joint resolution providing for a Constitutional convention for Illinois was defeated in the lower house of the Illinois legislature on the 16th by 74 yeas to 69 nays, a majority falling far short of the necessary two-thirds vote.

—In a decision by the Supreme Court of Tennessee on the 13th an amendment to the State child labor law, making it unlawful to employ children under 14 years of age in factories, mines or workshops, is held to be unconstitutional.

—The American Federation of Labor has issued an appeal to organized labor and all its friends to contribute promptly and generously toward a defense fund for the McNamara trial in Los Angeles, asking that contributions be sent to Frank Morrison, Secretary, 801-809 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. [See current volume, pp. 416, 435.]

—Prince Lidj Beassu, grandson of Menelik, the old Negus of Abyssinia, was proclaimed Negus, or King, on the 15th. Prince Lidj had been proclaimed Menelik's heir two years ago, at the age of 13. Although his death has been reported many times, Menelik appears to be still living, but to have become wholly incapacitated for ruling. [See vol. xiii, p. 298.]

—President Juan J. Estrada of Nicaragua, elected on December 31st last, after forcing Dr. José Madriz out of the Presidential chair, himself resigned the Presidency to the Vice-President, Adolfo Diaz, on the 9th, and has tried to leave the country. Dr. José Madriz, who had fled to the City of Mexico when driven from Nicaragua by the Estradas last August, died there on the 14th. [See current volume, page 12.]

—A "Festival of Empire," the first of the many ceremonies planned in connection with the approaching coronation of King George and Queen Mary, was opened at the Crystal Palace, London, on the 12th, by the King and Queen in person. The festival is a combination of an industrial exhibition with pageantry illustrative of the striking periods and episodes in the history of the different parts of the British Empire. [See vol. xiii, pp. 684, 758.]

—Mrs. James Lynch, who died at San Francisco on the 10th of March, was a sister of the late Kate Kennedy who left a trust fund several years ago with James G. Maguire for the promotion of social justice, a subject in which Mrs. Lynch also was profoundly interested. Her body was buried May 2, at Tierra

Refonda, Lynch postoffice, California, where she had lived for half a century. Mrs. Lynch was a woman of impressive personality, with the skill of a teacher, which she devoted to the promotion of social reform.

—J. W. Hill, who, for political reasons—democratic Democracy—was removed from his place as master mechanic of the Peoria and Pekin Union Railway in 1905, was reappointed on the 1st. His headquarters are at Peoria. The Peoria Star speaks of his re-appearance in the yards as “a glad surprise,” saying that “the news of his reinstatement spread like wild fire among the engineers, firemen, switching crews and railroad men in general, for he was well liked by the men and his ability as a manager has long been acknowledged by everyone.”

—Upon a petition of 16,000 voters, a special election is to be held in Maine on the 11th of September, when the Davies direct primary bill and a corrupt practices act, both of which the legislature refused to enact, will be voted on under the Initiative and Referendum clause of the Maine Constitution. Three other questions will be voted on at the same election, namely: abolition of the prohibitory law, to give cities of more than 40,000 inhabitants the right to increase municipal indebtedness from 5 to 7½ per cent, and declaring Augusta the capital of the State.

—In his speech at Los Angeles on the 12th, Governor Wilson of New Jersey is reported to have said: “I do not find anywhere a desire to dispense with or to impair representative government. But under the political methods we have been in the habit of using in recent decades the people do not select and do not control their representatives. The selection of those representatives has been in the hands of small groups of men who were not chosen by anybody but themselves to make the selection. The present popular feeling, therefore, is based upon the conviction that the people do not really have a free selection of those who are to represent them, and cannot control them after they are selected.”

—John Dietz, accused of murder at Cameron Dam, Wisconsin, and who defended himself, was convicted on the 13th and sentenced to imprisonment for life. When about to be sentenced he said to the court: “Do you suppose I haven't known that sooner or later the lumber trust, because it is big and I am little, would kill me or put me out of the way? I have fought my fight and defended my home and family. I have done nothing wrong, and this conviction does not alter the fact. The trust has one creed, one law, one purpose. That is rule or ruin. They could not rule John Dietz. So they tried for six years to ruin him. This morning it looks as if they have got what they were after.” Mrs. Dietz and Leslie Dietz (the son) were acquitted. [See vol. xiii, p. 1073.]

—Congressman Berger, Socialist member of Congress from Wisconsin and a member of the House committee on the District of Columbia, proposes giving the people of the District voting rights. “I know very well,” he says, “that all the wealthy people will oppose this. They do not care to vote as long as they get the country at large to pay their taxes for them; but I believe that sooner or later the people of the United States will wake up to the fact that they are

being bunkoed out of six or seven million dollars every year. I say bunkoed because, excepting for a few landowners and shoddy aristocrats in Washington, nobody is getting any benefit out of it. It is a notorious fact that certain sections of the city where the working people live are neglected, while the northwest side, where the rich people are living, has streets enough laid out to accommodate every millionaire in the country.”

PRESS OPINIONS

The Chicago Vice Commission.

The (Albany, N. Y.) Times-Union (ind.), April 20. —Why on earth should any girl or woman enter the life of the underworld? A Chicago commission, which has studied the subject, reports: “The main cause of the social evil is poverty.” It sounds like an echo of Frances Willard's conclusion, at the end of her great battle against intemperance: “I have discovered that men are not poor because they drink, but that men drink because they are poor.” Very well, then—what about it? The Chicago commission proposes these remedies for the social evil: First, establish a morals commission; second, establish a morals court; third, instruct girls of 16 in hygiene. In other words, turn the little squirt-gun of moral admonition upon the great conflagration of poverty! “Only this, and nothing more!” Mr. Chicago Commission, you have run up against an economic fact in your investigation of the social evil. You have got to deal with it on an economic basis and administer economic remedies, or it goes on to pollute all the generations of the future.

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Society and the State.

Peking (China) Daily News, March 3.—Though the state and society have distinct organizations, they bear so close a relationship to each other that improvement made in one direction is also the improvement in the other. In fact the evolution of the state consists in the evolution of society. China can boast of a very ancient civilization, but the progress for the last several centuries has been exceedingly slow. To remedy this, says the *Ti Ching Press*, a social reform must first be installed. The programme for social reform should consist of the following: (1) The education of the masses. For a sound standard of morality and an intelligent public are as essential to the society as they are to the organization of the state. (2) The improvement of the laws. Public safety, order and prosperity depend mainly upon the protection of good laws, and therefore good laws may be termed the best safeguard of society and the best medium for the government of the state. (3) Reforming the refuse of society and the relief of the poor. Crimes are generally committed by these classes of people, and the betterment of their conditions is the fundamental remedy towards the elimination of crimes, and the maintenance of the public safety.

† † †

Virtue consists not in abstaining from vice, but in not desiring it.—George Bernard Shaw.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THANK GOD, I AIN'T A GIRL.

For The Public.

Out of a job an' reckless, adrift on the hot stone street;
 Livin' on hope an' hustlin', an' nearly—almost—beat.
 Six cents give me a breakfast—a belt hole did for my lunch,
 An' my nerve's a leetle frazzled a-playin' my luck for a "hunch."
 Out of a job an' empty, I'm up against it enough,
 An' the smile an' chest I throw, Bo, is bluff, jes' bluff;
 For my stomach's a holler echo an' my head's a'most a-whirl,
 But I'm a little grateful—thank God, I ain't a girl.
 Me—I'm sometimes workin' an' sometimes maybe not;
 Man's born to take what's comin'—his'n's the rougher lot.
 He's born for the plough an' harrer, an' shovel an' pick an' oar;
 His back to warp in the harness an' take the gall an' sore.
 Whatever he gets was comin'—is his'n by right o' strength,
 So out of a job an' empty is part o' the long day's length;
 An' after a belt hole grubstake there comes a thought o' pearl,
 That it ain't as tough f'r me, Bo,—thank God, I ain't a girl.
 Livin' on hopes an' hustlin', for the turn ahead in the lane
 Where I've builded a fancy structure, a little cottage in Spain—
 For there ain't no harm in dreamin', it stiffens a fellow's lip,
 An', Bo, I often need it to hold myself in my grip—
 An' maybe a One to fill it, there ain't no tellin' who;
 And' maybe there's One a-strugglin' an' sinkin' for me to do
 For her what a fellow oughter. An' my brain is all a-swirl
 At the hopefulness o' women—thank God, I ain't a girl.
 A man can rustle somehow when off his feed an' luck;
 There ain't no other system—he's got to use his pluck.
 There ain't no easy method with a flow'ry primrose path
 That slips him easy money an' gilds the aftermath;
 He don't have no resistin', no one urges him within
 The flick'ring, glitt'ring living an' the scarlet wage o' sin;
 No one tempts him subtly where the ashen lives unfurl;—
 I'm hungry an' I'm reckless—thank God, I ain't a girl.

Out of a job an' a girlie, adrift on the hot stone street,
 Nothin' before nor behind you, an' nearly—almost—beat;

A heart that should blossom in lovin', a mate that was made for a man,
 Strivin' an' strugglin' an' hopin', measurin' Death or the ban
 That goes with the easy livin', that curse of luck for the lack,
 An' slowly the needs are greater an' weaker the fight comes back;
 Then maybe the nights are gayer an' blonde is the straying curl—
 Beaten an' reckless an' hated—thank God, I ain't a girl.

Out of a job an' reckless—much my recklessness cost—
 An' one job's as good as another after the last is lost.
 But I can stand the hard luck and rustle an' sleep in the park
 An' tighten my belt f'r breakfast an' three holes more at dark.
 Whatever I do, where'er I go, I can always come back again
 An' look the world plumb in the teeth an' face it man to man.
 But there ain't no mercy nor Golden Rule to save her soul from the rod,
 Driven an' tempted an' lost, Bo,—I ain't a girl, thank God.

It's pretty tough on a husky guy when he's up against this game;
 But I'd rather it's me an' not a girl that's playin' out the same.
 It's the only thing I c'n think of that gives me a chance to state
 A reason f'r bein' thankful, a pat on the back for Fate.
 For the world is hardest on women, an' the lucky view with scorn
 The slips of their hard pressed sisters, damned in their early morn.
 No, I ain't so awful cheerful, but in the teeth of the world I hurl
 My only cheerful slogan: Thank God, I ain't a girl.

CHARLES JOHNSON POST.

† † †

THE CITY'S TEEMING WAYS.

From a Loiterer's Note-book in New York.

For The Public.

It requires some hardihood to be a loiterer actually using a fountain-pen and note-book in New York streets. Sometimes the occupation seems more like a war-correspondent's on the firing-line, than any such "loafing and inviting the soul" as Walt Whitman extols.

If a painter were to set up his easel and begin a picture in the Brooklyn bridge terminal during the rush-hour, or at the intersection of Broadway and Sixth avenue when the department stores close, requesting the policemen at the core of the maelstrom kindly to hold the throngs and traffic a few

minutes while he transferred the scene to his canvas, he would probably find himself expeditiously conveyed to the psychopathic ward at Bellevue Hospital. And though the pausing observer with his open note-book is not quite so conspicuous, and in the crisp street parlance, "dippy," as such an enthusiastic painter would be, yet the astonished scrutiny which he often receives, and the physical predicaments in which he is sometimes involved, make his reportorial activity seem distantly removed from holiday strolling in any Arcadia or Utopia.

I date an epoch in zest for wayside observation in the city from this episode: the years that have elapsed since do not dull the memory of stopping on the Bowery to let a boy of twelve black my shoes, when he fell to his knees, frail little suppliant, on a strip of carpet which he first spread on the sidewalk, and applied his brushes so vigorously as to warm my feet agreeably and bring the blood welling visibly up under his own skin, in the chill and cloudy autumn morning; his coat drawn snugly over his back let the lift of the shoulder muscles be plainly seen, and his loose collar opened deep enough in front to show the curve of his slender throat where it met the chest, while his lips were firmly pressed together with the determination of his work.

The street-vistas from Park Row toward the East River, through the dark, hoarsely-echoing gullies of the world's most congested tenement region, are bordered with fire escapes a-flutter with soiled cloths like dingy birds seeking their holes in the faces of cliffs, and blocked with boxes, flower-pots and bedding, while high above in a stupendous leap sheer across the black chaos slants the suspended roadway of the Brooklyn bridge like a dirigible balloon in some daring manoeuvre.

Around a corner rushes a gang of boys, yelping like a wolf-pack in full cry, who have been baiting a bewildered woman shopkeeper, and now flee before the unexpected champion whom the victim finds in her wrathful husband. Out from among the hordes of grimy children that frolic and quarrel here, with unremitting babel of shrill crying, there suddenly emerges a group of sweet-faced, clean little girls, with brushed hair and modest carriage, like a resonant chord of harmony in a welter of discords. Another child, seated on a flight of steps by the sidewalk, has her otherwise dingy apparel brightened by a pair of new and glistening patent-leather slippers, which she regards with beaming satisfaction; as I pass I see a boy who has been watching for his opportunity lean over and spit on one of the slippers, and as the aggrieved wearer stoops to wipe it with her skirt, an older girl standing near reaches out her rough shoe and spitefully draws it scratching across the burnished top of the other with the

glower of envy and malevolence in her face, while the despairing little one's eyes brim with helpless tears.

Men are loading huge tied bundles of folded clothing from the sweatshops out of wagons onto the backs of a file of small boys, in one of the side streets at the Bowery. An umbrella mender wears a hat and coat as rusty as the ribs and ferules protruding from the crumpled calico covers under his arm. The passer-by turns horrid at a strident cry, "Hey! dere goes a kid down de sewer!" just in time to see a boy's head disappearing through an orifice from which the cover has been removed, but he is soon reassured to see a baseball shoot forth from the pit, followed by its safely emerging rescuer.

In Doyer street, a part of the Chinese quarter, the gold ideograph letters of the shop signs suggest intricate patterns of embroidery on a velvet bodice or a courtier's coat; the residents of this fragment of the Orient, inset like a medley of bright mosaic stones in the gray monotony of the investing occident, glide furtively through their "pale" wearing round black caps, loose, glossy blouses, and shoes with a thick white foundation as though they had tramped through a bed of plasterer's lime, while their yellow-brown faces resemble the leaves of a rubber plant bereft of their chlorophyll.

On lower Broadway the giant policemen of the traffic squad tower like male Bartholdi statues above the human tides that swirl over the crossings when the preemptory whistle shrills through the thunder. A motorman on one of the surface cars, instructing a recruit at the controller, now and then deftly moves the handle himself in some more difficult situation amid the great turmoil, as an art teacher would take the brush from a novice's hand to show an intricate paint stroke. A messenger boy riding a bicycle through the thick of the traffic is escorting a dog on a chain, and the animal keeps darting away perilously at a tangent, almost throwing the cool-headed little proprietor under the wheels of the drays and cars. Near one of the curbs, pieces of some broken crockery are being quickly ground to powder by the incessant milling of the uncounted juggernaut tires, and as far as one can judge from faces and forms in the sidewalk throng, there are shattered human jars here also, being as surely and thoroughly reduced. Suddenly out from the current of faces there starts the blanched countenance with wide, frightened eyes, of a girl cut away from her escort by a car at full speed, which almost grazes them both.

On Broad street the throng of "curb brokers," made up of lean striplings and more prosperous-looking old stagers, in their twentieth century garb of gray or brown suits surmounted by elaborate neckties, with jeweled pins, about the sharp white collars, has something as feral at its core as a clan of cave-men; sudden eddies develop in

it, about some member who has made an alluring offer to buy or sell; the smell of Turkish cigarets floats from it as though its tribal fire had been freshly kindled with some strangely pungent herb; and as the apparently unconcerned participants in the continual barter stroll to and fro within the circle, they utter spasmodic cries such as "Union Copper 19 and a half!" "228 and a quarter wool!" "Cast iron 100!" like some species of foraging beast barking its call at capricious intervals.

On First avenue a hot waffle wagon is halted near the door of a school house, awaiting the dismissal of the children for its customers. The operator daubs the interior of his black griddle over a wood fire with a lard-brush, pours in a rivulet of thick, creamy batter, and then clamps down the cover; in a few moments a miracle is wrought, for the re-opened griddle reveals a brittle and indented slab, delicately browned, which the maker breaks into sections, covers with powdered sugar flying from the sifter in the wind, and lays in the grimy, reaching hands of the children who produce the necessary coppers from their pockets or sleeves.

A vender of honey balances on his head as he walks, a great pan full of the cream-hued combs jutting like islands from a luscious lake of the yellow syrup into which the sunlight strikes limpid golden; he strides with his hands hanging free at his sides and his shoulders thrown well back, and utters a half-call, half-song now and then in his strong and melodious baritone. A peddler of china saucers, cups, plates and other dishes from a wagon full of the pieces nested like white fowls in a bed of hay, attracts attention by rattling two of his dishes together with nervous quickness so as to produce a long-sustained, tremulous note almost like a low whistle.

On Lafayette street ten men are unloading from a wagon a piece of plate glass perhaps twelve feet square; six of them stand on the sidewalk beside the wheels, toward whom the other four cautiously push the great pane along the quilt on which it rests; then after the handlers have carefully made sure of the balance, all the men together swiftly push and pull the glass over the rim of the wagon till the lower edge swings to a set of wooden blocks placed for it on the sidewalk. Four strips of leather with handles at both ends are passed underneath, which eight of the men grasp, four on each side of the plate; the remaining two men steady the upper edge with long poles fitted with holding ridges at their ends, and additional stability is furnished by the unengaged hand of each of the eight carriers, laid against the face of the glass so that by them all a kind of pointed-arch passage is formed as in some children's game. With every preparation completed, a carrier of the last pair strikes the flagstone briskly twice with his foot to give the others the step, and then with the perilous burden riding unwaveringly

they pass into the warehouse, like the squad of soldiers that escort the captured "secret service" man in the war-play.

Out of a crowd on a 23d Street sidewalk, a policeman vigorously shoves a slouching, fashionably dressed fellow, and commanding him sharply to begone, dismisses him from the common respect; the man saunters slowly away alone and loses himself from sight amid the traffic that engulfs him in its sluggish stream, like a dark glacier consuming a broken tree, while a young woman who complained that the man had accosted and followed her stands watching, unable to move or speak; her sensitive face with its delicate features, eyes filled with tears, cheeks and lips white with indignation, and mouth drawn and hardly controlled, in entire unconsciousness of the crowd expresses a kind of angelic grief.

ELIOT WHITE.

† † †

MAKING MEN.

Judge McKenzie Cleland in his "Side Lights on City Life."

Old Tiglath-Pileser, a heathen statesman-warrior of no small fame, was wont to close the testimony to his abilities upon his tablets with this sentence which may be regarded as a sort of trademark: "I destroyed and ruined."

When the history of those heathen institutions called jails and penitentiaries is written, an appropriate inscription for each page would be the trademark of the Assyrian monarch.

Occasionally, however, a man is raised up who is able to make a jail something beside a place of hopeless destruction. Such a man, for example, is John L. Whitman of the Bridewell. When Tom Johnson was elected Mayor of Cleveland, he appointed Harris R. Cooley, a clergyman, superintendent of the work house. Politicians protested, alleging that Mr. Cooley was not a business man and could not manage a business enterprise. "What I want," replied the Mayor, "is not a man who can make money, but one who can make men"; and the Cleveland House of Correction forthwith became a model of its kind, a place for correction rather than for corruption.

Nearly two years ago the Governor of Colorado found such a man for warden of the penitentiary at Canyon City, Thomas J. Tynan, a commercial traveler, who when appointed had never attended a prison congress, but who had some common sense and a twentieth century vision.

If reports are to be believed "Tom" Tynan has in less than two years taken the place among wardens that "Ben" Lindsey holds among judges. He has smashed every musty, rusty, rule of prison discipline by which men are supposed to be reformed, but are in reality hopelessly ruined; and has seized upon the greatest instrument for reformation that

humanity possesses, namely, a man's own honor. He has, over the protests of the penitentiary ring, corrupt politicians and brutal jail guards, recognized the fact that even a convict has honor which can be successfully appealed to. Nearly four hundred robbers, murderers and crooks of varying degree march out of the prison to do road work, and camp for days upon the hills without a guard, and return on time, merely because they have given their words of honor that they will do so. He is reforming men, reducing taxes, improving the highways, lessening crime, and incidentally furnishing an object lesson of the fact often asserted but seldom believed, that a man who makes one, two, or even more mistakes, does not thereby become a wild beast unless he is made one by our clumsy attempts at "reforming" him.

† † †

I know not whether Laws be right,
Or whether Laws be wrong;
All that we know who lie in gaol
Is that the wall is strong;
And that each day is like a year,
A year whose days are long.

The vilest deeds like poison weeds
Bloom well in prison-air:
It is only what is good in Man
That wastes and withers there:
Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate,
And the Warder is Despair.

—Oscar Wilde in "The Ballad of Reading Gaol."

† † †

CLEVELAND'S "GOLDEN RULE" POLICE POLICY.*

From Annual Report of Fred C. Kohler, Chief of Police at Cleveland, Ohio, for 1910.

The total number of arrests for the year 1910—the third full year that this department has been operated under the Common Sense or so-called Golden Rule policy of making or not making arrests—you will note is 7,185, an increase of 19 per cent compared with the previous year—1909,—when the total arrests were 6,018.

With the end of this year, as before stated, we have completed three years under this policy, and call to your attention briefly, the good results attained which stand abreast with all good work that has been accomplished by a police force.

First, the arrests for the years 1908, 1909 and 1910—10,085, 6,018 and 7,185 respectively—totaled exactly 23,288, an average of 7,762 for each year. This average number of arrests for the three years mentioned is a decrease of 22,656, or 74 per cent when compared with the number of arrests for the year 1907, in which year the large number of 30,418 arrests were made in this city.

*See The Public, volume xii, pages 38, 614, 807, 1083; volume xlii, pages 614, 615.

In passing it might be well to attract to your attention that during the year 1907 and previous to that time, this department as other departments was still laboring with the old-time and antiquated method of carelessly throwing people into prison.

In this total of 30,418 arrests for 1907, we had but 938 arrests for felonies, which is approximately 3 per cent of the total, while during the years 1908, 1909 and 1910, we averaged approximately 950 arrests each year for felonies, which is a percentage of 12 compared with the average number of arrests for the three years. And during this time crime and vice greatly decreased.

These figures we base upon hard facts, and when you take into consideration the large and steady increase in our population as well as added territory, it is convincing proof that former methods of placing people in prison were entirely wrong, as so much time is given to the arrest and detention and prosecution of minor violators that the more serious and habitual offenders do not receive the proper surveillance and are practically allowed to operate without detection.

Formerly it was charged that it was the police who made those who had once had a police court record think there was no use in trying to go straight after getting out of prison. No man or woman ever appreciates a "square deal" more than these unfortunates who may have been shown their error by our policy. A person is never anything but what his outside influences have made him. They train him upward or they train him downward—but they train him; they are at work upon him all the time. And I hold that our policy and our police department has done more toward the ultimate reform of these minor and first offenders than any other agency could have accomplished under any circumstance.

In going more thoroughly into the matter, it might be well for me to mention that this department is being taught the greatest regard for the people whom they should protect, and not in a single instance can we be charged with the endeavor to ruin the lives of unfortunate people who have no voice, no "friend" to lift a shield above them, no defender. If many poor creatures who are victims of their surroundings and handicapped, as it were, in the battle of life, can be brought to see the error of their ways, and become honest, upright and industrious neighbors, is not our police work full of encouragement? If in the constant exercise of justice tempered with common sense we strengthen the moral fiber of those most likely to err, without arrest, detention and disgrace, are we not doing a great work? I answer "yes."

One of the primary purposes of this policy is not to make money for our municipality but to make men and women. That the same can never be done under the old policies, we are all agreed.

Another purpose of our policy is to wage a re-

lentless war against the confirmed criminal and habitual offenders and those making their living by criminal means and practices, as the detection of crime and criminals, in these modern days, has become entirely a matter of cool, hard-headed business.

During these three years of our policy we have demonstrated to those who are held responsible for crime and vice in municipalities, the possibilities of this policy, and they now agree that it is punishing the innocent more than the guilty when you imprison a person who may have committed some minor offense, and then feed and clothe him at public expense, while those dependent upon him suffer for the necessities of life. Our system greatly avoids this, and it also lessens the liability that such persons will commit crime and be arrested or imprisoned in the future.

I can only say that a review of our so-termed "Golden Rule" police system, inaugurated by me, shows it to be eminently successful. It has caused prevention of crime instead of arrests, to be a policeman's real duty. It has diminished crime and vice. It has about driven professional criminals, swindlers and the vicious class from the city. It has checked the budding criminal in his downward path. It has reduced the number of arrests about 75 per cent; saved thousands upon thousands of young men and women from adopting a life of crime and vice; raised the standard of the police force; increased the citizens' respect for the police; made practical judges of policemen, and has driven out shyster lawyers and professional bondsmen. Procurers, cadets, "trailers," brokers, professional "protectors"—men who traffic and live upon the proceeds of woman's shame—are now unknown here. The farce of a city's sharing in the wages of a woman's shame by exacting tribute from unfortunate women by a regular or systematic fining system or license system, is not permitted. No such thing as girls being lured to a house of ill repute under pretense of obtaining employment and afterward kept in bondage, nor such a thing as emigrant girls, ignorant of the language, being held in slavery by brutal masters, is known here.

This policy has no opposition among the law-abiding citizens, nor among the mothers whose sons and daughters have been saved from disgrace. But there is opposition among the professional bondsmen—police court sharks—who waxed fat on swollen fees extorted from poor men and women. There is opposition among politicians who formerly used their alleged "influence" to get votes—politicians who existed by catering to the lowest elements in the city. In fact, it has the opposition of the most vicious and disgruntled element in our midst, which, in reality, is one of the best recommendations it possibly could have.

"THE HEIRS OF ALL THE EARTH."

By the Late Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

From street and square, from hill and glen,
Of this vast world beyond my door,
I hear the tread of marching men,
The patient armies of the poor.

The halo of the city's lamps
Hangs a vast torch-light in the air.
I watch it through the evening damps;
The masters of the world are there.

Not ermine clad, nor clothed in state,
Their title deeds not yet made plain;
But waking early, tolling late,
The heirs of all the earth remain.

Some day, by laws as fixed and fair
As guide the planets in their sweep,
The children of each outcast heir
The harvest fruits of time shall reap.

The peasant's brain shall yet be wise,
The untamed pulse beat calm and still;
The blind shall see, the lowly rise,
And work in peace time's wondrous will.

Some day without a trumpet's call,
This news shall o'er the earth be blown:
The heritage comes back to all;
The myriad monarchs take their own.

BOOKS

PRISONS IN ENGLAND.

Crime and Criminals. 1876-1910. By R. F. Quinton. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London. 1910. Price, 4s. 6d. net.

An English physician, for twenty years a prison medical officer and at one time governor of Holloway prison, tells what kind of men he has found criminals to be and how they should be treated. "Both crime and criminals," writes Dr. Quinton, "have steadily diminished in numbers to an extent that is hardly realized, and the habitual class no longer produces so large a proportion of reckless desperadoes as it did in former years." This improvement is partly due to the separation of youthful from habitual criminals under what is known in England as the Borstal system.

Non-habituals between sixteen and twenty-one years old are committed to the Borstal institutions for at least one year. The youth is then "put to work at some skilled trade in which he can take an interest, he goes through a regular daily course of physical drill, and, on the moral and intellectual side, his general education is specially forwarded, while he is encouraged to read literature that is improving as well as instructive, and he hears lectures on subjects that are likely to attract and interest him." At about this point the man from Mars would probably ask whether crime is the only

pass-key to a good education in England. But philanthropists and institutional authorities would considerably overlook his simple-mindedness.

For the habitual criminal, the author believes in long-term commitments, hard work and strict discipline, "punitive without being vindictive, deterrent without being inhumane."

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

✦ ✦ ✦

A prison is a house of care,
A place where none can thrive,
A touchstone true to try a friend,
A grave for men alive;
Sometimes a place of right,
Sometimes a place of wrong.
Sometimes a place of rogues and thieves
And honest men among.
—Inscription on the old Prison of Edinburgh.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—War—What For? By George R. Kirkpatrick. Published by the author, West LaFayette, O. 1910. Price, \$1.20.

—Sidelights on Contemporary Socialism. By John Spargo. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Legal Doctrine and Social Progress. By Frank Parsons. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

—Half Hours with the Summer Stars. By Mary Proctor. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 1911. Price, 75 cents net.

—From Rough Rider to President. By Dr. Max Kullnick. Translated from the German by Frederick von Reithdorf. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., 1911. Price, \$1.50 net.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

Catholic Faith and Christian Science. By John Brooks Leavitt. Published by Thomas Whittaker, 3 Bible House, New York.

The Answer of Ernst Haeckel to the Falsehoods of the Jesuits, Catholic and Protestant. From the German Pamphlet "Sandallion" and "My Church Departure." With Comments by Joseph McCabe and Thaddeus Burr Wake-man. Published by the Truthseeker Co., New York, 1911.

PERIODICALS

The Twentieth Century.

The May issue of this militant magazine of democracy, has a liberal and varied fare for the democratic appetite. In its contents is a good story, a fact story, by George Judson King, which tells "how Oregon

'stood pat'; in the fourth of his fine series of articles on "the religion of Henry George," Herbert S. Bigelow gives startling official facts to show that monopoly in land has become a national peril. Mr. Flower himself writes against compulsory medical inspection of school children, showing that it is at best a palliative of doubtful benefit, calculated on the one hand to stave off fundamental reforms and on the other to promote special interests.

✦ ✦

Learned Ignorance.

Ex-Mayor McClellan's leader in the Atlantic (Boston) for May on "The Tendency of Municipal Government in the United States" might be more convincing, better calculated at least to inspire confidence, if he had not allowed himself to say that the incidence of "a direct tax on real estate" makes tenants the tax payers. There was certainly blank space enough left on the last page of his article for him to have explained that his statement is true only of structures and not of sites. To be sure, this would have battered the point he was making, that tenants rather than owners are interested in keeping taxation down; but this point is battered still worse at all meetings of real estate owners. Do they not regard the owner and the tax payer as identical, and mere rent payers as persons who pay no taxes? Mr. McClellan himself batters the point, where he says in the same article that when the tax on real estate equals its rental value—his idea of "the dearest wish of the pure socialist," which it isn't, by the way—"taxation has become confiscation." How taxation can confiscate real estate if it is the tenant and not the owner who pays the tax, goes unexplained.

✦ ✦ ✦

Father of the Fair One: "How can you possibly think of marrying my daughter? You say that by the strictest economy you can save only ten dollars a month!"

Poor but Worthy Poet: "Oh, yes, but if we both save, it will be twenty dollars!"—Megendorfer Blaetter.

✦ ✦ ✦

I was just about to let a contract for a new house to be erected on my suburban lot when a friend came along.

"What rash act are you about to commit?" he asked.

I told him I was about to build a home.

"Refrain!" he shouted. "You will be committing a crime."

Of course I wanted to know how.

"I judge it will be a crime," said my friend, "because the minute you complete your house the city, county and State will proceed to fine you from \$25 to \$5 a year for having done so. We only impose fines upon those who have been guilty of crime or misdemeanor."

I am still pondering over the matter. In the meantime my vacant lot is enhancing in value, while the bricklayers, carpenters, painters and tinnies I might have employed are still vainly looking for work.—Will M. Maupin in The Commoner.

Little Augustus Johnson had learned some things about the face of a clock, but not quite all there is to know.

"What time is it, 'Gustus?" asked his employer one night, to test him.

"It's jes' eight o'clock," said the boy, after a careful survey of the clock.

"No, you're wrong," said his employer. "It won't be eight for quite a while yet, not for twenty minutes."

"Bofe hands is p'inting to eight, jes' as straight

as dey can p'int," said the boy stubbornly. "If de ain't telling de truf, I cya'n't help it."—Chicago Interocean.

* * *

There is a story of brief converse, between Rev. Anna Howard Shaw and certain learned professor of a Western State, concerning the woman of fifty.

These gentlemen were opposing all extra-domestic activities for women on the ground of their absorbing maternal occupations. She asked them how

IDEAL STOCK AND FRUIT FARMS

in Taney County, Missouri, three miles from the R. R. at Holister, where stock winters on the range. No sheep diseases, herders realize 100 per cent, plowing begins in February. 500 acres, 40 cultivated, 100 fenced for pasture, frame house, barn, smoke and spring house, 2,000 fruit trees and small fruits partly bearing, well watered, valuable timber. Pays a rental more than enough for all taxes and improvements. Price, \$12.50 per acre. Also 240 acres 2 miles from R. R. Timber will net \$7,000. Price, \$15.00 per acre. J. E. BURBANK, 4 Parker St., Malden, Mass.

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+ + +

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