

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

A Little Short Story of Success.

Once upon a time all the working men of the world were so discontented, some for want of work and others with low wages, that they advertised; and presto! every one of them got good jobs right away as foremen.

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Little Stories of Trade.

"When we buy goods abroad, we get the goods and the foreigner gets the money; when we buy goods made at home, we get both the goods and the money." So say Protectionists. But who is "we"? If you buy a roast of the American beef trust, it is not "we" but *you* that gets the roast; and the meat trust, not *you* nor "we" that gets the money. What difference, then, does it make to *you* or to "we," whether the transaction is across a national boundary line or not?

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Free Trade.

There was no muffled sound to Louis R. Ehrlich's speech as president of the American Free Trade League at its annual dinner in Boston last week. To him, as he unreservedly declared himself there, "a revenue tariff means repeated agitation and change incident to the ups and downs of party control," whereas, "free trade means a settlement once and for all of this most persistent and most troublesome issue of American politics," a settlement that "would reduce poverty and

poverty's issue—crime," that "would introduce more normal and more stable conditions in our business life, preventing the present oscillations between hothouse prosperity and trade stagnation," and that "would tend more to introduce peace and good-will in the world than a hundred Hague conferences or a thousand peace temples." Every word of this is true. Yet men linger under the spell of the notion that the way to improve trade is to choke it. White man, for all his boasted superiority, coddles his superstitions; and they are infinitely worse than any superstition of the "left-hind-foot-of-a-rabbit-caught-in-a-grave-yard-in-the-dark-of-the-moon-at-midnight" type are.

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The Standard Oil Decision.

Commenting upon the Standard Oil decision, the Detroit Saturday Night emerges from a cloud of doubt, the settlement of which it refers to the legal fraternity, with this optimistic assurance:

But to laymen and lawyers alike the most significant fact now is that the law is what Chief Justice White and his majority say it is, and that we need not here speculate on the fear that might have withered American trade and industry had Justice Harlan's opinion prevailed. What Mr. Roosevelt would call good trusts or combinations are not to be molested. Business, big and little, now knows, after twenty years of waiting, something definite about the Sherman anti-trust law; and has begun to go forward more buoyantly since learning it. It is something to know the rules of the game before you sit into it, no matter how harsh they may be.

But are the rules of the game any more definite now than before?

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Chief Justice White and his majority have not decided what "good trusts" are. All they have decided is that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is one of the "bad trusts." And while it is true that the opinion of the majority judges asserts that the Sherman anti-trust law applies to combinations in restraint of trade only if the restraint is unreasonable, the court has not so decided. An unnecessary opinion of its judges is not a final decision. If the majority had concluded that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is not engaged in restraining trade unreasonably, and had therefore decided in favor of that company, the decision would have imported into the Sherman law the doctrine of reasonableness. But inasmuch as the decision convicts the company of violating the Sherman law, the court, as a court, has not by its decision, as a decision, limited the application of the Sherman law to cases of restraint of trade unreasonably. What is said

in the opinion of the Chief Justice about unreasonableness is *obiter dicta*, as lawyers call it, because it is not necessary for the purpose of the decision the court actually made. Didn't Judge Harlan concur in the decision? His remarks were to relieve him of the odium of seeming to be willing in a future case of "reasonable" restraint of trade to be with the Chief Justice. Other judges may possibly have disagreed with the Chief Justice in his *obiter dicta*, but have preferred to say nothing on the point of "reasonableness" until that question arises and must be decided in order to decide a case involving it.

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It is a fair inference, however, that if a case of only "reasonable" restraint of trade should come before the same judges, those who seemed to agree with the Chief Justice in his academic opinion in this case would join him in the other case in a decision for the defendant. It is as an index to the minds of the judges and not as a point decided that Chief Justice White's opinion has any practical value.

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But even if that opinion be taken as a decision conclusively interpreting the Sherman law, even if the law now is "what Chief Justice White and his majority say it is," does it let business, "big and little," know anything definite about the Sherman anti-trust law? Not a whit. All it lets anybody know, even at the best in that respect, is that trusts, "good trusts" and "bad trusts," will be acquitted if a majority of the judges in each particular case think them "good," and convicted if the majority think them "bad." For greater certainty, what about tossing a penny to decide that question?

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The Recall for Judges.

If the Recall may properly apply to legislative representatives who make laws, and to administrative representatives who execute laws, by what process of reasoning shall we conclude that it must not apply to judicial representatives who nullify laws?

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President Taft is opposed to this application of the Recall, but he gives no reason for distinguishing it from legislative or administrative applications, and the inference from his record and Toryistic cast of mind is that he doesn't wish to. Being against the Recall in *every* application, he merely submits for the moment to overwhelming public opinion in respect of its other applications

in order the more efficiently to resist its application to judges, a use of it which has but recently come under discussion. Lacking those gymnastic mental qualities that permit his agile predecessor to advocate the Recall of judges for California while opposing it for Arizona, President Taft takes positive ground against it as a principle for all places.

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That it would deprive judges of dignity is one of his objections. This objection would have applied to abolishing the King's veto, which as Mr. Asquith says, is now "as dead as Queen Anne"; and it is a very appropriate objection for the additional reason that autocratic prerogatives of aforetime British kings are asserted by the American judiciary. Not alone do our judges veto laws; through their equity jurisdiction they make laws. It is for this double power, as well as the dignity of judges, that Mr. Taft contends in his denunciation of the Recall for judges. Like the great privileged interests whom he most directly represents, he finds that Privilege can endure the Initiative and the Referendum, which affect legislation alone, and a Recall that would affect administrators and legislators only, provided the judiciary remains untrammelled in its power over both administration and legislation.

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Governor Wilson, however, is not to be counted among those who oppose the judicial Recall from torystic motives. This exception is allowed not because Governor Wilson is a Democrat, nor because he seems to be democratic, nor because, unlike Mr. Taft, he has come out for *People's Power* in respect of such electoral mechanism as direct primaries, direct election of Senators, the Initiative and Referendum, and the Recall except for judges. From an opponent, once, of the Initiative and Referendum, Governor Wilson has come to be one of its most effective advocates, and for right reasons. When opposing it as an author several years ago—a reference to which may be found in *The Public* of March 10, 1906 (volume viii, p. 827) he had not grasped the point that the Initiative and Referendum is not a substitute, but a palladium, for representative government. Believing now with all the rest of us who advocate the Initiative and Referendum, that when this reform is once in full operation it will be seldom used—probably never except on great and burning fundamental issues—because legislatures will then be as keen to represent the people as they now are to represent marauding interests, Governor Wilson frankly declares his change of

opinion. But what he does not yet appear to see, is that the reason for the Recall for judges is the same as the reason for its application to other representatives of the people. Indeed he has distinctly put his objection on the ground that judges are not law makers but only apply the law to individual cases. If judges did determine only individual disputes, Governor Wilson's opposition would be quite unobjectionable. But our judges have built up a judicial system under which they exercise the kingly power of making laws at their own will by decree, of repealing statutes as unconstitutional, and of controlling administrative authority. Not as administrators of justice in private quarrels, then, is it that judges must be subjected to the Recall; but because they have usurped legislative power, administrative power, and people's power in respect of the laws of the land. As in Great Britain the king's law-making decree and his law-breaking veto are as dead as Queen Anne, so must it be in this country with the judicial usurpation of making law and breaking law. When that is done, no Recall for judges will be needed; until it is done, the Recall of judges will be as necessary, logically and in fact, for the defense of democracy against plutocracy, as any other application of the Recall.

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Defeat of the Illinois Tax Amendment.

The people of Illinois have lived many years under a Constitution which requires the taxation of all kinds of property. But this vicious system disturbed the big marauding financiers not a bit. Why? Because they dodged their taxes. It was as easy to them as sweating women workers is, or children. All they had to do was to see that the "right" men got into office as tax officials. But last year the Supreme Court of the State made a decision which puts those interests at the mercy of any taxpayer who may institute court proceedings against them. Quite suddenly, therefore, an amendment of the revenue article of the Constitution became "imperative immediately." So the marauding interests of Chicago called the roll, and the Daily News, the Tribune, the Record-Herald, the Commercial Association, and the Civic Federation saluted briskly, and answered, "Present, sir!" Since that time they have been active in carrying out orders from "higher up" to rush the adoption of the Wilson tax amendment.

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That amendment, taking its name from one of the shrewdest corporation lawyers of Chicago, because he was chairman of the tax commission ap-

pointed by Governor Deneen which formulated the proposed revenue amendment under his guidance, should have been entitled "an amendment for the relief of Big Business tax dodgers about to be caught in the act." It would have Constitutionalized a plan under which any "jack-pot" legislature could exempt Big Business in those respects in which they are now in danger of taxation, and fastened the burden upon farmers, home owners, and tenants. In a word, it would have enabled the legislature to legalize plutocratic tax dodging without relieving the working masses. To lose that amendment, then, was for the plutocrats to be forced to disgorge. Hence, the immediate urgency for the Wilson tax amendment.

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The people had, by 3 to 1, demanded an amendment providing for the Initiative and Referendum. But as amendments to only one Article of the Constitution can be submitted to the people at the same election, the Initiative and Referendum amendment and the revenue amendment could not go through together; and there were two Big Business reasons why the revenue measure must come first. For one thing, Big Business could not wait, with tax ferrets loose all around it; and for another, the Initiative and Referendum, besides its other defects from the plutocratic point of view, could be used to check plutocratic legislation should the revenue amendment be adopted later on. So the Initiative and Referendum amendment was defeated by Big Business; and then, quite unexpectedly to the plutes and their allies, the revenue amendment was beaten by the friends of the Initiative and Referendum. Hence, the sore toe the Big Business organisms are exhibiting.

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Two years must now intervene before either of these amendments can come again before the legislature. It will be a new legislature. Therefore let us have the State organized thoroughly for the election in 1912 of men who can be depended upon to vote for the Initiative and Referendum and against the revenue amendment in its present form. Considering the corrupt power that Big Business has exercised over Illinois legislatures in the past, the safety of working farmers, of organized labor, of all unprivileged interests, lies in a program somewhat like this: (1) *An amendment, to be submitted at the earliest election permissible, establishing the Initiative and Referendum;* (2) *An amendment, to be submitted at the earliest election following, authoriz-*

ing the legislature (subject to Referendum) and the people directly by Initiative, to exempt property from taxation, without other restriction than that exemptions shall be by classes of property. To exempt all kinds of property except the values of privilege, and to tax these values heavily, is desirable; it should therefore be made Constitutionally possible; but to give this power to legislatures, which are subject to corrupt influences, without first reserving direct popular control over the subject, is not desirable—except by the Big Business marauding outfit.

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Suffrage Rights.

The reply of the American Economic League to a suggestion for restriction of the suffrage made by Professor Ross of the Wisconsin University, will not be easily answered. What seems to the Economic League as the strangest part of Professor Ross's statement is that part in which he describes such restrictions as particularly desirable under the Initiative and Referendum. "He speaks of suffrage," writes the League, "as though it were something that some people have a right to withhold from others." That such a position, no matter who takes it, can be maintained only by physical force, would seem to be indisputable. It were as well to determine civic intelligence and morality by tossing a penny, as by spelling-skill or college-learning. The Economic League is quite right in saying that "there is no logical middle-ground between absolute monarchy and complete democracy." The kingly ideal of "divine right," and Tweed's "What are you going to do about it?"—superstition or physical force,—are the only arguments for suffrage restrictions, and they are just as good arguments for spoliation.

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Backward Minds in School.

A teacher down New England way is proving what a good many teachers in the factory type of school have long tried to make their foremen appreciate, that the backward minds in these schools are sometimes attributed to pupils when they really belong to educational bosses. This New England teacher—his name is John B. Heberd, and he works in the Newton Technical High School—has found out how to overcome mathematical backwardness among his boys. Instead of stimulating them with abstractions, or with examples from experiences in which they have no interest, he has them take their facts from football and baseball.

Samuel Polak.

The death roll lengthens. One month to the day after Tom L. Johnson's death, there died in New York one of the oldest of the little group that came in touch with Henry George in New York immediately after the publication of "Progress and Poverty." Born in Holland in 1833, a resident of Paris in the stirring times of 1849, and of London for several years in the 'fifties, a wide traveler and fluent of speech in several languages, Samuel Polak came to New York just before the Civil War. While in London he had taken an active interest in the labor movement, and when this movement began to express itself crudely in American politics through the Greenback party, with Peter Cooper as its leader, he became a Greenback candidate for the New York legislature. In the semi-socialistic labor movements in the city of New York in the 'seventies, in one of which John Swinton was candidate for Mayor, Mr. Polak ran twice as their candidate for the legislature. In 1881 he read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" serially as it appeared in Truth, the penny daily of the period from 1879 to 1884, through which Labor Day was established, first by the labor unions and then by law. This book captivated his imagination, and gave to his radicalism definite principles and a practical method. When the first Henry George campaign for Mayor came on, Mr. Polak plunged into the fight, abandoning his business for the time, and making a house to house canvass of the extensive but sparsely settled region of the Bronx. In the parade preceding the election, a labor demonstration that fairly terrorized Tammany Hall, Mr. Polak led a large delegation of his Bronx neighbors, and in the speaking campaign in the Bronx he canvassed the region, with Mr. George when he was there and independently at other times. His first connection with what is now known as the Single Tax movement was as a member of the Free Soil Society, organized in New York in 1883. Although not so active when age crept upon him, Mr. Polak lost no sympathetic interest in progressive affairs until a few days before his death at the age of seventy-eight years.

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**AN OPEN LETTER TO SPEAKER
CHAMP CLARK.**

The ways and means committee has no doubt received resolutions purporting to come from the Chicago Live Stock Exchange protesting against the passage of the Underwood bill (H. R. 4413),

introduced in the House April 12, 1911. The closing clause of these resolutions reads as follows:

Resolved, By the Chicago Live Stock Exchange, an organization of upward of seven hundred members, engaged in breeding, raising, feeding, shipping, selling, buying, slaughtering, and exporting, all kinds of live stock, that it insists upon a fair and just duty upon live stock and its products and upon all products of the farm and ranch, and is unalterably opposed to placing the same upon the free list. That we are opposed to the enactment of the said Underwood bill because it is unjust and discriminatory as against our membership and its constituency among the live stock and farming interests of the United States.

Please note here that this resolution purports to express the opinion of an organization of 700 members and to represent a constituency of all the live stock and farming interests of the United States. Allow me to advise you of the facts, in order that members of Congress, whose duty it is to pass upon the Underwood bill, may know just what weight to give that resolution.

The Chicago Live Sock Exchange is a corporate body (not for profit) which exists for the purpose of looking out for the immediate interests of its members, and no one is eligible to membership unless his interests center in the Union Stock Yards of Chicago. It is governed in routine business matters by a board of directors consisting of nine members. Seven members of this board constitute a quorum. The board has no legal right to take action upon any matter of politics or legislation without submitting it to a vote of the members of the Exchange, who elect the board. But the above resolution was passed by the board without submission to the members. Most of the members of the Exchange knew nothing about it until its adoption by the board was published in the newspapers. Probably few of the constituents whom it professes to represent know anything about it yet. In truth it represents nothing whatever except the opinions of the seven or nine men who attended the board meeting at which it was passed.

GEO. V. WELLS.

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FOR A GATEWAY AMENDMENT.

At the present time the absurd difficulties encountered for the ratification by the States of the income tax amendment to the Federal Constitution and that for the direct election of Senators has revived a needed scrutiny of Article V of the Constitution which provides the method of amendment. Had this Article a reasonable basis at its adoption?

Has our subsequent history shown favorable results from it? Is it suited to the needs of our nation at the present day? These are questions of vital importance.

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That few of the delegates to the Constitutional convention of 1787 believed in the unalterable rule of the dead-hand is evidenced by the little opposition they offered to Article V. The chief reason for its adoption, however, was probably a fear of the smaller States that their autonomy might be impaired by the larger States if amendments were made too easy to secure. A State like Rhode Island, which hung back from any federal arrangement at all, would certainly be fearful of future changes in the instrument of union.

Subsequent history shows what a baffling obstacle to change, this method of amendment has been. Of 1300 distinct resolutions to amend, offered in Congress in the first century of Federal history, only 15 became law. The first 10 of these, comprising the Bill of Rights, were adopted in 1791 to rectify an oversight in the original document as to individual immunities. The last 3 were only made possible by the fact that opposition to them in the South was disfranchised. This leaves only 2 amendments (the Eleventh of 1795 and the Twelfth of 1804) that have been passed under normal conditions during 120 years, out of 1300 proposed.

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The part of Article V of the Constitution which concerns the method of amendment reads as follows:

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.

The requirement of "three-fourths of the several States" is more than the first proposal of the Constitution framers. They suggested "two-thirds" of the States as necessary for ratification. "Three-fourths of the States" does indeed seem a high proportion, but its unreasonableness does not fully appear until it is scrutinized with reference to national population.

A ratio based on States as units would be the equivalent of one based on population only if all the States were equally populous; but that was far from being the case even in 1787, and at present

the discrepancy between the two methods of calculation is surprising.

Of the thirteen States forming the first Federal Congress, that of 1790, the largest (Pennsylvania) had eight, and the smallest (Rhode Island or Delaware) had one, representative; which signifies, if we estimate relative population by representation in the lower house, that the largest State had eight times the population of the smallest. At present the largest State (New York), has 37 representatives, or 37 times the population of any of the six smallest States (Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming) with one representative each.

In 1790, therefore, the blocking of an amendment would have required at least four of the thirteen States; and assuming these to have been the smallest (Delaware, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Georgia), their eight representatives would have been under ten per cent of the 65 members of the lower house. But at present, with 46 States, it requires 12 to block an amendment; and assuming these also to be the smallest (Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, and South Dakota), their 18 representatives are less than five per cent of the 390 members of the lower house. This means that an amendment has now only half the chance of passing the lower house, or of securing the popular indorsement that it had in 1790.

Such rigidity in our Constitution is a serious obstacle to legitimate progress, and the practical result would have been much worse had not the Supreme Court pursued a policy of liberal interpretation in certain directions. But might it not be better and safer to have a Constitution that can be kept up to date by direct action of the people rather than one which is only narrowly variable by judicial interpretation?

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If the nation ever considers it desirable to lessen the present difficulty of passing amendments, it could probably be easiest effected by substituting some smaller fraction for the "two-thirds" and "three-quarters" now incorporated in the portion of Article V already quoted.

If this smaller fraction were a "majority," it would affect the balance of State and popular control in the following manner: The substitute would preserve State rights; for the deciding voice, both for the proposal in the Senate and for the ratification by the several States, would be based on State lines and not on population. But the

States would not have the only voice in the matter, for amendments could not be referred to them for ratification until sanctioned by a majority of the population as represented in the lower house.

In the present Congress of 390 representatives, only 196 votes are necessary to block the proposal of an amendment, and these could be furnished by a combination of the ten largest States, which could thus guard themselves against a possible coalition of the smaller States for the purpose of ratification. Twenty-four States could block ratification, and if these were the smallest their total representatives would number but 78, or one-fifth of the lower house or of the population.

Thus it may be seen that the requirement of both State and popular approval has indeed well guarded our Constitution against sudden change. Even with "a majority" substituted for the higher fractions of Article V, amendments might be blocked by one-fifth of the States, or by one-fifth of the population.

R. B. BRINSMADE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

A MRS. PARTINGTON BOOSTER CLUB.

Portland, Ore.

It was a certain Mrs. Partington who tried to sweep back into the ocean a few waves that came in with the tide and threatened to mess up her parlor carpet; but she failed to deliver the goods. May 3 and 4, 1911, the Governors of seven northwestern States met at Helena, Montana,* and a few days thereafter a convention of delegates from those same States met in the same city to make plans and specifications for turning back the tide of American farmers who are going to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta—the three prairie Provinces of Canada. The two conventions of Governors and delegates organized the "Northwest Development League," an infant which declares that one of its purposes is to stop "the constant drain of homeseekers" into Canada.

Looking upon that purpose as a declaration of war, the Canadian papers promptly unlimbered their artillery, saying that in the northwestern States all classes "except the farmers" are trying to stop the exodus of Americans to Canada, that American farmers who want good wheat land must go to Canada, where the land is better than in the States, that tens of thousands of American farmers know that, and, therefore neither the Helena-born infant nor any other organization will prevent the American farmer from following the line of least resistance in his pursuit of happiness.

"So the issue is drawn," says a Portland paper, which asks: "Where is the northwestern farmer's interest? How shall it be made plain to him where that interest lies?" Well, for instance, by arresting him and reading to him the hypnotizing booster literature of booster clubs managed by real estate

speculators—not forgetting that our transcontinental railroads, like the Canadian transcontinental lines, are land and lot speculators. Then, when the American farmer who thinks of going to Canada is properly "under the influence," soothe him with the howls of rage of the same booster speculators against the proposals to exempt farm improvements and personal property from taxation. For what shall it profit boosters to boost if the land values created by the industrial community do not flow into the pockets of the boosters?

Responding to the fire from the Canadian papers, the sharp shooters of the Pacific coast—Oregon and Washington—papers decided to get busy and show up Canada as it really is in their imagination. For why soil one's mind with dusty facts when lively imagination can turn out stuff hot from the oven? And here is a picture borrowed from a Portland paper: "In October," said one farmer who sought Oregon from a Manitoba farm, "the pond froze, in November the creek froze, in December the well froze, and from then on till April we had to thaw out snow and ice for water for the family and for the stock. Meanwhile the tails of the cattle froze and dropped off. A dog with a tail is a rarity."

That work of art is almost equal to one of the "old monsters." And it is dashed off with so much eclat, sang froid and faux pas! It is not a large canvas, but it arrests the attention like a fly in the gravy. I lived some years in Montana; I have shivered through North Dakota in winter; and last January I was in Winnipeg three days when the thermometer was 35 below zero; two days in Calgary when the mercury was 20 below; one day in Regina when it was about 25 below; and in those cities and between them I saw many cows and dogs. As I remember, I did not see any detailed cows or curtailed dogs. I did see a few men with bob-tailed minds, but they were Tories of the same breed as the American standpatter.

It isn't my business to boost for Canada, and I'm not doing it; but a cow or dog so anemic as to have its tail frozen off in one of the prairie Provinces of Canada needs a much warmer climate than can be found in winter in North Dakota or in northern or eastern Montana; and any mollicoddled cow that loses her tail by frost in Manitoba would lose her horns in North Dakota or eastern or northern Montana.

In addition to dogs and cows, I saw farmers in Canada—met a whole convention of them at Calgary—Alberta farmers, some of them from Iowa, some from Minnesota, from Wisconsin, Montana and other States. They were prosperous and fairly happy; they liked conditions in Canada, except that they want free trade and direct legislation, and many of them want single tax. They have no taxes on their farm improvements, stock and other personal property, and they see no reason why land speculators should reap the land values sown by the people who produce wealth.

Of course the climate of Washington, Oregon or Idaho is better than that of Alberta, Saskatchewan or Manitoba. But the land speculator has "capitalized" the climate as well as the land; and if there happens to be any scenery in the neighborhood, the speculator capitalizes that too; and if

*See The Public, current volume, page 389.

Oregon had four full moons all the time, the value of the moonshine would appear in the speculative prices of land. For a speculator will capitalize anything, from a public road to the handiwork of the Creator.

The Portland newspaper sets forth the advantages of Oregon over Canada, and no one can deny the truth of the exhibit: "opportunity for diversity of crops," which the speculator has capitalized; "nearness to market," one of the speculator's assets; "monthly returns from dairy and poultry yard," which the Oregon speculator has capitalized—but don't forget that you can get better eggs and richer milk at a Canadian hotel or on a Canadian Pacific dining car than you can get in any hotel in Seattle, Portland or San Francisco; "winters so open that farmers don't have to be idle," and the open winters are capitalized by Oregon and Washington speculators. You won't find these advantages itemized in the price of land, but they are there.

So, while it is true, as the Portland paper says, that "when the attractions of Canada and of the Pacific northwest States are measured and weighed, there is not much doubt as to the result." No, not a bit of it. The net result is that when the farmer from the East comes to the Pacific Northwest to embrace those attractions, he has to pay cash for them; and when he has paid his cash and begins to use his labor and his land as Nature intended that they shall be used, his taxes keep rising like the tide that ruffled Mrs. Partington.

More than that, with part of his cash he has bought a system of taxation under which the speculator is encouraged, rewarded, for holding land out of use, waiting for another farmer to come and pay the speculator the increased value given to it by increasing population and industry. If the farmer puts \$2 worth of labor into and upon his land for every \$1 of value given to the land by the community, he pays \$3 in taxes for every \$1 paid by the speculator who owns adjoining land. That, so the speculator tells the farmer and the public, benefits the farmer, and any other system would ruin the farmer.

All over Washington and Oregon are booster clubs—"commercial clubs" they call themselves—painting pretty pictures for Eastern farmers to look at and take the next train for the northwest Pacific coast. And those clubs are managed by men who have a fit when anyone proposes to exempt farm buildings, fruit trees, stock and other personal property from taxation and raise all taxes by a single tax on land values. Yes, to be sure they want more settlers, because more settlers mean higher land values, higher community-made land values. But they don't want a single tax on community-made land values, for that would ruin "the farmers" in two ways: First, "it would make land so dear that no one could afford to buy it"; second, "it would make land so cheap that no one would live on it."

If those two reasons are not enough, they have others just as good. Meanwhile, the several headquarters of the "Northwest Development League" should be located at those places where the railroads cross the line from the States into Canada, for a face-to-face shove backwards may have more effect than a long-distance pull back. Anyway, we are going to try some of that single tax in Oregon—just to

see if it won't pull more settlers than the sweet booster literature of the booster clubs. Besides, it will pull a few tax burdens off the wealth producers already here.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

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A REFERENDUM NOVELTY.

Minneapolis, May 21.

We have just passed through a unique and instructive Referendum election. Minneapolis has what are known as "patrol limits"—a district in the business section of the city, in which the liquor traffic is licensed. At the time the "patrol limits" were established, eight blocks of distinctively residence territory were included by a political trick, and within those 8 blocks there have been at times as many as 15 saloons. There are ten saloons there now. Finally the President of our city council, A. W. Selover, determined to drive the saloons out. He introduced a resolution forbidding renewal of licenses for these saloons. But the council refused to pass the resolution. To relieve themselves of responsibility, however, they decided to submit the question of the removal of the saloons to the people of the affected district. Accordingly, they ordered a special election, which was held on May 16. It was without the authority or control of any election law, and many prophesied that it could not be held without disorder, while others predicted that the vote cast would not be representative. Both sets of prophets were mistaken. The election was conducted in an orderly manner, and the interest manifested was remarkable. At the last general election there had been cast about 1,900 votes in the district in question; at this election there were about 1,600; and notwithstanding that the brewers spent large sums of money and were thoroly organized, the people decided by a decisive majority that the saloons must go. As soon as the result of the election was known, the council was called in special session and promptly passed the Selover resolution unanimously.

One of the strongest forces for order was the presence of a large number of women at the polling places—a thing entirely unheard of in this city. The city attorney had decided that under the resolution, all women who registered at the last election to vote for school and library officers were entitled to vote at this election, and women very generally voted.

The election demonstrated that when voters are upon their honor they can be trusted; that good government and moral issues need the active support of women, and that the result of the election will greatly promote the cause of Direct Legislation in this State.

S. A. STOCKWELL.

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THE RECALL IN TACOMA.

Seattle, May 8, 1911.

The people of Tacoma, realizing that for years they have had little to say regarding their city government, are reaching out for control—somewhat awkwardly it is true, but nevertheless with both vigor and determination. And the lead is being taken by the newly enfranchised women voters.

Tacoma as a city is a typical western boom town,

the creation of the Northern Pacific railroad. Its site was selected by the promoters of that railroad, who tried to make it the metropolis of Puget Sound. They might have succeeded but for their effort to take in advance, in boom prices for town lots, all the benefits of future settlement. For twenty years Tacoma was a one railroad city. The railroad and town site promoters, working in common and pretending to have the best commercial interests of the city at heart, were permitted by the people to dominate the city government. They conducted it as such interests usually conduct government, farming out vice and crime privileges, and taking for themselves the larger special privileges in franchises. Other railroads were kept out of the field, and the street railway lines passed through bankruptcy and reorganization into the hands of the Stone & Webster interests, one of the tentacles of the national water power trust. Only one public utility function was reserved by the people in this general program of exploitation—that of supplying the city with electric light and power. Under this general scheme of Big Business domination and exploitation, Tacoma, machine ruled, has been a wide-open town.

A little more than a year ago the city adopted a new charter providing for a commission form of government. Since then the people have been making constant trouble for their Big Business exploiters. Unlike Seattle, however, Tacoma appears to have had no well recognized progressive political leaders with a broad understanding of fundamental principles of government; so the efforts to bring about better conditions have to some extent nullified one another. This complication has been aggravated by a parasitic press consisting of the so-called "Perkins papers," the morning Ledger and the afternoon News, owned by Mr. Samuel Perkins, which have fought the battles of the exploiters with both consistency and vigor.

The new charter provides for a government by a commission of five, one of whom bears the title of mayor; but his executive powers are not clearly defined. The Recall power is reserved to the people. No primary election is provided for, but partisan politics is excluded. In case no candidate receives a majority at the first election, a second election is provided for at which only one or the other of the two highest candidates at the first election may be voted for.

The first election under this charter occurred about a year ago, and one A. V. Fawcett was elected mayor. Politically, Fawcett is something of a reversion to an old-fashioned type. While having little sympathy for progressive ideas or policies he is still too strong a personality to act as mere messenger boy for special interests. He is a sort of an insurgent reactionary, if I can by that term make my meaning clear. That is, he is a reactionary in political opinions, but insurgent in action, formulating policies of his own and fighting for them vigorously. Known as a reactionary, and having as mayor earlier in the city's history run an "open" town, he was supported at the first commission election by both the Big Business interests and the saloon forces. With this support, together with that of many deluded citizens, he received a majority.

But Fawcett is ambitious to be Governor. So he started in as mayor to make a record hostile to the

special interests which had made his election possible. He undertook rather vigorously to enforce municipal regulations of public service corporations. He also carried in the Commission an anti-treating ordinance. By these actions he got involved in a wrangle with the "safe and sane" members of the Commission, but was not able to get the confidence of good citizens.

The general dissatisfaction culminated in the filing of a recall petition. But in the recall election the people of Tacoma encountered the one serious defect in their system. There was no provision for a primary or any other popular method of choosing opposition recall candidates. The legislature, then in session, enacted a law especially for use in Seattle where slightly different conditions existed, providing for nomination of opposition recall candidates by petition, and the Big Business interests of Tacoma and their "goo-goo" followers nominated a Mr. Seymour by petition—a typical Big Business good citizen candidate of evasive political principles. The radicals tried to offset this nomination with a third candidate, and the selection fell upon a Socialist of the name of Barth. Had the choice between Seymour and Barth been left to popular vote, Barth would probably have been nominated, and would have probably defeated Fawcett; but there was no primary election, and at the first election all three candidates were in the race. Both Fawcett and Seymour ran ahead of Barth, and this left Barth out of the race at the second election, whereupon the Socialists refrained from voting, and Seymour defeated Fawcett.

Meanwhile the war between Fawcett and other members of the commission has resulted in the filing of recall petitions against all the commissioners. One election has been held with no choice, and a second is pending.

In these elections and campaigns there has been comparatively little discussion of fundamental issues except by the supporters of Barth who, having been defeated for mayor, became a candidate for commissioner. The progressive women have taken the lead in the public quizzing of candidates, and out of this effort the voters are coming now, for the first time, to gain some comprehension of municipal problems.

JOE SMITH.

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 23, 1911.

Peace Plans in Mexico.

Peace terms from President Diaz which were equivalent to a complete surrender to the revolutionists, were made public by Mr. José Yves Limantour, minister of the treasury, on the 17th, as follows:

President Diaz and Vice-President Corral will resign before June 1 and a new election will be called within six months.

Minister of Foreign Relations De la Barra will become president ad interim.

Francisco I. Madero, revolutionary leader, will be called to the capital to act as De la Barra's chief adviser. This will be virtually a joint presidency.

The cabinet will be reorganized. The minister of war will be named by De la Barra. The foreign office will be in charge of a sub-secretary named by De la Barra. Other cabinet members will be chosen by De la Barra and Madero, acting jointly.

Political amnesty will be recommended to the Chamber of Deputies.

While the cabinet was in council over the foregoing terms President Diaz was too ill to sit with them, according to the reports, and lay in an adjoining room. The clause providing for amnesty was proposed in a bill introduced into the Chamber of Deputies on the day following. Explaining the measure, the author of the bill, Manuel Calero, said that the revolution had triumphed in all the country, not alone in a military sense, but in a political sense as well. Francisco I. Madero, as the leader of the revolution, received a telegram from President Diaz on the 20th, suggesting that some one in whom Mr. Madero had confidence be sent to the City of Mexico to treat with Mr. De la Barra concerning the minor terms of peace. Mr. Madero appointed Alfredo Roblez Dominguez, who was already on his way to the City of Mexico. Mr. Dominguez was to handle only secondary points, the main points of negotiation being already under consideration by the peace commissioners. On the 22d Mr. De la Barra telegraphed Mr. Madero that he appreciated an offer from Mr. Madero to co-operate with him, and that he would receive Mr. Dominguez with pleasure. In the meantime the main points of negotiation were finally covered with a general peace agreement arranged by the peace commissioners at Juarez. This agreement was signed at 10 o'clock at night on the 21st, by the light of matches and automobile lamps, on the steps of the custom house—the meeting place of the commission which at that hour was found closed. Telegrams announcing the signing of the agreement were immediately dispatched throughout the country to revolutionary and Federal leaders alike. The text of the agreement follows:

In the city of Juarez, on the 21st day of May, 1911, in the customs house, Senor Don Francisco S. Carbajal, representing the government of General Porfirio Diaz; Dr. Francisco Vasquez Gomez, Don Francisco I. Madero and Don Jose Maria Pina Saurez, as the representatives of the revolutionary forces, having gathered to treat about the method of effecting a cessation of hostilities in the entire national territory, and considering:

1. That Senor General Porfirio Diaz has manifested his resolution of resigning the Presidency of the Republic before the end of the present month, and

2. That bona fide news is at hand that Ramon Corral will resign the Vice-Presidency of the Republic within the same period, and

3. That by the administration of law, Senor Francisco Leon De la Barra, at present Minister of Foreign Relations of the government of Senor General Diaz, will assume, for the interim, the power of the executive of the nation and will call the general elections according to the terms of the Constitution, and

4. That the national government will study the conditions of public opinion in order actually to satisfy these conditions with the provisions of the Constitution, and will come to an agreement conducive to indemnifying the losses directly caused by the revolution; therefore, the two parties represented in this conference, in view of the previous considerations, have agreed to formulate the following agreement:

From today on hostilities which have existed in the entire national territory of the Republic shall cease between the forces of the government and those of the revolution, these forces to be dismissed in proportion as in each State the necessary steps are taken to re-establish and guarantee tranquillity and public order.

Transitory provision:

As soon as possible the reconstruction or repair of telegraph and railway lines hitherto interrupted shall be begun.

[See current volume, page 468.]

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While the revolutionary party has been fighting the domination of President Diaz, counter movements and re-alignments have been creating new political parties or strengthening old ones. Madero calls his party the "Progressives." Another advance party, supposed to be anti-clerical, has just made its appearance under the name of "Liberals." Men of more than ordinary prominence are said to be identified with it. They promise to maintain "the laws of reform." More important as a future factor, however, appears to be the newly formed "National Catholic" party—the church party, which presumably has in its program the nullification of the separation of church and state effected by old President Juarez.

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The Lorimer Case.

Prior to adjournment of the Illinois legislature, the Helm investigating committee reported on the case of Senator Lorimer with an extended statement of fact to the effect that—

William Lorimer was elected to the United States Senate by bribery and corruption; that Edward Hines telephoned to Lorimer a few hours before his election that he would furnish all the money necessary; and stated shortly after the election that he had raised \$100,000 to bring about Lorimer's victory; that a large sum of money was raised and used for the specific purpose of corrupting and bribing members of the General Assembly; that it was used to purchase the vote of at least one former member of the Senate, D. W. Holstlaw; that D. W. Holstlaw, Charles A. White, Michael Link, and Herman J. C. Beckemeyer received money, not only for their votes for Lorimer, but also for their action or inaction on

legislation in general throughout the session; and that further investigation had been blocked by inability to subpoena important witnesses from outside of Illinois and inability to enforce obedience to any subpoenas since the ruling of Judge Petit of Chicago.

This report was adopted by the Senate on the 18th by 39 to 10, and the Secretary of State was instructed to transmit the report and the evidence in support of it to the Senate of the United States.

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A resolution was adopted by the Senate on the 17th, by a vote of 35 to 11, condemning the decision in the Tilden habeas corpus case as "an unwarranted and unlawful interference with the rights and prerogatives of this senate" and as "an invasion of the Constitutional rights of this legislative branch of the government," based on "a technical and improper construction of the language of the resolution under which the investigation was being conducted." By the same resolution the Senate decided to make no attempt to review the action of Judge Petit because of uncertainty as to whether the matter could be heard upon its merits by the Supreme Court. [See current volume, page 441.]

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Senator Dillingham, chairman of the committee on elections of the United States Senate, offered a resolution on the 22d in that body, based upon the demand of the Illinois Senate, providing for the re-opening of the Lorimer case and a hearing before a sub-committee of and chosen by the elections committee. Regarding this committee as partisan for Senator Lorimer, Senator La Follette began speaking on the Lorimer case on the 22d upon his own resolution which names a special investigating committee from the body of the Senate. Senator Martin, Democratic leader, offered a resolution requiring the investigation to be by the whole committee on elections. [See current volume, page 441.]

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The Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison Case.

No complete publication of the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Gompers case is yet published, but the decree contains this clause, under which a renewal of the prosecution of Gompers and his associates appears to have been started by Judge Wright, of the District of Columbia Court:

The judgments of the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia are revoked and the case remanded with direction that the contempt proceedings instituted by the Bucks Stove and Range Company be dismissed, but without prejudice to the power and right of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to punish by a proper proceeding contempt, if any, committed against it.

Under this reservation Judge Wright has appoint-

ed as prosecutors in behalf of his court the attorneys opposed to Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison in the case. [See current volume, page 465.]

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Kidnaping Labor Leaders.

Labor organizations are urging upon Congress an inquiry into the extradition of the McNamaras to Los Angeles, California, without due process of law. Among the resolutions are the following, adopted by Chicago Local No. 1 of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, May 14, 1911, by the Woman's Trade Union League of Illinois, May 14, 1911, and by The Chicago Federation of Labor, May 21, 1911:

Whereas, a labor union official was recently deprived of the safeguards provided in the fundamental law to an extent which seems to justify "kidnaping" as a name for the procedure, and the papers of the union concerned were procured by means not easily distinguishable from burglary; and whereas, a man of wealth was recently so carefully treated in the matter of safeguards that he had a preliminary writ of habeas corpus in readiness prior to his arrest and his person and papers were subsequently denied to the State by the same judge who granted the writ; and whereas, these contrasts once again emphasize the existence in these United States of "poor men's law" and "rich men's law"; therefore be it resolved that we do respectfully petition the Congress of the United States and the legislature of the State of Illinois to define by legal enactment the amount of wealth necessary to exempt citizens from the operations of "poor men's law."

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Free Trade League.

At the annual meeting of the American Free Trade League, held at Boston on the 20th, Louis R. Ehrich was re-elected president, and among the vice-presidents elected were Charles Francis Adams, Charles R. Codman, Charles S. Hamlin, Josiah Quincy, Rowland G. Hazard, Irving Fisher, Henry W. Farnam, Lawrence Dunham, Henry George, Jr., Walter H. Page, Thomas M. Osborne, Ida M. Tarbell, Calvin Tomkins, John DeWitt Warner, Arthur B. Farquhar, Joseph Fels, George A. Macbeth, James H. Dillard, A. G. Danforth, Louis F. Post, Sigmund Zeisler, John W. Kern, Henry Ware Allen, Dr. E. T. Shelley, Henry Priesmeyer, Edward P. Totten, Daniel Kiefer, Abbot Kinney, David Starr Jordan and C. E. S. Wood. The treasurer is John Ritchie, the secretary Roger Sherman Hoar, and the executive committee Harvey N. Shepard, James R. Carret, Howard A. Carson, Judd E. Dewey, Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, Martha P. Hadley, George S. Harrington, Samuel Y. Nash, Albert S. Parsons and Erving Winslow. President Ehrich, Charles W. Eliot (of Harvard), John J. Murphy (Tenement House Commissioner of New York), and Roger Sherman Hoar were the speakers at the annual dinner at the American House.

Illinois Legislature.

In the early morning hours of the 20th and after an all night session, the Illinois legislature adjourned. Its last act was the adoption of the bill opposed by the organized business interests of Chicago, for extending the scope of the 10-hour women's working bill.

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That bill had been adopted by the Senate, but so amended by the House as to make the law a 60-hour a week bill instead of a 10-hour a day bill. The amendment was in the interest of the business organizations; it would have nullified not only the bill for extending the scope of the law, but the law itself as enacted by the previous legislature. When the Senate refused to accept the amendment, and a conference committee had disagreed, the House in the last hour of the session receded from its amendment and passed the bill. For accomplishing this extraordinary parliamentary result, representatives of the Women's Trade Union League, under the leadership of Agnes Nestor, are given the credit. As passed the bill limits working hours for women to 10 a day in practically all lines of manufacturing and merchandizing. [See current volume, p. 253.]

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During the session this legislature enlarged the power of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission so as to give it functions in Illinois analogous to those of the Interstate Commerce Commission in the United States. It also extended the civil service law to all State departments, but with numerous individual exceptions. A compromise employers' liability bill was also passed.

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Several important measures were defeated in the House. First was the proposed amendment to the Constitution, adopted by the Senate, providing for the Initiative and the Referendum, which had been pledged by the Republican and the Democratic platforms, respectively, and demanded by a popular vote of 447,908 to 128,398. Then came the tax amendment of the John P. Wilson commission, to which neither party was pledged and on which no popular vote had been taken, but which was urged by large financial interests of Chicago. It was defeated, as its supporters assert, by the influence of the friends of the Initiative and Referendum in retaliation for the defeat of their measure through the influence of the interests that were behind the tax measure. A bill calling a Constitutional convention was also defeated, as was the bill giving votes to women, which the Senate passed but the House killed. [See current volume, pages 265, 275, 291, 434, 441.]

Direct Legislation in Ohio.

A call has been issued for a conference on direct legislation in Ohio to be held in the assembly hall of the Niel House at Columbus on the 4th of June next at one o'clock. All Ohio friends of direct legislation are invited. The call for this conference, which is to be neither partisan nor sectarian, is made by Elroy M. Avery, of Cleveland, president of the Ohio Direct Legislation League, and Herbert S. Bigelow, formerly its secretary, and is endorsed by—

Gabe Cooper, Toledo, treasurer of Ohio D. L. League; Edward W. Elwood, Cleveland, former secretary D. L. of Ohio; James R. Angier, secretary of Summit County D. L. League; Daniel Kiefer, Cincinnati; Fenton Lawson, Cincinnati; A. Ross Read, Columbus; G. H. Lyttle, Cleveland; W. D. Hills, Cleveland; Linnaeus Cheyney, Cleveland; Karl A. Cheyney, Cleveland; J. L. Cooper, editor of "The People," Akron; Eugene F. Cranz, Ira, secretary of Ohio State Grange; L. G. Spencer, Niles, chairman Executive Committee Ohio State Grange; John Voll, president Ohio State Federation of Labor; and Harry D. Thomas, secretary Ohio State Federation of Labor.

[See current volume, pp. 130, 181, 255, 265, 322, 434.]

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The British Parliament.

Provision is made in the British budget for 1911, presented to the House of Commons on the 16th by Lloyd George, for salaries of \$2,000 a year for members, exclusive of salaried ministers and secretaries. A surplus of \$28,035,000, realized under the George fiscal regime, was disclosed, out of which the Ministry propose appropriating \$7,500,000 for the support of sanitariums for consumptives. George's estimated surplus for the current year is \$2,410,000. The public debt has been reduced \$350,000,000 under the Liberal regime, \$130,000,000 of this amount having been paid under George's incumbency of the treasury.

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The Lords' veto bill received its first, or formal, reading in the House of Lords on the 16th, and its second reading was moved on the 23d. Lord Lansdowne's bill for the reconstruction of the House of Lords passed second reading on the 22d. [See current volume, page 468.]

NEWS NOTES

—William Randolph Hearst spoke upon invitation before the New York Legislature on the 17th, his subject being the income tax.

—Clarence S. Darrow has been retained as senior counsel for the defense in the McNamara case at Los Angeles. [See current volume, pages 461, 469.]

—Edward W. Bemis has been employed by Mayor

Whitlock as the expert of the city of Toledo, Ohio, for the purpose of valuing the Toledo traction system.

—A suit against the lumber trust was brought by the United States on the 19th at New York. A large number of corporations and individuals are named as defendants, charged with violating the Sherman anti-trust law.

—Mrs. Williamina P. Fleming, astronomer, and curator of astronomical records at Harvard University, died in Boston on the 21st, at the age of 54. Mrs. Fleming was born in Dundee, Scotland. She was especially known as a discoverer of new stars.

—After his lecture engagements at Seattle, Wash., June 4; at Bellingham, Wash., June 8; at Everett, Wash., June 9; at Seattle, June 10, and at Tacoma, Wash., June 11 and 12, Charles Frederick Adams will be at Salem, Oregon, June 17, and at Portland June 18.

—A woman's eight hour bill, governing employment of women and children in the District of Columbia, was introduced in Congress on the 22d by Representative Berger (Socialist) of Wisconsin. The bill provides that girls under 18 must not be kept at work after 6 p. m.

—The Chinese government has recently decreed that Sunday shall hereafter be observed as a day of rest by the Imperial Court, and that no business shall be transacted on that day by governmental boards except in an emergency. [See current volume, page 443.]

—The "grandfather" amendment to the Oklahoma Constitution, which disfranchises Negroes, was decided on the 22d by the United States District Court at Oklahoma City (Judge John H. Cotteral) to be in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. [See vol. xiii, p. 948.]

—The Diet of Finland was ordered dissolved by Russian Imperial decree issued on the 17th. This Diet met in January, to take the place of the Diet dissolved last fall because it refused to take Imperial orders. The January Diet has also proved recalcitrant and has therefore met its doom. [See vol. xiii, p. 901.]

—By means of a skillfully laid plot, six Negroes were taken from jail at Lake City, Florida, on the 21st and lynched. The news dispatches add that the shrieks of the Negroes when they discovered they were trapped, aroused other Negroes in the city; but when the latter arrived the white mob had completed its crime.

—A "Greater Berlin" bill was adopted by the Prussian Diet on the 16th. Under the provisions of the bill the capital and its surrounding suburban municipalities will be merged into a metropolis with a population of nearly 3,500,000. This will take Berlin to the third place in the list of the great cities of the world, being outranked only by London and New York.

—J. Mansell Parks, financial secretary of Local Iron Workers' Union No. 51, and Bert H. Conners, a structural iron worker, were arrested on the 22d at Los Angeles charged with plotting to blow up the hall of records, a million dollar structure being built there, the case, say the dispatches, having an inti-

mate relation to that against the McNamara brothers. [See current volume, pages 461, 469.]

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the nine months ending March 31, 1911, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for March were as follows [see current volume, page 351]:

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
Merchandise	\$1,595,764,918	\$1,154,803,465	\$440,961,453 exp.
Gold	11,112,115	59,299,724	48,187,609 imp.
Silver	46,307,797	34,623,429	11,684,368 exp.
	\$1,653,184,830	\$1,248,726,618	\$404,458,212 exp.

—Job Harriman, one of the lawyers for McNamara, was nominated for Mayor of Los Angeles by the Socialist party on the 22nd. Among the Socialist candidates for the Council are Fred Wheeler, who polled 14,000 votes for Mayor two years ago, and G. M. Whitley, a Negro Socialist. The Chicago Daily Socialist of the 22nd reports that the Los Angeles labor unions are solid for the Socialist ticket and that its election is practically certain. [See vol. xii, pp. 416, 417.]

—A monoplane just starting with others in an aerial race from Paris to Madrid in the early morning of the 21st, plunged down into a group of members of the French cabinet and other officials, killing outright Mr. H. M. Berteaux, minister of war, and severely injuring the Premier, Mr. A. E. E. Monis, his son, and one other. The monoplane was a total wreck. The races were suspended for the day, but four contestants made a new start on the 22nd. [See current volume, pp. 182, 209.]

—The Rev. Ben Smith, an aged local Negro leader of Swainsboro, Ga., was hanged from a tree near that place on the 21st by a mob of white men, and his body riddled with bullets. As the news report runs, his young wife had complained to the authorities and when a constable went to the Smith home to arrest him, Smith shot the officer, inflicting a serious wound, and fled. He was pursued with bloodhounds and captured about daylight in a swamp near the town, whereupon he was hanged and shot by the mob.

—The city of Denver has been restrained by a Federal injunction from issuing bonds and taking any other steps for installing a municipal water system, on the ground that by an ordinance of 1890 the city had agreed to give the local water company a franchise for twenty years and then renew the franchise or purchase the plant. The suit was brought by the New York Trust Company and the Denver Water Company, and the Circuit Court of Appeals (Federal Judge Hook) affirmed on the 19th a temporary injunction recently granted by the Circuit Court. [See vol. xiii, p. 725.]

—The third biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League will open in Boston on June 12, at Barnard Memorial Hall. Among the subjects of discussion will be the organization of women workers according to districts; shop standards, wage standards, health standards; protective legislation; judicial decisions; fire protection; and old age pensions. There will be a public meeting in Faneuil Hall on Monday evening at 8 o'clock, at which Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York; Mr. James Duncan, First Vice President of the American

Federation of Labor; John Mitchell, and Mrs. Raymond Robins, the National President, will speak. [See current volume, page 396.]

—At the meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers at New York on the 17th a resolution was adopted calling upon President Taft to end the boycott for all time by seeking the punishment or dissolution of the American Federation of Labor, which was declared to be persistently prosecuting and intending to further prosecute boycotts. Resolutions urging that workmen be compensated by the State for injuries sustained in accidents and that an international court of arbitral justice be established were also adopted, as well as a measure urging ship subsidies. John Kirby, Jr., was re-elected president, and Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, was the guest of honor at the sixteenth annual banquet of the association.

—The fifth annual Sagamore Sociological Conference will be in session at Sagamore, Mass., from the 28th to the 30th of June. The program includes an address on "Democracy in the Household," by Prof. Lucy M. Salmon, with discussion led by Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch; an address on "The Public Conscience as to Matters of Sex," by Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, with discussion led by G. Stanley Hall; an address on "What the Socialists have Accomplished in Milwaukee," by Mayor Seidel, with discussion led by Victor L. Berger; and an address on "Scientific Management in the Churches," by Dr. Shailer Mathews. The President of the Conference is George W. Coleman, founder and leader of the Ford Hall meetings in Boston. [See vol. xiii, p. 660.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Woodrow Wilson.

The California Outlook (Progressive), May 13.—The later utterances of Woodrow Wilson leave no question as to how he stands on the great fundamental issue that is now splitting open both political parties. He is for the rule of the people and the overthrow of privilege. In his point of view the rights of the human being always take precedence over the rights of property. He is for the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, although, like Roosevelt, he seems to be a bit doubtful on the recall of the judiciary. He may in time see the light on that last point.

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The Boston Common (ind.), May 13.—Sound on most points of public policy and very attractive as a leader of the new movement to unfetter American democracy, Governor Wilson is not at his best in his view of the recall for judges. He says: "Judges are not lawmakers. They are not administrators. Their duty is not to determine what the law shall be, but to determine what the law is. Their independence, their sense of dignity and of freedom, is of the first consequence to the stability of the state. To apply to them the principle of the Recall is to set up the idea that determinations of what the law is must respond to popular impulse and to popular judgment. It is sufficient that the people should have the power to change the law when they will. It is

not necessary that they should directly influence by threat of recall those who merely interpret the law already established. The importance and desirability of the Recall as a means of administrative control ought not to be obscured by drawing it into this other and very different field." The flaw in this argument is in the assumption that judges do not make law. They do. Without a Recall of judges the people cannot be sure of the power to change the law when they will; for the judges, not the people, have the last say. Some judges are chosen by privileged interests to thwart the people; others, with honest intent, think so antiquely, are so slavish to privilege, that they do as much harm as if they were corrupt. In a democracy no servant should be unchecked. At present a judge can be an enemy to the public welfare and hold his place so long as he does not get caught taking bribes or indulge in flagrant personal misconduct or turn crazy. This measure of control over public servants on the bench is not enough.

+ +

The Recall of Judges.

The (San Francisco) Star (ind.), May 6.—What arrogant nonsense it would be to give the people power to recall the Mayor of the City, the Governor of the State, or any and every other public official but a Judge! . . . This is the age of judge-made law. And so notorious has it become that in many States public opinion has taken alarm. It is felt that all real power is being usurped by the courts, for legislatures are overruled, the will of the people set aside, their public servants ham-strung by judicial decree. The suspicion prevails everywhere that in very large measure Privilege dominates the courts and that corporation influences are paramount in determining vital questions affecting the liberty and property of the citizen. . . . The people can be relied upon to exercise the power of recall conservatively. They will never remove a judge for rendering a merely unpopular decision, nor for rendering any decision, unless the circumstances or other evidence show either corruption, wilful favoritism, or gross incompetency. But they will remove corrupt, incompetent, habitually biased, persistently negligent and habitually intemperate judges. The legislatures of all the States have proved that impeachment is no safeguard against the perversion of Justice, and judicial scandals, notoriously resulting from having such judges on the bench. There would be no more danger of a judge being recalled for a decision in any case not involving the Constitutional rights or liberties of the people than there would be of the Governor being recalled for signing or vetoing any bill in which those same rights were not involved. . . . In conclusion, we cannot do better than quote these words from Judge James V. Coffey, who for more than thirty years has been an honor to the Superior Bench of San Francisco: "If the people are competent to elect Judges in the first instance, they certainly should be competent to re-elect or recall, which are really equivalent terms." That's the whole thing in a nutshell.

+ + +

"New York is to have a fifty-five story building."
 "That will be fine. New Yorkers who occupy the upper stories may be able to discover that there is land west of Hoboken."—Chicago Record-Herald.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

DECORATION DAY.

For The Public.

The daisie: grow across where once she passed,—
A shimmering legion;—buttercups are massed
Above the hot prints years obliterate.
Only the heat keeps virgil. Memory
Preserves in virile charm her former state
That haunts the earth and air and flowers, and me.
What then is Death that cannot call away
The spirit of a distant yesterday?
'Tis fitting that the meadow, gayly dressed,
Should newly every blossoming season shrine
That olden pathway. So would faith invest
In silver, all its visions of divinity
Fidelity; and so would love enfold
All of devotion it conceives, in god.

GERTIUDE COLLES.

✦ ✦ ✦

DEMOCRATIC RADICALISM.

Portions of An Inspiring Speech Delivered Before
the Democratic Club in Philadelphia, February,
21, 1911, by Woodrow Wilson, Gov-
ernor of New Jersey.

There was something said recently by a very witty Englishman, which seemed very cynical, but which, I am afraid, is painfully true. He said: "It is not true to say of a man who has attained a distinguished position in his profession or undertaking, that you cannot bribe a man like that, because the truth is, he has been bribed. The existing order of things has made him, and he dare not touch the existing order of things for fear it should wreck him; the existing order has put him under bonds not to change it. He has been bribed."

Now it is time that notice should be served upon all these gentlemen that the existing order of things is going to be changed. The warning is only fair because it is only equitable that they should have time to make their preparations. I have known for a long time that it had to change because I have, of necessity, been associated with generation after generation of the young men who are going to change it, and who were, year by year, serving notice on me that they were changing it. . . .

An interesting circumstance about the radicalism of our time is that it purposes a restoration. Do not deceive yourselves, gentlemen, by the literary theory of American institutions. If in contrast what is called the radical programme let us say the programme which has been so successfully and admirably carried out in the State of Oregon, with the literary theory of our in-

tutions, you see a very radical contrast. The literary theory of our Constitution is that we are living under a representative government. The fact of our institutions is that we are not living under a representative government, and those who seek to bring the people—the will, the opinion, the purpose of the people—directly to bear upon affairs, are trying not to destroy, but to restore representative government.

It is very interesting to see how an audience like this responds and thrills at those old . . . formulas of liberty that have rung in this country from generation to generation on the lips of public orators. I believe, and hope, that my own pulse leaps to respond to them as yours does, but what I am interested in is the translation of liberty into experience, and my blood would leap much more quickly to the details by which we were to get it, than to the general statement of what it is we want to get. For our task at present is not to bring about, or rather, I would say, it is not to determine what specific readjustment and reforms we want, but it is to determine how we are going to get them. . . .

The theory of the Republican party has been that you must put the power of the people into commission, that you must entrust it to those persons in the community who have the largest stake in the community, and who, because they have the largest stake in the community, may be supposed to understand the interests of the community best. In other words, it is the intervention of a steering committee between the power that is to be used and the instrumentality through which the power is to be used. The Republican party ought not to be too severely blamed. The Republican party started out upon a very handsome mission; namely, to substitute free for unfree labor. It started out to serve one of the fundamental principles of liberty, but, in order to do so, it had to fight and carry to an end a very expensive war. In order to pay for the war it had to enter into certain partnerships with capital. Do not let us put the terms of our history wholly in parlor language. Let us face the facts as they are. . . .

The Republican party having to pay for a very expensive war, had to see to it that the government and the success of the Republican party became an investment for somebody, and in order to make it a permanent investment for somebody, they had to make it worth the while of large bodies of moneyed men to stand by the Republican party. I do not need to tell you by what means they did so. It was a very expensive partnership for the Republican party, because they had to keep raising the ante. They had to keep increasing the productivity of the investment in order to keep the investors satisfied; and therefore the amazing progression of the use we have made of the doctrine of Protection has been an absolute necessity on the part of the

Republican party if they were going to keep up the partnership. . . .

I am not impugning the honesty or the integrity or the patriotism of many of the distinguished men who have been connected with the Republican party. Still less am I questioning for a single moment the great body of my fellow citizens who have voted the Republican ticket. That is not the point. The point is that we are now beginning to perceive that the whole partnership was based upon a vicious principle, a very dangerous principle, and that in order to get a new adjustment we must bring all the parts of the social machine into the rearrangement, and must see to it that henceforth there is no particular partnership between government and selected interests of any kind.

How are we going to do it? You know that in order to maintain this partnership a very interesting body of machinery has grown up, machinery which had a most plausible appearance of being necessary, and which grew from stage to stage almost unobserved until we found that instead of using it, it was using us; the machinery by which we thought we were holding opinion together, and then found that we were only holding offices together—the machinery of nomination, the machinery of arrangement. It is an unpleasant matter to talk about, but it is an open secret. You know that the members of State legislatures have again and again found themselves obliged, with regard to all the important measures of the session, to take their orders from persons who were never elected to anything, but who constituted the nominating machinery by which the representatives obtained their positions, and hoped to retain them. The men who constituted this nominating machinery received their orders, in turn, from the interests which were bribed, because the organization which had selected them had received the money for its operations from the interests whose orders were carried out in the legislature, either by stopping this bill or promoting that . . .

We all know without the least degree of discouragement for I am not discouraged even if you are and without the least touch of cynicism, that this has been the fact, and that in order to save the people brought into the game again, we have got to sweep something away and sweep it clean. Not organization, for organization is necessary, but that organization which does not derive its authority and inspiration from the people. . . .

What we are doing, therefore, is to break down these barriers, or rather, to use a better figure, is to cut down the jungle in which all sorts of secret forces are lurking, to cut down the jungle in which there is covert secrecy and concealment, for every process which should be open and is, as a matter of fact, private. It is to break down

all the private understandings of government and oblige them to be public understandings. . . .

See what a commonplace thing we are doing, therefore. We are simply trying to square the facts of our government with the theory with which we have been deceiving ourselves. We do not mean to live any longer in a fool's paradise. We mean to have the kind of government we supposed we did have. If we cannot get the kind of legislation we want, we will have the initiative and referendum, and where they have been tried, it is found that the people have just as discriminating a knowledge of what is necessary as any recent legislature, at any rate, has exhibited. My conviction is that when once this direct access of the people to the execution of their own purposes is accomplished, the initiative and referendum will not be the ordinary means of legislation. They will be the very salutary gun kept in the closet. The knowledge that if they do not represent, representatives will be dispensed with, will make representatives represent.

In these measures, therefore, we are not dispensing with representative government, but making sure that we are going to have it. What are we fighting for, then, in this so-called radicalism? Radicalism? Yes, because it goes to the root of the matter, it not radicalism in the sense that it is an insatiate love of change, not radicalism in the sense that it is love of uprooting things. On the contrary, it is love of solidifying things and making them real instead of a sham. Do you suppose that we want to build stone superstructures upon card-board imitations of stone for foundations? We want to get the root of this whole thing, the radices, the roots, the radicals of it all, where we may hold fast. I like the image of the root rather than the image of the foundation, for the foundation takes nothing from the soil, whereas the root draws its whole sustenance from it and I know the history of government too well not to know that all its vital forces come from the hidden earth, from the hidden origins, the hidden fountains that lie in the great body of the people. I have not seen in reading history the source of strength coming from the top and flowing to the root. I have always seen them rising from the root into the branches. . . .

I tell you, gentlemen, that the so-called radicalism of our time is nothing else than an effort to release the energies of our time. This great people is not bent upon any form of destruction. This great people is not in love with any kind of injustice. This great people is in love with the realization of what is equitable, pure, just, and of good repute, and it is bound by the clogs and impediments of our political machinery. What we are trying to do is to release all its generous forces. . . . Release the generous energies of our people and you will come upon a time of prosperity when the hearts of men will flower, when men

will see that the true happiness of life is not in devising schemes of power, but in realizing in themselves the common aspirations of the race.

Just as in the great literature there come to expression the great emotions of mankind, so in politics there come to realization the great actions of mankind, so that men are partners with each other in the hopeful enterprises of human perfection and the hopeful enterprises of justice to which all government is consecrated. Let us not be jealous of the radicalism which seeks to derive all our forces from this single root of perfection.

* * *

L'ENVOI OF HOUSE CLEANING.

(With apologies to Kipling.)

Laura Simmons in "The Circle."

When Earth's last picture is dusted,
And the floors are painted and dried—
When the oldest carpet is beaten,
And the youngest spider has died—

We shall rest, and faith, we shall need it;
Lie down for a moment or two—
Till the dust on the grand piano
Shall set us to work anew.

We shall have real paint to lean on;
Pile everything into the hall,
And scrub for hours at a sitting—
And never be tired at all!

And they that are clean shall be happy;
They shall eat off a kitchen chair,
And splash with a seven-foot dust mop
At the back of the chiffoniere.

And the Man of the house may praise us—
But shall (more than probably) blame;
And we never shall get any money—
(And certainly not any fame.)

But each for the joy of the cleaning,
And each in her feminine glee
To look just as well as the neighbors,
For the sake of Things They Might See!

BOOKS

CONSERVATION.

Irrigation and soil productiveness will probably be the most important factors of industrial development in the immediate future in our country. For this reason "The Conservation of the Natural Resources of the United States," by Charles R. Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, is of peculiar interest; and not only to technical engineers, but also to farmers and political economists. It is apparently without a rival among books, for information covering the principles and the principal facts pertaining to our natural re-

sources and their relation to our industrial development.

The settlement of open prairies, available as agricultural lands without irrigation, is complete. What remains of public land is either mountain or desert (including semi-arid land in the latter), and useless without irrigation. Largely for this reason the people of the United States are turning more and more to manufacturing as a means of livelihood; and this movement can be balanced off with agriculture only by governmental development. If left to private capital, the necessity for immediate returns on money invested in any given drainage area, will tend to limit irrigation and water power projects to the cream of that area, which may represent a very low percentage of its possibilities. The government can develop fully and wait many years if need be for investment returns. But if government is to undertake that work, it is essential to success that public opinion understand the questions involved. This book opens the door to more serious thought along this line than anything heretofore written.

Natural resources are doubtless more abundant than we can realize: as lumber disappears, for instance, cement comes in to take its place. But Nature's generosity is no excuse for human waste. Thriftlessness regarding natural resources must be stopped. The day cannot be far off when we shall be expected to use and conserve our resources through advances in scientific knowledge. It is scientific knowledge, indeed, that makes Nature inexhaustibly responsive to human needs. Not from waste of lumber has cement come, but from scientific interrogations of Nature; and herein Conservation travels double with Discovery.

F. L. CRANFORD.

* * *

AVERY'S HISTORY.

A History of the United States and Its People. From their Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In Sixteen Volumes. Volume VII. Published by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Beginning with the campaign for adoption of the Constitution, with the making of which the sixth volume closed,* the seventh volume of Avery's series of sixteen carries the story of the American federation of States down to 1806.

The current which, before that century closed, turned the federation into the centralized Nation which the title of this work hints at grammatically in its use of the singular pronoun instead of the plural for the United States, had then begun to set in. Hamilton's financial policy is of course presented, and with fair judgment, and so is the development of new political parties. As an historical study of the way in which political

*See current volume, page 403.

parties are born in the United States, this first experience is especially interesting at the present time. The enactment of the alien and sedition laws, so disastrous to our earliest party of aristocracy, the Federalist, which went down in political form only to be resurrected judicially in principle by the Supreme Court, is dwelt upon considerably. Industrial changes destined to make of slavery the cause of civil war, fall into their proper place chronologically; and the accession of Jefferson with the downfall of the Federalists is introduced with a denial of the tradition that he rode on horseback and alone to the capital to take the oath of office. It seems that Jefferson walked from his boarding house to the capitol, only a stone's throw apart, escorted by a body of militia and a number of political friends.

The author refers slightly to ex-President John Adams for leaving the capital before daylight on the day of Jefferson's inauguration; but this childishness is rather small matter for criticism in comparison with the appointment of a bitter anti-democratic partisan to the Chief Justiceship just as Jefferson came in, almost at the hour, in order to rescue the class-power doctrines of Federalism by judge-made law from the death they were dying in politics. Mr. Avery regards this appointment as one of the highest value, and such is the opinion that generations of lawyers have been educated in; but it is becoming clearer now that the service of Chief Justice Marshall was a service to plutocratic interests and class-power as opposed to the common interests and people's power. It is to be regretted that Mr. Avery is not as sensitive to this fact in his capacity as historian as in his activities as a citizen.

Among the illustrations that have enriched these volumes, there are two of peculiar interest in the present volume. One is a colored portrait of Washington reproduced from an oil portrait painted by Sharpless and owned by Yale University. The other is a picture of a bust of Washington by Trentanove, part of the collection of the Boston Athenaeum. They are evidently portraits of the same person, and apparently more diagrammatic than artistic. When contrasted with Stuart's idealization of the Egyptian Sphinx, which passes as *the* portrait of Washington, they tempt one to wonder whether Washington's saying "damn" at the battle of Monmouth would have been necessary to prove him a "mere man" to any one who had seen him face to face. At any rate, neither Sharpless nor Trentanove succeeded as well as Stuart did, if they were trying to idealize the "Father of his country."

With this volume, the Avery history clears the way for that momentous period of American politics, which is distinguished by twenty-five years of government by one party, culminating in a faction frenzy called the "era of good feeling," out of which emerged the Democrats and

the Whigs, and in the midst of which the second war with Great Britain was fought and the Protection doctrine got a strangle hold upon the people.

Mr. Avery's work may not measure up to the standards of history-writing cults, but it fills the purpose of a narrative of a nation so written and illustrated as to attract and hold the attention of citizens more interested in knowing what has happened, and in orderly sequence, than in bothering themselves with thinking about what this or that historian may guess the reason for it to have been.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Yellowstone Nights. By Herbert Quick. Published by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 1911.

—The Sphinx Catechism. By Henry Rawie. Published by Henry Rawie, 910 American Bldg., Baltimore, Md. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Psychic Phenomena. Science and Immortality. By Henry Frank. Published by Sherman, French & Co., Boston. 1911. Price, \$2.25 net.

—City Government by Commission. By Ford H. MacGregor. Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Number 423. Published at Madison, Wis. 1911. Price, 40 cents.

—Kormányzóságom Története. The Story of My Dictatorship, in Hungarian. By Robert Braun. Kalvineum wü-és Könyomymda Részo.-Társagág Maros-Vásárhely, 1911. Ara 1 Korona.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Among the pamphlets recently received are the following:

Henry George. By George N. Barnes. Published by the Independent Labour Party, 23 Bride Lane, Fleet St., London, E. C. Price, one penny. A sympathetic appreciation by a Parliamentary Leader of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain.

Pinhead's Thrift, or The Financiers. Consecrated to the Abolition of Public Debt. By William W. Clay. Humorous Illustrations by the Author. Chicago, 1911.

Something for Nothing. By George W. Slocum, 337 N. Main St., Los Angeles. 1911. Price, 25 cents.

PERIODICALS

A Japanese Edition.

In *The Progressive Woman* for May (5445 Drexel Ave., Chicago) appear two articles by the former editor, a Japanese-American Socialist now dead, Mr. Kaneko; one on "Japan: Its Problems," the other on "Foreign Books Read in Japan," and further, a score of letters to Mr. Kaneko from D. Kotuko, one of the twelve radicals executed last January by the

Japanese Government. [See current volume, p. 84.] "The real progress of modern Japan," the editor wrote, "has not been made by Marquis Ito, not by General Kuroki, nor by the Mikado himself, as has been so much talked of by the Westerners. There are, however, two men whose activity really helped to make the Japan of today. They were Chomin Nakae and Yukichi Fuzukawa, of whom you Americans perhaps never heard. Nakae preached the spirit of Jean Jacques Rousseau, while Fuzukawa taught John Stuart Mill's idea of liberty. Both of these men hated the idle aristocracy. They believed in work. They believed in the true spirit of democracy. They established schools and newspapers, and translated rational books from the Western languages. In fact, they baptized the whole nation with the Western ideas and spirit. It is the logical result of these pioneer teachers that the Japan of today has come to possess its constitution, parliament, and the modern school system."

A. L. G.

Religion and the Church.

Bishop Williams of Michigan, of whom an extraordinarily faithful portrait appears in the American Magazine for June, leads in that issue of the American with an equally extraordinary diagnosis of the spiritual disease of which the churches—all of them, from ultramontane Roman to smug Unitarian—are dying. "The fundamental 'matter,'" as Bishop Williams sees it, is "a conflict between religion and the Church," by which he means, a conflict between "a religion which is a fresh inspiration from the Spirit of God, brooding over the living present world, and a church which is largely a crystallization out of the experience and the mind of a dead past." To the Church the "movements of scientific and philosophical research, political righteousness, social service, economic justice, commercial honesty and industrial equity," which in mighty impulses spring out of "the teachings and the spirit of the prophets and apostles of old, and above all of her Divine Master, the Christ,"—all these "seem to her secular, out-

He's Willing to Do it, but He Wants to Do it Right.



J. W. Donahey in Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 10, 1911.

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side her province; she does not know her own children." The Church "has made her creeds into padlocks to confine" her children, "instead of using them as flags to follow"; and "religion has often been forced to leave the Church and go out doors to find the truth." The Church "deserts the need that needs her for the clientele that she needs." Seeming to make it her mission to "call the righteous to patient continuance in well doing and respectability, and not sinners to repentance," she "preaches, for the most part, a narrow and petty round of ethics, the minor moralities of purely personal conduct, respectabilities, good form, technical pieties and ecclesiastical proprieties, while the age is seeking the larger righteousness of the Kingdom of God, which is 'human society organized according to the Will of God.'" This refreshingly religious wave of thought from the head of an Episcopalian diocese, strikes a note which, carried through the magazine, makes the present number the most inspiring and interesting, as a whole, of all numbers of the American from its beginning. Bishop Williams does not stop with diagnosis; he proceeds to the cure. And what his article profoundly suggests, other articles illuminate. Among those that do this is Albert Jay Nock's account of "a community that pays its own bills," which is Edmonton, up in western Canada. One of the fiscal series that Mr. Nock began last winter, this story of a new birth in civic morality has the same charm of style and fullness of fact as its predecessors, besides going deeper and more unreservedly than its predecessors into the ethics of taxation and land

tenures. In its allusion to Edmonton's departure in land value taxation from a tax rate on capitalized value to a tax rate on rental value, there is peculiar significance. As the departure progresses it is likely to concentrate attention still further upon Edmonton, as a civic pioneer.

* * *

"John, why are the Mexicans fighting?"

"To stop the tyranny of Diaz."

"Who is he?"

"The President of Mexico."

"Oh, has Mexico a President?"

"Certainly. You didn't suppose the country was running itself, did you?"

"Well, if they have a president, I should think they would be satisfied. It is much better than having a king."

"Not always. It is sometimes possible for a president to be even more of a tyrant than a king could be."

"What has he done?"

"For one thing he has permitted peonage to continue."

"Peonage? What's that?"

"A kind of slavery."

"Mercy sakes! Are there many colored people in Mexico?"

"A great many of the Mexicans are Indians, or half Indian and half Spanish. Diaz himself is part Indian."

"I thought all the Indians were in this country."

THE INTERLAKEN SCHOOL

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¶ The Summer Camp of the Interlaken School on Silver Lake, La Porte County, Indiana, will open June first and close September first.

¶ This camp will be a community of busyness. Each day has its work laid out. There will be play enough, but Interlaken Camp is not an incubator of idleness, nor a brooder for picture book sportsmen.

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¶ Details may be had by writing to Interlaken School, La Porte, Indiana.

¶ Further, you might refer to the following persons, if you so desire:

Wilbur Brotherton, 84 Burroughs Ave., Detroit, Mich.
George E. Plumbe, Chamber of Commerce, Chicago, Ill.
Harrington Emerson, 30 Church St., New York City.

Frank L. Brown, 245 Lee St., Oakland, California.
Henry B. F. Macfarland, District of Columbia.
Wm. H. Proctor, 1338 N. Ninth St., Everett, Wash.
John Gilmer, Quincy, Ill.

"No, there are probably more Indians in Mexico than in the United States."

"How did they get there?"

"In the same way that they got here, I suppose."

"Well, I don't see why we should bother about the troubles of people in South America."

"Mexico isn't in South America."

"Isn't it? Why didn't you take me there when we went to Europe?"—Chicago Record-Herald.

+ + +

A number of tourists were recently looking down

the crater of Vesuvius. An American gentleman said to his companion:

"That looks a good deal like the infernal regions."

An English lady, overhearing the remark, said to another:

"Good gracious! How these Americans do travel!"
—Lippincott's.

+ + +

Ward Politician: "Well, the women are all going to vote for Perkinson."

Political Boss: "No, they ain't. I've hired every

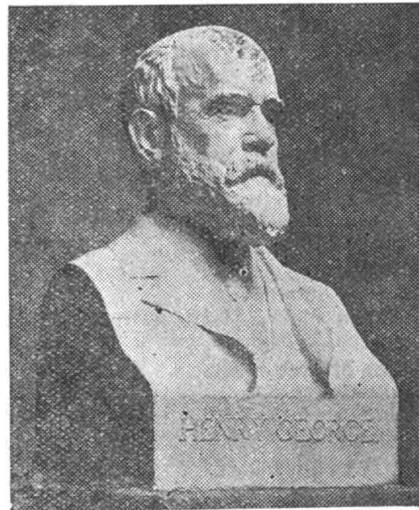
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is the best and easiest way of washing. If Fels-Naptha didn't do what we say it will, no woman would buy a second cake. Yet more than a million women use Fels-Naptha every washday. And the number is increasing as fast as its value becomes known.

If you haven't used Fels-Naptha try it, according to directions, and on the result we'll stake our chance of making you a regular user. For your white things, soap, roll and soak for thirty minutes in cold or lukewarm water—no boiling or hot water. Then rub lightly, rinse and hang out to dry. That's all.

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96 Fulton Street, New York.

department store in town to cut prices directly in two on election day."—Puck.

✦ ✦ ✦

"I am much obliged to you, sir," said the reporter, gathering up his notes. "It is seldom, indeed, that one can get the full particulars of a train wreck from an officer of the road."

"O, but it didn't happen on our line, young man,"

hastily explained the railway superintendent. "It was on the X., Y. and Z., near where it crosses our tracks. Be sure you get that right. Good morning."—Chicago Tribune.

✦ ✦ ✦

Griggs: "A doctor claims that some ailments can be communicated by a handshake."

Briggs: "Probably he means the grip."—Boston Transcript.

IN OUR BOOK DEPT

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